Ideological Manipulation in the Translation of Political Discourse: A Study of Presidential Speeches after the Arab Spring based on Corpora and Critical Discourse Analysis

by

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Declaration

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Abstract

The present study explains that ideology can affect translators’ linguistic selections which can consequently shape the receivers’ worldviews. Owing to the fact that after the Arab Spring, new leaders with different ideologies and belonging to different political movements sprung forth, their political discourse has become a subject of increasing interest. The language these leaders use to promote their own political and ideological visions and the way to interpret them requires analysis to detect the possibility of translators’ intervention in the translation of these speeches.

Adopting a mixed approach of corpus linguistics and critical discourse analysis, the present study focuses on investigating the manipulation of the source text ideology in the translation of presidential speeches after the Arab Spring. The source texts analysed in this study are 20 speeches by the former Egyptian president Morsi translated into English by five translators of various ideological backgrounds. The analysis of these source texts is based on the extraction of keywords and a selection of keywords with ideological content. The analysis of the target texts, on the other hand, focuses on the use of ideological keywords in lexical patterns and grammatical structures to detect ideological manipulation in translation.

The thesis aims to describe systematically the means through which translations transfer, strengthen, or mitigate the ideology underlying the source texts. Using five parallel corpora of the source texts and their translations, the thesis also aims to ascertain whether the lexical choices and the syntactic structures employed in the target texts engender changes in the ideological content of the source texts and their underlying ideology.

The results reveal that two out of the five translations project a manipulated ideology that is at variance with the ideology underlining the original texts. One translation strengthens the ideology of the source texts, whereas the other two translations aim to maintain the original ideology unchanged. This indicates that instances of ideological manipulation are probable even in the translation of presidential speeches due to the nature of the source texts, the ideology underlying them as well as the possibility of an ideological clash.
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# Abbreviations

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<th>Definition</th>
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<tr>
<td>CDA</td>
<td>Critical Discourse Analysis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL</td>
<td>Corpus Linguistics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DA</td>
<td>Discourse Analysis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IKW</td>
<td>Ideological Keyword</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L1</td>
<td>Language One</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L2</td>
<td>Language Two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SL</td>
<td>Source Language</td>
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<tr>
<td>ST</td>
<td>Source Text</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STS</td>
<td>Source Language Sentence</td>
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<tr>
<td>TL</td>
<td>Target Language</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tr.1</td>
<td>Translator One</td>
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<td>Tr.2</td>
<td>Translator Two</td>
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<td>TT</td>
<td>Target Text</td>
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<tr>
<td>TTS</td>
<td>Target Language Sentence</td>
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Chapter One

Introduction

Although language is necessary in any kind of social activity, it could be argued that politics is the one that depends largely on language to achieve its goals. As often pointed out in the tradition of political thought, there is a close interrelatedness between language and politics. Language is used to shape policies, build alliances, formulate and spread values that determine political coalitions, constitute legal systems and identify forms of government (Romagnuolo, 2009, p.2). This appears to be very true with the presidential speeches after the Arab Spring. The emergence of the Arab Spring brings into sharp focus a need to examine the relevant socio-political changes and their effect on the production of political discourse. The events of the Arab Spring are thought to result in a shift in the discursive strategies employed in these presidential speeches.

The ideological potential of language has occupied a prominent place in the field of linguistic research for decades. A number of models have been set to account for the correlation between language and ideology, a substantial number of them developed within the influential scope of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) (see Fairclough, 1989; Fowler, 1991; Simpson, 1993). This phenomenon also attracted considerable attention in the Translation Studies community, giving rise to, among others, a number of CDA-oriented studies in the field of translation, for example Puurtinen (2000; 2003), Schäffner (2004), Kemppanen (2004) and Sidiropoulou (2004). These studies focus on the role of ideology in the production of the target texts. However, research that has been conducted to investigate the influence of ideology on the translation of Arabic political texts cannot be considered exhaustive.

More specifically, the growing attention on the unstable Arab and Middle East region in the last few decades, especially after the events of 11 September 2001, and then the revolutions of the Arab Spring, has indicated crucial shortcomings in the awareness of the role of ideology in the translation of political texts from and into Arabic. The complexity of this phenomenon and its impact and implications for clear communication needs further investigation, which the present study aims to achieve.

Furthermore, studying the influence of ideology in translation is crucial for translators and students of translation as it helps to raise awareness of mistranslations resulting from the
limitations of the process of translation from ideologically motivated manipulation. Therefore, it is anticipated that the present study will be of value in the fields of translation quality, pedagogy and ethics.

With the aid of both Corpus Linguistics (CL) and the methods applied in previous research on the relationship of linguistic form and ideology in translation, the present study aims to investigate ideological manipulation in translations into English of the speeches of the former Egyptian president Muhammad Morsi. This is conducted first through a corpus investigation of keywords in the speeches, isolating the ideological keywords (IKWs) by means of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and then examining how ideological keywords are translated. In other words, investigating ideological manipulation in the translation of the speeches provides methodological frameworks of the study, whereas detecting ideology in the original speeches through the extraction of IKWs and examining how these words are translated by means of CL and CDA provides a conceptual one.

Corpus-based studies, focusing on the nature of translation and translation activity, report some recurrent features of translated texts which are not solely attributable to structural and semantic differences between the source language SL and the target language TL. One of those features is ideology, which has been defined in translation studies as “the ways in which linguistic choices made by the writer or translator of a text, create a particular perspective on the event portrayed; second, may reflect the writer’s opinion and attitudes and third, may be used to influence readers’ opinions” (Puurtinen, 2003, p.53).

Previous studies, which advocated a synergy between methods related to CL and CDA, such as Baker (2004), Baker and McEnery (2005), Orpin (2005), McEnery (2006), examined existing texts in their aim to provide a general map by which the presence or absence of a given ideology in a text can be detected. The present study differs as it entails observational data, i.e. the data are generated by commissioning translators. Parallel corpora of the original Arabic speeches along with their English translations are compiled to establish whether translators tend to impose their own ideologies on the target text TT in a way that results in a manipulation of the ST ideology. It is in this area that the present thesis seeks to make a contribution: firstly, by detecting ideological keywords in the original Arabic speeches and how they were translated, and, secondly, by identifying how individual translators have dealt with the ideology
underlying the original speeches, i.e. whether they tend to transfer, reinforce or manipulate that ideology.

1.1 The Arab Spring: an overview

In order to gain a fuller understanding of the motivation for choosing to search in the translations of presidential speeches after the Arab Spring, it would be useful to give a brief background to this movement and the political climate in Egypt before and after it. This background can also help in assessing the extent to which personal and ethical implications of the translators affect the translation of these speeches.

The year 2011 witnessed the rise of the Arab Spring, a revolutionary wave of demonstrations, riots and even civil wars in some countries in the Middle East. Starting on 18 December 2010 in Tunisia, this political movement has fundamentally changed the political landscape of many Arabic countries. Among all the protests and conflicts during the Arab Spring, the Egyptian revolution was the most eye-catching political event as Egyptians toppled two regimes in a span of two and a half years. A number of studies were carried out to analyse the events of the Arab Spring from a political angle, such as Bradley (2012), Weddady, et al. (2012), Henry and Jang (2013) among many others.

Since 1981 Egypt was ruled by Hosni Mubarak. During that period, the widespread corruption in Egypt was the main issue (Kabir, 2011, p.1). However, other issues such as injustice and the bad economic conditions were also of major concern to the Egyptians. On 25 January 2011, the people of Egypt rebelled against the military rule of Mubarak and the expected succession of his son Gamal. Millions of people from different social and ideological backgrounds, Islamists, secularists and non-Muslims, were engaged in an uprising and non-violent civil disobedience acts. They demonstrated against the state of emergency, corruption, high levels of unemployment, the increasing rates of poverty and demanded the end of Mubarak’s regime. On 11 February 2011, Mubarak decided to answer the peoples’ demands and resigned from office. The power was turned over to the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces to lead Egypt for an interim period and prepare for free presidential elections. On 24 June 2012, it was declared that Mohammed Morsi was elected to be the first Islamist to head Egypt. One year later, Morsi was overthrown by his minister of defence, General Sisi, in response to massive protests against him and the political movement to which he belonged, the Muslim Brotherhood.
Six years later, the revolution of the Arab Spring in Egypt is still attracting debate and controversy, as “autocracy is far greater and civil liberties far less than they were prior to 2011” (Patrick, 2016, online).

1.2 Aims of the research
The overarching aim of the present study is to systematically describe the particular instruments with which translations can transmit, strengthen and manipulate ideologies for their receivers. The study also aims to ascertain whether personal ideologies of translators affect the translation of political discourse.

To achieve this aim, 20 speeches by Morsi were first translated then aligned with five different English translations to construct five parallel corpora. The corpora were compiled by the researcher using the Sketch Engine tool (Kilgarriff, et al., 2004). Instances of ideology are identified through a retrieval of expressions admitted in the literature as linguistic markers of ideology (Puurtinen, 2000, p.177). The present study aims to determine how ideological markers are translated and to discover whether translators adopt strategies that reflect their own ideologies, such as those of adding ideological expressions which are not present in the STs, or omitting those originally employed in the STs. Finally, the study seeks to explore whether any manipulation of the ST’s ideology results in a change in the original meaning of the STs.

1.3 Research questions
Given these aims, the present study focuses on answering specific research questions, which can help in unveiling similarities and differences between the original texts and the translations with regard to their ideological signification. These are:

1. What are the ideologically salient words in Morsi’s speeches?

2. Are there any consistent or recurrent shifts\(^1\) in the English translations with regard to their ideological intent in relation to the Arabic STs?

3. To what extent does the distribution of possible instances of ideological manipulation vary across English translations?

\(^1\) The term shift is used in the present study to denote changes that occur in the process of translation both at the lexico-grammatical and thematic levels of the text.
4. How can each English translation be evaluated from the perspective of ideological manipulation?

5. Do translations follow the same ideological postulates of the positive in-group/negative out-group representations?

6. What are the advantages of combining methods associated with CL and CDA in detecting ideology in the original speeches and possible ideological manipulation in their translations?

Using CL related methods, the study addresses research questions 1-4. The first research question is addressed by employing CL tools to generate a list of keywords. Then, methods of discourse analysis are employed to narrow down this list into a potentially ideological keywords list that can help to explore what is ideologically salient in the original speeches. The extracted ideological keywords list is used as a springboard for the analysis of the manipulation of ideology in the translations.

The second question investigates whether ideology (as realized through ideological markers) varies between the STs and their related TTs, addressed through a corpus-based analysis of linguistic markers of ideology in the parallel corpora. This is done by examining concordance lines of ideological keywords (IKWs) to detect the distribution of ideological markers in the corpora under comparison. The distribution of instances of ideological markers across corpora is analysed through a comparison of ideological markers in both the corpus of original Arabic speeches (henceforth the original Arabic corpus) and the corpora of English translations.

The next research question is analysed by ranking ideological markers according to their frequencies in the corpora of English translations. The ideological markers retrieved from each translation are compared to detect the degree of variations among the different translations.

The fourth research question examines the extent of ideological manipulation among the different corpora, and is addressed also through a corpus-based analysis. The results extracted from the third research question are quantified to measure the degree of manipulation in each translation.

With regard to the fifth research question, van Dijk’s ideological model (1998) is used to address this research question by investigating the ideological in-group and out-group representation in the original Arabic corpus and the corpora of English translations. To assess whether there is a correlation between the prevalence of personal ideologies in the TTs, original
speeches are analysed to investigate the distribution of positive in-group and negative out-group representations. The same process is repeated with each English translation to account for any difference in the distribution of each representation that can be interpreted in terms of the impact of an individual translator’s ideology on the translated texts. The sixth research question assesses and evaluates the usefulness of the chosen theoretical and methodological frameworks in examining ideology in the original speeches and any instances of ideological manipulation in the translations.

1.4 The structure of the thesis

The thesis consists of seven chapters and is organised as follows:

This introductory Chapter provides an overview of the background, the focus of the research, the aims of the investigation and the research questions of the study.

Chapter 2 reviews academic research on ideology both in linguistics and translation studies. The academic bases of incorporating CDA and corpus technology to assist in detecting particular ideological stances are revisited. An essential theoretical justification is argued for in the employment of this mix in detecting ideologically charged linguistic structures, which would, on closer investigation, demonstrate differences between the ideological intent in the ST and its different translations.

Chapter 3 outlines the methodology chosen to investigate the research questions, including the procedures adopted in building the parallel corpora. It also describes how these corpora were gathered, the sources of the original speeches are given and the empirical study according to which the different translations were obtained is explained in detail. The analytical approach used to study each research question is then described, including both corpus-based and critical perspectives.

An analysis of ideological keywords extracted from the original Arabic corpus is provided in Chapter 4. The data are analysed to answer research question 1 in which a keywords list is first generated and a list of ideological keywords list isolated. The results of the ideological keywords analysis are discussed specifically in relation to collocation and semantic prosody referred to in 2.5.1. The analysis focuses on examining the collocation and concordance lines of the keywords in the original Arabic corpus.

In Chapter 5, the focus is on analysing instances of linguistic markers of ideology. A corpus-based analysis of the data is performed to seek answers to the research questions 2, 3 and 4
listed above. Throughout this chapter, a comparison is made between Arabic originals and their English translations. An attempt is made to account for the similarities and differences observed between the two sets of data. The analysis focuses on an investigation of variation in patterns of ideological markers between the original speeches and their translations.

Chapter 6 is dedicated to a critical analysis of instances of ideological in-group/out-group representations. The data are analysed critically to answer research question 5 outlined in Section 1.3. Throughout this chapter, van Dijk’s ideological model (1998) is adopted to account for the similarities and differences in the ideological representation observed amongst the STs and their different translations. The chapter then discusses the usefulness of combining methods associated with CL and CDA in the analysis of ideology and ideological manipulation.

Last, Chapter 7 constitutes the conclusion of the research and discusses the implications of the findings. The aims of the thesis are revisited and the limitations acknowledged. Further improvements and future research that can be conducted based on the present study are suggested.
Chapter Two
Conceptual and Methodological Frameworks

The present study focuses on investigating ideological manipulation via corpus tools and CDA. The following sections examine the role of ideology in the translation of political discourse as the conceptual framework that situates the work, anchors the research questions and guides the analysis of the study. The chapter also contains a description of both CDA and CL which compose the methodological framework.

2.1 Political discourse and political speeches after the Arab Spring

Politics and political discourse seem to have gained traction in research into translating political discourse conducted in recent decades. The literature on the translation of political discourse shows a variety of studies focusing mainly on political discourse produced in Western cultures. Snell-Hornby (1988; 1997) develops a more cultural approach through text analysis and translation. Newmark (1991) discusses a number of political and philosophical words and concepts that have wide connotations and associations; he explains that such words and concepts can easily be misinterpreted in translation unless there is an examination of the context in which they operate. Schäffner (1997; 2004; 2007) and Chilton (2004) have both outlined and systematically addressed main issues in the production of political language related to pragmatics, culture-specific terms and historical associations that could govern the meaning of political discourse. Schäffner views political discourse as instances of language use for political purposes which are determined by history and culture. Schäffner (1997) suggests that political discourse is part of a wider political context in which it appears to show a high degree of intertextuality (Schäffner, 1997, pp.119-120). According to her, political texts tend to possess culture-specific references such as to history, places and figures. She highlights that political texts are characterised by ideologically motivated linguistic choices and selections. Chilton (2004) sees political discourse as a particular type of language practice, and focuses on how language is used to exercise power.

To shift the attention from a visible Western influence when examining the translation of political texts, Baker (2006) and Hatim and Mason (1997) have made a positive addition by conducting studies that include examples related to the Arab-speaking regions of the Middle East and beyond. Hatim and Mason (1997), on the other hand, discuss the translation of
political discourse in relation to questions of ideology and the ways people construct meaning. They maintain that particular linguistic choices can serve as clues to uncover the ideology underlying a particular text (see Section 2.6). The present study seeks to contribute to the field of research on the translation of Arabic political texts by offering insights into how professional translators may behave and whether their own ideologies, as an invisible yet always present variable, can result in manipulated TTs.

The emergence of the Arab Spring as a political movement has stimulated prolific research and attracted the interest of scholars in sociology and other humanity fields in which extensive investigation began to be conducted. Scholars, such as Agrama (2012), Wheeldon (2012), Al-Zubaidi and Cassel (2013), Butler and Athanasiou (2013), Campell (2013), Dahlgren (2013), Kane (2013), Assaad (2014) and Ayoob (2014) among others, have studied this event from a socio-political perspective and attempt to offer insights into the nature of political Islam and democracy in the Middle East. Joyce (2012) proposes that the events of the Arab Spring need to be explored from a historical perspective. Her study focuses primarily on the events that took place in Bahrain in 2011. She examines the history of tension between Bahraini Sunnis and Shias and the international relations of Bahrain with Saudi Arabia, Iran, the United Kingdom and the United States. Talan (2014) calls for a more comprehensive study of the Arab Spring, demonstrating that the Arab Spring should now be placed into the broader context of recent changes in the global political economy. Examining the events from a different angle, Hudson, et al. (2014) analyse the communication environment that preceded the Arab Spring in 2010-2011.

In the fields of linguistics and/or translation, however, it could be said that little research into the study and analysis of political speeches produced after the Arab Spring has been conducted. Available studies seem to focus on the speeches made by ousted presidents in different locales where the Arab Spring was about to take a foothold. Lahlali (2011), for instance, addresses the topics and structures of the last three speeches by the former Egyptian President Mubarak and the former Tunisian President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali before they were stripped of power. He compares and contrasts the structure of these speeches and the discursive strategies these presidents adopted to address the revolutions that pervaded Tunisia in December 2010 and Egypt in January 2011. In other words, most of the existing research places undue emphasis on reactionary discourse appearing at the cusp of change, rather than on change itself.
The last three speeches of the ousted president of Tunisia are also analysed by Maalej (2012). This study can be characterised as a micro-level approach given the nature of the linguistic features examined. More specifically, he examines person deixis in the speeches from the perspectives of CDA as well as cognitive-pragmatics.

In a more recent study, Baker (2016) delineates the role of translation within the political economy of contemporary protest movements, using the Egyptian Revolution as a case in point. Her edited volume examines the role of translation in shaping protest dynamics adopting an interdisciplinary approach, namely by combining translation studies and studies on social media to examine the influence of translation on the evolving political atmosphere. The book draws on a range of genres that include documentary films and subtitling, oral narratives, street art and web comics. It attempts to unravel the lived experience of protests which Baker calls pre-figurative politics, borrowing a term that has been used in the field of politics and social sciences. As such, the study is valuable because it addresses the issue of socio-political change with a bottom--up approach - as in popular culture and self-expression platforms, often with the use of technology.

The present study draws on the conclusions and tenets of some of the above studies as it analyses the structures of the STs and their ability to interact with a local audience. However, this study diversifies in that it also focuses on the reproduction of the STs by different translators and makes use of multiple versions of the same texts to examine the impact of personal ideologies on the TTs and their ability to interact with global audiences. As such, the study can be described as a mini-version of the outward travel of messages from an area of great political interest and unrest into a global language that can be accessed by billions. Reflection on this ‘rewriting’ (Lefevere, 1992) potential in political discourse translation can then help draw some conclusions about individual approaches to sensitive or highly political texts.

On a more concrete level, the significance of the present study stems from the concrete reason or motive for communication (Nord, 1997) specific to contexts of the Arab Spring and those who wish to be informed about it. This motive resides in the intrinsically ideological and cultural implications associated with the development of the collective action known as the Arab Spring, a newsworthy and politically consequential development. In addition, the Arab Spring went hand in hand with the appearance of new political ideas, relations and activities;
political discourse has become a subject of increased interest. The shift from authoritarian discourse to attempts to produce a democratic one, in addition to the social and cultural context behind the production of the speeches, might result in important terminological confusion. For example, the employment of terms of religious and culturally specific connotation raises doubts about the translatability of these texts into other cultures with different concepts and values. Therefore, their translation into English represents a complex interesting material for analysis.

2.2 Political discourse and ideology
Ideology is an abstract notion that is notoriously hard to define. A number of researchers in translation studies and discourse analysis have presented their definitions of the term. Seen more broadly, ideology can be defined in various ways. Firstly, in a purely descriptive definition, ideology is defined as systems of thoughts, beliefs, or symbolic practices (Eagleton, 1991, p.2) proposed by a particular social class of a society to all other members as suggested in some Marxist and critical theory-accounts. Secondly, and from a more reflective, socio-critical aspect, it can be seen as a process of maintaining uneven relations of power and domination. Thirdly, in a social cognition dimension, ideology comes from “the taken-for-granted assumptions, beliefs and value systems which are shared collectively by social groups” (Simpson, 1993, p.5). The potential of achieving social cohesion is the central point of this last view of ideology.

Van Dijk’s (2002) understanding of the term goes beyond the frequently used sense of political doctrine to highlight a more inclusive term. He defines ideology as a system of beliefs, attitudes or knowledge (often referred to as social representations), which is based on the general norms and values of justice, equality, freedom, objectivity shared by members of particular social groups (van Dijk, 2002, p.17). Thus, it can be argued that his approach combines all three perspectives outlined above. It is evaluative, as norms and widespread ideas as to what is acceptable and unacceptable are based on value judgements; it is descriptive, because these beliefs, attitudes and knowledge can be observed directly or indirectly; and it is social, because it examines how these values are shared by social groups.

In linguistics, ideology is defined as an umbrella term covering “the ways, in which linguistic choices made by the writer or translator of a text, first, create a particular perspective on the events portrayed, second, may reflect the writer’s opinion and attitudes, and third, may be used
to influence readers’ opinions” (Puurtinen, 2003, p.53). Hatim and Mason (1990) further support the interrelatedness between language and ideology. They argued that ideologies can best be expressed via language and that “beyond the systematic linguistic choices we make, there is inevitably a prior classification of reality in ideological terms” (Hatim and Mason, 1990, p.161). Puurtinen’s definition of ideology is adopted in the present study to form the basis for the analysis of ideology in translation as this term is approached from a linguistic dimension.

2.3 Translation of political discourse and ideology

The last two decades have witnessed a number of studies focusing on the analysis and translation of political discourse. Schäffner (2004, p.118) claims that the analysis of political discourse from a translation perspective can assist in understanding that politics as information can be made available to TT recipients through translation. The response to particular information in the TT culture is actually the response to information conveyed by translation, something that is not always acknowledged (Schäffner, 2004, p.120). This can, arguably, be attributed to the (often) mechanical view of translation that laypeople have, as well as to the fact that political messages go through so many channels and institutions that their sources can often be obscured. Occasionally, and perhaps depending on prestige, power and cultural distance, these sources become totally irrelevant, as it is only the political action they convey and the function they serve that is important, rather than any idea of authorship.

As claimed by modern linguistics, meaning does not lie only in words, political discourse often contains a blend of political concepts specific to a cultural and political group, and the translation should take into consideration the socio-political and cultural background of that group. Political texts, among other genres, appear to be challenging for the translator both in the overt terminology used as well as in the stylistic subtleties inherent in it. Although, at first glance, they appear as any other texts, the particular ideologies underlying the lexicogrammatical structure and the message that the text intends to convey might not be as straightforward as they appear. The language of politics becomes increasingly complicated as the ideologies of political discourse producers are not always presented clearly. Van Dijk (1993, p.249) compares the text to “an iceberg of information” in which only the “tip” is expressed via verbal patterns which is why it would be useful to analyse the ideological implicitness underlying the production of a particular text. It has been suggested that the ethical implications of translating have been compounded by the fact that ideological certainties and
distinctions in modern politics are rather loose (Pym, 2001). The arguments concerning the influence of ideology on translation is also discussed by Schöffner (2003) who claims that all translations are ideological since “the choice of a source text and the use to which the subsequent target text is put are determined by the interests, aims, and objectives of social agents” (Schöffner, 2003, p.23). Thus, the entire cycle of a translation document, from selection (and treating other options as non-options) to managing and organising content are all affected by decisions of an ideological nature. For example, Woodsworth (1996) presents two instances of politically motivated translation in which she analyses the translation of a Quebecois play into Scots and the translation of an English children’s book into Romansch. Woodsworth (1996, p.213) maintains that translation is not only a means to communicate verbal messages, but rather a politically and ideologically motivated process to promote national identity.

Models and theories of analysing political discourse have been developed to account for the relation between linguistic structures of political discourse and their cultural and social contexts on the one hand as well as personal ideologies of discourse producers on the other.

The 1980s and 1990s witnessed a gradual move towards a more reflective type of investigation of textual ideologies and ideology in translation. This shift from a purely linguistic approach in the analysis of textual ideologies towards including the interpretation of language in a particular social situation, and explaining this response within the social and institutional structures has resulted in developing methods associated with CDA “whose primary aim is to expose the ideological forces that underlie communicative exchanges [like translating]” (Calzada-Pérez, 2003, p.2).

Indeed, CDA related methods have proved to be productive in the analysis of political translation. Scholars such as Schöffner (1997; 2003; 2004) and Hatim and Mason (1990; 1997) have attempted to apply methods of CDA to the analysis and translation of political discourse. According to CDA advocates translation, as a form of language use, is ideological. Schöffner (1997) calls for liberation from the conformity to text-typological conventions of the target community. She also directs much focus on the function of the TT in the target community and asserts that a number of “overarching functional and socio-cultural strategies of cross cultural communication” should moderate the linguistic perspective of translation manifested in the various text types and genres (Schöffner, 1997, p.122). For instance, violating syntactic norms in the translation of diplomatic discourse in multinational institutions is justified because of “the more important functions of referring practices in negotiation” (Schöffner, 1997, p.122).
The literature on the relationship between ideology and translation has demonstrated that the pervasive nature of ideology and the role of translation in disseminating it is not a newly introduced approach. Fawcett (1998, p.106) explains that “an ideological approach to translation can be found in some of the earliest examples of translation known to us”, and that “throughout the centuries, individuals and institutions applied their particular beliefs to the production of certain effects in translation” (Fawcett, 1998, p.107). Stressing the significance of ideology in translation, TS has motivated researchers to examine the ideological dimension in text and discourse. Since the 1980s, researchers have begun to revisit the relationships between language, power and ideology. Bassnett and Lefevere (1990) maintain that translation is a process that goes beyond what is in translators’ minds. Instead, they promoted a concept of translation as an activity constrained by institutional and aesthetic pressures or constraints present in a given culture. As a result, translation is always perspectival and internally or externally determined. Some scholars have gone so far as to argue that precisely because of this over-determination, translation is characterised by a mindset or habitus of dependence (Simeoni, 1998). A good example, which falls under the cultural turn represented by Bassnett and Lefevere, is the ideology surrounding the translation and dissemination of anthologies, an ideology based on perceived audience’ needs and the prestige of the source culture and language as well as widely circulating views on the target-culture and language (Simeoni, 1998, p.44).

The developments in studies on gender, ethnicity and postcolonial identity in the 1980s and 1990s have made a splash in historiography, anthropology and literary studies and have also built on the ideas ushered in by the cultural turn in translation studies. Translation has interacted with this reflective turn in the humanities, giving rise to theories on how STs are exploited during the process of translation for the target culture. Lefevere (1992) suggests that translation is a form of manipulation, an idea that he develops later into the concept of rewriting. In his discussion of Rewriting, Lefevere (1992) highlights the influence of ideology in translation. He holds that working on translation equals the process of rewriting in that texts are translated within an imposed ideological frame to ensure that they operate as required in the target culture. He views translation as “the most obviously recognizable type of rewriting” and as “the most influential because it is able to project the image of an author or those works beyond the boundaries of their culture of origin” (Lefevere, 1992, p.9). Lefevere interprets translational shifts as related to both “dominant aesthetic criteria and IDEOLOGY of the time” (Asimakoulas, 2009, p.241). He further stresses the role of ideology in the process of
translation by stating that during this process in any conflict between linguistic components of discourse and other components of an ideological nature, the latter wins.

As the principle concern of the present study is “ideology and translation”, it is necessary to relate the above argument to the role of ideology in translating Arabic political texts into English. Selim (2009, p.1) proposes that translation history and practices between East and West “are shaped by colonial hegemonies in the region and are directly related to the complex (and contested) process of nation-building and identity formation”. Translation is thus seen as “a more complex negotiation between two cultures” (Munday, 2009, p.179), in which the question of power relations should be central. East and West have two different cultures with different beliefs, value systems and ways of interpreting events around them. The historical relations between these two cultures have always been stamped by a struggle over power and domination. Consequently, the use of language in such a context cannot be viewed as neutral, but rather shaped by cultural and ideological assumptions (Abdulla, 1999, p.2).

Lying at such a complex intersection of social, political and historical interests and concerns, translation appears to face many unbridgeable cultural gaps even in cases where linguistic equivalence is easily maintained. The translator of Arabic political discourse might face several Arab cultural-specific issues and those called by Newmark (1991, p.149) “value laden” and “historically-conditioned” concepts that are not relevant to Western cultures. For instance, the translation of proper names and place names may be controversial; rendering الأراضي الفلسطينية المحتلة as the occupied Palestinian lands might not be welcomed for some Western administrations.

2.4 Instruments for the analysis of political discourse
As mentioned earlier in the Introduction, CDA and CL provide the methodological framework for the present study. The following sections review previous studies on CDA, corpus technology and the way they are incorporated to aid in detecting specific ideological stances.

2.4.1 Critical discourse analysis (CDA)
Before examining the definitions of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as well as its models, particularly those adopted in the present study, it seems necessary to explain the meaning of
discourse analysis (DA). DA is the study of meaning beyond the scope of a single sentence, but in text, paragraph and conversation and focuses on the way speakers construct meaning in larger communicative, rather than grammatical units (Stubbs, 1983, p.1). Halliday’s Systemic-Functional Linguistics (1978) has allowed DA to incorporate other disciplines such as sociolinguistics into the study of meaning, and to focus on the ways through which personal and social processes are embedded in the text.

As the name suggests, CDA denotes “discourse analysis with critical stances”, which concerns “real and often extended instances of social interaction that take a linguistic form or a partially linguistic form” (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997, p.258). CDA and its related methods aim to offer explanations and interpretations of social phenomena from a discourse perspective (Mautner, 2009). Initially, scholars introduced CDA to analyse the textual components in one language and one culture. According to critical discourse analysts, texts are usually produced according to certain beliefs or the ideology of an individual. This ideology underlying the organisation of a particular text might not be apparent from the analysis of the linguistic components only, i.e. full comprehension cannot be gained by analysing the surface structure of ideologically charged texts. As a result, there is a need to conduct an analysis that goes beyond the linguistic dimension to include the social, political, economic and cultural dimensions of a particular textual make up.

CDA involves a number of approaches that aim at analysing discourse critically, such as Chilton and Schäffner (1997), Foucault (1981), Fairclough (1992; 1995; 2000a; 2000b; 2001; 2003), Fairclough and Wodak (1997), van Dijk (1997; 1998; 2001; 2008; 2009; 2011) and Wodak and Meyer (2016). Although differing in theory, methodology and the type of research areas, these approaches share the views on the semiotic facet of power, inequality, and the analysis of how cultural, social, political and economic variations are presented and reproduced through discourse. The primary aim of these approaches is to uncover the relationship between language, ideology, power, values, opinions and society. According to Fairclough (1989), Wodak (1989) and van Dijk (1993), language from a CDA perspective is a social practice or a communicative event among participants. CDA is designed to uncover the polemic relation between language and its users, who are not normally aware of it. For van Dijk, CDA is mainly concerned with how discourse legitimizes, resists, or reproduces the interaction between inequality and power abuse among different social groups. Wodak, on the other hand, employs an historical approach in analysing discourse. Wodak and Meyer (2016), for instance,
emphasise that the historical context should be integrated in the analysis and interpretation of discourse.

In order to analyse discourse, ideology and power relations in a more observable socio-political context, a number of branches of knowledge, such as sociology, psychology and sociolinguistics, seem to have contributed to the scientific analysis of discourse in the last decades. Fairclough and Wodak (1997, pp.271-280) propose that the interest in CDA stems from the fact that it addresses social issues regarding power relations and the interpretation of non-linguistic elements underlying the composition of a particular discourse, such as those of ideology, history, society and culture.

As explained earlier, the analysis in the present study first adopts a corpus-based method to identify keywords in the original Arabic STs. The keywords extracted are further analysed using CDA related tools to isolate a list of ideological keywords (IKWs). Fairclough’s 1992 model is employed in the analysis of the way IKWs operate in both the STs and the TTS as it examines the relationship between text and its broader social context, first by a systematic analysis of linguistic components and syntactic structures, and then it links language to the wider social and political context (Wodak and Meyer, 2016). Van Dijk’s 1998 model is found useful in the critical analysis of data conducted in Chapter 6 because it relies on cognitive psychology and CDA to recognise the ideological and polarising structures of texts. It describes the interface between power relations and discourse structures, thus relating macro level and social cognitive understandings to micro level discourse.

i. Fairclough’s Model:

Norman Fairclough is one of the founders of CDA. His views are based on the argument that CDA is not merely related to the text, but should also encompass the analysis of the “relationship between texts, processes and social conditions, both the immediate conditions of the institutional context and the more remote conditions of social structure” (Fairclough, 1985, p.26).

In the early 1990s, Fairclough set his three-dimensional model Figure 2.1 to study the impact of power relations on both the content and form of discourse. He also attempted to explain how “discursive practices, events and texts” and how the “social and cultural structures, relations and processes arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over
power” as well as to examine “how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power” (Fairclough, 1995, p.133).

Fairclough’s model for CDA encompasses three inter-related components of analysis linked with the following three inter-related dimensions of discourse:

1. The object of analysis (i.e. verbal, visual or verbal and visual texts).
2. The processes through which the object is produced and received (writing/speaking/designing and reading/listening/viewing) by humans.
3. The socio-historical conditions that govern these processes.

Fairclough proposes that each of these dimensions requires a different kind of analysis:

1. Text analysis (description), i.e. the “social conditions of production and interpretation”, which refers to the social factors that result in the production of a text, and, at the same time the effect of these factors on text interpretation. This dimension focuses on the formal properties of the text.
2. Processing analysis (interpretation), which denotes the way in which a text is produced and how this affects interpretation. This dimension involves the way texts are created, distributed and interpreted, particularly in terms of how readers are guided towards a preferred reading.
3. Social analysis (explanation), i.e. the text as the product of the first two dimensions. The analysis of this dimension includes an examination of the ways in which discourse operates in a particular socio-cultural framework. As this dimension is concerned with issues of power and domination, it investigates the extent to which a text reproduces or upholds “hegemonic discursive or social practices” and the way it stands with regard to such dominating, conditions (Fairclough, 1992, p.73).
It can be said that this model highlights the changes of discourse in relation to social and cultural change. Fairclough hypothesizes that problems in social and political practices motivate discursive change. Depending on the nature of a particular social group, participants of the social practice usually tend to find suitable solutions for such problems either by creating new conventions or adapting existing ones, which contribute to the changing process of discursive events and consequently discourse practices.

Fairclough’s model is found useful for the present study because it examines whether lexical representation, syntactic organization and cohesion patterns of a text in a particular socio-cultural context embrace an ideology that affects the cognition of the audience. In other words, it examines how discourse producers propagate their own ideologies by means of particular linguistic structures (i.e. lexical selection and syntactic organisation) in a way that can effectively influence their audience’s minds.

ii. Van Dijk’s Model:

Van Dijk’s (1998) *ideological model* is characterized by connecting discourse, context and society. It emerged from Text Linguistics then developed to incorporate elements of the
psychological model of memory and the cognitive science theory of “frame”. Van Dijk views DA as an “analysis of ideology” (Isbuga-Erel, 2002, p.62). Throughout his works, van Dijk states that discourse is one of the most important social practices that can be influenced by ideology. The analysis of the discursive elements in texts makes it clear how these elements influence society and the way they can either be “reproduced” or “challenged” in society.

Van Dijk’s model relates macro level elements as stereotypes, reproducing ethnic prejudice and the elites abuse of power, and the resistance of the dominated groups to the micro-level i.e. the role played by elements of discourse so as to gain power (van Dijk, 2011, p.4). This constitutes a methodological framework to conduct a critical analysis of data and interpret the findings. Van Dijk’s model focuses on the ideology of “groups or other collectivities” (van Dijk, 1998, p.3). Van Dijk maintains that when conflicting group interests are involved, the group ideologies tend to be polarized in a way of Us vs. Them, where Us encompasses positive properties and Them encompasses negative ones (van Dijk, 1998, p.25).

This ideological polarization can manifest itself in discourse in a positive in-group (and their allies) representation, and a negative out-group (and their allies) representation. The discursive strategies adopted to realize this polarized representation are demonstrated in Figure 2.2.

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**Figure 2.2: Van Dijk’s ideological model 1998**
According to van Dijk’s ideological model, the positive in-group representation comprises the emphasis of the positive properties/actions of the in-group members and the mitigation of their negative properties/actions, whereas the out-group negative representation involves emphasising their negative properties/actions as well as the mitigation of their good properties/actions.

This type of research has great potential to explain collective action and mass communication; also, it can be highly relevant in contexts of contested identities and actions, as is the case of historical ruptures and revolutions. Corbett (1990) establishes that:

“(T)here is usually a resurgence of rhetoric during periods of social and political upheaval. Whenever the old order is passing away and the new order is marching – or stumbling – in, a loud, clear call goes up for the services of the person skilled in the use of spoken or written words. One needs only to hearken back to such historical events as the Renaissance in Italy, the Reformation in England, and the Revolution in America to find evidence of this desperate reliance in times of change or crisis, on the talents of those skilled in the persuasive arts”.

(Corbett, 1990, p.21)

Van Dijk’s ideological square model, in the first instance, is employed in the present study to analyse and account for particular ideological patterns that influence and mobilize audiences. It then analyses whether these ideological patterns are maintained or violated in English translations. Van Dijk’s model is chosen as it offers an ideal tool to recognise ideological polarisation in discourse. This model highlights how discourse could be influenced by ideology and whether dominating ideological discursive elements have been challenged or reproduced in translation (van Dijk, 2011, p.4).

2.4.2 Corpus linguistics (CL)

CL is defined as the study of language via wide computer-stored collections of texts collected in a corpus, for specific purposes and in a “principled way” (Johansson, 1995, p.19). Although the term corpus has been used for decades, it has acquired a more specific meaning with the emergence of CL (McCarthy and O’Keeffe, 2010, p.5). A corpus was traditionally understood as a body of written works that have a similar nature, e.g. a corpus of Arab poets. Nowadays the term corpus denotes any “collection of pieces of language text in electronic form, selected
according to external criteria to represent, as far as possible, a language or language variety as a source of data for linguistic research” (Sinclair, 2005).

Designing a corpus embraces shared features such as being representative of a language community “in the sense of reflecting all the possible parts of the intended language/variety/register” (Gries and Newman, 2013, p.264), in a machine-readable form, and suits the purposes of an intended investigation. The compilation of corpora according to particular standards makes them different from other collections of machine-readable texts such as archives and electronic libraries (McEnery, et al., 2006; Hunston, 2008; Gries, 2009).

According to Teubert (2010, p.25), the introduction of CL into the study of language shifts linguistics away from the humanities into the field of science. The introduction of corpus-based evidence into the study of language can provide a valuable complement to more traditional methods of investigation, help to sharpen intuitions and investigate the processes by which linguistically-specified (encoded) word meanings are used (Recanati, 2010; Wilson and Sperber, 2012).

Stubbs (2001, p.71) further comments on the importance of using corpus data as a complement to introspective evidence in the study of word meaning; he argues that “(i)n many areas of semantics and pragmatics, intuitions are strong and stable (…) and must be given the status of data”. CL has also proven helpful not only in researching translation practice and translation quality but also in detecting systematic semantic associations that cannot be seen by the naked eye (Stubbs 2001) and the ideologically-motivated use of frequent words (van Dijk, 2007). It can also help overcome some of the criticisms levelled against CDA, namely that it involves the study of only a few fragmentary texts, randomly selected (Koller and Mautner, 2004; Orpin, 2005; O’Keeffe, et al., 2007).

The employment of CL in TS has increased since the 1990s with a number of studies advocating corpus methodology to analyse both STs and TTs. Baker (1993; 1995) and Laviosa (1998) introduced this paradigm in TS to provide it with powerful analytical tools. Corpus translation studies began to be viewed as part of the shift from prescriptive approaches to TS towards descriptive and cultural ones (Tymoczko, 1998, p.652). Recent decades have witnessed recommendations by scholars and researchers in TS to incorporate the analysis of corpora in research on translation. Indeed, much research on TS has been conducted using CL.

The main critique against CL, however, is the allegation that corpus tools might not be able to provide an awareness of meaning. Stubbs (1996) refutes this allegation by proposing that “Firth’s notion of meaning as a function in context and more specifically the concept of collocation” can serve as a “connecting thread” between the modern use of corpora and traditional semantic analysis (Stubbs, 1996, p.35). McEnery and Hardie (2012) appear to be convincing in their proposition that any probable shortcomings in statistical significance tests can be attributed to the fact that language is not distributed at random and that “the variety of measures which may be used to determine significance is problematic” (McEnery and Hardie, 2012, p.127). Supporters of this use of statistical significance testing in language investigation also admit such shortcomings. Gries (2010, pp.274-275), for instance, states that “corpus linguistics is a distributional discipline but observed frequencies and all statistics based on them can in fact be very misleading”, and notes that “there is too large a number of dispersion measures and adjusted frequencies and no agreement on which measure is best” (Gries, 2010, p.275). What can arguably be said in this context is that there is no methodological framework that can be assessed as the “best” in analysing language, and the standards in choosing an investigation method depend on what suits the aims of the research. Methods associated with CL are employed by linguists and translation analysts as they can investigate and analyse the use of language in a more systematic way than using conventional text analysis.

Despite the trends promoting the use of corpora both in linguistics and in TS, it could be said that the employment of CL in the translation process remains poorly exploited in studies related to Arabic. Mansour (2013, p.82) comments on the lack of Arabic corpora that “although corpora are widely available for English, there is very little available for the Arabic language […] Throughout the Arab world we do not have one single corpus that we [Arabs] created ourselves”. The scarcity of Arabic corpora is surprising because despite the fact that Arabic is one of the United Nations’ six official languages (UN, 2016), and is officially the language of 22 countries, there is a notable lack in the number of corpora available for Arabic in comparison with the wide number of English corpora that have been designed since the 1960s.
The present study claims originality from its focus on Arabic, in an attempt to bridge a clear gap in corpus-based research on the analysis and the translation of political discourse. By adopting corpus methodology and compiling parallel corpora, the present study aims to contribute to the growing efforts to address this conspicuous gap.

2.4.3 The integration of CDA and CL related methods in the investigation of ideology

This section explains the theoretical bases of the present study in terms of employing CL and CDA in detecting and translating ideological issues. Partington, et al. (2013, p.10) define Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies as “that set of studies into the form and/or function of language as communicative discourse which incorporate the use of computerised corpora in their analyses”. The wider domain of linguistics witnesses a growing interest in employing CL to the critical analysis of discourse. According to Baker, et al. (2008), “(m)ore recently, it seems that use of CL techniques is becoming increasingly popular in critical approaches to discourse analysis” (Baker, et al., 2008, pp.274-275). The combination between methods associated with CL and CDA has been widely researched in the last decades. Scholars, such as Baker (2006; 2014), Baker and Egbert (2016), Baker and McEnery (2015), Hardt-Mautner (1995), Koller and Mautner (2004), O’Halloran and Coffin (2004) have demonstrated the utility of employing CL in CDA studies.

The present study is concordant with research on combining CL and CDA and the wider domain of linguistic research of ideological signification. More specifically, this study applies CL in DA to detect ideology and ideological manipulation in the translation of the speeches of the former Egyptian President Morsi. The basic advantages of such an application is that, as discussed in Flowerdew (2005), with rigorous research designs, CL related methods can be an effective tool for discourse and genre research. The innovation of CL software such as the Sketch Engine, among others, allows more accurate and quick elicitation of specific lexemes and phrases with their sentential contexts. Moreover, there are various major advantages of adopting corpus-based methods in discourse studies. These include minimizing research subjectivity and the improvement of revealing language patterns by processing large text collections (Baker, et al., 2008; Prentice and Hardie, 2009; Salama, 2011). In order to test the authenticity of this methodology, it seems essential to view first a number of linguistic studies that have led to employing this methodology here.
With the emergence of CDA, Foucault, Fairclough and van Dijk, among others, further investigated ideology. They propose that discursive lexical and grammatical choices are representative of “which meanings are repeatedly expressed in a discourse community” (Stubbs, 1996, p.158). Their opinions with regard to employing habitual patterns that “embody particular social values” could acquaint researchers with the social values encoded in linguistic patterns.

In their elaboration on collocation and semantic prosody, a number of scholars such as Sinclair, Louw and Stubbs have attempted to highlight the ideological dimension behind these linguistic structures. Semantic prosody is seen as the way collocations affect the positive or negative connotation of an utterance (Stubbs, 1996, p.173). According to Sinclair, “[m]any uses of words and phrases show a tendency to occur in a certain semantic environment. For example, the verb happen is associated with unpleasant things—accidents and the like” (Sinclair, 1991, p.112).

The emergence of corpus-based research has helped in the study and analysis of linguistic structures with ideological charge. If social values are encoded in the use of language, and if utterances habitually co-occur in a way that establishes semantic prosody, it should then be possible to analyse the co-occurrence of lexis in a text and be capable of reaching certain findings with regard to the ideological content encoded in them. The employment of computer technology in corpus-based research in analysing ideology is growing notably.

Fowler (1996, p.9) maintains that “(s)ignificance (ideology) cannot simply be read off the linguistic forms that description has identified in the text, because the same form (nominalization, for example) has different significances in different contexts”. This means that even if we are aware of which linguistic structures to investigate, there is still a need to examine their concordances to analyse the context. With frequent words, it could be time-consuming to isolate significant data from those that are not representative of a particular ideology. At least, detecting such constituents needs a more traditional method of analysis.

Fengyuan (2004) proposes various ways in which contexts assist in interpreting meaning. Firstly, context can disambiguate a phrase such as to run quickly from to run a bank. Secondly, it can identify the implicatures of a particular lexical item. For instance, I am travelling tomorrow may only be a statement, but when preceded by a question such as, are you going to attend the meeting? it can be regarded as an implication that the replying participant will not
attend, as she/he has to travel, although the words as such do not say this. Third, it can also assist in determining the illocutionary force of the word, as in the case between being sarcastic and making a simple statement (Fengyuan, 2004, p.35).

Conducting a number of studies on the ideology of discourse which employ CL related methods, (Baker, 2004; Baker and McEnery, 2005; Orpin, 2005; McEnery, 2006; Baker, et al., 2008) utilize a synergy between CL and CDA. Baker and Mcenery (2005) used a corpus of both newspaper articles and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) website to conduct a concordance and collocation analysis of the terms refugees and asylum seekers. The study found that people classified as refugees and asylum seekers are often portrayed as “Packages, invaders, pests or water” (Machin and Mayr, 2012, p. 216).

Baker, et al. (2008), advocate a combination of CDA and CL to detect the systematic semantic associations that reveal cultural keywords and ideologically biased use of frequent words. Based on the analysis of a 140-million-word corpus of newspaper articles for the ideological perspective of refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants and migrants (RASIM), Baker, et al. (2008) argue that qualitative analysis can be subject to the results of corpus-based analysis. Conversely, corpus-based findings can be analysed in terms of existing theories of CDA where it is maintained that where corpus-based analysis focuses on the use of particular linguistic structures, the CDA uncovers what is implied or suggested by this use. It is concluded that a corpus analysis complements the findings of CDA and expands it by uncovering the presence of positive minority views of RASIM (Baker, et al. 2008, p.296). In their attempt to highlight the significance of incorporating CL in CDA, Baker, et al. (2008) propose that CL can be exploited to “provide a general pattern map” of a massive quantity of data: firstly by providing insights into which words are at a disproportionate frequency in comparison with a general corpus; secondly, such keywords could be targeted for collocations which can offer extra information regarding the involvement of the producers; thirdly, concordances of interest can be carefully checked to attest the context of statement and the linguistic components employed.

Baker, et al. (2008, p.293) maintain that the combination of both CL and CDA methods proves useful in the analysis of ideology. By analysing a wider context of an excerpt from The Guardian’s report on Michael Howard, the (then) leader of the Conservative Party, the study finds that newspapers’ linguistic items relating to RASIM were often used to either support or criticize the government, especially during the elections.
The views on combining CL and CDA in the analysis of data is also supported by Zhang and Mihelj (2012). Zhang and Mihelj conducted a study to investigate the discursive portrayal of Hong Kong identity in the media, especially in terms of its independence from China. The study concluded that the level of sovereignty assigned to Hong Kong relies mostly on the type of media outlet ownership as well as the existence of trading imperatives. The study employed CL related tools to reach objective and systematic findings. For example, census data and geographical reports outlined the patterns of ethnic identity and migration that helped increasing or decreasing a level of interdependence between these two countries. Zhang and Mihelj (2012) further concluded that the findings of the corpus-based analysis demonstrated that the employment of certain linguistic structures in discourse is informed by a number of extra-textual factors that need to be analysed critically in order to investigate ideology and power relations underlying particular discursive practices.

Macgilchrist (2013, p.341) proposed that combining CL and CDA is found useful in examining the discursive practices related to the politics and presentation of race and identity. The methodology of combining methods related to CL and CDA was also used to analyse the concepts of anti-Semitism in political speeches (Wodak, 2014) and the framing of Muslims in print media (Baker et. al, 2012).

The findings of these studies suggest that much about power relations and conflicting ideologies embedded in the selection of particular discursive strategies can be revealed by combining methods and tools associated with CL and CDA.

One central debate with regard to the application of CL related methods to CDA is that CDA tends to be a qualitative research discipline which is not inherently connected with CL. Discourse analysts such as Fairclough (1995), Fairclough and Wodak (1997) and van Dijk (1988) have repeatedly emphasized the significance of data authenticity and contextual information about collected discourse material. In addition, many discourse and genre scholars have argued that CL methods are inappropriate for discourse studies due to the conflict between “bottom-up” and “top-down” processes of analysis. For instance, Swales (2002) points out that interpreting genre and discourse structures essentially requires a “top-down” process for interpreting macrostructures of texts, which makes many corpus linguistics methods (e.g. lexical/phrasal frequency and concordance) incompatible with genre and discourse studies due to their bottom-up processes of analysis and the lack of contextual considerations.
As mentioned earlier in this section, the present study is inspired by previous studies advocating a mixed approach of CL and CDA in the research on the interrelatedness of linguistic form and ideology in translation. It investigates what is ideologically salient in the speeches of the former Egyptian President Mohammed Morsi through the analysis of keywords. It then detects the manipulation of this ideology in the translations, employing mostly both corpus tools and the analytical toolkit of CDA. Corpus analysis is useful to identify the relatively high frequency words in the original Arabic corpus, whereas methods of CDA are employed to manually isolate the ones with ideological content.

Having reviewed the methodological framework of the present study and previous research using a synergy between CL and CDA related methods in the analysis of ideology in translation, the next section examines the investigation of ideology through keywords. It also addresses a number of structural features that are employed to manipulate ideology in the translations.

2.5 Identifying ideology through keywords

Much research in developing a methodology to identify ideology in language has been conducted. In the last decades, research into the examination of ideology through the identification of keywords has become very popular. The literature on keywords and ideology shows that the first approach to this issue was proposed by Firth (1969) who used the term focal words to denote “sociologically important words” (Firth, 1969, p.10). Along similar lines, Williams (1976) adopted the concept of focal words and used the term keywords for the first time in linguistic research. In his book *Keywords*, Williams (1976) attempted to characterise and challenge the ideology of the post-war years by examining central words in British culture. He chose a set of words that he considered had gained particular meanings in that period. Both Firth and Williams’s studies were based on intuition in the identification of keywords. However, they both maintain that it is possible to isolate words that demonstrate dominant cultural values from the remaining words used in a particular culture.

The research on the significance of employing keywords analysis in linguistic studies began to grow rapidly to include more methods in the analysis. In 1996, Stubbs introduced the idea of keywords to corpus linguistic research. He suggests that corpus tools can be employed to identify culturally significant words in a large corpus that represents the use of language in a culture. This method combined Firth’s concept of “sociologically important words” with a
corpus-based analysis. Stubbs (1996, p.196) establishes that “the study of recurrent wordings is of central importance in the study of language and ideology, and can provide empirical evidence on how the culture is expressed in lexical patterns”.

Stubbs’s approach to subject keywords to corpus-based analysis was adopted and further developed by Scott (1996) who developed and released the corpus linguistics software WordSmith Tools to identify keywords in texts beside many other usages. The application compares frequency lists, cross-tabulates the frequencies, and conducts statistical tests to identify keywords.

Fairclough’s research (2000b) seems to validate the contemporary views on the use of a corpus-based methodology in the analysis of keywords. Fairclough’s study compared a corpus of ‘New Labour’ (consisting of articles, documents, speeches and newspapers from the Blair era) with a corpus of older Labour texts to examine shifts in Labour’s ideological stance. The findings showed that Labour’s ideological stance had shifted towards emphasising competition and business interests. Keywords comparison revealed new Labour keywords including business, deal, deliver, new, partnership and promote.

Further research in this area may include Johnson, et al. (2003). In their research on investigating ideology by means of corpus tools, they analysed keywords in a corpus of British newspaper articles across a five-year period. The analysed articles contained keywords referring to the concept of political correctness. The results showed that keywords have differed over the five-year period as focus on political correctness shifted from issues related to minority identities and the media in 1994 to issues related to racism in 1999.

In the field of translation, the literature shows several publications documenting the benefits of using corpus-based methodology to investigate ideology in the TTs. Laviosa (2000) conducted research in which she analysed five semantically related words, European, Europe, European Union, Union and EU, in a corpus of translated newspaper articles taken from The Guardian and The European. These texts are incorporated in the Translational English Corpus (TEC) as one of its subcorpora. By conducting collocational analysis, Laviosa concluded that the image of Europe in the TTs is not “an aggressive or a conflictual or a particularly controversial one”, but an image of “a political reality whose activities, ideas and discussions... are reported on in a seemingly detached and objective manner” (Laviosa, 2000, p.172).
Kemppanen (2004) conducted more research in the field of investigating ideology in translation by means of corpus tools. Kemppanen’s study analysed the ideological potential of keywords in original and translated texts. The data consists of Finnish original texts and Russian-Finnish translations on Finnish political history. This study focuses on analysing the keyword ‘friendship’ in translation in “word lists, collocations, word clusters, compounds, and actantial structure of the texts” (Kemppanen, 2004, p.89). The findings revealed a variance between use of this keyword in the original texts and the translations, especially in the use of collocation and lexical patterns.

Based on the currently reviewed literature, it seems fair to suggest that most of the previous research on investigating ideology by means of corpus tools relied mainly on generating a statistical keywords list to be used in the analysis. The present study, by contrast, begins the analysis by generating a list of statistical keywords that characterise Morsi’s speeches by means of corpus tools. Models of CDA are then employed to isolate ideological ones. This reminds us of the Tognini-Bonelli (2001) distinction between corpus-driven and corpus-based analyses. Tognini-Bonelli (2001, pp. 65, 74) maintains that in corpus-driven research, the corpus should be analysed without any preconceptions, mainly by generating word lists or keyword lists rather than search terms as starting points in the analysis. In a corpus-based research, on the other hand, the corpus serves to provide evidence for pre-corpus hypotheses. In reality, the methodology of corpus analysis is not as polarized as proposed by Tognini-Bonelli; it is rather more a continuum, i.e. the analysis can depend both on generated keywords list as well as on other significant search terms that can be identified from a close examination of texts. The present study aims to position itself in the middle of this continuum since adopting one method might overlook other significant details of the data. For instance, the major drawback to adopting a corpus-driven methodology alone is its lack of ability to spot equally important search terms which are not displayed in the objectively generated word list or keywords list, either due to low frequency or even to the limitations of the extraction process settings. It partly employs the corpus tools to generate a keywords list as analytical starting points, and, it also analyses other search terms that are found significant in the composition of the original Arabic speeches. It is worth mentioning that the present study is not alone in using this mixed approach as it was previously adopted by McEnery and Gabrielatos:

As far as the role of theory in corpus linguistic research is concerned, it is more helpful to regard different approaches as falling between two end-points of a
continuum, rather than belonging to one of two polar extremes. At one end, the corpus is used to find evidence for or against a given theory, or one or more theoretical frameworks are taken for granted; at the other, the observed patterns in the corpus data are used as a basis from which to derive insights about language, independent of pre-existing theories and frameworks, with a view to developing a purely empirical theory.

McEnery and Gabrielatos (2006, p.36)

In practice, this means that examining one feature might require the investigation of another feature, i.e. the analysis of one search term generates a new search term.

Moreover, the present study is not limited to the investigation of what is salient in a cluster of texts. It rather examines how ideology as represented by keywords and other ideologically charged search terms are translated. It also detects ideological manipulation by carrying out concordance analysis to compare frequencies, collocational patterns, grammatical constructions and semantic representations to reach conclusions as to whether ideology is maintained, strengthened or manipulated in the translation.

2.6 Investigating ideological manipulation in translation through linguistic markers of ideology

For several years, much effort has been devoted to the study of the discursive power of ideology in the production of the TT. Scholars such as Álvarez and Vidal (1996) contend that there is a voluntary act behind the translator’s selections of additions, omissions and lexical choices as well as the way they are placed. Álvarez and Vidal maintain that translators’ lexical and syntactic processes are revealing about their history, socio-political setting, culture and ideology. The analysis of ideological manipulation through the investigation of lexical choices, transitivity and cohesion is also discussed by Hatim and Mason (1997). In their analysis of a text about the proud history of Mexicans, Hatim and Mason (1997) show that the English version of the text adopts a negative viewpoint as it downplays the role of indigenous people, and portrays them as less active. For example, “prolonged efforts becomes obstinate determination, indigenous man becomes pro-Columbian civilization and details of the indigenous peoples’ languages and cultures are omitted” (Hatim and Mason, 1997, pp.153-159). Similarly, Schäffner (2003) suggests that the ideological potential can be determined within a text, both at the lexical level (as reflected, for instance, in a particular choice or avoidance of certain lexical components) and, at the grammatical level, (as in the use of passive
structures to conceal agency). However, these ideological manifestations can vary across different texts, depending on the topic, the genre of the text, as well as its communicative purposes (Schäffner, 2003, p.23).

The views on the interrelatedness between ideology and translators linguistic choices is further supported by Munday (2007). By investigating examples of speeches, interviews and political writings of the Latin American leaders (Castro, Chávez and Marcos), the study analyses ideology and the way it is textually presented in translation (i.e. through the lexicogrammatical choices of the translators), particularly in times of political struggle when linguistic communication is central between different countries, such as “Cuba and Venezuela to their more powerful neighbour, the United States” (Munday, 2007, p.196). Munday maintains that, in translation, the translator’s own education, the media and culture determine her/his interpretation and linguistic preferences (Munday, 2007, p.199).

Inspired by the above-described studies that detect ideological manipulation in translation through examining linguistic choices, the present study adopts a mixed method of CL and CDA to investigate ideological manipulation in the translation of Arabic political speeches as represented in collocation and semantic prosody, modality, transitivity and lexical cohesion. The focus on these linguistic markers of ideology is because in the process of aligning the translations with their STs, it was realised that instances of manipulation, captured by the analysis, were revealed mostly through these markers. Other markers can further be investigated in future studies (see 7.2).

The following sub-sections review previous research on linguistic markers of ideology, and explain how these markers are adopted in the present study.

### 2.6.1 Collocation, semantic prosody and discourse prosody

The translator’s ideology might be reflected in their lexical choices. It is often the power of connotations associated with lexical items that gives the ST and the TT different shades of meaning to vary the ideology conveyed.

A number of scholars have formulated definitions for collocation. Firth (1957) is often quoted as the first linguist who offered a definition of collocation; he states that “you shall know a word by the company it keeps” (Firth, 1975, p.179). Collocation is defined by Baker (2006) as “the phenomenon that certain words often co-occur with each other” Baker (2006, p.96).
According to Clear (1993), collocation is “a recurrent co-occurrence of words” (Clear, 1993, p.277), whereas Kjellemer holds that collocation is “a sequence of words that occurs more than once in identical form” (Kjellemer, 1987, p.133).

Cruse (1986) presents a more comprehensive definition of collocation and develops criteria to differentiate between collocations and idioms. According to him, the term collocation denotes the “sequences of lexical items which habitually co-occur, but which are nonetheless fully transparent in the sense that each lexical constituent is also a semantic constituent” (Cruse, 1986, p.40), such as “fine weather”, “torrential rain”, “light drizzle” and “high winds”. Moreover, a collocation, according to Cruse, has a kind of “semantic cohesion” where the constituent components are equally selective. Cruse purports that “(t)he semantic integrity or cohesion of a collocation is the more marked if the meaning carried by one (or more) of its constituent elements is highly restricted contextually, and different from its meaning in more neutral contexts. (Cruse, 1986, p.40). For instance, the lexical item “heavy” in “a heavy drinker”, “a heavy smoker” and “heavy on petrol” requires narrowly defined contextual conditions, which requires the selection of the notion of “consumption” in the immediate environment.

As the present study is corpus-based, it adopts Sinclair’s (1991) definition of collocation as the frequent co-occurrence of two words within a predetermined span, usually four or five words on either side of the node. According to Sinclair (1991), collocates of the node can provide valuable information about semantic preferences attached to it. Adopting a comparable line, Baker, et al. (2008, p.278) propose that “the meaning attributes of a node’s collocates can provide a helpful sketch of the meaning/function of the node within the particular discourse”.

Sinclair (1991, pp.115-116) distinguishes between two types of collocates: upward collocates or grammatical collocations (which are pronouns, prepositions and conjunctions), for example the verb depend collocates with the preposition on not with of. The other type is the downward collocates or lexical collocations (which are represented by adjectives, nouns and verbs). Lexical collocations usually involve the collocation of a verb, which belongs to a closed class including highly frequent lexical items such as “do”, “make”, “take”, “get”, and “give. For

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2 In searching a corpus “[t]he data is usually presented in Key Word in Context format, in which the word to be studied, or “node”, is presented in the centre of the screen or page, with context on either side” (Deignan, 2005, p.79).
instance to make a claim, to do somebody a disservice, to give a sigh. Since the present study focuses on meaning, attention was directed to lexical collocates.

Semantic prosody refers to “a consistent aura of meaning with which a form is imbued by its collocates” (Louw, 1993, p.157). Semantic prosody, or what Stubbs (2001) calls discourse prosody, refers to relations between lexical items that involve evaluative meaning (Dam-Jensen and Zethsen, 2008), Morley and Partington, (2009), Stubbs (2001; 2009). Semantic prosody or discourse prosody is found to be ideologically over-loaded, subject to negative/positive judgment, and “extends over more than one unit in a linear string” Stubbs (2001, p.65), i.e. it seems concerned with investigating the node in wider stretches of the text.

Semantic prosody may help in providing evidence about the pragmatic realization of a word in discourse (Sinclair, 1991). This means that a TT might create an impression of different ideologies if the semantic prosody is altered. Baker, et al. (2008) suggest that discourse prosody “makes it explicit that collocates need not be adjacent to the node for their meaning to influence that of the node” (Baker, et al., 2008, p.278). Based on these two arguments, both adjacent and non-adjacent collocations were examined in the sorted concordances in the present analysis.

The analysis in the present study follows Stubbs (2001) and Baker, et al. (2008) in their ideas of collocational span and discourse prosody. It aims at analysing semantic prosody and collocational behaviour in the original Arabic speeches then comparing it with the English translations in a way that examines both adjacent and non-adjacent collocations to detect the ideological content of a given node.

2.6.2 Modality

Modality is another discourse feature that serves as a vehicle for ideological meaning. From a linguistic perspective, the term modality refers to the syntactic structures characterised by the occurrence of modal auxiliary verbs such as may, might, shall, should, will, would, can, could, ought and must. Within CDA, modality goes beyond the occurrence of modal auxiliaries to denote the writers’/speakers’ confidence in or attitude toward a proposition.

Fowler (1985) maintains that modality can be expressed through certain types of main verbs, and through adverbs, adjectives and certain nominalizations.
Modality is signified in a range of linguistic forms: centrally, the modal auxiliary verbs may, shall, must, need, and others; sentence adverbs such as probably, certainly, regrettable; adjectives such as necessary, unfortunate, certain. Some verbs, and many nominalizations, are essentially modal: permit, predict, prove; obligation, likelihood, desirability, authority.

(Fowler, 1985, p.73)

The present study investigates the way a change in modality through the process of translation can serve an ideological stance. Following Fowler (1985), the notion of modality is understood here simply as attitude or comment, which, by definition, refers to the source of the text, and is expressed in the linguistic stance the author/translator takes either explicitly or implicitly. According to Simpson (1993), it is the epistemic modality, which appears as the most prominent feature in detecting ideology. Epistemic modality refers to the writer’s trust or mistrust in the reliability of the uttered statement (Simpson, 1993). In this respect, translation becomes a process that requires accuracy in the analysis and the reproduction of meanings. Otherwise, the translation can result in a TT that is at variance, or possibly takes a radically different ideological position from that of the ST. For instance, translating a definitive such as will into it is possible, would result in a drastic change in the level of certainty. When this particular example is analysed in the context of other shifts introduced to the TT, it could reveal the translator’s mistrust in the truth of the proposed issue or alternatively, her/his intention to create such an impression on the target audience; similarly, a highly appreciative item such as remarkable if rendered into efficient, a form which implies adequacy or acceptability rather than esteem. Analysing such shifts in the level of modality in translation can provide a clearer assessment of the ideology underlying the TT and consequently of the translator.

2.6.3 Transitivity

The ideological implication of a text could also be reflected in the transitivity patterns. The term transitivity denotes how meaning is delineated in a clause. Choices made within the system of transitivity represent text producers’ points of view. Since transitivity is concerned with the portrayal of the mental image a writer possesses of the world, it comprises the conveyance of ideas and thus fits in to the ideational function (Halliday, 1985). For Halliday:

[T]ransitivity is the set of options whereby the speaker encodes his experience of the process of the external world, and of the internal world of his own consciousness, together with the participants in these processes and their attendant circumstances (...).

Halliday (1973, p.134)
Consequently, transitivity concentrates on the way text producers symbolize who is the agent (who acts) and who is acted upon. Being part of the ideational function, transitivity conveys the writer’s view of the world.

Transitivity denotes three primary elements that exist in a clause. The first one is the process (the semantic nucleus of the clause), which consists of either an obligatory verb or an adjective; it constitutes the event portrayed in the clause. This process is combined with either a noun, nouns, or noun phrases that refer to the participants in the event. The process could also be associated with one or more circumstances. With regard to the participants, who does the action is often called the agent, and the objects or persons acted upon are usually referred to as the affected participants, or patients. The third element in the transitivity system are the circumstances, the expressions that indicate the time, place or manner of the event described in the clause (Fowler, 1991, pp.73-76).

Halliday distinguishes between different categories of the processes conveyed by transitivity. He divides them according to what they refer to: actions are usually described as material processes; speech as verbal process; states of mind as mental processes; and states of being are called relational processes (Simpson, 1993).

Writers/ translators can choose between the various processes and participants, and between which of these participants act or are acted upon when conveying the events that go on around and within them in texts; the choices made are reflected in the syntactic structures of the text. According to Mills (1995, p.143), analysing transitivity choices “is primarily concerned with the roles of human participants”. The basic claim offered by transitivity is that any text could have been composed differently, and these different versions would have represented different points of view. A process could be portrayed linguistically in various strategies; each one signifies a different way of seeing. Within the frame of CDA, a number of scholars have viewed transitivity as a feature that exposes the relation between language and ideology, and which meanings are foregrounded, backgrounded or even not included in discourse (Fowler, 1991; Fairclough, 1992; Simpson, 1993; Halmari, 1999). The aim of the study of transitivity is to assess which ideological, cultural, political, or theoretical dimensions have affected the way a process is communicated in a particular discourse (Fairclough, 1992). One of the major concerns in the analysis of transitivity is whether agency, causality and responsibility are concealed in discourse.
An important part of the transitivity system of language is passivisation. This syntactic transformation is claimed to have a strong effect on the way we perceive events and actions (e.g., Fairclough, 1989; Fowler, 1991). Passive sentences can be a potent neutralising (or mystifying) way of representing processes, participants and actions, in a way that responsibility for actions as well as causal relations can be hidden (Puurtinen, 2000).\(^3\) For example, the translation of the sentence \textit{he assaulted a police officer} requires an identification of who was doing the assaulting, i.e. the agent. Fowler (1991) explains that in such contexts the choice of noun over verb or a passive over active is often ideologically charged.

\subsection*{2.6.4 Lexical cohesion}

Lexical cohesion is another discourse feature that is believed to have the power to modify the ideology of the text. According to Halliday and Hasan (1976) any meaningful text involves a semantically and logically connected body of ideas characterised as having the property of “cohesion”. Cohesion is maintained through grammar, such as in the use of conjunctions or pronouns. It can also be created via the employment of lexical items with related meaning known as “lexical cohesion”. Examine the following example:

In May, police raided the union’s headquarters in the capital, arresting two opposition journalists. The two had sought shelter in the building from arrest warrants. They are accused of inciting protests against a decision by the Egyptian authorities to hand over two islands in the Red Sea to Saudi Arabia.

(www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-17258397 retrieved on 19th November 2016)

In the above example, cohesion is maintained, among other devices, via the employment of multiple words drawn from the same semantic field, such as \textit{police/ raided/ arresting/ sought shelter/ arrest warrants/ accused/ inciting protests}.

Lexical cohesion provides guidance to the way ideas in a text are organised. After detecting sets of words with related meanings, it would be possible to infer which semantic fields are used, as well as the patterns of their use.

\(^3\) From a translation perspective, transitivity patterns are incongruent among individual languages. Structural differences can cause that the rules and conventions for the usage of the active and the passive voice are not identical in the SL and TL. In the present study, differences in transitivity patterns between Arabic and English can affect not only the form, but also the function and stylistic value of the TT, which results in a difference in the frequency of the use of the passive voice in the two languages.
Hatim and Mason (1997) underline the manipulative potential of lexical cohesion providing abundant exemplifications of, for example, varying lexicalisation, which, in Halliday and Hasan’s (1976) terms, would mean substituting reiteration in the form of identical/partial repetition with reiteration in the form of paraphrase.

Repetition is also one of the easiest types of lexical cohesion to identify. The semantic prosody associated with the repeated word or phraseology, i.e. the good or bad associations might not be exhausted with a particular lexical item but spread over the surrounding co-text.

2.7 Concluding remarks

This chapter reviewed studies on the analysis of political discourse. It also highlighted the role played by ideology in the formation and the translation of political discourse. The chapter highlighted a gap in the research on the translation of political discourse after the Arab Spring. Political discourse and political speeches after the Arab Spring are not thoroughly investigated from the perspectives of linguistics and translation. Moreover, ideology in political discourse and its role for a clearer communication especially after the events of the Arab Spring requires further analysis.

The chapter explained that the development in computer technology has enabled researchers to examine large amounts of data in a relatively short period. CL has facilitated the detailed analysis of texts and made it possible for researchers to ground their observations on relatively objective data and not to depend merely on their innate realization of the language. Reviews of available Arabic corpora and parallel corpora in which Arabic is involved are very limited in number in comparison to English corpora.

The chapter showed that CDA has pushed issues such as philosophy, politics and literary criticism into the field of linguistics, particularly in the research on ideology and in instances where ideology is not plainly communicated, but rather enclosed, hidden and managed.

The chapter revised previous research on using a mixed approach of CL and CDA to gain insights into subtle ideological patterns, whether directly communicated, or conveyed by the author’s perpetual patterns of thought, manifested through her/his employment of certain linguistic patterning.
Chapter Three

Methodological Approach

As stated in Chapter one, the present study aims to describe systematically the ways in which English translations can transfer, strengthen, or manipulate the ideology underlying the speeches of the former Egyptian President Morsi. The primary objective is to detect the reflection of the translators’ own ideologies in the production of TTs. The original Arabic speeches and their five English translations were compiled into five parallel corpora designed according to the same specifications and criteria, each made up of a corpus of original Arabic texts aligned with a different English translation.

This chapter presents the methodology adopted and is divided into five sections. Section 3.1 delineates the research design. Section 3.2 provides a description of the process of collecting data. Section 3.3 discusses the decisions taken regarding the methodology of the corpus-based analysis of data; these include corpus compilation, the alignment of STs with their corresponding TTs, and a description of the decisions about how to analyse ideology. Section 3.4 is dedicated to critical discourse analysis of data and the evaluation of the chosen theoretical and methodological frameworks. Section 3.5 summarizes the conclusions of the chapter.

3.1 Research design

In order to delineate the research design and method in this study, there is a need to review the research aims and questions (proposed in Chapter 1) as they represent the guidelines on which the research design is based.

The overarching aim of the present study is to describe systematically the instruments by means of which translations can transfer, reinforce, or manipulate the ideology of the STs to their receivers. The thesis also aims to investigate, through the inspection of ideological keywords (IKWs) and meanings, whether personal ideologies are evident in the TTs. It also aims to ascertain whether lexical choices and grammatical patterns employed in the TTs result in a certain degree of manipulation of the ideological content of the STs.

The thesis seeks answers for specific research questions (see 3.3 and 3.4) that might help to unveil and explain the differences and similarities between Arabic original speeches and their
English translations with regard to the ideology underlying each one of them. The questions centre on ideology in the original speeches by finding what is ideologically salient in the STs in the first place. It also addresses questions with regard to ideological manipulation in the translations. It seeks to find instances of ideological manipulation, and measure the extent of manipulation found in the translations. Finally, as van Dijk’s (1998) in-group/out-group ideological polarization is a characteristic in the composition of the original speeches, the study seeks to answer whether the TTs follow the same ideological postulate of the STs.

3.2 Data collection

The data used in the present study consisted of 20 speeches produced by the former Egyptian President Muhammad Morsi, written originally in Arabic, and their English translations by five translators. Section 3.2.1 describes in detail the sources of both the original Arabic speeches as well as their translations.

3.2.1 Data sources

The original Arabic corpus (24,597 words), contains 20 out of 32 speeches delivered by the former Egyptian president Morsi during his one-year tenure (24 June 2012- 3 July 2013). The study confines itself to Morsi’s speeches in which he tackled domestic policy. Although separating domestic from foreign policy may not seem an easy task, and it is beyond question that lines of separation between both are artificial, the study is limited to speeches delivered by Morsi inside Egypt, and at local Egyptian events and occasions. These speeches were chosen as they were directed to the nation and thus were expected to be more powerful in expressing Morsi’s vision of the future of Egypt and the Egyptians, and are not only a comment during international occasions, but are themselves momentous. Moreover, the ideological patterns that can influence people’s minds were expected to be practiced heavily in local speeches, and therefore were thought to be more influential in inspiring supporters while easing the worries of the doubters.
Table 3.1 shows the bibliographic details of the 20 speeches collected to build up the original Arabic corpus; dates of delivery, the events in which they are delivered, the websites where they are retrieved, and the date of retrieval.¹

¹ The publicly available list of the 32 speeches that Morsi produced in his one-year tenor are included in Appendix I.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Date Delivered</th>
<th>Link to Speech</th>
<th>Retrieved on</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Morsi's speech after announcing his party’s winning of the elections</td>
<td>17-6-2012</td>
<td><a href="http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=unNBtABapMU">www.youtube.com/watch?v=unNBtABapMU</a></td>
<td>4-4-2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morsi's speech in Al-Tahrir Square on the occasion of assuming power</td>
<td>29-6-2012</td>
<td><a href="http://www.france24.com/.../20120630-4BtABapMU">www.france24.com/.../20120630-4BtABapMU</a></td>
<td>15-4-2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morsi's speech to the Egyptian Nation</td>
<td>24-6-2012</td>
<td>alaam250.blogspot.com/2012/06/blog-spot-3673.html</td>
<td>14-3-2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morsi's speech at the University of Cairo</td>
<td>30-6-2012</td>
<td>gate.ahram.org.eg</td>
<td>11-4-2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morsi’s speech during the graduation ceremony of a new class of the Military Academy</td>
<td>17-7-2012</td>
<td><a href="http://www.masrawy.com/tahirnews/242415">www.masrawy.com/tahirnews/242415</a></td>
<td>5-4-2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morsi's speech on the celebration of the Revolution of 23 of July</td>
<td>22-7-2012</td>
<td><a href="http://www.nmisr.com">www.nmisr.com</a></td>
<td>19-4-2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morsi's speech in Eid AlFitr</td>
<td>16-8-2012</td>
<td><a href="http://www.onaeg.com/?p=249002">www.onaeg.com/?p=249002</a></td>
<td>5-4-2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morsi's speech at Cairo Stadium in commemoration of October victories</td>
<td>6-10-2012</td>
<td><a href="http://www.akhbarak.net/news/2012/10/06/.../9768548">www.akhbarak.net/news/2012/10/06/.../9768548</a></td>
<td>3-4-2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morsi's speech after receiving the draft of the constitution</td>
<td>1-12-2012</td>
<td><a href="http://www.rassd.com/1-50487.htm">www.rassd.com/1-50487.htm</a></td>
<td>5-4-2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morsi's speech after the events of Al-Ethadyyah Palace</td>
<td>6-12-2012</td>
<td><a href="http://www.masreat.com">www.masreat.com</a></td>
<td>27-10-2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morsi's speech on the occasion of the approval of the Constitution</td>
<td>27-12-2012</td>
<td><a href="http://www.akhbarak.net/.../10685585">www.akhbarak.net/.../10685585</a></td>
<td>25-10-2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morsi's speech on the Canal events</td>
<td>27-1-2013</td>
<td><a href="http://www.nakshaat.com/xf/threads/26084">www.nakshaat.com/xf/threads/26084</a></td>
<td>27-4-2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morsi's speech at the engineer’s day</td>
<td>30-3-2013</td>
<td><a href="http://www.trakhes.com/tra/showthread.php?t=74758">www.trakhes.com/tra/showthread.php?t=74758</a></td>
<td>14-3-2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morsi's speech at the workers’ day</td>
<td>3-4-2013</td>
<td><a href="http://www.ikhwanonline.com/Arabic.aspx?ArtID=147943">www.ikhwanonline.com/Arabic.aspx?ArtID=147943</a></td>
<td>31-3-2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morsi’s speech before the Board of Trustees of the Bibliotheca of Alexandrina</td>
<td>31-4-2013</td>
<td><a href="http://www.elsaba7.com/NewsDtl.aspx?id=120675">www.elsaba7.com/NewsDtl.aspx?id=120675</a></td>
<td>12-3-2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morsi’s speech to the leaders and soldiers of the armed forces</td>
<td>22-5-2013</td>
<td>gate.ahram.org.eg</td>
<td>22-5-2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morsi's speech at the conference of ensuring Egypt's water security</td>
<td>10-6-2013</td>
<td><a href="http://www.akhbarak.net/news/2013/06/10/2728960">www.akhbarak.net/news/2013/06/10/2728960</a></td>
<td>7-4-2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morsi’s last speech before being overthrown</td>
<td>3-7-2013</td>
<td><a href="http://www.masrawy.com/news/egypt/.../5665014.aspx?ref">www.masrawy.com/news/egypt/.../5665014.aspx?ref</a>...</td>
<td>25-10-2013</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.1: Bibliographic details of the speeches collected for building the original Arabic corpus
The speeches collected to be compiled in the original Arabic corpus were all published on the internet. Some of the texts were written and in some other cases were transcribed from spoken originals. The transcribed texts were provided together with the spoken original on the same website and the transcriptions were checked against the audio by the researcher to ensure that they matched the original audio. A spell check was run and misspellings were eliminated. It should be mentioned that although fixing misspellings was carried out after submitting texts to the translators, these misspellings did not affect the product of translation, as the translators were all native speakers of Arabic and were able to recognise such mistakes.

It is worthy of note that the transcriptions were rough, in the sense that they cannot painstakingly present some paralinguistic and other prosodic features such as pauses, tempo of delivery and voice pitch (which may, for instance, be used to foreground content or to afford specific words with additional layers of meaning, such as evoked/affective meaning). The transcriptions were the starting point for translators who were not asked to examine the actual video of the speeches. This means that they may have missed paralinguistic features or other cues of ideology, and that some strategies adopted by translators might be related to this transfer: repeating ideologically loaded words and phrases, for instance, might compensate for particular emphasis placed on a particular concept by the speaker when delivering the original.

The STs were digitized such that photos, headers, links, comments by readers and any other extralinguistic features that are clearly separate from the main body of the text were removed by the researcher before submitting these texts to the translators as they are not contextual to the speeches or related to the aims of the study. The translated texts were all received in electronic versions via e-mail and were saved in separate text files in each corpus. In order to obtain machine-readable data, STs as well as TTs were converted from their original formats into plain text, thus stripping them of all non-textual elements.

3.2.2 Participants

The translations were produced by five translators (2 women and 3 men), two of whom live and work in Baghdad, while the other three live and work in Dubai. Two translators are known to the researcher5 whereas the other three translations were done in cooperation with the translation agency of Mubarak Obeid for Typing and Legal Translation in Dubai in which the

5 Working together as university lecturers in Baghdad.
translators were paid for their work. There were several reasons/criteria behind the selection of the translators to translate the original speeches. Firstly, the aim of the researcher was to find translators who are skilled enough to translate the STs as effectively as possible, and with as few linguistic infelicities in the translation as possible. Secondly, the researcher sought to find translators who work on political translation and are thus well acquainted with the challenges of translating political texts. The third objective was to find translators who could work on these translations alone and meet a limited deadline. The last aim was to find translators who support differing views of the idea of political Islam. The translation agency of Mubarak Obeid for Typing and Legal Translation provided the researcher with a list of e-mail addresses of qualified translators. A request describing the translation task was circulated via e-mail to 6 translators. Within a time span of 10 days, 3 translators replied positively to express their interest in doing the translations. The other 3 politely declined because of their engagement with other projects. The remaining 2 translators were known to the researcher, reaching the total number of 5 translators. All chosen participants requested anonymity either for political or personal reasons, so that it was agreed to call them (Tr.1, Tr.2, Tr.3, Tr.4 and Tr.5). Demographic details about the translators were obtained by requesting them to be provided with the translations, and are presented in Table 3.2.

Regarding the demographic make-up of the group of participants, it is worth mentioning that the translators had been translating (as their main occupation) for 4 to 28 years with ages ranging from 28 to 56 years. The translators in Baghdad were active both in academia (university lecturers) and in the private translation market. Three of the translators were working mainly in the private translation market, while two of them worked in both. Four translators were of Arab origin and had Arabic as their native language (one is bilingual in Arabic and Syriac); whereas the fifth was Kurdish (Kurdish as his first language, Arabic his second and English his third). Although the translators are translating from their native languages into English, it did not affect the product of translation because, in the Arab world, translation degree programs teach translators to translate into and from their native language. In addition, the job market requires them to translate in both directions.

With regard to the academic qualifications, three of the translators had a Master’s degree in translation and interpretation; two had a PhD. degree in translation studies, all at university-level institutions. Due to the translators’ academic qualifications and/or their years of
experience (provided in Table 3.2), the researcher assumed that their proficiency in English was high.

Furthermore, the translators were told that the translations were for academic research and not for publication. They were asked to translate the speeches without being aware of what aspect would be evaluated so as not to affect the validity of the research or affect their attitudes or ideologies toward translating these texts. According to Watt and van den Berg (2002, p.275), “awareness can produce sensitization to the experimental manipulation, enhanced memory effects, reactivity to the research setting, and a host of other artificial effects which will obscure true relationships”. The translated texts were reviewed and checked by the researcher in terms of the ideological affections.

Finally, the translators were asked if they were willing to provide information with regard to their religion and their support of “Political Islam”. All translators provided the researcher with the required information. As presented in Table 3.2, only one translator was Christian, the other four translators were Muslims. One translator showed his support of “Political Islam”, whereas the other four indicated their belief that Islam should be separated from politics. It should be mentioned in this context that standard ethical procedures were followed. As explained above, full consent from the participants was obtained prior to the translation, and protection of their privacy and anonymity was confirmed by the researcher. An online self-assessment form provided by the Head of the Ethics Committee at the Faculty of Arts and Human Sciences at the University of Surrey was completed by the researcher to maintain Ethics clearance. Given the nature of the project, no harm or distress to any of the participants was anticipated and the researcher kept vigilant for signs of discomfort or distress. Moreover, as Table 3.2 demonstrates, the participants are professional translators expected to be able to deal with any texts submitted to them. Finally, the researcher has kept all data and personal information confidential in compliance with the data retention rules of the University of Surrey. Table 3.2 presents key details of translators’ background.
The translations were divided into five different collections of TTs:

1. A collection of (24,451 words) produced by the first translator (Tr. 1).
2. A collection of (26,857 words) produced by the second translator (Tr. 2).
3. A collection of (26,320 words) produced by the third translator (Tr. 3).
4. A collection of (26,165 words) produced by the fourth translator (Tr. 4).
5. A collection of (24,196 words) produced by the fifth translator (Tr. 5).

### 3.3 Data preparation

This section describes in detail the steps taken in building up the parallel corpora. The procedures of corpus compilation are described in 3.3.1. The alignment is presented in 3.3.2.

#### 3.3.1 Corpus compilation

Following collection, the texts and their translations were incorporated into a database. As mentioned in 3.2.1, the STs and the electronic versions of the translations received in word form were converted into .TXT format. The next step was to select the appropriate software programmes for compiling the parallel corpora; for this, the Sketch Engine Corpus Query
System by Kilgarriff, et al. (2004) was chosen from a number of concordancers such as the ParaConc (Barlow, 1995), the WordSmith Tools (Scott, 1996) and the AntConc (Anthony, 2011). The Sketch Engine allowed uploading aligned .TMX files to create searchable parallel corpora, compile frequency lists and generate concordances and collocation data. There were several reasons for the choice of the Sketch Engine. Generally, the website is user friendly, easy and fast to use. Besides, the display of the node (or the Key Word in Context KWIC, see 2.5.1) is rapid where the node is centralised and the co-text is to the left and right of the node. In addition, the concordance lines can be seen in a wider context, i.e. full sentence or even full paragraph. Finally, the Sketch Engine covers a wide number of languages including the language pair, Arabic and English.

3.3.2 Alignment

SDL Trados WinAlign 2014, the computer assisted translation tool, was used to do the alignment. The corpora were aligned at the sentence level and the basic unit of alignment was the ST sentence (STS). The alignment followed the alignment of the COMPARA corpus (Frankenberg-Garcia and Santos, 2003). This model ensures corresponding sentence pairs between the ST and its translations, i.e. even if there was no sentence-to-sentence match between the ST and the TT, sentences in the translated material (TTS) were either divided or joined with the next sentence (or even part of it) using the merge and split alignment function. This ensured that there was a sentence-to-sentence correspondence between the ST and the TT (Frankenberg-Garcia, 2009, p.60). If any TTS was added with no corresponding STS, it was fitted into the adjacent preceding alignment unit. Conversely, if at any point the translator resorted to translation by omission and an STS appeared without a corresponding TTS, it was often aligned with a blank unit. This proposes that the alignment was directional and it was always from STS to TTS. The alignment was firstly done automatically, then manually edited to cope with the alignment criteria explained above. Finally, the aligned texts were saved in .TMX format.

This alignment method offers an advantage of multiple alignments, i.e. if the ST alignment unit is kept constant, and whatever text matches the translation, it is possible to compare multiple translations using the ST as a common denominator. Therefore, the same alignment procedure

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6 www.sketchengine.co.uk/
was carried out for all the translations with the STS being the basic alignment unit for several translations.

As mentioned in 3.3.1, the concordancer Sketch Engine was used to search, retrieve and count (co)occurrences and discourse stretches to be compared with the equivalent items in the parallel corpora. The Concordance line showed the word or phrase being investigated, i.e. the node with its lexical context.

The obtained data were used to build five parallel corpora. General as well as specific criteria were adopted in the planning of these corpora. The general classification criteria adopted in compiling corpora for the present study were derived from earlier discussions in the field (Baker, 1995; Frankenberg-Garcia, 2009; Johansson, 2007; Olohan, 2004). The corpora themselves were modelled on Frankenberg-Garcia’s (2009) structure of a unidirectional parallel corpus as shown in Figure 3.2.

![Figure 3.1: Frankenberg-Garcia’s (2009) structure of a unidirectional parallel corpus in TS](image)

The criteria adopted in the compilation of the corpora used in the present study are summarized in Table 3.3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>General Criteria of Corpus Design</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of languages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Languages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Directionality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type of Relation between Texts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject Area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mode</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temporal Restriction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genre</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.3: Criteria of corpus design for the present study
In Table 3.3, the category *number of languages* refers to the classification of the corpora as *bilingual*, in which two languages were involved, Arabic and English.

The category *directionality* refers to the direction of the translation of the texts comprising the corpus (Zanettin, 2000, p.106). For instance, in a corpus made up of STs written in L1 and their respective TTs in L2, the direction of the translations functions in only one direction and is, thus, called a unidirectional corpus. However, if a corpus is composed of STs written in L1 and their translations are in L2 plus STs in L2 and their translations in L1, it is called bidirectional. Corpora are multidirectional when they are composed of more than two languages and their translation direction is not centred on the interaction among all the languages involved in the corpus and not on L1 (Frankenberg-Garcia, 2009; Johansson, 2007). The present corpora were, therefore, *unidirectional* as they were composed of STs in Arabic (L1) and their respective TTs in English (L2).

The category *relation between texts* demonstrates the composition of corpora for the present study. Since the corpora used in this study were composed of the original Arabic corpus aligned with their five English translations (see 3.3.2), the focus was on the *parallel* relations that held between the texts comprising the corpora.

*Subject area* indicates that the corpora were translational rather than linguistic.\(^7\) The model could also help in improving translation skills for trainee translators by showing actually, what procedures different translators adopted to transfer or manipulate ideology.

The *mode* refers to the way the original contents of the texts are delivered (Atkins, et al., 1992). For instance, where the text of a particular corpus is scanned from a book and converted into an electronic form, it is called *written* and a text transcribed from a video or an audio source is called *spoken*. With regard to the present corpus, the analysed original speeches were transcribed from spoken originals.

The category *domain*, as Baker (1995, p.229) argues, denotes the area of language enquiry on which a corpus focuses. She suggests that there are two main types of corpora with regard to domain: *general* and *specialized*. By definition, a general corpus is broader in scope as it is

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\(^7\) Scholars interested in translator's education (see Stewart, 2000; and Zanettin, Bernardini and Stewart 2003) urge making use of linguistic corpora as an aid in developing trainee translators’ skills, however (despite their acknowledged importance), linguistic corpora only suggest procedures that can be used in specific decision-making situations.
designed to study the language of specific material as a whole. Conversely, a specialized corpus examines the language of particular genres or text-types. The present corpora were specialized as they focused on investigating the language and the translation of Muhammad Morsi speeches from Arabic into English.

*Temporal restrictions* refer to the classification of corpora into either *synchronic* or *diachronic.* The present corpora can be viewed as *synchronic* as they focused on an object of study at one specific period of time. A diachronic corpus is concerned with the historical development of an object of study through time (Atkins, et al., 1992, p.6). As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the original speeches were produced over one year, and as the translators completed the translations roughly at comparable periods, the corpora are not considered diachronic. A diachronic corpus focuses on an object of study through different periods of time.

Finally, *genre* refers to categories of texts included in a particular corpus. The genre of texts composing the present corpora is political speeches produced after the Arab Spring.

Parallel concordance lines of the node (مصر/Egypt) are presented in Figure 3.1.

![Figure 3.1: Sample parallel concordance lines of مصر/Egypt](image)

Following the description of the process of building the parallel corpora, it now seems appropriate to provide a systematic description for how the original Arabic corpus was analysed and then the criteria for selecting ideologically embedded words.
3.4 Corpus-based analysis

This section describes in detail the corpus-based analysis of data. It includes the extraction of the keywords list from the STs, the isolation of the potentially ideological ones and the investigation of ideological keywords (IKW) both in the STs as and in the translations.

3.4.1 Extracting a keywords list from the original Arabic corpus

The first step in the analysis of data was carried out to answer the first research question:

**Research Question 1: What are the ideologically salient words in Morsi’s speeches?**

According to Scott (2008, p.135), a keyword in CL is defined as a word “whose frequency is unusually high in comparison with some norm”, i.e. they are those words which are more frequent in that corpus than they are in the reference corpus. The term *reference corpus* refers to the corpus that is compiled on the basis of relevant parameters agreed upon by the linguistic community and has to include written and spoken, formal and informal language that represents diversified social and situational strata and should normally be large in size (Culpeper, 2009). A reference corpus acts as a benchmark and offers background data for keywords calculation.

Generally, keywords are computed using two word lists, one from the study corpus, i.e. the word under investigation and the other from a normally larger corpus, i.e. the reference corpus. Since keywords calculation is performed on the basis of the comparison with the word list of the reference corpus, its results are highly likely to be affected by the reference corpus a researcher chooses (Goh, 2011, p.240).

Using the Sketch Engine, word frequencies in the original Arabic corpus speeches were compared against their expected frequencies in the reference corpus. The Sketch Engine also allowed the opportunity to set suitable parameters from various options, such as specifying the minimum and maximum frequencies for the word extracted, to identify a limit on the number of keywords extracted, and to set the attribute to be used, for instance word (form) or lemma.
The Sketch Engine also allowed the researcher to choose a reference corpus from a list of available corpora.

With regard to the minimum frequency, i.e. how many times the word should occur in the corpus, the minimum frequency of occurrence was adjusted to 5 words. Maximum frequencies, on the other hand, was kept to 100 words. Whilst this method possibly overlooks subtler ideological markers, it was regarded necessary to limit the data under analysis sufficiently so as to present a list that can be considered representative of ideology in the original speeches with a reasonable degree of confidence.

Another significant step in the keywords extraction was the choice of a reference corpus. The Sketch Engine offers a number of Arabic reference corpora as presented in Table 3:4.8

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Corpus</th>
<th>Size</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arabic Learner Corpus (ALC)</td>
<td>362,712 words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arabic Web</td>
<td>407,005 words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Arabic Web 2012 (arTenTen 12)</td>
<td>7,475,624,779 words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Arabic Web 2012 sample 115M</td>
<td>115,315,274 words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KSUCCA (Classical Arabic)</td>
<td>46,705,577 words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OPUS2 Arabic</td>
<td>300,000,057 words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quran annotated corpus [unvowelled Arabic]</td>
<td>128,243 words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quran annotated corpus [unvowelled Latin]</td>
<td>99,268 words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quran annotated corpus [vowelled Arabic]</td>
<td>128,241 words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quran annotated corpus [vowelled Latin]</td>
<td>97,970 words</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.4: Arabic reference corpora available in the Sketch Engine

The Arabic Web 2012 (arTenTen 12) corpus was chosen from the list of reference corpora to compare the extracted keywords in the original Arabic corpus; it is deemed appropriate as it is current and adequately large (containing 7,475,624,779 words, see Table 3.4) to indicate typical frequency of words among other available Arabic corpora. It is worth mentioning that the Arabic Web 2012 (arTenTen 12), a member of the TenTen family (Jakubiček, et. al., 2013, p.2), improved on Gigaword,9 for dictionary-editing and related purposes, by including a wider

---

8 The corpora are listed as they appear in the Sketch Engine.
9 The major Arabic corpus since 2003 (Arts, et al., 2014, p.357).
variety of types of text. In 2012, the arTenTen 12 was gathered and installed in the Sketch Engine, where it is available for users (Arts, et al., 2014, p.357).

The keywords list obtained from this process (presented in detail in Chapter 4, Table 4.1) was analysed to isolate keywords with ideological charge. The analysis was carried out using the methods of CDA as described in detail in Section 4.2.

3.4.2 The prospection of potentially ideological words

Extracted keywords were manually analysed by inspecting their concordances to assess each word’s ideological intent. It should be mentioned that methods of CDA were partially used within the corpus analysis to assist in the isolation of IKWs. Baker et al. (2008, p.296) highlight the fuzziness of the boundaries between the use of both CL and CDA approaches. They propose that by using simple quantitative methods, “‘qualitative’ findings can be quantified, and that ‘quantitative’ findings need to be interpreted in the light of existing theories, and lead to their adaptation, or the formulation of new ones”. This methodological synthesis, proposed by Baker et al. (2008), is particularly suited for this investigation as it allows lexical patterns to be the point of departure for a social study. Moreover, it can be argued that the incorporation of CL methods reduces researcher bias.

Before making the analysis and presenting the results of the research, it seems necessary to mention the major assumptions underlying the isolation of ideological words in the present study. First, it was borne in mind that no marker of ideology is inherently ideologically loaded. It is frequently underscored in works dealing with ideological aspects of language that “none of the linguistic forms is always an indicator of ideology in a text and should not automatically be interpreted as such” (Puurtinen, 2000, p.179). A particular linguistic form should never be automatically interpreted as an expression of a particular ideological meaning. Firstly, there may be other reasons underlying discourse producers’ surface choices as these choices do not exist in isolation, and secondly, these surface choices might not affect the ideological perspective of the text. The second dimension in the selection of ideological keywords IKWs is that the present study (in order to remain manageable) focused on the ideology of President Morsi as manifested in the discursive strategy of his speeches as the newly elected president of Egypt. The focus was not the ideology of the Muslim Brotherhood (the political movement with Islamic ideology to which Morsi belonged). It is worth noting that Morsi resigned from
the Muslim Brotherhood and its political wing, the Freedom and Justice Party, directly after his electoral victory, with the aim of portraying himself as president of all Egyptians to reduce concerns of him favouring only members of the Muslim Brotherhood (Malfait, 2013, p.74). This means that the selection of nodes was restricted to specific elements in the discursive structure of the speeches, i.e. the ideological keywords isolated from the keywords list.

Furthermore, the distribution of each selected keyword throughout the speeches was investigated. This was done to examine whether a particular word is used consistently in the original Arabic corpus, which might suggest a salient indicator of ideology, or only in few speeches, which would suggest that they were used either in a particular context, or in relation to a particular event. A minimum number of ten speeches in which the same word occurred was found reliable to suggest that the word is recurrent in the corpus as it composes half of the total number of speeches analysed.

As the original Arabic corpus is not lemmatised, a simple search query for the IKWs was conducted by generating a wildcard to search for all forms of the word, i.e. the IKW as it appeared in the keywords list as well as its different forms. For instance, the inflections of the IKW ثورة/revolution (ثورة، الثورة، ثورات، الثورات، ثورتنا، ثورتكم…etc.) were all examined and treated as one so as to be able to build up a picture of how each occurrence is translated.

As explained in detail in Section 2.5, the present study depends both on generating a keywords list and other search terms identified from a closer examination of the speeches. In order to account for other important data, the speeches were examined by the researcher to find other ideological terms that might not be displayed by the keywords list. These search terms outside the keywords list are presented in Table 4.2b.

After discussing the methodological procedures for the selection of IKWs to be taken as nodes, a systematic description follows of how each selected node was checked in the context of the STs in order to assist in assessing claims of the presence of particular ideologies. The investigation of IKWs in the original speeches is conducted in Chapter 4. It included generating a keywords list from the original Arabic corpus, and then an analysis of concordances of each keyword was conducted to isolate ideologically charged ones. The analysis of IKWs in the translation is described in Chapter 5; the use of these words is analysed in collocations, modality, transitivity and lexical cohesion.
3.4.3 The analysis of ideological keywords in the STs and the TTs

After isolating IKWs to be taken as nodes, it was necessary to examine the context of these isolated IKWs to discover how these words, or nodes, were used in the speeches. This was done through generating concordances and examining collocations to reveal their semantic preference and semantic prosody. A collocations list of each IKW was generated with the help of the Sketch Engine. It should be pointed out that these collocations lists were generated electronically via the Sketch Engine only in instances where concordance lines exceed 100; otherwise, if concordance lines were less than 100, collocations were retrieved manually by analysing the node to reveal strong associations. Once again, whereas corpus tools facilitated a particular narrowing of the task, the researcher’s evaluative appraisal, through examining the context of utterance, was needed to reach an ultimate assessment with regard to the ideological import of the selected collocations. Thus, IKWs were examined in a larger context to identify semantic prosody as well as discourse prosody, i.e. a detailed study of concordances and extended context, including whole texts.

The next step, after analysing the ideological significance of the ideological keywords in the original Arabic corpus, was the retrieval of the translations of IKWs from the corpora of English translations. Examining the translations of IKWs is conducted in Chapter 5 to address the following research question:

**Research Question 2: Are there any consistent or recurrent shifts in the English translations with regard to their ideological intent in relation to the Arabic STs?**

This research question is investigated in several steps. The starting point is the IKWs identified in the original Arabic corpus to be taken as nodes. As described in detail in Sections 4.1 and 4.2, the selection of nodes was based on generating a keywords list, then keywords with ideological potential were isolated using CDA related methods. Following the process of identifying IKWs, parallel concordances for the Arabic IKWs and their aligned translations were first generated as in Figure 3.3. Empty lines were not filtered so as to account for any variance in frequencies. To further clarify this point, it should be mentioned that the Sketch
Engine displays all parallel concordances even when the equivalent is missing in the translation, but it also offers an option to filter out the empty lines by ticking the related box.

The next step was to inspect the generated concordance lines manually to identify whether and how each IKW was translated into English. Then, a further investigation of concordance lines was made in order to examine the lexical and grammatical relations of the node in the TT and its adjacent surroundings. Finally, an identification of semantic prosody and discourse prosody that emerged from the detailed study of concordances and extended context, including whole texts, was carried out to facilitate the interpretation of concordance outputs.

By examining collocates of IKWs both in the STs and the TTs, and the co-text surrounding each search terms, IKWs with potentially various senses and references were further coded into three categories: Positive, Negative and Neutral. The classification of the nodes into these categories depends on Cruse’s (1997) evaluative connotations, in which he suggests that an IKW is classified as positive when its collocational context contains words with honorific or pleasant connotations. An IKW is often assigned a negative description when it collocates...
words with pejorative connotations. It is worth highlighting in this context that instances implying *Description of Pressure* were included within the category *negative description* as they usually consist of lexical items with connotations that have a negative psychological effect on the recipients. The following examples are taken from concordance lines of the IKW دستور/constitution to illustrate the method adopted in the process of categorization:

**Positive description**, as in:

"نرفض أي نوع من التمييز على أساس الجنس أو اللون أو الدين كما نص على ذلك مشروع دستورنا الجديد."

Morsi’s speech before the Board of Trustees of the Bibliotheca of Alexandrina

*We reject any kind of discrimination based on gender, colour, or religion as stated by our new constitution.* [Literal Translation LT]

The semantics of the original sentence, which implies a rejection, following the new constitution, of discrimination on any bases associates the word with distinctly positive connotations.

**Neutral description**, as in:

"قررت بعد الاطلاع على الدستور"

Morsi speech on the canal events

*Having reviewed the constitution, I decided.* [LT]

Close examination of this example reveals that the word constitution comes in a neutral context, i.e. there are no collocations with either positive or negative reference associated with the word and is thus classified as neutral.

**Negative description**, as in:

"شهدت تلك المرحلة جدلا سياسيا كبيرا حول عملية صياغة الدستور."

Morsi speech on the approval of the constitution

*That period witnessed a great political controversy over the drafting of the constitution.* [LT]

In this example, collocations of the word constitution primarily reflect an impression of pressure. The phrase “political controversy” gives the sentence a negative reference, especially when pre-modified by the adjective great.
In order to check the reliability of the positive, neutral and negative categorisation of the STs, a coding process was completed by the researcher and two co-coders. The coders were native speakers of Arabic, and had worked on the analysis of political discourse and political translation. The coders worked independently of each other and upon the completion of the analysis of both STs and TTs, the findings were compared and, in the case of disagreement, the coding results were adopted in which the coding of a given sentence is identical for two of the coders. It is worthy of note, however, that there was only one instance of disagreement in the coding of the STs. Based on this high level of agreement among coders, it was decided that there was no need to perform an inter-rater reliability analysis (for instance, to use statistical methods such as the Fliess’ Kappa).\(^\text{10}\)

Having finished the coding process, the positive, negative and neutral categories were defined in tables. Each table presents how each node was portrayed in the five different English translations. With regard to the IKWs with positive sense and reference, namely (جميعا/altogether, سلمية/peaceful, النهضة/renaissance, النهضة/the renaissance, أحافظ/I keep\(^\text{11}\) and نحافظ/we keep), which are, naturally, positive in linguistic communication, the method for analysis was slightly different. As these words are practically positive in any context and are, generally, not subject to any kind of ideological impact that can alter their positive sense and/or reference, they were not coded into the categories positive, neutral and negative. The analysis of these words focused on calculating their frequencies in the Arabic STs and the frequency of their equivalents in the translations. This was carried out to detect differences in frequencies and to examine whether a variation is an indicator of an ideological stance; for instance, an increase in frequency might entail a promotion of the original ideology, or probably changing a neutral proposition into a positive one. On the other hand, a reduction in frequency could result in changing a positive proposition into a neutral or even a negative one.

Finally, a comparison of the frequency results with information obtained from the analysis was made. It bears mentioning that all examples denoting individual manipulation were taken into account in the analysis, but only a selection of the most representative instances of ideological

\(^{10}\) A statistical procedure to measure the reliability of agreement between a number of raters when appointing categorical ratings to a number of items or classifying items. It is an extension of Cohen’s kappa that is used to assess the agreement between only two raters (Gwet, 2014).

\(^{11}\) The original Arabic word is positive as it is used in the sense of safeguard or protect.
manipulation are discussed in detail. Each IKW is represented by a number of examples in order to demonstrate the patterns of manipulation (if any) within a particular translation.

After analysing the translations and to search for instances of ideological manipulation, the detected manipulations were further analysed to answer research question 3:

Research Question 3: To what extent does the distribution of possible instances of ideological manipulation vary across English translations?

Research question 3 is also addressed quantitatively, first by observing the frequencies of linguistic markers of ideology across the corpora of English translations and displaying them in figures. A frequency list can be useful in identifying ideology in discourse, because, as suggested by Baker (2006, p.48), “if people […] make one linguistic choice over another, more obvious one, then that reveals something about their intentions, whether conscious or not”.

Frequencies of instances of ideological manipulation in each English translation were counted to assist in addressing research question 4:

Research Question 4: How can each English translation be evaluated from the perspective of ideological manipulation?

Research question 4 is answered by counting the frequencies of manipulated instances that each English translation exhibits. Generally, where there is no evidence of manipulation in a particular corpus, it is viewed as not promoting an ideology fundamentally at variance with that of the STs. Alternatively, the more instances of manipulation a corpus manifests, the more it diverts from the STs, projecting an altered ideology or a different point of view.

Undoubtedly, the corpus-based approach copes with a large amount of empirical data, and corpus processing tools can help in counting frequencies of occurrence, thereby offering information to researchers about the scale of the phenomena under scrutiny. However, it is
equally obvious, that one of the major drawbacks is decontextualisation. This is where the human analyst is required (see Munday’s 2002 systemic model for descriptive analysis). Corpus-based analysis does not provide insights about the perspectives of the translators themselves concerning their experiences during the translation. It is at this point the need to support the corpus-based analysis by the CDA appears to be necessary. The data of the present study were critically analysed so as to recontextualize the translator’s decision-making processes, placing them in the wider socio-cultural and political environment.

3.5 Critical discourse analysis

The analysis first demonstrated how political, social, economic and political aspects are manifested in discourse. It also described the ideological polarization underlining the formation of the original speeches, i.e. how some texts are produced in a way that can influence and even change people’s opinions.

Methods of CDA were employed to locate the ideology from the discursive practices as this model highlights the changes of discourse in relation to the social and cultural background of each translator and the way they were adopted to find suitable solutions for ideologically oriented translation, which contributed to the changing process of discursive structures and consequently discourse practices.

The critical analysis of the speeches was performed to answer the following research question:

- **Research Question 5**: Do translations follow the same ideological postulates of the positive in-group/negative out-group representations?

The findings of this research question are discussed in Chapter 6. Van Dijk’s ideological model (1998) was adopted as being helpful to make observations on “constructivist perspectives” (i.e. the multiple meanings of individual experiences, meanings socially and historically constructed) or “advocacy/participatory perspectives” (i.e. political, issue-oriented, collaborative or change-oriented) or both (Creswell, 2003, p.18). The approach seeks to understand different phenomena and to answer the **why** question; for example, why do translators tend to paraphrase a particular culture-specific term in translating sensitive texts instead of opting for other strategies such as cultural substitution?
CDA was found important to the study because it allows focusing on the perspective of the translator. The obtained data complemented the outcomes of the observations of the corpus-based quantitative data, thus providing a human perspective to the fixed findings of the quantitative approach. CDA research also enabled the study of social behaviour, which was not considered exhaustive with the corpus-based method alone, which is why it was included in the study.

As explained in 2.4.1, van Dijk’s ideological model encapsulates two general categories: “positive in-group representation” and “negative out-group representation”. These two major categories encompass two sub-categories (see Chapter 2, Figure 2.2). These are the following:

- Emphasise Positive Representation of Supporters
- Mitigate the Regime and Its Supporters’ Negative Actions
- Emphasise Negative Representation of Others
- Mitigate the Good Properties of Opponents

The above mentioned discursive structures which constitute the toolbox for the critical analysis were first detected in the original speeches. The next step in the analysis was to examine how these structures were translated and detect whether translators transfer, mitigate, or strengthen the influence intended by the original texts through the employment of particular discursive practices or translation strategies. Finally, the interpretation of results drew on analysing local meanings in propositions, in which the presence and/or the absence of particular linguistic items and the way these discursive practices and translation strategies contribute to the positive self-representation or negative other-representation.

Van Dijk (1990, p.170) offers a taxonomy of text processing in which he lists general operations including “selection, reproduction, summarizing, local transformations and stylistic and rhetorical formulation”. Transformation is further subdivided into “omissions, additions, permutations and substitutions”. As manipulation in translation is concerned with making changes of various types understood as translation shifts, the analysis in the present chapter maintains those pertinent to manipulation as represented by transformation processes with particular focus on instances representing translators’ ideology rather than the unavoidable shifts that result from untranslatability.
In order to facilitate the analysis and help identify different ideological categories in the original speeches, instances of positive representation are highlighted in blue [], instances of negative representation are highlighted in yellow [], and instances of mitigating the regime’s bad actions are highlighted in green []. It is worth mentioning that no instances of mitigating the former regime’s bad actions were found in any of the speeches (see Appendix III).

With regard to the unit of analysis, the focus was on semantic representation, and the unit of analysis was of variable size provided that it was relevant and informative to the research question investigated. This means that the unit of analysis could include a sentence, two sentences, or a paragraph that cover a particular category or an ideological representation. It should be mentioned that as the unit of analysis is variable, there may be an overlap between categories, i.e. different categories or ideological representations are correlated in these units. In such cases, the researcher made an interpretive reading of the text to assist in identifying these different categories and characterise them by means of colour-coding. For example:

"أنا رغم التركة الثقيلة التي ورثناها بسبب التحالف بين الفساد والاستبداد والاستناد إلى التبعية الأجنبية، وغياب العدالة الاجتماعية، فإننا ماضون في طريقنا لتحقيق التنمية الشاملة، التي تستند إلى ارادة شعبية حرة، ونمو اقتصادي حقيقي، وعدالة اجتماعية، وإلى مشاركة اجتماعية واسعة، ومناخ من حرية الفكر والرأي والتعبير، ليشارك المصريون جميعاً رجالاً ونساء في بناء مستقبل مشرق لهم ولأبنائهم من بعدهم." Morsi's speech before the Board of Trustees of the Bibliotheca of Alexandrina

Despite the heavy burden we have inherited because of the alliance made between corruption, oppression, independence of decision and absence of social justice, we are forging our way towards achieving a comprehensive development based on free popular will, true economic growth, social justice, wide social participation and an atmosphere of freedom of thought and expression, so that all Egyptians, men and women, would take part in building a bright future for them and for their children. [LT]

In this example, the same sentence in the ST encompasses two categories of the ideological square, the negative out-group representation and the positive in-group representation. The highlighting of the negative representation in and the positive representation in facilitates drawing separation lines between different categories within the same unit.

It should be mentioned that the employment of CDA in the present study is twofold; firstly, as mentioned in 3.4.2, it is partially used within the corpus-based analysis in the isolation of IKWs. Methods associated with CDA are then used as an additional methodology to detect instances of ideological manipulation in the translations. The results of both corpus-based
analysis and CDA are triangulated to reach a final conclusion with regard to the ideological representation of each translation.

Finally, an evaluation on the usefulness of combining methods traditionally used by CL and CDA to investigate the ideological salient words in the original Arabic speeches and the possible occurrence of instances of ideological manipulation in the English translations was made to answer the following research question:

**Research Question 6: What are the advantages of combining methods associated with CL and CDA in detecting ideology in the original speeches and possible ideological manipulation in their translations?**

This research question focuses on the utility of using CL related methods to generate a keywords list from the original speeches. It also examines the rationale of using methods of CDA to isolate keywords with ideological potential, the way these IKWs are translated and then in the interpretation of the findings. This research question is addressed in Chapter 6 first by discussing the limitations of employing each theoretical framework, i.e. CL and CDA in isolation. It then examines the advantages of combining methods related to both approaches in overcoming these limitations.

### 3.6 Concluding remarks

In this chapter a description of the methodology used to compile the parallel corpora for the present study has been given. The criteria for selecting the elements of ideology have been presented. The corpus-based method provided was based on the analysis of Arabic STs and their corresponding English translations through parallel concordance software. This was carried out by generating a keywords list, isolating ideologically charged words and examining how they were translated in order to detect instances of ideological manipulation. The Sketch Engine was used to compile and explore the corpus, obtain frequencies of words, word distribution and other sets of countable data. Such data contributed to understanding which English words were frequently used by translators for a particular source lexical item and what other possible translations were available. The corpus-based method was found useful as it
allowed a broader study involving a greater number of samples, which in turn allowed more
detailed analysis and thus enhanced the generalizations of results.

The chapter also presents an account of the critical analysis, which adopts CDA to identify and
compare political discourse structures, aimed at the positive in-group representation and
negative out-group representation used in the original Arabic speeches. These political
structures were examined and analysed in the translations to detect instances of ideological
manipulations shaping their reproduction.
Chapter Four
Analysing the Original Arabic Corpus

In this chapter, the analysis focuses on investigating the context in which each keyword is employed. The analysis of keywords in larger contexts is conducted by generating concordances. This use of concordance analysis facilitates reaching conclusions with regard to semantic prosody and discourse prosody of the examined keywords.

The analysis was conducted to seek answers for research question 1:

Research Question 1: What are the ideologically salient words in Morsi’s speeches?

As mentioned in Section 3.4, this research question is investigated through extracting a keywords list. The Sketch Engine provides a keywords list extraction function, and, with the help of CDA tools, IKWs will potentially then be isolated manually, as presented in detail in the following sections.

4.1 Keywords list extracted from the original Arabic corpus

The complete list of keywords indicated by the extraction process are given in Table 4.1 plus their literal translation (LT), Score (significance score LogDice statistics),\textsuperscript{12} F (frequency of the word in the study corpus), RefF (frequency of the word in the reference corpus), and the number of speeches in which each word was employed:\textsuperscript{13}

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\textsuperscript{12} LogDice is the association score employed by the Sketch Engine to calculate collocation on scalable corpus sizes. A logDice score of 1 indicates that items collocate twice as often as might be expected, whereas a logDice score of 7 indicates 100 times frequent collocation (Potts and kjær, 2016, p.531).

\textsuperscript{13} It is worth mentioning that what is in the extraction of Arabic keywords might be two or more words in English.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Keyword</th>
<th>LT</th>
<th>Score</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>RefF</th>
<th>No. of speeches in which the word occurs (out of 20)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>لن</td>
<td>Not</td>
<td>1,951.80</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>لم</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>955.33</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>اعاهد</td>
<td>I pledge</td>
<td>343.85</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3,598</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>بل</td>
<td>But</td>
<td>206.51</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5,431</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>احاظط</td>
<td>I keep</td>
<td>166.81</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8,704</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>سشامل</td>
<td>I will work</td>
<td>125.57</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9,285</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>نمض</td>
<td>We go forward</td>
<td>122.87</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>17,354</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>أوتك</td>
<td>I confirm</td>
<td>122.79</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>73,743</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>أحيي</td>
<td>I greet</td>
<td>119.54</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>25,965</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ماضون</td>
<td>Going forward</td>
<td>90.12</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9,227</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>بارددة</td>
<td>By the will of</td>
<td>84.96</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>73,225</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>فقط</td>
<td>Only</td>
<td>81.91</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>30,194</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>اتوجه</td>
<td>I address</td>
<td>81.56</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>34,215</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>السادات</td>
<td>Ladies</td>
<td>81.25</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>92,465</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>تحتفل</td>
<td>We celebrate</td>
<td>80.41</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>27,000</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>الأحباء</td>
<td>Beloved ones</td>
<td>73.24</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>30,458</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>واجبي</td>
<td>My duty</td>
<td>70.99</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13,956</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>وفق</td>
<td>According to</td>
<td>70.51</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>14,108</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>فتحية</td>
<td>A greeting</td>
<td>70.10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>14,240</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>شهداء</td>
<td>Martyrs</td>
<td>68.37</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>14,811</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>المجيدة</td>
<td>The glorious</td>
<td>53.53</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>38,857</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>نتنطلق</td>
<td>We proceed</td>
<td>52.45</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>21,832</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>سواعد</td>
<td>Arms</td>
<td>52.31</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>21,913</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>السادة</td>
<td>Gentlemen</td>
<td>50.56</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>184,752</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>نمنع</td>
<td>We prevent</td>
<td>50.25</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>23,153</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ننهضة</td>
<td>Renaissance</td>
<td>47.81</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>97,162</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>النحية</td>
<td>The greeting</td>
<td>45.81</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>115,483</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>أبنائي</td>
<td>My sons</td>
<td>44.98</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>33,837</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>حافظ</td>
<td>We keep</td>
<td>42.92</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>35,853</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>نسح</td>
<td>We allow</td>
<td>40.70</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>45,992</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>المصريون</td>
<td>The Egyptians (nominative form)</td>
<td>40.70</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>92,384</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>تحقيق</td>
<td>We achieve</td>
<td>40.28</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>46,569</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ادعو</td>
<td>I call</td>
<td>39.51</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>159,122</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>دستور</td>
<td>Constitution</td>
<td>35.84</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>176,282</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ملحمة</td>
<td>Epic</td>
<td>33.89</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>38,346</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>فدان</td>
<td>Acre</td>
<td>32.37</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>40,536</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>نحترم</td>
<td>We respect</td>
<td>32.08</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>40,984</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>جميعا</td>
<td>Altogether</td>
<td>31.69</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>1,074,221</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>نزيف</td>
<td>Bleeding</td>
<td>31.47</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>41,934</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ميدلين</td>
<td>Fields</td>
<td>31.33</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>72,286</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>면شلة</td>
<td>The armed</td>
<td>31.17</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>496,701</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>العور</td>
<td>The crossing</td>
<td>30.82</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>63,411</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>المسولية</td>
<td>The responsibility</td>
<td>30.27</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>116,690</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>الماضيين</td>
<td>The last two</td>
<td>28.58</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>80,044</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>في</td>
<td>In</td>
<td>28.46</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>666,483</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>الحبيبة</td>
<td>The beloved</td>
<td>27.43</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>83,740</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>كم</td>
<td>A suffix means yours</td>
<td>27.26</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>2,185,398</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keyword</td>
<td>LT</td>
<td>Score</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>RefF</td>
<td>No. of speeches in which the word occurs (out of 20)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>-----------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>المصريين</td>
<td>The Egyptians (accusative and genitive form)</td>
<td>26.68</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>451,898</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>نرفض</td>
<td>We reject</td>
<td>26.24</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>63,939</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>احترم</td>
<td>I respect</td>
<td>25.97</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>52,572</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sinai</td>
<td>The renaissance</td>
<td>25.90</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>174,231</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>النهضة</td>
<td>Responsibility</td>
<td>25.71</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>212,310</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>مسئولية</td>
<td>We strive</td>
<td>25.41</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>103,455</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>بورسعيد</td>
<td>Port said</td>
<td>25.37</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>54,007</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>لا</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>24.78</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>2,391,968</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>العظيمة</td>
<td>The great (feminine)</td>
<td>23.84</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>176,775</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>سلمية</td>
<td>Peaceful (feminine)</td>
<td>23.76</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>124,475</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>تحديبات</td>
<td>Challenges</td>
<td>23.12</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>114,530</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>الذكية</td>
<td>The smart (feminine)</td>
<td>23.04</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>60,310</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
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<td>ارادة</td>
<td>Will (noun)</td>
<td>23.04</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>497,345</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>قوات</td>
<td>Power</td>
<td>22.51</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>117,853</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>الاتفاق</td>
<td>The will</td>
<td>22.35</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>245,489</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>المصري</td>
<td>The Egyptian (masculine)</td>
<td>22.09</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>1,231,247</td>
<td>19</td>
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<tr>
<td>مصر</td>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>22.00</td>
<td>278</td>
<td>3,967,893</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>المكتبة</td>
<td>The library</td>
<td>21.47</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>153,302</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>التعليم</td>
<td>The great (masculine)</td>
<td>20.74</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>659,518</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>وطن</td>
<td>Country</td>
<td>20.17</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>272,910</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>المصرية</td>
<td>The Egyptian (feminine)</td>
<td>19.94</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>134,078</td>
<td>19</td>
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<tr>
<td>السويس</td>
<td>Suez</td>
<td>19.69</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>119,925</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>وقت</td>
<td>Time</td>
<td>19.67</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>104,084</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>أقف</td>
<td>I stand</td>
<td>19.52</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>104,951</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>المكتبة</td>
<td>Library</td>
<td>19.21</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>221,390</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>اهلي</td>
<td>My family</td>
<td>19.16</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>156,298</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>فوق</td>
<td>Above</td>
<td>18.75</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>126,380</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>نعمل</td>
<td>We work</td>
<td>18.60</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>228,949</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>المصري</td>
<td>Egyptian (masculine)</td>
<td>17.73</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>169,645</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>حضارة</td>
<td>Civilization</td>
<td>17.70</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>205,471</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>الأسكندرية</td>
<td>Alexandria</td>
<td>17.64</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>331,118</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>مؤسسات</td>
<td>Institutions</td>
<td>17.39</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>136,877</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>الشقراء</td>
<td>The honest people</td>
<td>17.39</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>136,928</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>الوطن</td>
<td>The country</td>
<td>17.26</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>1,796,942</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>إنني</td>
<td>I am</td>
<td>17.25</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>138,080</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>حرة</td>
<td>Free (feminine)</td>
<td>17.24</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>192,906</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>نصل</td>
<td>We reach</td>
<td>16.97</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>140,502</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>مولد</td>
<td>Birth</td>
<td>16.85</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>104,187</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>تحتية</td>
<td>Greeting</td>
<td>16.66</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>256,597</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>يحافظ</td>
<td>Keeps (masculine)</td>
<td>15.58</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>93,190</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ثورة</td>
<td>Revolution</td>
<td>15.36</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>770,429</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>سباهان</td>
<td>Glory (usually collocates Allah)</td>
<td>15.16</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>199,799</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>اوجه</td>
<td>I direct</td>
<td>14.99</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>181,089</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>أبناء</td>
<td>Sons</td>
<td>14.84</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>416,347</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>نؤكد</td>
<td>We confirm</td>
<td>14.72</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>99,120</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>حوض</td>
<td>Trough</td>
<td>14.57</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>100,240</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Initially, a list of 100 keywords was extracted from the original Arabic corpus, and were then manually analysed by inspecting their concordances to assess each word’s ideological intent.

### 4.2 Ideological keywords (IKWs)

Prior to presenting the analysis and results of the research, it seems essential to refer back to the general standards underlying the isolation of IKWs, illustrated in 3.4.2, that linguistic choices are not inherently ideologically loaded; in fact there should be a range of factors associated with a particular linguistic form in order for it to be interpreted as expressing particular ideological meaning. In other words, a full account of the ideological potential of a linguistic form requires an analysis of “meaning systems, not just word meanings” (Fairclough, 2001, p.78). Therefore, although the analysis is performed on a lexical level, the judgment concerning the potential ideological significance of a given item is always made with reference to the text as a whole, as well as to the extralinguistic reality (i.e., the socio-political context).

Furthermore, the distribution of each selected word across the speeches was investigated to examine whether a particular word is used consistently in the original Arabic corpus. This might suggest a salient indicator of ideology, or if only in a few speeches, it would suggest that they were used either in a particular context, or in relation to a particular event. A minimum number of ten speeches in which the same word occurred was found reliable to suggest that the word is recurrent in the corpus.

Table 4.2a displays a list of 18 potentially ideological words which occurred in at least 10 speeches, as isolated from the keywords list.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>رموز</th>
<th>The symbols</th>
<th>الكرام</th>
<th>الكرامة</th>
<th>نقف</th>
<th>أيها</th>
<th>الدستور</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14.40</td>
<td>14.23</td>
<td>14.00</td>
<td>13.92</td>
<td>13.84</td>
<td>13.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>كرام</td>
<td>Dear ones</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>الكرامة</td>
<td>The dignity</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>نقف</td>
<td>We stand</td>
<td>101,503</td>
<td>235,434</td>
<td>262,009</td>
<td>127,920</td>
<td>833,679</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>أيها</td>
<td>You</td>
<td>13.81</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>744,074</td>
<td>744,074</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 4.1: The complete keywords list extracted from the original Arabic corpus**
Whereas the present analysis is a corpus-based one, there is still a further need to investigate other ideological search terms (such as 

(النظام السابق/the former regime and (النظام/the regime) which occur consistently in the language of the speeches, and therefore can be said to be salient in the texts, although not displayed in the keywords list. Of note here is that the word نظام has several meanings in Arabic when standing alone. According to Baalbaki (2004, see under ن) it denotes regime, discipline, system, arrangement, organization, order, orderliness, regulation, framework, method, bylaw, setup, measure, shape, limitations, prescript, cosmos, rank and array; only concordance lines that contain the word نظام in contexts in which Morsi is referring to the former regime are examined.

Other search terms that were chosen outside the keyword list are in Table 4.2b.
The ideological semantics underlying the selection of potentially ideological words as presented in Tables 4.2a and 4.2b is discussed in van Dijk’s (1995) analysis of ideological discourse. Van Dijk (1995, pp.147-149) proposes that ideological discourse is semantically oriented to the following categories:

- **Self-identity descriptions**: defining the speaker’s own identity.
- **Activity-descriptions**: acts, tasks and social roles.
- **Goal-descriptions**: the goals to be achieved through activities (ideological and not necessarily factual).
- **Norm and value descriptions**: norms and values of what is good or bad, right or wrong and what the tasks and goals a person/group is trying to achieve or respect.
- **Position and relation description**: defining identity, activities and goals in relation to others.
- **Resource description**: access to general or specific resources (information for the journalist, knowledge and expertise for the professor and the constitution, the wide popular background, or the positive results of the elections for the politician or the leader).

An analysis of the keywords list reveals that each keyword can be defined as belonging to a particular ideological sub-category, and hence as being potentially ideological. The words اؤكد/I affirm, احافظ/I keep, ادعو/I call, نحافظ/we keep and نعمل/we work are grouped under the category Activity-descriptions. According to van Dijk, ideological Activity-descriptions define people by what they do, the tasks assigned to them, and their social roles (van Dijk, 1995, p.148).

Political ideology focuses on the “good things” members do, such as, among several themes, keeping countries safe and working for the development and unity of people.

The wordsrenaissance and the renaissance are attributed to the category Goal-descriptions. Van Dijk affirms that for activities to make social and ideological sense, they need to have “positive goals”, such as maintaining security and renaissance. The words

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Search term</th>
<th>LT</th>
<th>Score</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>RefF</th>
<th>No. of speeches in which the word occurs (out of 20)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>النظام السابق</td>
<td>The former regime</td>
<td>262.87</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>122.583</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>النظام</td>
<td>The regime</td>
<td>563.30</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2.715.491</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.2b: Search terms outside the keywords list
The renaissance/rénénissance and النهضة/renaissance are associated with meanings of development, growth and rebuilding the nation. These words denote a positive goal of moving from a hard period towards building the nation. It is worth emphasizing that such goals are “by definition ideological, and not necessarily factual” and refer to the way people view themselves or want to be evaluated (van Dijk, 1995, p.148). This seems applicable for Morsi’s renaissance rhetoric. It appears to present an abstract vision of a future reconstruction project for a country that requires stability and unity.

The words المسؤولية/responsibility, الظهرانية/the great (feminine), العظيم/the great (masculine) and السلامية/peaceful denote Norm and value descriptions. The ideological Norm and value descriptions refer to what is good or bad, and to what people try to achieve or respect, as claimed by van Dijk. Thus the words السلامية/peaceful and its related forms, العظيم/great and its related forms, by definition, denote what people find good and right. The word المسؤولية/responsibility and its related forms refer to those aspects everyone respects.

The word جميعا/altogether is classified as elucidating the category Position and relation description as it refers to how groups define their identity, activities and goals in relation to others; for instance teachers to students and leaders to their people.

Resource description covers the IKWs الدستور/constitution and الثورة/revolution and their related forms, as Morsi’s discourse focuses on these two words to elaborate semantic strategies to defend the legitimacy of his assuming of power.

With regard to negation, it can be said that not possessing certain qualities is as significant as claiming to have them. Investigating instances of the negation of an ideological or political stance is important for two reasons. Firstly, to negate in the sense to deny a policy sends almost comparable signals and operates in the same way as an affirmative declaration. Secondly, negation proposes that the regime is aware of the negative perception held by some about them, or diffused in the media.

In this investigation, the keywords indicating negation are لست/not and لم/no, as included in the keywords list. It should be mentioned that after conducting the concordance analysis, it was decided to exclude the term لم/no as the concordances only displayed two instances of ideological significance as shown in Table 4.3. These two instances were when the negation term لم/no collocates the other IKWs الثورة/revolution and الثورة/the revolution as presented and highlighted in Table 4.3. The results of these two instances are discussed in detail in searching for the ideological significance of the IKWs الثورة/revolution and its related forms.
An examination of the IKWs extracted and other pre-hypothesised search terms composing the main themes in the speeches (see Tables 4.2a and 4.2b) reveals that these words centre on specific ideological themes. These are Egypt’s image after the Arab Spring, the 25th January
Revolution as a turning point in the Egyptian socio-political scene, and Counter Revolutionaries and Egypt’s image prior to the Arab Spring.

The analysis of each ideological theme incorporates a description of people associated with/supporting it. The investigation of each theme, however, focuses on the ideological words employed by Morsi to communicate these themes to the public.

As described in detail in 3.3.4, the first step in the analysis was to generate concordances of the IKWs extracted from the original Arabic corpus. This was followed by a retrieval of collocation and semantic prosody.

The analysis of data obtained from the original Arabic corpus are presented in the next sections.

4.3 Ideological keywords related to the new political phase in Egypt after the Arab Spring

The search terms used here are words employed to describe qualities that Morsi claims Egypt gains after the revolution. In order to examine the way he envisions post-revolution Egypt, IKWs denoting a positive shift in the political scene were checked in the original Arabic corpus to detect any ideological bias. The present section focuses on IKWs describing the qualities of the new political phase; these are ideological keywords related to the developmental plans in post-revolution Egypt. The words are:

جميعا/altogether, دستور/constitution, العظيمة/the great (feminine), العظيم/the great (masculine), النهضة/renaissance, المسؤولية/responsibility and سلمية/peaceful.

4.3.1 The node: جميعا/altogether

In order to analyse Morsi’s unity discourse by means of corpus tools, Table 4.2a was inspected to identify words that pertained to or could be associated with the theme of Unity. The word جميعا/altogether was chosen to start the analysis as it serves as a powerful unification construction that is prominent in the speeches and is likely to attract the hearers’ attention.
The word /altogether/, as shown in Table 4.2a, occupies the top rank in the ideological keyword list, occurring 106 times in the original Arabic corpus. Table 4.4 displays concordance lines of this IKW (جامعة/altogether):^{14}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Concordance Line</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ب هذه الثورة المباركة و الحمد لله الذي رجاء و نساء في بنا ستقبل مصيرهم لم و ذكرت مكافأت المستمرين و فات كثيرة من ابناء مصر-President and the people's prosperity. We regretted the fate of the women who joined the revolution and were awarded many rewards for the efforts of the young people.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>الحفظ والتاريخ مميتة و اعدت ل المصريين- The history and protection were restored to the Egyptians.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>بعد تفوق الله لقد تم تكوين الحكومة الجديدة- After Allah's mercy, the new government has been formed.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>كانت في حراستنا ردا و إشرافا ابناء مصر- It was in our care and supervision of the Egyptians.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>في التقليل من تأجيل المصير و نهاية- In reducing the delay of the fate and the end.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>تعودنا لله تخصصها &quot;... ابناء المصريون- It was given to us by Allah to distinguish &quot;... the Egyptians.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>قدم كل شكرًا ما دامت و تباعون...- We offer all gratitude and thanks.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ان الامل التي تطلع الى هو عقول و قلوب المصريين- The hope that we are looking forward to is the minds and hearts of the Egyptians.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ساهموا في ها الانتصار و ان جميع ابناء مصر واسيوط و نسرخ و قنا و الأقصر و الاسوان كلهم- Egyptians and the Nile Valley, Luxor, Qena and Aswan, all have contributed...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>والمسلمين والمسيحيين الرجال و النساء الكبير- The Muslims and the Christians, men and women, large and small.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>وعلى نفسى تماحون في الحفظ و كل على عليه- On each other, we monitor and protect.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>المصريون و ان اختفت اجتهاداتنا و وحن جميع- The Egyptians and our initiatives have disappeared and we have everyone.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>توفيق الله و نجاح و نجاحها التحية- With Allah's mercy and success, we congratulate you.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>في المساءلة و ل تمكننا القصر بيننا ف نحن- In the evening, we can not separate between us.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>من جل البلس و السادة الأئمة الكرام المصريون- Among the great blessed and the noble priests, the Egyptians.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>السلم علىكم و رحمة الله ب الله الرحمن- Peace be upon you and the mercy of God.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>تزداد الاصرارا على ان نسعى مع المصريين- It increases our efforts to work with the Egyptians.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.4: Selected concordance lines of the IKW جامعة/altogether

The high frequency employment of this word throughout the speeches can be interpreted as an attempt by Morsi to create strong concordance among all social groups and to incorporate them in his definition of the new Egypt.

As mentioned earlier, frequency alone is not sufficient to judge the ideological content of a word. Further analysis was conducted to investigate the context of the collocation. A collocation list was generated to detect all co-occurrences of the words/phrases describing جامعة/altogether in the original Arabic corpus, then collocates with evaluative meaning were selected. The results are presented in Table 4.5.

^{14} It is important to state that concordance lines provided for each IKW were restricted to only those containing collocations with evaluative meaning.
By examining the context of these collocates and the semantic prosody of the concordance lines, it was found that, initially, the logic of difference prevailed in Morsi’s rhetoric with regard to the theme of Unity. In constructing his unity discourse, Morsi attempted to unify the deeply divided Egyptian society, evident from the presidential election results, and to enfeeble the social repulsion between Islamists and those who feared their domination. He aimed to incorporate various social actors and groups, connecting contingent social elements in an ostensibly coherent unity. He also articulated a wide range of demands separately, with the objective of convincing the Egyptians that all these demands would be met if they united and cooperated in his national project.

The analysis of concordance lines reveals Morsi’s insistence on the importance of good relations between Copts and Muslims alike. His intention was also to reassure the women that their rights were preserved and would even be improved.

Based on the above observations, it can be concluded that the high frequency use of جميعا/altogether is interpreted as Morsi’s aim to establish an integration of identities under the umbrella of a united nationalist identity of the people of Egypt. This nodal point focuses on accommodating the many identities, whether liberals, socialists, Salafists, Muslim Brotherhood members, Copts and other social groups and minorities in the nationalist identity of Egyptian people, by means of inscribing their separate legitimate demands in the universal call for order and unity necessary for the nation to achieve both progress and internal peace.

4.3.2 The node: دستور/constitution and its related forms

Table 4.6 displays concordance lines of the IKW دستور/constitution and its related forms as extracted from the original Arabic corpus.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>الخصائص المطلوبة للنافذة</th>
<th>الدستور</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>الجنس أو اللون أو الدين ك ما نصب على ذلك</td>
<td>دستور</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>تاريكي مشوه، أدى التفضيل ل مصر و ل المصريين</td>
<td>دستور</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>فضلاً من رئيس و لا إملاه من مستعمر، لكنه</td>
<td>دستور</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>تستقر ب الإشادة في أن يكون ل مصر</td>
<td>دستور</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>نتائج تراجع إلى جميعا و نحن كملى</td>
<td>دستور</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>النافذة لا ينص على وجود نائب ل الرئيس. ان</td>
<td>دستور</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>يجب كرامة الإنسان و يصون حرياته و هو</td>
<td>دستور</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>حيث يستوي الجمع بين جميع حقوقه و هو</td>
<td>دستور</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>يضمن حريات العامة و الخاصة و حماية</td>
<td>دستور</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>يضمن على مساحة الدولة و يضمن هنا القانون</td>
<td>دستور</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>يتضمن حريات الفكر و الابتكار و الابداع و يرسخ</td>
<td>دستور</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>يضمن للوظيفة الرئاسية فريضة و ركيزة لنداء</td>
<td>دستور</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>المتحدة الوطنية فريضة و ركيزة لنداء</td>
<td>دستور</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>يحافظ على حقوق العمال و الفلاحين و يحمي</td>
<td>دستور</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>يحمي حقوق المرأة في كلها لا تكرم في هذه الحالة</td>
<td>دستور</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>يضمن الحرية الفكرية و الابداع و يرسخ</td>
<td>دستور</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>يضمن للكرامة الشخصية و يحمي</td>
<td>دستور</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>يضمن للحرية و الابداع و يرسخ</td>
<td>دستور</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>يضمن للكرامة الشخصية و يحمي</td>
<td>دستور</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>يضمن للحرية و الابداع و يرسخ</td>
<td>دستور</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>يضمن للكرامة الشخصية و يحمي</td>
<td>دستور</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 4.6: Selected concordance lines of the IKW/constitution and its related forms**

It seems necessary to provide a brief background to the political atmosphere surrounding the drafting and approval of the constitution of Egypt during Morsi’s rule, prior to analysing the concordance lines of the IKW. Undeniably, the constitution drafting process was one of the most crucial issues facing Egypt after the revolution. Controversy was prevalent, revolving mainly around who was consulted in the process and who was not. In the view of those excluded from the constitution drafting process, Morsi grabs dictatorial powers capable of shaping the constitution and Egypt’s future. Morsi and his regime decided, in cooperation with the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces, to organize parliamentary elections prior to the drafting of the constitution. The regime then lobbied to ensure that a 100-member Constituent Assembly would be elected by the parliament. The regime felt confident that it would be victorious in the polls because of its large mobilization capacity and the political inexperience of the many different revolutionary fractions in Egypt which would, consequently, give it a decisive say in appointing the...
Constitutional Assembly. The regime secured the results they wanted; this constitution was approved by 77.3 percent in a referendum (Pargeter, 2013, pp.221-224). However, a large number of Egyptians accused the regime of rigging these results. This led Morsi to try to persuade the public that the new constitution was a roadmap to a better future for them and for the country.

Table 4.7 is an analysis of concordance lines of the IKW/دستور/constitution and its related forms, displaying the collocates embracing an evaluative meaning.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Collocate</th>
<th>LT</th>
<th>Collocate</th>
<th>LT</th>
<th>Collocate</th>
<th>LT</th>
<th>Collocate</th>
<th>LT</th>
<th>Collocate</th>
<th>LT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>جديد</td>
<td>New</td>
<td>حر</td>
<td>Free</td>
<td>اختاره الشعب</td>
<td>Approved by people</td>
<td>تستقر به الأوضاع</td>
<td>Stabilizes the situation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>يعنى كرامة الإنسان ويصور حرية رجله</td>
<td>Promotes human dignity and preserves his freedom</td>
<td>يضمن لفترة العيش الكافحة</td>
<td>Ensures working people’s bread</td>
<td>يشكل حرية الفكر والأي والابداع</td>
<td>Guarantees the freedom of thought, opinion and creativity</td>
<td>يجعل من الوحدة الوطنية فريضة</td>
<td>Imposes national unity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>يسمح بتكوين الأحزاب وإصدار الصحف</td>
<td>Allows formation of parties and issuing newspapers</td>
<td>يحافظ على هوية مصر العربية والإسلامية</td>
<td>Preserves the Arab and Islamic identity of Egypt</td>
<td>عظيم جدا</td>
<td>Very great</td>
<td>بارادة الأمة</td>
<td>By the will of the nation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>يقوم على العدل</td>
<td>Based on justice</td>
<td>العظيم</td>
<td>The great</td>
<td>اقره الشعب</td>
<td>Endorsed by people</td>
<td>الذي منحته لأنفسكم</td>
<td>Which you granted to yourselves</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>يجعل رئيس الجمهورية خادما للشعب</td>
<td>Makes the president a servant to his people</td>
<td>يعبر عن التوافق الوطني</td>
<td>Represents national consensus</td>
<td>يفصل بين السلطات</td>
<td>Separates between authorities</td>
<td>يحمي حقوق العمال والفلاحين</td>
<td>Preserves the rights of workers and farmers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.7: Evaluative collocates of دستور/constitution and its related forms

The analysis of collocates of the IKW دستور/constitution reveals that they fall within the syntactic categories of adjectives or adjectival phrases. Besides, the identification of semantic prosodies of concordances shows that all these collocates seem to carry positive connotations.
and can thus be grouped under what is called positive description. De Vos (2003, p.163) maintains that political conflicts are conceived of as “struggles between conflicting discourses that strive to impose their own system of meaning”. For Morsi, winning this discursive battle could be achieved via the employment of positive descriptions in order to create a positive image in people’s minds, and illustrates his attempt to turn public opinion towards supporting the new constitution. The use of the collocates *Makes the president a servant to his people, Guarantees the freedom of thought and opinion, Allows formation of parties and issuing newspapers, Preserves the Arab and Islamic identity of Egypt and Separates between authorities*, appears to carry a semantic prosody of a ban on favouritism and corruption. Promises of a democratic state, political and social justice, political pluralism, freedom of speech and the press and a reinforcement of Islamic and Arab solidarity also appear to be embraced.

4.3.3 The node: نهضة/renaissance and its related forms

Morsi’s vision of reconstructing a country that requires stability and unity was evident in his Renaissance discourse. His narrative reflects his goal to build a state that fosters access to education, healthcare, jobs, investment and business building opportunities, and to protect the rights and dignity of Egyptians inside and outside Egypt.

To analyse Morsi’s vision of Renaissance, concordance lines of the IKW نهضة/renaissance and its related forms in the original Arabic corpus were generated. Table 4.8 shows concordance lines of the node.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>شاملة وسط ظروف محلية واقليمية ودولية</th>
<th>نهضة</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>جدلا ل مصر . مصر الحرية والكرامة . مصر</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>الاقتصاد ورفع المعاناة عن ملاليين المصريين</td>
<td>نهضة</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>هذه الأمة و لكن هناك منظومة من الاهداف</td>
<td>نهضة</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>الشاملة . قد تحقق قدر معقول من الأمن و</td>
<td>نهضة</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>بلدي و الانتقال ب إلى مرحلة جديدة نبدأ</td>
<td>نهضة</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>مصر و دفع قاطرة التنمية .. والبشر والخبرة</td>
<td>نهضة</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ل مصر تتفاخر ب ها الجوانب و تحتضن مصر في</td>
<td>نهضة</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>القادة والشعب المصري العظيم مصرون على بناء</td>
<td>نهضة</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>كبري . أدرك أن المصريين لا بد أن يحذروا</td>
<td>نهضة</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>كبري ب قولنا نما نافذة وإجادة نا .</td>
<td>نهضة</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>وراء عنا هذا الوطن ! اننا ل تحقق نهضة</td>
<td>نهضة</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>هذا الوطن و نحن نحمي ارضنا و لكننا</td>
<td>نهضة</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>و تنمية مصرية حقيقية ل ل توظيف حقيقي ل كل</td>
<td>نهضة</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>الانتقال نحو مشروع شامل نحو جميعا ل .</td>
<td>نهضة</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ادعي كم الى الانتقال نحو مشروع شامل ل مصريين</td>
<td>نهضة</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>مصريين ب سواعد كل المصريين .. إننا ك مصريين</td>
<td>نهضة</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>نحن نجهز أن دينامجا الكرامة والاستقرار</td>
<td>نهضة</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.8: Selected concordance lines of the IKW نهضة/renaissance and its related forms
Ideologically charged collocates of the IKW Renaissance and its related forms are displayed in Table 4.9.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Collocate</th>
<th>LT</th>
<th>Collocate</th>
<th>LT</th>
<th>Collocate</th>
<th>LT</th>
<th>Collocate</th>
<th>LT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>شاملة</td>
<td>Comprehensive</td>
<td>بلدي</td>
<td>My country</td>
<td>هذه الأمة</td>
<td>This nation</td>
<td>مصرية</td>
<td>Egyptian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>كبرى</td>
<td>Great</td>
<td>هذا الوطن</td>
<td>This country</td>
<td>مصر</td>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>الاقتصاد</td>
<td>The economy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.9: Evaluative collocates of the IKW Renaissance and its related forms

These collocates and related forms clearly reveal the presence of nationalistic sentiment. The employment of words such as country, nation, Egypt and Egyptians in association with the theme of renaissance represents Morsi’s twofold discursive strategy. First, it embodies the logic of difference, discussed previously and an aim of accommodating many identities in the nationalist identity of the Egyptian people by means of inscribing their separate legitimate demands in the universal call for order and unity necessary for the Nation to achieve progress. It also indicates that almost every social actor is urged to inscribe their demands in this comprehensive Egyptian renaissance project that, by analysing discourse prosody, ensures dignity, stability and prosperity for all Egyptians.

4.3.4 The node: مسئولية/responsibility and its related forms

Table 4.10 displays concordance lines of the IKW مسئولية/responsibility and its related forms.

Table 4.10: Selected concordance lines of the IKW مسئولية/responsibility and its related forms
Concordances were further analysed in Table 4.11 to investigate the collocations of مسؤولية/responsibility and its related forms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Collocate</th>
<th>LT</th>
<th>Collocate</th>
<th>LT</th>
<th>Collocate</th>
<th>LT</th>
<th>Collocate</th>
<th>LT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>الشعب حملني</td>
<td>People oblige me to</td>
<td>اتحمل معكم</td>
<td>I endure with you</td>
<td>أقوم على هذه</td>
<td>I endure</td>
<td>أصمم معكم</td>
<td>I shoulder this</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>تحملت</td>
<td>I endured</td>
<td>مسؤوليتنا جميعا</td>
<td>Our responsibility together</td>
<td>كبيرة</td>
<td>Big</td>
<td>حماية الوطن</td>
<td>Securing the country</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.11: Evaluative collocates of مسؤولية/responsibility and its related forms

The analysis of collocates of the IKW مسؤولية/responsibility and its related forms reveals that these collocates centre on a main theme in which Morsi evidently presents himself as responsible for serving the Egyptians’ interests. This is represented by the use of the verb endure (and its derivatives) plus the pronoun I, as in اتحمل /I shoulder, أقوم على هذه/I shouldered this, اتحمل معكم/I endured. Further, the use of the collocates الشعب حملني/people oblige me to, اتحمل معكم/I endure with you, مسؤوليتنا جميعا/our responsibility together, denote Morsi’s specific tactic in addressing the people. This tactic stresses the theme of unity and implies that the people are the source of power and are mutually responsible for managing their country’s affairs.

4.3.5 The node: عظيم/the great and its related forms

Concordance lines of the IKW عظيم/the great and its related forms are displayed in Table 4.12 and are further analysed for their ideological intent.
جئت أمامكم كأنتم مصدر السلطة والأمة العظيمة، دبلوماسيًا وكان في هذا المجال. نحن串

تلت手中的 الديمقراطية لم تكن في في هذا المجال.

الله رحمة وكرامة وشفاء، و两国 ينتخبون في هذا المجال.

في مصر، ونعمل لتحقيق كل أهدافها.

ب شعبها، ونعمل لتحقيق كل أهدافها.

ومن الشعب المصري العظيم.

لتحول كل الشعب المصري.

لتحقيق كل أهدافها.

ب شعبها، ونعمل لتحقيق كل أهدافها.

ومن الشعب المصري العظيم.

لتحقيق كل أهدافها.

ب شعبها، ونعمل لتحقيق كل أهدافها.

ومن الشعب المصري العظيم.

لتحقيق كل أهدافها.

ب شعبها، ونعمل لتحقيق كل أهدافها.

ومن الشعب المصري العظيم.

لتحقيق كل أهدافها.

ب شعبها، ونعمل لتحقيق كل أهدافها.

ومن الشعب المصري العظيم.

لتحقيق كل أهدافها.

ب شعبها، ونعمل لتحقيق كل أهدافها.

ومن الشعب المصري العظيم.

لتحقيق كل أهدافها.

ب شعبها، ونعمل لتحقيق كل أهدافها.

ومن الشعب المصري العظيم.

لتحقيق كل أهدافها.

ب شعبها، ونعمل لتحقيق كل أهدافها.

ومن الشعب المصري العظيم.

لتحقيق كل أهدافها.

ب شعبها، ونعمل لتحقيق كل أهدافها.

ومن الشعب المصري العظيم.

لتحقيق كل أهدافها.

ب شعبها، ونعمل لتحقيق كل أهدافها.

ومن الشعب المصري العظيم.

لتحقيق كل أهدافها.

ب شعبها، ونعمل لتحقيق كل أهدافها.

ومن الشعب المصري العظيم.

لتحقيق كل أهدافها.

ب شعبها، ونعمل لتحقيق كل أهدافها.

ومن الشعب المصري العظيم.

لتحقيق كل أهدافها.

ب شعبها، ونعمل لتحقيق كل أهدافها.

ومن الشعب المصري العظيم.

لتحقيق كل أهدافها.

ب شعبها، ونعمل لتحقيق كل أهدافها.

ومن الشعب المصري العظيم.

لتحقيق كل أهدافها.

ب شعبها، ونعمل لتحقيق كل أهدافها.

ومن الشعب المصري العظيم.

لتحقيق كل أهدافها.

ب شعبها، ونعمل لتحقيق كل أهدافها.

ومن الشعب المصري العظيم.

لتحقيق كل أهدافها.

ب شعبها، ونعمل لتحقيق كل أهدافها.

ومن الشعب المصري العظيم.

لتحقيق كل أهدافها.

ب شعبها، ونعمل لتحقيق كل أهدافها.

ومن الشعب المصري العظيم.

لتحقيق كل أهدافها.

ب شعبها، ونعمل لتحقيق كل أهدافها.

ومن الشعب المصري العظيم.

لتحقيق كل أهدافها.

ب شعبها، ونعمل لتحقيق كل أهدافها.

ومن الشعب المصري العظيم.

لتحقيق كل أهدافها.

ب شعبها، ونعمل لتحقيق كل أهدافها.

ومن الشعب المصري العظيم.

لتحقيق كل أهدافها.

ب شعبها، ونعمل لتحقيق كل أهدافها.

ومن الشعب المصري العظيم.

لتحقيق كل أهدافها.

ب شعبها، ونعمل لتحقيق كل أهدافها.

ومن الشعب المصري العظيم.

لتحقيق كل أهدافها.
Concordances were inspected to isolate collocates of the IKW “عظيم”/the great and its related forms, and presented in Table 4.13.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Collocate</th>
<th>LT</th>
<th>Collocate</th>
<th>LT</th>
<th>Collocate</th>
<th>LT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>الثورة</td>
<td>Revolution</td>
<td>المنظومة</td>
<td>The system</td>
<td>الديمقراطية</td>
<td>The democracy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>القيادات</td>
<td>The leaderships</td>
<td>الأمم</td>
<td>The nations</td>
<td>مسؤوليتها</td>
<td>Its responsibility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>هذا اليوم</td>
<td>This day</td>
<td>الانطلاق</td>
<td>The transition</td>
<td>شعب مصر</td>
<td>Egyptian people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>جهود القوات المسلحة</td>
<td>The effort of our armed forces</td>
<td>الشباب</td>
<td>The youth</td>
<td>تاريخ مصر</td>
<td>The history of Egypt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>جيش مصر</td>
<td>The Egyptian army</td>
<td>دستورنا</td>
<td>Our constitution</td>
<td>تخضيبات</td>
<td>sacrifices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>مستقبل</td>
<td>Future</td>
<td>مسيرة</td>
<td>March</td>
<td>مسؤوليات</td>
<td>Responsibilities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>إنجازات</td>
<td>Achievements</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.13: Evaluative collocates of “عظيم”/the great and its related forms

An examination of the collocates of the IKW “عظيم”/the great and its related forms shows that they are used to describe the revolution, the shift in the socio-political scene in Egypt, the people, the constitution and the army. The use of this adjective can be interpreted as Morsi’s attempt to enhance the nationalist narrative, indispensable for the popularity of the military,
particularly since the constitution (another collocate of the same word) was highly favourable towards the military.

4.3.6 The node: سلمية/peaceful and its related forms

Another adjective that was extracted from the keywords list is سلمية/peaceful. Concordance lines of this IKW and its related forms are given in Table 4.14.

As with other IKWs, concordances were inspected to find collocates of the node and are presented in Table 4.15.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Collocate</th>
<th>LT</th>
<th>Collocate</th>
<th>LT</th>
<th>Collocate</th>
<th>LT</th>
<th>Collocate</th>
<th>LT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ثورة</td>
<td>Revolution</td>
<td>العمل الثوري</td>
<td>The revolutionary work</td>
<td>العمل السياسي</td>
<td>The political work</td>
<td>cket</td>
<td>Way</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>التعبير</td>
<td>The expression</td>
<td>التظاهر</td>
<td>Protesting</td>
<td>المتظاهرين</td>
<td>The protesters</td>
<td>نظام</td>
<td>Regime</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.14: Selected concordance lines of the IKW سلمية/peaceful and its related forms

Table 4.15: Evaluative collocates of سلمية/peaceful and its related forms
As seen in Table 4.15, the adjective سلامية/peaceful and its related forms are used to describe, among others, the revolution and revolutionary work. This seems to mirror the situation during the 18 days of the revolution. Egyptians from different backgrounds put their differences aside and showed a strong sense of unity to achieve a common goal, i.e. the peaceful ouster of Mubarak.

4.4 Ideological keywords related to Morsi and his regime’s unique competence

This category, referring to the discourse with which Morsi and his regime seem to ground their uniqueness, is their claim for internal and external reform. It encompasses words describing Morsi and his regime as the key actors in Egypt after the revolution, and the political areas in which they claim to have unique competence, i.e. the image they project. It also includes ideological words describing people associated with this phase, namely the reigning regime and its supporters.

As mentioned in Section 4.1, this claimed unique competence rests on several ideological and political themes and the list of ideological keywords elucidating them focuses mainly on the verbs selected as ideologically charged words. Verbs with ideological potential were selected as the analysis of their concordances is revealing about Morsi’s deployment of uniqueness structures and about themes and policies he and his regime want to be associated with. These verbs are:

احافظ/I keep, نحافظ/we keep, ادعو/I call, نعمل/we work and أؤكد/I affirm.

Hassan (2012) argues that the Arab Spring cannot be described merely as a series of revolutions\textsuperscript{15} in terms of “refusal to obey”. He introduces the term “refo-lution” to represent the “paradoxical combination of revolution and reform” or “revolution through reform” (Hassan, 2012, online). It could be said that Morsi’s focus on issues of reform in his speeches is designed to persuade the people that his administration is responding to their demands, and to reflect a vision of the future in a way that would appeal to most Egyptians.

4.4.1 The Node: احافظ/I keep and its inflections

Concordance lines of احافظ/I keep and its inflections were inspected to search for collocates with evaluative meaning. These are displayed in Table 4.16.

\textsuperscript{15} In politics, the word revolution is generally defined as ”The overthrow of an established order which will involve the transfer of state power from one leadership to another” (McLean and McMillan, 2009, p.125).
لا يوجد نص يمكن قراءته بشكل طبيعي من الصورة المقدمة.
Political survival could arguably depend on having, or at least claiming to have, the unique competence of possessing the only solution to a problem. An analysis reveals that Morsi’s self-proclaimed competence is grounded in concrete ideological themes related entirely to keeping Egypt an independent, democratic and sovereign state. He also focuses on preserving elements supporting this ideological theme, namely, the armed forces, the police, the jurisdiction and international treaties and conventions. It can be argued that Morsi, with his focus on preserving Egypt, is presenting himself and his regime as saviours from the negative consequences some Arab countries faced after the revolutions of the Arab Spring. He claims unique competence by stressing the fact that Egypt will only be kept safe under his rule. This seems to be manifested by the use of الحافظ/I keep and its inflections, each employed in 11 texts (see Table 4.2a), and which are likely to provoke the people’s positive assessment of the future of Egypt under his rule.

4.4.2 The Node: ادعو/I call and its related inflections

Table 4.18 shows the resulting selection of concordances of ادعو/I call and its inflections.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ادعو</th>
<th>ممالي أو المنشات أو مراكز الاحزاب هذا مرفض.</th>
<th>المجموعة التي انضمت إلى انتخابات الرئاسة و انتخب ل كرئيس للجامعة.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ادعو</td>
<td>انتخب ل كرئيس للجامعة.</td>
<td>يتقدم للإنتخابات الرئاسية.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ادعو</td>
<td>يتقدم للإنتخابات الرئاسية.</td>
<td>يتقدم للإنتخابات الرئاسية.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ادعو</td>
<td>يتقدم للإنتخابات الرئاسية.</td>
<td>يتقدم للإنتخابات الرئاسية.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ادعو</td>
<td>يتقدم للإنتخابات الرئاسية.</td>
<td>يتقدم للإنتخابات الرئاسية.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ادعو</td>
<td>يتقدم للإنتخابات الرئاسية.</td>
<td>يتقدم للإنتخابات الرئاسية.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ادعو</td>
<td>يتقدم للإنتخابات الرئاسية.</td>
<td>يتقدم للإنتخابات الرئاسية.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ادعو</td>
<td>يتقدم للإنتخابات الرئاسية.</td>
<td>يتقدم للإنتخابات الرئاسية.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ادعو</td>
<td>يتقدم للإنتخابات الرئاسية.</td>
<td>يتقدم للإنتخابات الرئاسية.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ادعو</td>
<td>يتقدم للإنتخابات الرئاسية.</td>
<td>يتقدم للإنتخابات الرئاسية.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ادعو</td>
<td>يتقدم للإنتخابات الرئاسية.</td>
<td>يتقدم للإنتخابات الرئاسية.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.18: Selected concordance lines of the IKW ادعو/I call and its inflections

Table 4.19 presents collocates of the verb ادعو/I call and its inflections which have evaluative meanings.
An analysis of the lists of collocates of the verbs ادعو/I call and its inflections reveals that Morsi is aiming to convincingly present his objectives and those of his regime. At that time, the Egyptians’ interests—the universal claim—were unity, order and progress. The socio-economic deterioration caused by the lack of these factors was strongly felt; Morsi presents his political project as A program to fill that lack.

### 4.4.3 The Node: نعمل/we work and its inflections

Concordance lines of نعمل/we work and its inflections are displayed in Table 4.20.
Evaluative collocates of نعمل/we work and its inflections are presented in Table 4.21.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Collocate</th>
<th>LT</th>
<th>Collocate</th>
<th>LT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>باكسي ما نستطيع</td>
<td>As hard as we can</td>
<td>نيل نهار</td>
<td>Day and night</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>تشجيع الاستثمار</td>
<td>Encourage investment</td>
<td>راحة المواطن</td>
<td>The comfort of our people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>لتمتلك ارادة لنا</td>
<td>To possess our will</td>
<td>لحقوق الجميع</td>
<td>The rights of everybody</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>لمستقبل مصر</td>
<td>For the future of Egypt</td>
<td>إيصال النموذج المصري العصري</td>
<td>Foregrounding the modern Egyptian model</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.21: Evaluative collocates of نعمل/we work and its inflections

Collocational analysis of the verb نعمل/we work and its inflections shows that Morsi uses highly positive adjectives to describe the way he and his government work to achieve their goals of prosperity and development.

4.4.4 The Node: أؤكد/I affirm and its inflections

Concordance lines of أؤكد/I affirm and its inflections can be found in Table 4.22.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>أؤكد</th>
<th>أؤكد</th>
<th>أؤكد</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>على ضرورة الحقيقة فيما ب خطوات ثابتة نحو</td>
<td>أؤكد</td>
<td>أؤكد</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ضرورة تطبيق إجراءات عادلة ل ضمان وصول الدعم</td>
<td>أؤكد</td>
<td>أؤكد</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ان من المستحيل بعد ثورة 25 يناير ان يملي</td>
<td>أؤكد</td>
<td>أؤكد</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ل كم ان ه ب معاصر تضامينا نا جميعا و أعلام</td>
<td>أؤكد</td>
<td>أؤكد</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>المنشئة في هذا الجانب في المستقبل . ان نا</td>
<td>أؤكد</td>
<td>أؤكد</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ان المجرمين لا بد ان يحاسبوا و لا تراجع</td>
<td>أؤكد</td>
<td>أؤكد</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ان لجيء جمعو ساموسا في هذا الانتصار</td>
<td>أؤكد</td>
<td>أؤكد</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ع على تفاصيل السابقة ب الالتزام التام في</td>
<td>أؤكد</td>
<td>أؤكد</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>دولار في عام 2012 . في ذكرى ثورة الحرية</td>
<td>أؤكد</td>
<td>أؤكد</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>يكون الاحتفال ب الفعل لا القول فقط و ل ذلك</td>
<td>أؤكد</td>
<td>أؤكد</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.22: Selected concordance lines of the IKW أؤكد/I affirm and its inflections

Evaluative collocates of أؤكد/I affirm and its inflections are displayed in Table 4.23.
Collocate | LT | Collocate | LT | Collocate | LT
--- | --- | --- | --- | --- | ---
تضافرنا جميعًا | The unity of all of us | اتباع الأوضاع الأمنية بنفسه | I monitor the security situation myself | مشاركة القوات المسلحة في حفظ الأمن الداخلي | The participation of the Armed Forces in preserving the internal security
دعوني للجميع للحوار الوطني | My invitation to all Egyptians for a national dialogue | على ضرورة المضي قدما | The necessity to go forward | ضرورة تطبيق إجراءات عادلة | The necessity to implement fair measures

Table 4.23: Evaluative collocates of اُكد/I affirm and its inflections

An analysis of the collocations of the verb اُكد/I affirm and its inflections reveals that they are concerned with what constitutes a priority and a necessity in the post-revolution stage. By foregrounding themes such as Unity, Security, Development and Justice, expressed in words that contribute to the positive in-group representation, Morsi aims to show how relevant these themes are for his regime’s interests and thus affect people’s minds.

4.5 The analysis of negation in the original Arabic corpus: the node لن/not

The analysis of Morsi’s political image and his regime leads to an investigation of the image they did not wish to project; this is a reverse process in which instances where particular ideological categories co-occur with a negation (not) are studied. As illustrated in Section 4.1, the IKW investigated is لن/not and is used in the negation of particular qualities which Morsi and his regime claim not to have. Selected concordance lines of لن/not are in Table 4.24.

| لن | لن | لن | لن | لن
--- | --- | --- | --- | ---
نسمح ل أحد الاعتداء على دور العبادة. | لن يعتدي على أحد و لكننا قادرون جميعًا أن نحميه. | لن نفرط في حقوقهم. | لن نفرط في حقوق PvP. | لن ننسى ما نجني من نصر أكتوبر.
نترك القرية ل الخيريين ل كي يبنوا إلى الآن. | لن ندعهم يزيدون من أضرارهم. | لن نفرط في حقوق PvP. | لن نفرط في حقوق PvP. | لن ننسى ما نجني من نصر أكتوبر.
يتقبل أحد كائنًا من كان شينًا من حقوقهم. | لن نتعدي على أحد و لكننا قادرون جميعًا أن نحميه. | لن نفرط في حقوقهم. | لن نفرط في حقوق PvP. | لن ننسى ما نجني من نصر أكتوبر.
كما جمعنا في مكان واحد و على مشروع واحد و القرار بارادة ل كل من أنجز حقهم. | لن ندعهم يزيدون من أضرارهم. | لن نفرط في حقوقهم. | لن نفرط في حقوق PvP. | لن ننسى ما نجني من نصر أكتوبر.
انتهاء في الانزاع أي صلاحية من صلاحيات رئيس | لن ندعهم يزيدون من أضرارهم. | لن نفرط في حقوقهم. | لن نفرط في حقوق PvP. | لن ننسى ما نجني من نصر أكتوبر.
انتهاء في حق من حقوق شهادى ها و الجرحى | لن ندعهم يزيدون من أضرارهم. | لن نفرط في حقوقهم. | لن نفرط في حقوق PvP. | لن ننسى ما نجني من نصر أكتوبر.
انتهاء في ساعون مع بكل لحظة من شهادى ها و الجرحى | لن ندعهم يزيدون من أضرارهم. | لن نفرط في حقوقهم. | لن نفرط في حقوق PvP. | لن ننسى ما نجني من نصر أكتوبر.
شديد الاحترام ل من دين في قلبي | لن ندعهم يزيدون من أضرارهم. | لن نفرط في حقوقهم. | لن نفرط في حقوق PvP. | لن ننسى ما نجني من نصر أكتوبر.
نعتدي على أحد و لكننا قادرون جميعًا أن نحميه. | لن ندعهم يزيدون من أضرارهم. | لن نفرط في حقوقهم. | لن نفرط في حقوق PvP. | لن ننسى ما نجني من نصر أكتوبر.
فلسفسة الإسلام و قبلي دول العالم. | لن ندعهم يزيدون من أضرارهم. | لن نفرط في حقوقهم. | لن نفرط في حقوق PvP. | لن ننسى ما نجني من نصر أكتوبر.
نفرط في حق أي مصري. | لن ندعهم يزيدون من أضرارهم. | لن نفرط في حقوقهم. | لن نفرط في حقوق PvP. | لن ننسى ما نجني من نصر أكتوبر.
بباقي دول العالم. بان نفرط في حقوق PvP. | لن ندعهم يزيدون من أضرارهم. | لن نفرط في حقوقهم. | لن نفرط في حقوق PvP. | لن ننسى ما نجني من نصر أكتوبر.
تمنى أيضًا أن يبقهم سامح في نفس أي من الهجر. و لن ندعهم يزيدون من أضرارهم. | لن نفرط في حقوقهم. | لن نفرط في حقوق PvP. | لن ننسى ما نجني من نصر أكتوبر.
يتعزى الآن. ول مات أخذهم من نداء الشعب. | لن ندعهم يزيدون من أضرارهم. | لن نفرط في حقوقهم. | لن نفرط في حقوق PvP. | لن ننسى ما نجني من نصر أكتوبر.
أكثر من ذلك من أجل مصلحة مصر و هذا و هذا. | لن ندعهم يزيدون من أضرارهم. | لن نفرط في حقوقهم. | لن نفرط في حقوق PvP. | لن ننسى ما نجني من نصر أكتوبر.

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تضيق ابدا ب المعارضة الوطنية الفاعلة. لن تسمح ابدا ب الجهاد والاقتتال ل ان الجهاد والاقتتال ل ان ينتهكنا بقينا شعرنا نسيطر على بعضنا البعض. لن يعود نظام سقط ب رموزه و لن يعود ل مناخ المساسوية المتداخلة بين كل الافراد و الايرادات. لن ينتقص أحد من حقوقهم من قالوا لاني (لا) لن يعود نظام سقط ب رموزه و لن يعود. لن تسمح ابدا ب ان يعمد احد الى القتل و التخريب لن يتفقوا مرة أخرى ل ف كم ان نفزع في حق اي مصري في الخارج لن تسمح ابدا ب ان يعمد احد الى القتل و التخريب لن يتفقوا مرة أخرى ل ف كم ان نفزع في حق اي مصري في الخارج

Table 4.24: Selected concordance lines of the IKW

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Collocate</th>
<th>LT</th>
<th>Collocate</th>
<th>LT</th>
<th>Collocate</th>
<th>LT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>تسمح ابدا ب فورم الخان الديني:</td>
<td>دعاء الوحيد من نفس البلد</td>
<td>انتزاع اي صلاحية من حقوقهم</td>
<td>تنازل عن اي هكذا من كان في كم</td>
<td>تنازل عن اي هكذا من كان في كم</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ينتقص حق من حقوق من قالوا لي (لا)</td>
<td>ينتقص حق من حقوق من قالوا لي (لا)</td>
<td>انتزاع أي صلاحية من حقوقهم</td>
<td>تنكر الفرصة للمخربين التي بيسينا</td>
<td>ينتقص احد كائنا من كان من حقوقهم</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>تنازل عن اي هكذا من كان في كم</td>
<td>تنازل عن اي هكذا من كان في كم</td>
<td>انتزاع أي صلاحية من حقوقهم</td>
<td>تنكر الفرصة للمخربين التي بيسينا</td>
<td>ينتقص احد كائنا من كان من حقوقهم</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>تنكر الفرصة للمخربين التي بيسينا</td>
<td>تنكر الفرصة للمخربين التي بيسينا</td>
<td>انتزاع أي صلاحية من حقوقهم</td>
<td>تنكر الفرصة للمخربين التي بيسينا</td>
<td>ينتقص احد كائنا من كان من حقوقهم</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>تعوي على احد</td>
<td>تعوي على احد</td>
<td>كافح أي مصري في الخارج</td>
<td>كافح أي مصري في الخارج</td>
<td>تعوي على احد</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>كافح أي مصري في الخارج</td>
<td>كافح أي مصري في الخارج</td>
<td>تعوي على احد</td>
<td>كافح أي مصري في الخارج</td>
<td>تعوي على احد</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ينتقص حق من حقوق من قالوا لي (لا)</td>
<td>ينتقص حق من حقوق من قالوا لي (لا)</td>
<td>كافح أي مصري في الخارج</td>
<td>كافح أي مصري في الخارج</td>
<td>تعوي على احد</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ينتقص حق من حقوق من قالوا لي (لا)</td>
<td>ينتقص حق من حقوق من قالوا لي (لا)</td>
<td>كافح أي مصري في الخارج</td>
<td>كافح أي مصري في الخارج</td>
<td>تعوي على احد</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>كافح أي مصري في الخارج</td>
<td>كافح أي مصري في الخارج</td>
<td>تعوي على احد</td>
<td>كافح أي مصري في الخارج</td>
<td>تعوي على احد</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Evaluative collocates obtained from a concordance analysis of the IKW أن/ not are not presented in Table 4.25.
The concordance lines carrying negative statements were examined and revealed that they were not employed to admit negative qualities such as the president’s or the government’s dereliction of duty, but rather to emphasize positive qualities by denying negative aspects. Table 4.25 contains forms of self-identification that Morsi is, in fact, aiming to apply to himself and his government’s achievement by negation, such as not allowing the return of the former regime or any of its symbols, not allowing amnesty for criminals and the commitment to international treaties. This might be seem understandable and even too obvious to be pointed out. Whilst, historically, Jihad has long been viewed as associated with Islamists’ ideology, however, since the terrorist attacks on 11 September, 2001, “Western policy-makers, mainstream media organs, and even academicians have been reluctant to highlight the key role played by Islamist ideology in motivating jihadist terrorist attacks” (Bale, 2013, online). Morsi seems to be aware of how this theme is perceived, and thus emphasizes his denial of any attempt to call for Jihad.

### 4.6 Ideological keywords related to the 25th January Revolution

Research on the Egyptian revolution highlights major reasons behind ousting the former Egyptian President, Hosni Mubarak, some of which attribute the revolution to the political

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16 In the book *Jihad Is the Way* the ideology of the Muslim Brotherhood is explained, including, the Muslim Brotherhood’s aims to establish an Islamic state, world domination under Islam, the public and personal religious duty of military Jihad, and the necessity of timing the ultimate Jihad properly. It is for these reasons most Arab governments used to punish them. They were imprisoned and subjected to the worst forms of physical and psychological torture.
climate that prevailed during his reign, such as the lack of rights and freedoms, corruption, oppression, the emergency law and the exclusion of opposition movements. Others point to socio-economic difficulties, inflation, high rates of unemployment, the vast wealth gap between rich and poor and the lack of health and social services, among many others, which resulted in the wide discontent of the Egyptians and the rapid overthrow of Mobarak (Khamis and Vaughn, 2011; Lagriffe, 2012).

These possible causes of the revolution appear in Morsi’s construction of his Revolution discourse in the sense that the revolution took place to eliminate these grievances and mark the birth of democracy in Egypt.

To analyse Morsi’s revolution discourse, concordance lines of the IKW ثورة/revolution and its related forms were generated to identify the qualities Morsi attributes to revolution. Table 4.26 displays sample results of these concordances.

4.6.1 The node: ثورة/revolution and its related forms

Selected concordance lines of the node ثورة/revolution and its related forms in the original Arabic corpus are in Table 4.26.
لا يوجد رأس النص أو نص مكتمل يمكن قراءته بشكل طبيعي. يُرجى تقديم نص واضح يمكن قراءته بشكل طبيعي.
From what is observed in the concordance analysis, the collocates of *revolution* in the original Arabic speeches reveal how Morsi’s rhetoric emphasises characteristics such as *greatness* and *peacefulness*. This seems to encompass a semantic prosody of dignity and pride. The explicit connection with themes of *victory*, *glory*, *possessing will* and *accommodating opposition* provide further support for the prosody of such connotations.

Furthermore, scanning the concordances demonstrates that the concept of *revolution* is positioned as the turning point towards democracy and a better future for Egypt and the Egyptians. This seems to be manifested through the employment of words such as *freedom* and *law and social justice*.

As shown in Table 4.2a, Morsi refers to the word revolution in 19 speeches (out of 20). Such frequent reference, with positive connotations and collocations (Table 4.27) can be interpreted as Morsi’s attempt to establish the idea that the shift to democratic rule - his rule - is introduced after the revolution that toppled the dictatorial rule of his predecessor, President Mubarak.

### 4.7 Ideological keywords related to Counter Revolutionaries and Egypt’s image before the Arab Spring

Although the choice of an analytical starting point is not an obvious one, as the concept of *Counter Revolutionaries* is potentially infinite, the focus was on how Morsi constructed his *Counter Revolutionaries* discourse, particularly with regard to the former regime and its remnants. *Counter Revolutionaries* is a vague concept, and as such an appropriate topic for investigation.

As explained in Section 4.2, in order to explore the concept of *Counter Revolutionaries*, the search terms /the former regime and the regime serve as a springboard for the analysis and assist in the identification of qualities Morsi attributes to Counter Revolutionaries. This concept is not limited to former President Mobarak, but it also refers to members of the despised state security service who fear the idea of being trailed due to their participation in crimes of torture against the Egyptians during Mobarak’s reign. Corrupt businessmen who reject the idea of prosecution or forfeiture of wealth are also included in this group.
4.7.1 The nodes/نظام/the former regime

Concordance lines containing the search term/نظام/the former regime were generated to examine Morsi’s Counter Revolutionaries discourse. Selected concordances are in Table 4.28.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Collocate</th>
<th>LT</th>
<th>Collocate</th>
<th>LT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>الذي اجرم</td>
<td>Who committed crimes</td>
<td>الدولة العميقة</td>
<td>The deep state and corruption</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>مستبد</td>
<td>Tyrannical</td>
<td>قادس</td>
<td>Corrupt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>الفوضي</td>
<td>The chaos</td>
<td>السلطة الظالمة</td>
<td>The unjust authority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>فرط في منا القومي</td>
<td>Sacrificed our national security</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.28: Selected concordance lines of/نظام/the former regime

Collocates with evaluative meaning that tend to be associated with these words and the phrases or patterns in which they occur were identified and the results given in Table 4.29.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Collocate</th>
<th>LT</th>
<th>Collocate</th>
<th>LT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>الذي اجرم</td>
<td>Who committed crimes</td>
<td>الدولة العميقة</td>
<td>The deep state and corruption</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>مستبد</td>
<td>Tyrannical</td>
<td>قادس</td>
<td>Corrupt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>الفوضي</td>
<td>The chaos</td>
<td>السلطة الظالمة</td>
<td>The unjust authority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>فرط في منا القومي</td>
<td>Sacrificed our national security</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.29: Evaluative collocates of/نظام/the former regime

Ideologies conveyed in these instances attempt to establish the negative image of the former regime and the Counter Revolutionaries in order to win sympathy. Discourse constructions are used to create a negative conceptualization by maintaining that Egypt once had a thriving economy and a key role in the regional and international political scene, until a corrupt and tyrannical regime tarnished its image through oppression and the absence of justice. Collocates of these two terms clearly contain negative ideological encapsulations and have a strong
psychological effect upon the recipients of this discourse as they contribute to dictatorship, tyranny and totalitarian rule.

4.8 Concluding remarks
This chapter examined the language Morsi uses to construct the revolution and the pre and post revolution socio-political situation in Egypt. Using a corpus containing 20 of his speeches, IKWs were studied through an analysis of their concordances, collocation and semantic prosody. Areas in which Morsi and his regime claim unique competence, the qualities they attribute to themselves and those they do not want to be associated with were analysed.

The analysis of unique competence showed the main themes Morsi and his regime aim to be associated with include unity of the people, the drafting of a new and democratic constitution and plans for a renaissance project, all issues relating to reform and safeguarding Egypt and its people.

Much can be understood about politicians and political parties’ self-perception by analysing negation. By using negation, Morsi defends himself and his regime from certain accusations such as the usurping of power, the possibility of allowing any of the symbols of the former regime to engage in the political process in Egypt, and to call for Jihad.

The analysis of the image of the revolution in Morsi’s discourse reveals and highlights his vision about its role in the democratic transfer of the country, and emphasises characteristics such as its greatness and peacefulness. This encompasses reference to victory, democracy and legitimacy as extracted from semantic and discourse prosody.

The analysis of the regime and the former regime generated results that suggest that corruption, tyranny and crimes are among the most important components of Morsi’s counter Revolutionary discourse. An investigation of the concordance lines of the regime and the former regime showed that Morsi predominantly employs these terms to create negative discourse prosody.
Chapter Five
Corpus-based Analysis of the Translations

This chapter examines ideology across the corpora of English translations as realised through ideological keywords (IKWs) derived from the analysis of twenty original Arabic speeches. As described in 3.3.6, the IKWs were used to initiate parallel concordance queries in the Arabic original corpus aligned with its five translations in order to analyse how these were rendered in the translations. The parallel concordances were then inspected manually.

5.1 Identifying ideology in the translations
The analysis in the present chapter was guided by the following research questions.
RQ2- Are there any consistent or recurrent shifts in the English translations with regard to their ideological intent in relation to the Arabic STs?
RQ3- To what extent does the distribution of possible instances of ideological manipulation vary across English translations?
RQ4- How can each English translation be evaluated from the perspective of ideological manipulation?

These research questions make it possible to identify patterns of similarities and differences between the Arabic STs and the English TTs with regard to the prevalence of the translators’ personal ideologies. The questions also aim to investigate whether there are instances of manipulating the STs ideology, and whether such a manipulation engenders any shift from the meaning intended in the original speeches.

With regard to the groupings of the nodes, a decision was made to group the nodes under two major sections: Section 5.2 covers the analysis of IKWs with potentially various (i.e. positive, negative and neutral) senses and references (e.g. دستور/constitution and ثورة/revolution); and Section 5.3 contains the analysis of IKWs with only a positive sense and reference (e.g. سلمية/peaceful and نهضة/renaissance). The analysis of IKWs in the translations conducted in Sections 5.2, 5.3, 5.4, 5.5 and 5.6 answer the relevant research questions and draw conclusions.

The first step in the analysis was to answer research question 2:
IKWs in the original Arabic corpus and the corpora of English translations were analysed as described in detail in the following sections.

5.2 The analysis of IKWs with potentially various senses and references
IKWs considered to belong to this category are: دستور/constitution; المسئولية/ the responsibility; مسئولية/ responsibility; ثورة/ revolution; العظيمة/ the great (feminine); العظم/ the great (masculine); النظام/ the regime and النظام السابق / the former regime; the negation (لن/ not) and the verbal nodes (أدعو/I call, نعمل/we work and أؤكد/I affirm).

The analysis of the IKWs with only positive associations (جميعا/ altogether, سلمية/ peaceful, نهضة/ renaissance, الحفاظ/ I keep and نحافظ/we keep) is performed in Section 5.3.

As mentioned in 3.4.2, the analysis of each IKW examines the word as well as its related forms. Therefore, IKW such as المسئولية/ responsibility is investigated with المسئولية/ responsibility, as it is one of its related forms. The same applies to the IKWs العظيمة/ the great (feminine), العظم/ the great (masculine), النهضة/ renaissance, الحفاظ/ I keep and نحافظ/we keep.

5.2.1 The node دستور/constitution and its related forms

Frequencies of occurrences of دستور/ constitution across the original Arabic corpus and the corpora of English translations were first calculated and a comparison of (dis)similarity between the frequencies of the node was detected and provided in Table 5.1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Corpus</th>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Tr.1</th>
<th>Tr.2</th>
<th>Tr.3</th>
<th>Tr.4</th>
<th>Tr.5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>Higher 73</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>Lower 69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type of change</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2 Explicitness</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2 omissions</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.1: Frequencies and frequency variations of دستور/ constitution and its related forms in the original Arabic corpus and corpora of English translations

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17 Pronouns and synonyms.
The results presented in Table 5.1 indicate that the frequency of the node is higher in the translation produced by Tr.3 than in the original Arabic corpus. This variation is due to explicitness, i.e. substituting the pronoun by the literal form of the word. On the other hand, Tr.5 made two omissions of the whole concept, which results in a lower frequency. Although an IKW might rank similarly with regard to frequency, a follow-up collocation analysis was conducted to extract information about the semantic prosody attached to it.

5.2.2 Coding scheme for concordance lines of دستور/constitution and its related forms

As mentioned in 3.3.6, collocations of the node were further coded into three categories, Positive Description, Neutral Description and Negative Description.

Table 5.2 displays the coding scheme of instances of the word دستور/constitution and its related forms in the original Arabic corpus as well as the corpora of English translations. Following the coding process, concordance lines of each category across all corpora were examined to detect instances of ideological manipulation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Tr.1</th>
<th>Tr.2</th>
<th>Tr.3</th>
<th>Tr.4</th>
<th>Tr.5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>81.7%</td>
<td>80.3%</td>
<td>81.7%</td>
<td>84.9%</td>
<td>81.7%</td>
<td>81.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15.5%</td>
<td>16.9%</td>
<td>15.5%</td>
<td>13.7%</td>
<td>15.5%</td>
<td>15.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative/</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pressure</td>
<td>2.8%</td>
<td>2.8%</td>
<td>2.8%</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
<td>2.8%</td>
<td>2.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.2: Description analysis results of دستور/constitution and its related forms in the original Arabic corpus and corpora of English translations

Before examining the frequencies in each category, it seems appropriate to return to the concept of discourse prosody (see 2.5.1) and the fact that the word constitution is invariably paired with a range of concepts that express discipline and the rule of law. There is nothing conspicuous about politicians speaking in favour of their own achievements while dismissing those of their opponents. Also, despite the fact that there was a tumultuous political atmosphere surrounding the drafting and the approval of the Egyptian constitution (see Chapter 4), the discourse prosody of constitution appears to be particularly positive in the original speeches.
By comparing percentages, the total number of the occurrences of دستور/constitution and its related forms varies across the different corpora, it can be surmised that there are no wide discrepancies to be found in the translators’ references to constitution. The collocations associated with constitution\(^{18}\) in the original Arabic corpus such as يكفل حرية الفكر والرأي والابداع/Guarantees the freedom of thought, opinion and creativity, يحمي حقوق العمال وال فلاحين/Preserves the rights of workers and farmers and يقوم على العدل/Based on justice, still co-occur with the word in the translations. The node دستور/constitution is linked to 81.7% positive, 15.5% neutral and 2.8% negative associations in the original Arabic corpus. The corresponding frequencies in Tr.1, Tr.2, Tr.4 and Tr.5 English translations appear to be roughly comparable and are not indicators of a concealed ideology.

The feature worth noting, however, is with regard to Tr.3. Frequencies in the positive category are higher than the original, amounting to 84.7%. This increase could suggest a political stance supporting the whole process of drafting and approving the constitutional public concerns. This seems to be supported by fewer instances in the neutral category, 13.9%, as well as in the negative description of pressure, 1.4%. Although there is one instance of this category in the original corpus, the addition of the word “great” juxtaposing “constitution” in Tr.3, in example 1, gives it a distinctly positive connotation.\(^{19}\)

**Example: 1\(^{20}\)**

شهدت تلك المرحلة جدلا سياسيا كبيرا حول عملية صياغة الدستور في مراحلها المختلفة.

Morsi’s Speech on the Approval of the Constitution

**Tr.1**

*That stage witnessed great political controversy about the constitution-drafting process in its various stages.*

**Tr.2**

*That stage witnessed considerable controversy over the drafting of the constitution in its various stages.*

\(^{18}\) See Table 4.5 for the complete list.

\(^{19}\) The chapter presents sample examples of ideological manipulation found in nodes. The whole set of ideological manipulation is provided in Appendix II.

\(^{20}\) The ideological representation in the ST is underlined, whereas instances of manipulation in the TT are in bold.
Tr.3

That period witnessed a wide political debate regarding the various stages of the process of drafting this great constitution.

Tr.4

The past period witnessed a great controversy about drafting the constitution in all its phases.

Tr.5

That period witnessed huge political controversy about the constitution-drafting process in its various stages.

As can be seen, the addition of the word great to precede constitution could be interpreted as an attempt to foreground it. In contrast, Tr.4 and Tr.5 used great and huge respectively to highlight the challenges of political turmoil that came after the drafting of the constitution.

Example 2 illustrates changes in transitivity patterns and lexical selection:

**Example: 2**

"لقد أقر الشعب الدستور بأغلبية قاربت الثلثين، ولكنني أقرر أن قطاعاً محترماً من شعبنا قد اختار أن يقول لا، وهذا حقهم لأن مصر الثورة لن تضيق أبداً بالمعارضة الوطنية الفاعلة".

Morsi’s Speech on the Approval of the Constitution

Tr.1

The Constitution was approved, but I decided to respect the considerable number of people who have chosen to say no, and this is their right because Egypt's revolution will never ignore the right of the active national opposition.

Tr.2

People have approved the Constitution by the majority of almost two-thirds, but I admit that a respectable segment of our people had objected it, and this is their right because Egypt's revolution will never ignore the right of active national opposition.

Tr.3

Almost all Egyptians have approved the Constitution, but I decided to respect the segment of our people who have chosen to say no, and this is their right because Egypt's revolution will respect the opposition rights.

Tr.4

The Constitution was approved by the majority of almost two-thirds of Egyptians, however, I do respect the stance of segment of our people who have chosen to say no, and this is their right because in post-revolution Egypt where the rights of the national opposition are fully respected.
Tr.5

*The Constitution was approved by a majority of almost two-thirds of voters, but people who have chosen to say no are respected as well, and this is their right within Egypt's revolution, which respects the right of active national opposition.*

Although Tr.2 and Tr.4 appear to reproduce the meaning intended by the original sentence as closely as possible, certain changes can be found in the translations of Tr.1, Tr.3 and Tr.5, which may result in an altered point of view. In the original text, Morsi is proposing that the Egyptian people approve the constitution, whereas the shift in transitivity patterns (from active to passive) by Tr.1 weakens the impact of the proposition. This is further strengthened by the deletion of the proposed percentage *almost two thirds* that immediately follows, which results in glossing over the identity and the actual number of the actors in the process.

With regard to Tr.3, the image is reversed. Firstly, the use of *Almost all Egyptians* to substitute the proposed percentage provides further emphasis on the actors and their number and gives an impression of clear support for the approval of the constitution. This is reinforced by the omission of the adjectives *active national*, which collocate with *opposition*.

Although reproducing the proposed percentage, Tr.5, on the other hand, opts for using *voters* rather than *people*. This particular fragment of rendering a significant number of the entire Egyptian nation to a significant number of voters only changes the expectations of the readers as to the actual numbers of people behind this general phrase.

5.2.3 The node مسئولية/responsibility and its related forms

This section provides a detailed investigation of the IKW مسئولية/responsibility and its related forms in the original Arabic corpus and corpora of English translations. Parallel concordances were generated to calculate frequencies and provide co-textual information of the node across all corpora. A concordance analysis was conducted to seek explanations for these variations.
Table 5.3 displays the frequencies and provides explanations for frequency variations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Corpus</th>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Tr.1</th>
<th>Tr.2</th>
<th>Tr.3</th>
<th>Tr.4</th>
<th>Tr.5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>Higher 36</td>
<td>Higher 39</td>
<td>Higher 38</td>
<td>Higher 36</td>
<td>Higher 33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type of change</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5 explicitness</td>
<td>3 language variations</td>
<td>3 language variations</td>
<td>3 language variations</td>
<td>1 language variations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5 explicitness</td>
<td>4 explicitness</td>
<td>2 explicitness</td>
<td>1 explicitness</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.3: Frequencies and frequency variations of مسئولة/responsibility and its related forms in the original Arabic corpus and corpora of English translations

A further analysis was carried out to detect instances of ideological manipulation.

5.2.4 Coding scheme for concordance lines of مسئولة/responsibility and its related forms

The coding scheme of مسئولة/responsibility and its related forms across the different corpora of English translations are shown in Table 5.4.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Tr.1</th>
<th>Tr.2</th>
<th>Tr.3</th>
<th>Tr.4</th>
<th>Tr.5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>96.8%</td>
<td>94.4%</td>
<td>97.4%</td>
<td>97.4%</td>
<td>97.2%</td>
<td>97%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.2%</td>
<td>5.6%</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
<td>2.8%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative/Pressure</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.4: Description analysis results of مسئولة/responsibility and its related forms in the original Arabic corpus and corpora of English translations

It appears that almost all instances of the occurrence of مسئولة/responsibility and its related forms are translated into comparable counterparts over the five translations. In the original Arabic speeches, the word occurred only once with a neutral description, and the remaining set of occurrences were classified as positive. Despite variations in frequency, this seems to be kept by Tr.2, Tr.3, Tr.4 and Tr.5.

With regard to Tr.1, there is a slight increase in the neutral description, which, upon examination of the relevant concordances, appears to result from changing the level of modality in the following sentence:
Example: 3

"وأعاهدكم أن أقوم على هذه المسئولية وإن اسعي معكم لكي تكونوا درعا واقفا حقا لهذا الوطن".

Morsi's speech during the graduation ceremony of a new class of the Military Academy

Tr.1
*I intend* to bear responsibility and work with you so that you would become a true protecting shield for this country.

Tr.2
*I pledge to you* to take on this responsibility and to work with you so that you would become a true protecting shield for this country.

Tr.3
*I promise you* to shoulder this responsibility, and to work with you so that you can be a real protective shield to this country.

Tr.4
*I pledge to you* to shoulder this responsibility and to work with you to secure real protection for this country.

Tr.5
*I promise you* to take on this responsibility and to work with you so that you would be the true defendants of this country.

The use of the verb “intend”, indicates a looseness as to “the degree of obligation attaching to the performance of certain actions” (Simpson, 1993, p.47). Although it could be argued that Tr.1 seems to present a similar ideological stance regarding the issue of protecting the country, the main difference springs from the way in which this issue is addressed. While the ST implies a strong sense of obligation manifested by the use of، اعاهدكم/I promise you, this sense of obligation seems to be reduced in the TT.

5.2.5 The node الثورة/revolution and its related forms

As illustrated earlier in Section 4.6, the analysis of this ideological category relies mainly on analysing concordance lines of الثورة/the revolution, ثورتنا/our revolution etc.).
Table 5.5 shows variations in the frequencies of ثورة/revolution and its related forms across the original Arabic corpus and corpora of English translations, and provides an explanation of these variations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Corpus</th>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Tr.1</th>
<th>Tr.2</th>
<th>Tr.3</th>
<th>Tr.4</th>
<th>Tr.5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>Lower 86</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>Higher 92</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>Lower 86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type of change</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5 language variations</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1 explicitness</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3 omissions 2 language variations</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.5: Frequencies and frequency variations of ثورة/revolution and its related forms in the original Arabic corpus and corpora of English translations

Although the word ثورة/revolution and its related forms occurred 103 times in the original STs, instances in which the concept of revolution refers to the Revolution of 25th January in particular were 91. The other occurrences denote either other revolutions in the region, or other Egyptian revolutions that erupted in the past.

With regard to the English translations, the analysis of parallel concordances of corpora of English translations shows some similar strategies in the ways translators deal with the word revolution. Some of these strategies can be related to the translators’ stylistic preferences without necessarily suggesting any ideological bias, but rather subtler and more subjective moves. These strategies range from substituting the word revolution by the date of its outbreak, i.e. 25th of January, to rendering the Arabic phrase رجال الثورة, which literally means men of the revolution into revolutionaries. Other reductions are due to the use of the transcription of the Arabic form ميدان الثورة/the Square of the Revolution which is rendered into the Square of Al-Thawra. It should be mentioned that these instances were not included in the search for ideological manipulation in the translation of the IKW ثورة/revolution.

A number of potentially ideological shifts and omissions are found and discussed in this section. It should be stressed that all instances denoting the concept revolution, whether in its literal form or any other substitution (for instance the use of the date 25th of January and the use of the transcription of the word form in Arabic), were all included in the coding scheme Table 5.6.
5.2.6 Coding scheme for concordance lines of ثورة/revolution and its related forms

Table 5.6 demonstrates the coding scheme of the node ثورة/revolution and its related forms in the original Arabic corpus and the corpora of English translations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Tr.1</th>
<th>Tr.2</th>
<th>Tr.3</th>
<th>Tr.4</th>
<th>Tr.5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>96.7%</td>
<td>93%</td>
<td>96.7%</td>
<td>98.9%</td>
<td>96.7%</td>
<td>94.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.2%</td>
<td>5.8%</td>
<td>2.2%</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>2.2%</td>
<td>4.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative/Pressure</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.1%</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.6: Description analysis results of ثورة/revolution and its related forms in the original Arabic corpus and corpora of English translations

The results of the original Arabic corpus as well as the corpora of English translations seem to suggest different political stances. More specifically, the relatively high percentage of ثورة/revolution and its related forms in the original Arabic corpus, particularly with positive description at 96.7%, indicate clear support for the Egyptian rebellion/upheaval and suggest that it was regarded as playing a central role in the speeches. The comparatively low percentage of the positive description of revolution in the translation produced by Tr.1 at 93%, however, could be interpreted as an attempt to reduce the positive aspects associated with this word. This is further supported by the relatively high results in the neutral description 5.8% in comparison to 2.2% of the original Arabic corpus. The same appears to be applicable for the translation of Tr.5 (94.2% in the positive description and 4.6% in the neutral one).

Moreover, a concordance analysis of the Tr.1 corpus reveals instances of a change in the lexical selection. Tr.1 uses the words coup, or change to substitute the word revolution:

**Example: 4**

"لقد قمنا بثورة سلمية عظيمة وكان فيها شهداء ودمهم غالي علينا جداً لكنها لم تكن ثورة دموية، وكان بها مصابين وروحهم وإصابتهم لا ننساها".

Morsi’s last speech before being overthrown

**Tr.1**

We have had a peaceful coup and there were martyrs whose blood is too precious. Some people were injured, and their wounds will not be forgotten.
Tr.2
We had a great peaceful revolution with martyrs that their blood was precious but it was not a bloody revolution. There were causalities that we will not forget their injuries and soles.

Tr.3
We have had a great peaceful revolution and there were martyrs whose blood is too precious although it was not a bloody revolution. Some people were injured and their wounds will not be forgotten.

Tr.4
We had a great peaceful revolution and although it was not bloody, there were martyrs whose blood is precious, and causalities whose injuries and soles will not be forgotten.

Tr.5
There were martyrs and causalities in the revolution, but we will not forget their injuries and soles.

Example: 5

"أقول حافظوا على مصر والثورة التي اكتسبناها بعرقنا ودماء شهدانا، ومسيرتنا عامين ونصفً.

Morsi’s last speech before being overthrown

Tr.1
I say keep Egypt and the change that we struggled to gain, blood of our martyrs, and our two years and a half of change.

Tr.2
I say keep Egypt and the revolution that we made by our sweat, blood, and two years and a half of hard work.

Tr.3
I say keep Egypt and the revolution we struggled to gain, blood of our martyrs, and our two years and a half of revolution.

Tr.4
I address the supporters and the opponents to look after Egypt and the revolution that we gained with our sweat, blood, and two years and a half of struggle.

Tr.5
I say to the supporters and the opponents keep Egypt and the revolution that we gained with our sweat, blood, and two years and a half of work.

Although maintaining the positivity of the propositions, the use of the word coup in example 4 aligns the public rebellion with a sense of violence and an illegal seizer of power from the government. The neutral word change, on the other hand, reduces the sense of the wide popular demand to overthrow Mobarak’s regime in favour of a new system and a better future.
Collocates of revolution in the original Arabic speeches (as presented in Table 4.14) reveal how Morsi’s rhetoric emphasised characteristics such as its greatness and peacefulness. This encompasses references to victory, democracy and legitimacy evoked by the employment of the collocates /dazzled the world, not bloody, peaceful and accommodates opposition. Collocation analysis of the node marks areas of other shifts. There are instances in which Tr.1 opts to omit positive collocation such as great (2 omissions), peaceful (2 omissions), unique (1 omission) and glorious (1 omission), as in example 6:

Example: 6

"أبناء الشعب المصري العظيم عاشت مصر في الأيام الماضية أوقاتا حرجة سالت فيها دماء مصرية غالية وتعرضت فيها منشآت عامة وخاصة لأعذاب أثاث تستر وتستر وراء التظاهرات النبيلة التي خرج فيها بعض أبناء مصر معبرين عن رأيهم سلمية في الذكرى الثانية لثورت 25 يناير المجيدة".

Morsi’s speech at the Canal Events

Tr.1

Dear Egyptian people, Egypt went in the last few days through a critical time in which precious blood was shed, and public and private institutions were targets to wicked aggressions that hide behind the noble demonstrations by which our countrymen took to the streets to express their opinions (omitted) on the second anniversary of the January 25th, Revolution.

Tr.2

Great Egyptian people, in the last few days Egypt undergone a critical time. Precious bloods were shed, and public and private institutions fell victims to evil violence, which was covered up behind the people’s demonstrations in which they took to the streets to peacefully express their opinions on the second anniversary of the glorious January 25th, Revolution.

Tr.3

Great people of Egypt, in the last few days, our country went through a severe situation. Invaluable Egyptian blood was shed and public and private institutions were subject to terrible aggressions that hide behind the noble demonstrations of our people who, in which they peacefully express their demands on the second anniversary of the glorious revolution of January 25th.

Tr.4

Great Egyptians, our country experienced a hard time in the last few days. Precious Egyptian bloods were shed, and institutions, public and private, fell victim to violent aggressions that hide behind the noble demonstrations of our people, who took to the streets to express their opinions peacefully on the second anniversary of the glorious January 25th, revolution.
Great Egyptian people, in the last few days we faced a very hard situation in which precious bloods were spilled. Public and private institutions were subject to wicked aggressions, which hide behind the noble demonstrations of our fellow citizens took to the streets to express their opinions peacefully on the second anniversary of the glorious January 25th, revolution.

The omission of the collocate المجدية/the glorious seems to remove or at least weaken the mystical connotation of the message of the ST. This is further emphasized by the omission of the word سلمية/peacefully.

With respect to other translations, it was found that the comparable frequencies of Tr.2 and the relatively comparable frequencies of Tr.4 and the inspection of concordance lines and semantic prosody of the word revolution in both corpora suggest a clear parallel between these translations and the original with regard to the concept of revolution.

Analysis results of Tr.3 appear to demonstrate a political stance supporting the revolution. This finding is supported by no negative description/description of pressure associated with the word revolution. A follow-up concordance scan further supports this finding. Tr.3 adds the adjectives historical and blessed to collocate with revolution in sentences in which they were not originally used.

The results of the negative description by the five translators indicate that none of them tend to reflect an anti-revolution attitude, or to present the revolution in Egypt in a negative way.

5.2.7 The node عظيم/great and its related forms

Table 5.7 displays frequencies of عظيم/great and its related forms in the original Arabic corpus and its five translations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Corpus</th>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Tr.1</th>
<th>Tr.2</th>
<th>Tr.3</th>
<th>Tr.4</th>
<th>Tr.5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>Lower 76</td>
<td>Higher 89</td>
<td>Higher 94</td>
<td>Higher 90</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type of change</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5 omissions</td>
<td>8 language variations</td>
<td>3 additions 10 language variations</td>
<td>8 language variations</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.7: Frequencies and frequency variations of عظيم/great and its related forms in the original Arabic corpus and corpora of English translations
By comparing lexical frequencies of the node in the original Arabic corpus and its five English translations, it is found that there are discrepancies in the distribution of the node. The lowest rate of frequencies is produced by Tr.1 (76 compared to 81 occurrences in the original Arabic).

The highest rate of frequencies, on the other hand, is produced by Tr.3 (94). Frequencies vary among Tr.2, Tr.4 and Tr.5. The concordance analysis is conducted to investigate such discrepancies. The increase in frequencies produced by Tr.2 and Tr.4 (89 occurrences by each translator) is attributed to instances in which the English word *great* is used in the translation of the Arabic word *كبير/big* and its derivatives. It could be said that almost all these instances serve semantic equivalence and do not seem to carry any ideological intent.

The instances that could carry a potential ideological meaning are found in the translations of Tr.1, Tr.3 and Tr.5. as illustrated with examples in 5.2.8.

### 5.2.8 Coding scheme for concordance lines of عظيم/great and its related forms

Table 5.8 presents the coding scheme of the node عظيم/great and its related forms in the original Arabic corpus and corpora of English translations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Tr.1</th>
<th>Tr.2</th>
<th>Tr.3</th>
<th>Tr.4</th>
<th>Tr.5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Positive</strong></td>
<td>81</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>98.9%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Neutral</strong></td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Negative/Pressure</strong></td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.8: Description analysis results of عظيم/great and its related forms in the original Arabic corpus and corpora of English translations

As presented in Table 4.13, the word *great* is employed in the speeches to identify particular concepts such as *revolution, constitution, Egyptians, army*. The concordance analysis reveals that Tr.1 and Tr.5 omit the word *great* in instances in which the word is used to identify *revolution, constitution, our responsibility, and the days we are now living*, as in examples 7, 8 and 9:
"هذه التصرفات لا تمت للثورة المصرية العظيمة بأي صلة ولا يمكن تصنيفها إلا خروجا على القانون وعلى الثورة بل هي الثورة المضادة بوجهها القبيح."

Morsi’s Speech on the Canal events

Tr.1
These acts bear no relation whatsoever to the Egyptian Revolution and not only should be classified as being against the law and the revolution, but also they represent a counter-revolution in the ugliest form it may assume.

Tr.2
Such behaviours have no grounds in the great Egyptian Revolution and should not only be viewed as against the law and the revolution, but as a counter-revolution in its ugliest face.

Tr.3
Such acts are not connected in any way to the great Egyptian Revolution and must not only be seen as crimes against the law and the revolution, but also as the counter-revolution in its ugliest form.

Tr.4
These behaviours are not related to the great Egyptian Revolution and can not be classified as being against the law and the revolution only, but as the counter-revolution in the ugliest face as well.

Tr.5
There is no relation between these acts and the Egyptian Revolution. They should not be only classified as being against the law and the revolution, but also as a counter-revolution in the ugliest form.

Example: 8

"وعملنا دستور عظيم جداً وتحدي كبير والناس بتاخد سنين طويلة من أجل الدستور واستقفي الشعب عليه يوم 25 ديسمبر الماضي."  

Morsi’s last speech before being overthrown

Tr.1
We formulated our Constitution, and other nations usually take long years to formulate a Constitution. It was polled over on the 25th last December.

Tr.2
We ... wrote a great and a challenging constitution, which took other people too long to do. Our people polled over the constitution on the 25th of last December.

Tr.3
We formulated a very great challenging Constitution, which takes nations long years to formulate. We had a referendum on the Constitution on the 25th last December.

Tr.4
We made a great and a challenging constitution that takes other nations long years to formulate. Egyptian people polled over this constitution on the 25th of last December.
We formulated a constitution that takes other nations long to do. The constitution was polled over on the 25th of last December.

Example: 9

وإني أعلم جيداً أنكم تتابعون باهتمام أخبار بلادنا، ولا شك أننا نمر بمرحلة انتقال عظيمة.

Morsi's speech before the Board of Trustees of the Bibliotheca of Alexandrina

Tr.1
I am well aware that you follow the events at our country. There is no doubt we are going through a transitional period.

Tr.2
I know very well that you are attentively watching the events in our country. There is no doubt we are going through a great transitional period.

Tr.3
I am fully aware that you watch what is going on in our country. We are definitely going through a great transitional period.

Tr.4
I am well aware that you are following the news of our country. There is no doubt we are going along a great transitional period.

Tr.5
I know that you follow the events in our country. There is no doubt that we are undergoing a difficult transitional period.

It is worth highlighting in this context that in example 9, Tr.5 substitutes the positive adjective great by difficult, giving the statement a distinctively negative sense. Besides, although Tr.5 produces the exact frequencies (i.e. 81), the collocational pattern does not evenly match the original texts; this frequency of the node is attributed to its employment as a synonym of words such as big.

With regard to Tr.3, the concordance analysis uncovers three instances in which the translator adds the word great in the translation of sentences that do not originally include it. Of note is that, as discussed earlier in 3.4.3, the addition of the word great to the phrase political controversy associates it with a negative connotation.
Suffice it here to mention that the collocational pattern of great and Egyptian people, Egyptian nation, the army and the sacrifices of the martyrs is kept and evenly distributed across the five translations.

5.2.9 The Nodes /نظام/regime and /النظام السابق/the former regime

In Section 4.7, the salience of the former regime, as constituting the concept of Counter Revolutionaries in the original speeches, is established, and the main themes relating to this concept are identified. This section is concerned with the construction of the image of the Counter Revolutionaries in the translations.

Table 5.9 demonstrates the frequencies and frequency variations of /نظام/regime\(^{21}\) and /النظام السابق/the former regime in the original Arabic corpus and corpora of English translations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Corpus</th>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Tr.1</th>
<th>Tr.2</th>
<th>Tr.3</th>
<th>Tr.4</th>
<th>Tr.5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Lower 9</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Higher 16</td>
<td>Higher 13</td>
<td>Lower 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type of change</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2 language variation</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3 language variation</td>
<td>1 language variation</td>
<td>2 language variation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.9: Frequencies and frequency variations of /نظام/regime and /النظام السابق/the former regime in the original Arabic corpus and corpora of English translations

As can be seen, Tr.2 produces the same number of references. Tr.3 and Tr.4 have produced more references to the concept than the original Arabic one. This increase in frequency can take different guises and it can vary in terms of ideological bias and explicitness.\(^{22}\) For example, by explicitness, Tr.2, Tr.3, Tr.4 and Tr.5 associate the word الفلول, which means tails or remnants, with the term the former regime, without it being present in the ST, although denoting it implicitly:

**Example: 10**

"الفلول تثير شغب لإثارة الفقاع في الوقت الذي يختاروه فقط." 

Morsi’s last speech before being overthrown

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\(^{21}\) Instances in which the word /نظام/regime is only used to denote the former regime are included in the analysis (see 4.7).

\(^{22}\) To use the explicit term instead of connotation or the implied pronoun.
Some people provoke riots to foment unrest when they want.

Tails of the former regime provoke riots on the time they choose.

Supporters of the former regime provoke riots to foment unrest when they want.

Supporters of the former regime raise riots to motivate the minorities only on the time they choose.

Remnants of the former regime try to raise riots on the time they choose.

The addition of the term the former regime in the translation does not seem to reflect an ideological bias on the part of the translators, as it is common knowledge in Arabic that the word الفلول refers to the supporters of former regimes. The only indicator of ideology is the addition of the verb try by Tr.5, which has a notable change in the level of certainty. It is also noted that Tr.2 has omitted a direct reference using the exact word the former regime in example 11:

Example: 11
لكن كما تعلمون أيضاً والدنيا تعلم أن تحديات الماضي ظلت موجودة، بنسب كبيرة بقايا النظام السابق، والدولة العميقة والفساد، والإصرار على الفساد والوضع الاقتصادي المتهرئل".

Morsi’s last speech before being overthrown

You and the world are aware of the past challenges, related to the corruption, flaccidity of the economic situation and supporters of the former regime.

However, as you know, there remained tails and claws, and there remained the deep state, the vandals, corruption and the bad economic situation and many challenges remained.
You are also aware as all the world does of the challenges inherited from the former regime, which are related, largely to the supporters of the former regime, the corruption, flaccidity of the economic situation.

But, as you and the world also know that the challenges of the past are still present because of the supporters of the former regime, corruption and the bad economic situation.

But, as you and the world are all aware that we are still facing the same challenges of the past due to corruption and the bad economic situation.

This omission made by Tr.2 and Tr.5 seems to be attributed to stylistic preferences, as the concept of the former regime is explicit in the translations of the whole sentence. The addition of the former regime in the previous example helps Tr.2 to maintain the exact frequency found in the original speeches.

Conversely, example 11 presents an instance of addition, in which Tr.3 substitutes the phrase the past by the former regime. According to Schäffner (2009, p.100), repetition of lexical items is a cohesive device that can impact on the viewpoint conveyed in the text. Therefore, the addition of the former regime by Tr.3 is interpreted as strengthening the point of view conveyed in the ST that holds the former regime and its supporters responsible for many economic and social problems in Egypt.

On the other hand, Tr.1 and Tr.5 seem to make less reference to the concept of former regime. The concordance lines, in which the references occur in the ST, show that there are instances in which the concept is omitted and the TT produced serves a purely informative purpose, i.e. the situation in Egypt prior to and after the revolution, without holding the former regime responsible for any negative connotations.

5.2.10 Coding scheme for concordance lines of النظام/ regime and النظام السابق/the former regime

The coding scheme of نظام/ regime and النظام السابق/the former regime in the original Arabic corpus and corpora of English translations is found in Table 5.10.
Table 5.10: Description analysis results of \(\text{نظام/ regime and النظام السابق/the former regime in the original Arabic corpus and corpora of English translations}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Tr.1</th>
<th>Tr.2</th>
<th>Tr.3</th>
<th>Tr.4</th>
<th>Tr.5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative/Pressure</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Not surprisingly, no instances of positive or even neutral reference to the former regime in the original speeches are found, and, as analysed in Section 4.7. Morsi uses certain qualifications to construct his counter revolutionary discourse. These references are often made with a dismissive tone, and are associated with negative collocations. The main themes identified and discussed as associated with the former regime are corruption, tyranny, crime and the non-return with the help of people.

As becomes clear from the investigation of the description analysis results, Tr.1 and Tr.5 have produced a lower percentage of the concept with a negative description (77.8% made by both translators), with an increase in the neutral description (22.2% made by both). The concordance lines of each English translation show that both Tr.1 and Tr.5 appear to use a less dismissive tone by using collocations and lexical selections that reduce the negative connotation associated with the former regime.

**Example: 12**

"منجزات شعبنا التي حققها في ثورة سلمية فريدة أطاحت بنظام مستبد وبهرت العيون والعقول من شرق العالم إلى غربه، وفتحت الأبواب للممارسة الديمقراطية التي سمحت للشعب بأن يختار رئيسه."

Morsi’s speech before the Board of Trustees of the Bibliotheca of Alexandria

**Tr.1**

*The achievements accomplished by our people in a unique peaceful revolution that thrown the former regime, impressed eyes and minds of the whole world, and opened the door for new practices that allowed the people to choose its president.*

**Tr.2**

*The achievements accomplished by our people in a unique peaceful revolution that overthrew a totalitarian regime, fascinated, eyes and minds all over the world, and open doors for the democratic practices that allowed the people to choose its president.*
Tr.3
The achievements that our people have realized through a unique peaceful revolution that toppled a despotic regime dazzled the eyes and minds of the world from east to west and opened the doors to democracy that allowed the people to choose their president.

Tr.4
The achievements that the people achieved by its peaceful revolution has ousted an authoritarian regime and impressed the eyes and minds from the east to the west; furthermore, it opened the doors to practice democracy that allows the people to choose its president.

Tr.5
The achievements of our people gained in their revolution that omitted impressed the eyes and minds of the whole world.

Clearly, for Tr.1 and Tr.5, the tone is far from aggressive; in fact, the original excerpt describes the former regime as مستبد/tyrannical. This collocation is omitted by Tr.1 and the whole concept of the former regime is omitted by Tr.5, which results in a considerable shift from a negative to neutral description. Thus, due to such modifications, readers of the TT receive a skewed message that implies a less negative portrayal of the former regime than that suggested in the ST.

With regard to Tr.3, there are instances in which collocations and lexical selection have resulted in the TT appearing more critical than the ST. The following instance illustrates this point:

Example: 13

"استخدام كل انواع البلطجة ضد المواطنين من نظام سقط برموزه ولن يعود لن يعود هذا النظام الى ارض مصر مرة ثانية"

Morsi’s Speech on the events of Al-Etihadiyah Palace

Tr.1
The regime, which was toppled with its symbols and will never come back to the Egyptian land again.

Tr.2
Using all kinds of bullying against the citizens by a regime that has been toppled with all of its symbols, and it will never, never, return.

Tr.3
All sorts of bullying against the people at the criminal hands of the former regime whose symbols have been deposed to no return.

Tr.4
Using all types of bullying by a regime that was deposed and will not return to Egypt any more.
The use of all types of bullying against citizens by a regime that has fallen with its symbols and will never come back to the Egyptian land again.

The lexical selection of Tr.3 strengthened the negative connotations associated with the text. The addition of the criminal hands foregrounds this quality as associated with the former regime in the original corpus. This impression is reinforced by using the expression the former regime to substitute the word regime.

Example: 14

"منا حاجة ماسة لإزالة آثار الفوضى في كل المجالات وخاصة في المجال الاقتصادي، هذه الفوضى التي أسهم فيها النظام السابق".

Morsi's speech at the University of Cairo

Tr.1
We urgently need to remove the chaos of the past prevailed in all fields, especially in the economic one.

Tr.2
We are in a critical need to correct the mess in all fields, especially the economic one. The chaos the former regime has created.

Tr.3
We are in a critical need to construct our country in all sides, especially the economic one, after all the deconstruction caused by the former regime.

Tr.4
We are in a critical need to overcome the difficulties caused by the former regime in all fields, particularly in economy.

Tr.5
Correcting the mistakes of the past in all fields is a bad need, especially in economy.

Tr.3 opts for to construct our country instead of to remove the mess in the original text, which clearly implies a more powerful negative meaning than the mess, and strengthens the negative representation of the former regime in the corpus. This is further supported by the repetition of the noun the deconstruction to replace the same word, i.e. the mess in the second clause; deconstruction denotes a more systematic approach, a mixture of callousness, calculated action and unaccountability with respect to safeguarding the common good, whereas mess implies irresponsible actions and chaos.
Although both Tr.1 and Tr.5 omit the phrase the former regime, the sense of the responsibility of the former regime with regard to the mess is reproduced in the TTs using the past. Also, the use of the term “chaos” by Tr.1 is somewhat negative.

5.2.11 The node ادعو/I call and its inflections

Table 5.11 displays frequencies of the verb ادعو/I call and its inflections in the original Arabic corpus and in corpora of English translations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Corpus</th>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Tr.1</th>
<th>Tr.2</th>
<th>Tr.3</th>
<th>Tr.4</th>
<th>Tr.5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td></td>
<td>27</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lower 26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type of change</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1 Language variation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.11: Frequencies and frequency variations of ادعو/I call and its inflections in the original Arabic corpus and corpora of English translations

As can be seen, the verb ادعو/I call and its related forms occurred 27 times in the original Arabic corpus. The frequencies of the node in the TTs indicate the same number of occurrences throughout the five translations. A follow-up concordance analysis is necessary to highlight patterns of similarities and differences in the use of the word in the translations.

5.2.12 Coding scheme for concordance lines of ادعو/I call and its inflections

Table 5.12 presents the coding scheme of ادعو/I call and its inflections across different corpora.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Tr.1</th>
<th>Tr.2</th>
<th>Tr.3</th>
<th>Tr.4</th>
<th>Tr.5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>92.6%</td>
<td>92.6%</td>
<td>92.6%</td>
<td>92.6%</td>
<td>92.6%</td>
<td>88.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7.4%</td>
<td>7.4%</td>
<td>7.4%</td>
<td>7.4%</td>
<td>7.4%</td>
<td>7.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative/Pressure</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.12: Description analysis results of ادعو/I call and its inflections in the original Arabic corpus and corpora of English translations
The comparative analysis of the original Arabic corpus and corpora of English translations reveal that they share many commonalities in the frequency of أدعو/I call and its inflections. Differences seem to exist only in the translation produced by Tr.5. A concordance analysis shows one example in which the image deviates from the original:

**Example: 15**

أدعو أبناء سيناء ممن لديهم سلاح إلى تسليمه."

Morsi's speech to the leaders and soldiers of the armed forces

Tr.1

*I ask people of Sinai who have a weapon to hand it over.*

Tr.2

*I invite people of Sinai to hand weapons over.*

Tr.3

*I call upon people of Sinai who have weapons to hand it over.*

Tr.4

*I ask our people in Sinai to hand weapons over.*

Tr.5

*I warn people of Sinai from having weapons.*

This example illustrates a change in lexical selection. The use of أدعو/I call and its inflections in the ST implies a sense of request and invokes feelings of modesty in addressing people. This selection then softens what is an otherwise bold, face-threatening act and modifies the request. Tr.5, on the other hand, opts to use a negatively charged concept represented by the verb “warn”, which has connotations of prohibition and possible danger, and points at negative attitudes towards the addressees. It also serves the purpose of constructing a negative image on the TT readers, and thus shifts a positive categorization of the proposition into a negative one.
5.2.13 The node نعمل/we work and its inflections

Concordance lines of نعمل/we work and its inflections were generated to examine frequencies and seek explanations for any divergences in the occurrences of the node in the original Arabic corpus and corpora of English translations. These are summarised in Table 5.13.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Corpus</th>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Tr.1</th>
<th>Tr.2</th>
<th>Tr.3</th>
<th>Tr.4</th>
<th>Tr.5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Lower 15</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Lower 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type of change</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1 language variation</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3 language variations</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.13: Frequencies and frequency variations of نعمل/we work and its inflections in the original Arabic corpus and corpora of English translations

It can be noticed in Table 5.13, that there are slight differences in the frequencies of نعمل/we work and its inflections in the translations of both Tr.1 and Tr.5 (15 and 13 respectively in comparison to 16 occurrences of the word in the original Arabic corpus). On the other hand, the exact frequency of the word appears to be reproduced by Tr.2, Tr.3 and Tr.4.

Contexts of occurrences of the verb نعمل/we work and its inflections are coded into positive, negative and neutral categories as can be seen in Table 5.14.

5.2.14 Coding scheme for concordance lines of نعمل/we work and its inflections

Instances of نعمل/we work and its inflections in the original Arabic corpus and the corpora of English translations are further coded into positive, neutral and negative categories in Table 5.14.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Tr.1</th>
<th>Tr.2</th>
<th>Tr.3</th>
<th>Tr.4</th>
<th>Tr.5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>87.5%</td>
<td>86.7%</td>
<td>87.5%</td>
<td>87.5%</td>
<td>87.5%</td>
<td>92.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12.5%</td>
<td>13.3%</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
<td>7.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative/Pressure</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.14: Description analysis results of نعمل/we work and its inflections in the original Arabic corpus and corpora of English translations
Although maintaining comparable results with regard to the distribution of positive/neutral descriptions, a concordance analysis of Tr.1 and Tr.5 parallel corpora shows that there are some shifts encountered in these translations. In example 16:

**Example: 16**

Morsi speech at the prophet’s birthday

Tr.1

*We are trying* to ensure citizens’ comfort (omitted).

Tr.2

*We are working day and night* to ensure the citizens’ comfort.

Tr.3

*We are exerting all efforts* to ensure our citizens’ welfare.

Tr.4

*We are working hard* to guarantee our citizens’ comfort.

Tr.5

*We are working* to guarantee the prosperity of our people (omitted).

It is clear that the use of the verb “try” alters the sense intended by the original message. Substituting a hyperbolic positive phrase “working day and night” by “trying to” implies attempts or plans rather than actual work. Also, the evaluative element of the phrase and, consequently, the speaker’s stance are toned down.

The following extract is another example from the Tr.1 English corpus that illustrates a shift in the level of modality:

**Example: 17**

Morsi's speech at the University of Cairo

"سنعمل بكل جدية لتفعيل منظومة العمل العربي المشترك، وما يستلزم ذلك من تطوير في إطار الجامعة العربية والسوق العربية المشتركة والدفاع العربي المشترك."

"إننا نعمل على راحة المواطن ليل نهار."
We need to activate the joint Arab action system and all that it requires to develop the Arab League, the Arab Joint Defence Agreement and the Arab common market.

We shall earnestly work towards activating the joint Arabic action system, and towards all the ensuing development within the frameworks of the Arab League, the Arab Common Market and the Arab Common Defence.

We will work with all seriousness to activate the Joint Arab Action System, and the development it requires within the framework of the Arab League, the Arab Common Market and the Arab Joint Defence Agreement.

We are working hard to activate the joint Arabic action system, and to ensure the necessary development within the frameworks of the Arab League, the Arab Common Market and the agreement of Arab Common Defence.

We will work (omitted) towards activating the joint Arabic action system, and ensure the development within the frameworks of the Arab League, the Arab Common Market and the agreement of Arab Common Defence.

The substitution of “we will work”, which implies certainty, by “we need”, marks a shift within the level of modality. This shift is further strengthened by the omission of “بكل جدية/with all seriousness” and results in an alteration in the message conveyed.

Regarding Tr.5, examples 16 and 17 show two instances of omitting highly positive collocations (ليل/night and بكل جدية/very seriously). This recurrence of removing highly positive collocations has its effect on the TTs recipients. According to de Beaugrande and Dressler (1981), recurrence of a particular textual strategy is “used to assert and reaffirm one’s viewpoint” (de Beaugrande and Dressler, 1981, p.55). Thus, any modification of a cohesive chain of this type is bound to result in changes in the point of view conveyed.

5.2.15 The node أَوَّدُ/I affirm and its inflections
Frequencies and frequency variations of the verb أَوَّدُ/I affirm and its inflections in the original Arabic corpus and corpora of English translations are illustrated in Table 5.15.
Table 5.15: Frequencies and frequency variations of أؤكد/I affirm and its inflections in the original Arabic corpus and corpora of English translations

Clearly, the 31 frequencies of the verb أؤكد/I affirm and its inflections found in the STs are all retained in the translations. Context of occurrences of the node are analysed to detect divergences in the employment of the IKW.

5.2.16 Coding scheme for concordance lines of أؤكد/I affirm and its inflections

Table 5.16 shows the coding scheme of أؤكد/I affirm and its inflections in the original Arabic corpus and corpora of English translations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Tr.1</th>
<th>Tr.2</th>
<th>Tr.3</th>
<th>Tr.4</th>
<th>Tr.5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative/</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pressure</td>
<td>6.5%</td>
<td>6.5%</td>
<td>6.5%</td>
<td>6.5%</td>
<td>6.5%</td>
<td>6.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.16: Description analysis results of أؤكد/I affirm and its inflections in the original Arabic corpus and corpora of English translations

Despite the fact that frequencies and description percentages of the word are kept in the five translations, a concordance analysis reveals one instance in which Tr.5 shifts an active sentence into an agentless passive one:

Example: 18

"وفي هذا السياق فانيا في مصر رغم كل هذه المحاولات ورغم التحديات والصعوبات الاقتصادية والاجتماعية فان أؤكد لكم وللعالم بك أننا نرفض نرضاً أي تعرض لحرية المواطنين المصريين ونرفض الاجراءات الاستثنائية تماما".

Morsi’s speech before the Board of Trustees of the Bibliotheca of Alexandria

Tr.1

In this context, despite all these attempts and despite the economic and social difficulties and challenges Egypt is facing, I assert to you and for the entire world that we utterly refuse any interference with the freedom of the Egyptian people, and that we refuse extraordinary measures completely.
In this context, I confirm to you and to the whole world that despite all attempts and despite economic challenges and social difficulties, we totally reject seizing the freedom of Egyptian citizens as we completely reject all exceptional measures.

In this regard, we in Egypt, in spite of all these attempts and the economic and social challenges, I assert to you and to the entire world that we totally reject any abuse to our people’s freedom as we refuse extraordinary measures completely.

In this regard, I assert to you and to the entire world that, despite all these attempts and despite the economic and social difficulties, we completely refuse any interference with people’s freedom, as well as any use of extraordinary measures.

In this context, it is asserted, despite all these attempts and despite the economic and social difficulties and challenges, interference with the freedom is rejected.

The agent “I” and “we” in the ST are clearly hidden in the translation of Tr.5, which seems to underestimate one of the major themes in the schemata of the speeches, i.e. Morsi’s veneration of himself and his regime as well as seeking unique competence. It could be said that glossing over the agent, particularly when associated with acts such as the rejection of seizing people’s freedom, is interpreted as an attempt to negate their existence, or at least their involvement in the proposed acts.

5.2.17 The analysis of negation in the translations: the node لـ/not

Instances of negation, as realised in the original speeches and the devices through which negation is realised in Arabic discourse, have been discussed in Section 4.5. It was found that concordance lines carrying the negative statements reveal that such statements are not employed to admit negative qualities, but are rather used to emphasize positive qualities by denying negative aspects.

In the present chapter, parallel concordances of negation are inspected to assess frequencies and ideological matches between the original statements and their English translations.
Table 5.17 demonstrates frequency rates among the different corpora.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Corpus</th>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Tr.1</th>
<th>Tr.2</th>
<th>Tr.3</th>
<th>Tr.4</th>
<th>Tr.5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>Lower 51</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type of change</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1 language variation</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.17: Frequencies and frequency variations of لن/not in the original Arabic corpus and corpora of English translations

The frequencies of negation (52) found in the original Arabic corpus seem to be reproduced in the translations of Tr.2, Tr.3, Tr.4 and Tr.5. The only difference concerns Tr.1 who produces a lower frequency at 51 instances of negation.

5.2.18 Coding scheme for concordance lines of لن/not

Instances of negation in the original Arabic corpus and corpora of English translations are further coded into positive, neutral and negative categories. The coding results are given Table 5.18.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Tr.1</th>
<th>Tr.2</th>
<th>Tr.3</th>
<th>Tr.4</th>
<th>Tr.5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>96.2%</td>
<td>96.1%</td>
<td>96.2%</td>
<td>96.2%</td>
<td>96.2%</td>
<td>96.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.8%</td>
<td>3.9%</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative/Pressure</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.18: Description analysis results of لن/not in the original Arabic corpus and corpora of English translations

In Table 5.18, it can be noticed that the translators have generally produced comparable results to the original Arabic corpus. A follow-up concordance analysis reveals, however, that there are instances of translation shifts. The most common shifts are related to alterations in transitivity choices. Tr.1, for instance, has altered an active sentence into a passive one, as in example 19:
Example: 19


Morsi’s speech on assuming power

Tr.1

*The rights of our martyrs and the injured are all preserved. Punishment for them should never be neglected.*

Tr.2

*I will not forget the blood of the martyrs and the injured. Punishment is a debt on my neck that I will not neglect.*

Tr.3

*I will not relent the rights of the martyrs and the wounded. Retribution for them is a responsibility that I will not tolerate.*

Tr.4

*I will not abandon any of the rights of our martyrs and the injured. Punishment for them is a duty that I will never tolerate.*

Tr.5

*I will not tolerate any of our martyrs’ and wounded’s rights, as I will never abandon punishment of the criminals.*

In this example, the ST is an active sentence in which the subject is I, and by changing the sentence into passive, the agent is backgrounded or becomes somewhat vague. Although the positive connotations of the sentence are preserved, they are no longer attributed to the speaker (Morsi) as intended by the ST, and could rather be interpreted as associated with different agents such as the law or constitution.

Conversely, the translators opt to alter transitivity patterns by changing a passive sentence into an active one in other instances:

Example: 20

"إن العقود المستقرة لن يتم فسخها طالما كانت مطابقة للقانون، أن مصر بها حوالي 6 ملايين ونصف مليون عامل وموظف يعملون في الحكومة وقطاع الأعمال العام، و17 مليونًا في القطاع الخاص، وأن الحكومة تحتزم العقود وتحافظ على الشركات، لكن الذي لم يدفع ضرائب سيدفع الآن، وما لم أخذ من دماء الشعب لن يتم التنازل عنه.”

Morsi’s Speech in Cairo Stadium
Tr.1
Stable contracts will not be terminated as they comply with the law. There are 6 million and a half of workers and employees in Egypt working for the Government and the public sector; and 17 million working in the private sector. The Government respects contracts and preserves companies. However, those who have not paid taxes will now pay, and what was taken from the people’s sustenance is not to be wasted.

Tr.2
We will not terminate stable contracts as long as they are in compliance with the law. There are in Egypt 6 million and a half worker and employee working for the Government and the public business sector; and 17 million working in the private sector. The Government respects contracts and preserves companies. However, those who have not paid taxes will now pay, and we will not waive what was taken from the people’s livelihood.

Tr.3
We will not cut out established contracts as they comply with the law. There are in Egypt 6 million and a half worker and employee working for the Government and the public business sector, and 17 million working in the private sector. The Government respects contracts and preserves companies. However, those who have not paid taxes should pay now, and we will not relinquish what was taken from people’s sustenance.

Tr.4
Existing contracts will not be terminated as long as they comply with the law. There are in Egypt 6 million and a half worker and employee working for the Government and the public business, and 17 million working in the private sector. The Government respects contracts and preserves companies, but, those who have not paid taxes will now pay, and what was taken from the people’s bread will not be wasted.

Tr.5
Stable contracts will not be cut as they comply with the law. In Egypt, there are 6 million and a half worker and employee working for the Government and the public sector, and 17 million working in the private sector. The Government adheres to contracts and protects companies. However, those who have not paid taxes will now pay, and what was taken from people’s sustenance will not be waived.

In this example, the disambiguation of the agent in the translations of Tr.2 and Tr.3 seems to depict Morsi’s government as the actor of the processes. It could be said that such alterations add to a reverence for Morsi and his regime. The point of view presented in the TT appears to be more supportive than that of the ST.

5.3 The analysis of the IKWs with only positive senses and references
As previously mentioned, some IKWs derived from the STs, carry only a positive sense and references. As these words have apparently not changed their meaning on an ideological basis,
frequencies of occurrences of the node in the original Arabic corpus and corpora of English translations were first calculated and displayed in figures. This was followed by an analysis of statistical variations to detect instances of ideological bias.

5.3.1 The node جميعا/altogether
As mentioned in 4.3.1, the word جميعا/altogether serves as a powerful unification construction tool which Morsi frequently uses in his Unity discourse. The analysis of this word in the translation considers whether the translators maintain all instances of the theme of Unity as they occurred in the original speeches. As the translations are produced by different translators, who differ in their choices of equivalents, the analysis was carried out by generating parallel concordances of the Arabic word جميعا/altogether to account for various equivalents (i.e. altogether, all, the whole country). Concordance lines were analysed first, then frequencies of all instances containing words representing Unity discourse were calculated and displayed in Table 5.19.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Corpus</th>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Tr.1</th>
<th>Tr.2</th>
<th>Tr.3</th>
<th>Tr.4</th>
<th>Tr.5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>Lower 104</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>Lower 104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type of change</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5 language variations</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5 language variations</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.19: Frequency variations of جميعا/altogether in the original Arabic corpus and corpora of English translations

Table 5.19 reveals that the theme of Unity as represented by the Arabic IKW (جميعا) is reproduced differently in the English translations. Tr.2, Tr.3 and Tr.4 tend to produce the exact frequency of the theme in the original Arabic corpus i.e. 109 occurrences. On the other hand, Tr.1 and Tr.5 produce fewer instances, 104 times each. A detailed analysis of concordance lines of each sub-corpus shows that this reduction in frequencies is attributed to the employment of particular translation strategies including lexical choice and the change of transitivity patterns. The five shifts in the translation produced by Tr.1 are attributed to choice of lexis, whereas, with regard to Tr.5, four instances of shifts are related to lexical choice, and 1 to a change in the transitivity patterns. Below are sample examples of these shifts:
a. Lexical Choice

**Example: 21**

"أقف معكم اليوم لأحييكم جميعا وأحيي كل الثوار في كل ميادين مصر".

Morsi's speech on assuming power

**Tr.1**

*I stand with you today to greet the revolutionaries.*

**Tr.2**

*I stand with you today to greet all of you, to greet all revolutionaries in all squares of Egypt.*

**Tr.3**

*I stand with you today to greet you all and greet all revolutionaries in all fields of Egypt.*

**Tr.4**

*Today, I stand with you to greet you all and to greet the revolutionaries all over Egypt.*

**Tr.5**

*I am standing here today to greet you and greet all the revolutionaries.*

In this example, the ST literally includes a greeting to all Egyptians as well as the revolutionaries. Tr.1’s omission of the phrase *to greet you all*, by simply juxtaposing the verb “greet” with “the revolutionaries”, changes the semantic prosody of the utterance.

In example 22, Tr.5 tends to show a similar stance:

**Example: 22**

"ثم أيها الأحباء بعد أن مضت هذه الثورة في طريق واحد بأهداف واضحة، ومسيرة عظمى، كانت في حراستنا وليدنا..."  

Morsi’s Speech in Cairo Stadium

**Tr.1**

*My people, this Revolution has continued its way with obvious goals, and a great march, and by your will, we passed a difficult phase.*

**Tr.2**

*Then, O beloved ones, this revolution went on in clear goals, and a great march, and it was in the custody of our Lord and the will of all Egyptians, we crossed a difficult stage.*

**Tr.3**

*My beloved people, this Revolution has moved in its way with obvious goals, and a great march, protected by God and by the will of all Egyptians, we passed a hard period.*
Brothers and sisters, this Revolution has progressed in its way with clear goals, and a great march, protected by God and by the collective Egyptian will, thus passing a difficult phase.

Then this Revolution has moved on in its way with obvious goals, a great path (omitted), and a passing of a difficult period.

The omission of “the will of all Egyptians” reduces or even removes the sense of unity intended by the ST. This is further reinforced by the omission of the address term أياها الاحباب/beloved ones by Tr.5. which affects the prosody of the original text. As can be seen, Tr.5 also deemed it necessary to neutralize terms of address.

b. Transitivity Patterns

Example 23 exhibits an instance of ideological manipulation formed by shifting transitivity patterns:

Example: 23

سنصنع معا آيها الأحباب مفهوما جديدا للعلاقات الخارجية.

Morsi's speech on assuming power

We will shape a new frame for our foreign relationships.

We shall create together - O you loved ones - a new concept for foreign relations with all the world powers.

We will make a new concept for our foreign relationships.

Dear ones, together we will form a new shape of foreign relations.

A new concept of foreign relations is to be shaped.

This example shows how the theme of unity and integration is altered in the translation. Hiding the agent “we together” clearly changes the semantic prosody of the sentence, manipulating
the sense of unity between the people and the leadership, and gives it a distinct sense of domination and imposition of the will.

5.3.2 The node "سلمية/peaceful and its related forms"
Frequencies of "سلمية/peaceful and its related forms in the original Arabic corpus and corpora of English translations and variations in frequency are in Table 5.20.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Corpus</th>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Tr.1</th>
<th>Tr.2</th>
<th>Tr.3</th>
<th>Tr.4</th>
<th>Tr.5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Lower 15</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Lower 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type of change</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3 omissions</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2 omissions</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.20: Frequency variations of "سلمية/peaceful and its related forms in the original Arabic corpus and corpora of English translations"

Table 5.20 shows the 18 instances of the word that are reflected in the translation produced by Tr.2, Tr.3 and Tr.4. It can also be noticed that Tr.5 has reproduced the node 16 times. The fewest frequencies are produced by Tr.1, reaching only 15 occurrences. A concordance analysis reveals this word is omitted three times, each belonging to the adjectival form of the node and collocating with the word ثورة/revolution.

As can be noticed from Table 5.20 above, the (18) instances of the word seem to be reflected in the translation produced by Tr.2, Tr.3 and Tr.4. It can also be noticed that Tr.5 has reproduced the node 16 times. The fewest frequencies are produced by Tr.1 reaching only to (15) occurrences. Concordance analysis reveals this word omitted three times, all belonging to the adjectival form of the node and collocating with the word ثورة/revolution.

A comparable finding is also to be observed in the translation of Tr.5, in which the word "peaceful occurred 16 times. Concordance analysis shows 2 instances of omitting the word سلمية/peaceful when it collocated with revolution:

**Example: 24**

"ولن نترك الفرصة للمخربين لكي يسيئوا إلى منجزات شعبنا التي حققتها في ثورة سلمية فريدة أطاحت بنظام مسما وبهرت العيون والعقول من شرق العالم إلى غربه."  
Morsi's speech before the Board of Trustees of the Bibliotheca of Alexandrina
We shall not give the vandals the chance to destroy the achievements accomplished by our people in the revolution that threw the former regime, impressed eyes and minds of the entire world.

We shall not let gangsters damage the achievements of our people in our unique peaceful revolution that overthrew a totalitarian regime, fascinated people all over the world.

We shall not give the opportunity for vandals to abuse the achievements of our people achieved in a unique peaceful revolution, which toppled the autocratic regime and impressed the eyes and minds of the world east to west.

We shall not give the vandals the chance to damage the achievements that the people achieved through a unique peaceful revolution, which ousted an authoritarian regime, dazzled the eyes and minds from the east to the west.

We shall not give the vandals the chance to damage the achievements of our people gained in their revolution that impressed the eyes and minds of the whole world.

The word /peaceful is one of the adjectives employed in Morsi’s discoursal schemata to revere the Revolution of 25 January. Although the positivity of the sentence is kept throughout the translation, the omission of this word by Tr.1 and Tr.5 overshadows the peacefulness of the revolution as indicated in the TT. This seems to be further emphasised by omitting the other collocating adjective /unique. Of note is that all three omissions occur in instances where the word /peaceful is used to describe revolution. As a result, the TTs featuring these omissions tone down the positive qualification ascribed to revolution in the STs.

5.3.3 The node /renaissance and its related forms
Frequencies of /renaissance and its related forms are given in Table 5.21.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Corpus</th>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Tr.1</th>
<th>Tr.2</th>
<th>Tr.3</th>
<th>Tr.4</th>
<th>Tr.5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type of change</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.21: Frequencies and frequency variations of /renaissance and its related forms in the original Arabic corpus and corpora of English translations
As shown in Table 5.21, there are 27 references in the original Arabic speeches which reflect Morsi’s vision of constructing Egypt (see 4.3.3). All these references appear across the five translations. Identical frequencies can generally indicate a parallel between the STs and the translations with regard to the concept of Renaissance. However, a concordance analysis provided further information and revealed two shifts that may indicate an ideological stance.

Example 25 illustrates an instance of alteration in the transitivity pattern:

**Example: 25**

"سأعمل على نهضة الاقتصاد ورفع المعاناة عن ملايين المصريين من أجل حياة كريمة."

Morsi’s Speech on Assuming Power

Tr.1

**Attempts are being made to rise** the economy and remove the suffering of millions of Egyptians in order to live a better life.

Tr.2

*I will work with you to revive the Egyptian economy and put an end to the suffering of millions of Egyptians.*

Tr.3

*I will work to rise the economy and remove the suffering of millions of Egyptians seeking for a better life.*

Tr.4

*I will strive for economy's revival and remove the suffering of millions of Egyptians in order to live a better life.*

Tr.5

*I will work on economy's welfare to relieve Egyptians’ suffering and to provide them with a decent life.*

This example brings agency to the surface, the ST is pointing directly to the actor of the process (i.e. Morsi). Whereas Tr.2, Tr.3, Tr.4 and Tr.2 reveal agency by producing active sentences, Tr.1 seems to conceal agency. It could be said that concealing the agent denotes advocating the persecution of the productive member of a process. By negating the agency (Morsi) in the process of working for renaissance and improving the economy, the translator is minimizing
the role of Morsi, which indicates, in the context of other shifts found, an ideological stance opposing, or at least not supporting, Morsi’s involvement in striving for renaissance.

The following example from another speech provides another instance of translational shifts:

**Example: 26**

"كل ما أتمناه هو نهضة بلدي والانتقال به إلى مرحلة جديدة نبدأ فيها معاً ملحمة بناء وإنجاز".

Morsi’s Speech on the Approval of the constitution

**Tr.1**

*My hope is the renaissance of my country and to move it to a new stage, where we start an epic of building and production.*

**Tr.2**

*All I am aiming at is the rising of my country and to move to a new stage, where we can start together an epic of building and production.*

**Tr.3**

*I certainly aim to develop my country and to move it to a new stage, where we start together an epic of building and production.*

**Tr.4**

*All I hope is the renaissance of my country, and lead it to a new phase where we can move together to construction and production.*

**Tr.5**

*All I aim to is the development of my country and to start together a new chapter of building and production.*

In example 26, the addition of the emphatic marker of cohesion *certainly* by Tr.3 (although not employed in the ST) appears to add further emphasis and assign the sentence a status of commitment. The analysis of this example, in the context of other shifts introduced in the TT, makes it clear that it could attest to the translator’s confidence in the truth of the proposition expressed or possibly, his/her intention to create such an impression on the target audience. In addition, it seems to communicate a message consistent with the other lexical and syntactic shifts produced by Tr.3.
5.3.5 The node أحافظ/I keep and its inflections

Table 5.22 displays frequencies and frequency variations of the positive verbal node أحافظ/I keep and its inflections.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Corpus</th>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Tr.1</th>
<th>Tr.2</th>
<th>Tr.3</th>
<th>Tr.4</th>
<th>Tr.5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Higher 28</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type of change</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1 language variation</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.22: Frequencies and frequency variations of أحافظ/I keep and its inflections in the original Arabic corpus and corpora of English translations

Table 5.22 shows that the original Arabic corpus contains 26 instances of أحافظ/I keep and its inflections. With the exception of Tr.3, the same frequency is reproduced exactly in the corpora of English translations. The only difference is the frequency of use of this particular node in the Tr.3 English corpus where the frequency of the verb أحافظ/I keep and its inflections appears to be 28. Concordance analysis shows that the difference in frequency is attributed to lexical choice and to addition.

In the following example, Tr.3 opts for a lexical choice that seems to load the meaning with positive associations:

**Example: 27**

"أعاهد الله وأعاهدكم، أقسم بالله العظيم أن أحافظ مخلصا على النظام الجمهوري وأن احترم الدستور والقانون وأن ارعي مصالح الشعب رعاية كاملة، وأن أحافظ على استقرار الوطن وسلامة أراضيه."  

Morsi’s Speech on Assuming Power

**Tr.1**

I promise you to preserve the republican system, respect the constitution and law, to take care of your interests, preserve the stability of the country and the security of its lands.

**Tr.2**

I pledge to Allah, and to you, I swear by Allah the Great to protect with loyalty the republican system, to respect the constitution and the law, to take full care of our people’s interests, and to maintain our country’s stability and integrity.
Tr.3
I swear to God and I swear to you to preserve the republican system honestly, respect the Constitution and the law, **safeguard** the interests of people fully, and to safeguard the stability of the homeland and the integrity of its land.

Tr.4
I promise God and promise you, I swear to save the republican regime, to respect the constitution and law, **take care** of the people's interests, and maintain the stability of the country and the safety of its lands.

Tr.5
I promise to uphold the Republican system, **look after** Egyptians' interests, and keep the country's safety and the integrity of its land.

Clearly, the positive sense of the original Arabic phrase (ارعى مصالح الناس) manifested by the use of the verb **ارعى** (literally, look after/take care of) is reproduced in all translations. The use of the verb **safeguard** by Tr.3, however, seems to add a further positive dimension to the TT, as it implies a protection from harm and indicates a higher degree of involvement than **take care**, and **look after**.

Another feature found in the translation produced by Tr.3, and appears to be consistent with previously discussed shifts, includes the repetition of the concept in the following example:

**Example: 28**

أعاهد الله أن أحافظ على هذه المؤسسة وعلى أبنائها، جنذاً وقيادات، وأعلى من شأنها وأدعها، وأتخذ كل الوسائل والأسباب لتكون أقوى مما كانت.

Morsi's speech at the University of Cairo

Tr.1
I will preserve this institution and its members, recruits and commanders, enhance and elevate its status, and provide it with all support so as to be stronger than before.

Tr.2
I pledge to Allah to keep this institution and all its members, promote it and take every measure to make it stronger than before.

Tr.3
I swear to God to safeguard this institution from harm, to **safeguard** its sons and leaders, and to work for its progress and support it with all means to be stronger than ever.
Tr.4

I promise God and promise you to maintain this institution and its people, soldiers and leaders, to raise its status and to support with all means that make it more powerful than before.

Tr.5

I promise you to keep this institution and its members, recruits and commanders, safe and to enhance it by all possible means to be stronger than before.

By reemploying the verb safeguard in example 28, Tr.3 seems to provide further emphasis to the information conveyed in the ST.

5.4 Identifying the distribution of linguistic markers of ideology across the English translations

The results of the fine-grained analysis of IKWs in the translations in the previous sections reveal instances of translation shifts between the STs and the translations. Such shifts are particularly evident in the translations produced by Tr.1 and Tr.5. The most common shifts include alterations in collocation and lexical choice, transitivity patterns, modality, as well as cohesion patterns. Examples from the five corpora of English translations were selected to demonstrate the alterations in these patterns. The results of the analysis of the examples clearly showed that Tr.1 and Tr.5 adopt particular lexical and syntactic choices that resulted in shifts and differences of the STs ideology. As all the translators were chosen according to certain criteria (see Chapter 3) to ensure their competence in translating the texts as flawlessly as possible, it could be the case that instances of variance from the STs ideology cannot be attested to their linguistic incompetence, but rather to their ideological bias. Indeed, the analysis of the IKWs in the translation by Tr.3 appears to advance a somewhat supporting stance of Morsi and his regime and a notably negative view of the former regime. The ideological shifts and manipulations noticed between the original texts and the translations produced by Tr.1, Tr.5 and Tr.3, manifested in their lexical and syntactic selections, can definitely affect the projected point of view of the STs, and consequently shape the worldviews of their receivers.

Despite the shifts and variations detected in the translations of IKWs analysed, the findings indicate that there seems to be more manipulation with regard to keywords denoting certain concepts relating to Morsi and his regime’s unique competence. These manipulations range from mitigating or even omitting the positive associations of the related concepts by Tr.1 and Tr.5 to intensifying them by Tr.3. However, none of the translations are strikingly dissimilar
in the ideological position they convey with regard to concepts of the revolution and the former regime; nor did the translators attempt to strongly position the reader to take a negative view of the revolution and the revolutionaries and/or to sympathise with the former regime.

At the other end of the spectrum, the analysis also illustrated instances in which Tr.2 and Tr.4 adhere to the contents of the original message in a communicative way; the TTs produced by these two translators make the STs easily readable for the target readership, without shifting the focus of the original speeches or manipulating their ideological intent. In the whole rendition, few alterations (if any) occur; above all, none of them causes any shift in meaning.

Figurative language is also tackled successfully.

**Research Question 3: To what extent does the distribution of possible instances of ideological manipulation vary across English translations?**

Based on the procedure described in Chapter 3, research question 3 is addressed quantitatively by counting the respective representations of the strategies adopted by the translators to manipulate the ST ideology which is represented in Table 5.23. It should be mentioned that categories with no ideological manipulation are marked with /.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ideological Markers</th>
<th>Tr.1</th>
<th>Tr.2</th>
<th>Tr.3</th>
<th>Tr.4</th>
<th>Tr.5</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Collocation and lexical choice</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitivity</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modality</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lexical cohesion</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>44</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 5.23: Distribution of translational shifts across the analysed corpora of English translation**

In Table 5.23 it can be seen that the category *collocation and lexical choice* topped the list of shifts in the translations by 66 instances found across the different corpora. Shifts in the
transitivity patterns came next at 15 instances, followed by shifts in the level of modality in third position at 3 instances. The marker least used was lexical cohesion at 2 instances.

**Research Question 4: How can each English translation be evaluated from the perspective of ideological manipulation?**

An investigation of the overall occurrences of translational shifts across the five corpora of English translations revealed that the use of the linguistic markers of ideology vary rather among the five translations. The highest incidence of ideological manipulation is in the translation produced by Tr.1 (44 instances in 20 speeches). The prevalence of instances of manipulation is relatively high in the translation produced by Tr.5 (24 instances in 20 speeches). Table 5.23 also showed a high frequency of manipulation (16 in 20 speeches). Tr.2 produced only one instance of shift, which may not be an ideological manipulation given that there no tendency is perceived regarding the distribution of linguistic markers of ideology in the translation. As can be noticed from the analysis and from Table 5.23, it is suggested that Tr.4 did not present any occurrence of manipulation captured by the analysis.

The analysis of the examples given in relation to individual translators reveal that although they expose a relatively high level of manipulation, they differ in the point of view they suggest. Tr.1 and Tr.5 tend to use linguistic markers of ideology in relation to topics concerning the image of Egypt after the revolution, the unique competence Morsi tries to attribute to himself and his regime and to issues related to the former regime in Egypt. In some examples, there is a notable downplaying of some positive aspects related to the achievements of Morsi’s regime. Other examples, however, imply a devaluing of some negative aspects associated with the former regime. This leads to suggest that the translations of both Tr.1 and Tr.5 advocate a particular point of view opposing Morsi’s claims, and consequently, oppose the point of view underlying the structure of the speeches.

With regard to manipulation detected in the Tr.3 translation, the analysis of examples revealed instances of stressing some negative references associated with the former regime, which a wider audience may regard as offensive. The translation is also loaded with examples showing support for Morsi and his regime. The analysed examples from the translations of Tr.2 and Tr.4
showed close adherence to the original text meanings and messages and a close reproduction of the exact themes.

5.5 Discussion of the results

This chapter examined and analysed particular translation strategies on lexical and grammatical levels to reveal the translators’ hidden ideological trends in employing such strategies in the process of translating political discourse. The chapter also answered the following research questions:

Research Question 2: Are there any consistent or recurrent shifts in the English translations with regard to their ideological intent in relation to the Arabic STs?

By juxtaposing the original Arabic speeches with five English translations, the results of the analysis reveal that three of the five TTs analysed seem to exhibit different degrees of ideological manipulation. One of these translations, produced by Tr.3, is found to be supportive of the original ideology underpinning the STs. Lexical and grammatical divergences adopted by the translator are all in favour of Morsi and his regime’s own interests, and tend to reflect, and, in certain instances, further strengthen the original ideologies and world-views.

Tr.1 and Tr.5, on the other hand, appear to communicate different points of view from the original texts. Despite the fact that neither Tr.1 nor Tr.5 project a fundamentally different ideology, the pattern of the translational manipulation seems to legitimize a conclusion of an altered viewpoint.

The analysis of the translations produced by Tr.2 and Tr.4 revealed that their ideological stance aimed to be as loyal as possible to their corresponding original texts: in their translations, the occurrence of lexical and grammatical alterations is less than those made by the other translators.

As illustrated by the examples extracted from the analysed texts, it is suggested that the translations did not display a consistent pattern of ideologically-loaded translational shifts. Despite these shifts, it can be concluded that throughout the individual corpora none of the
translations tend to reflect an anti-revolution attitude or clear support for the former regime. It can be suggested, rather, that such shifts may be reflecting the translators’ personal opinions and attitudes. Clearly, it would be tempting to assume that they are fully conscious choices of the TT producer.

With regard to research question 3:

**Research Question 3: To what extent does the distribution of possible instances of ideological manipulation vary across English translations?**

Table 5.23 reveals that the linguistic markers of ideology are not evenly distributed across the five corpora of English translations. Collocation and lexical choice had the highest number of occurrences, followed by changes of transitivity patterns. Shifts in the level of modality occupied the third level with three instances made by Tr.1, and finally two shifts in cohesion patterns were found in the translation produced by Tr.3.

Figures 5.1 to 5.4 display the distribution of linguistic markers of ideology in individual English corpora.

![Figure 5.1: The distribution of linguistic markers of ideology in Tr.1 English corpus](image-url)
It is noticeable in the distribution of linguistic markers of ideology that Tr.1 relies heavily on collocation and lexical choice (75%) to manipulate ideology. There are many fewer instances of shifts in transitivity patterns (18%), and, finally, shifts attributed to changes in the level of modality (7%).

Table 5.24 displays the total number of shifts for each node in the translation produced by Tr.1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Node</th>
<th>Number of shifts</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>دستور/constitution (and its related forms)</td>
<td>2 1</td>
<td>Shift in the transitivity patterns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Collocation and lexical choice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>مسؤولية/responsibility (and its related forms)</td>
<td>1 1</td>
<td>Shift in the level of modality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ثورة/revolution (and its related forms)</td>
<td>8 8</td>
<td>Collocation and lexical choice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>عظيم/great (and its related forms)</td>
<td>15 15</td>
<td>Collocation and lexical choice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>النظام/ the regime and النظام السابق / the former regime</td>
<td>3 2</td>
<td>Collocation and lexical choice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Shift in the transitivity patterns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ادعو/I call (and its inflections)</td>
<td>/ /</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>نعمل/we work (and its inflections)</td>
<td>4 2</td>
<td>Collocation and lexical choice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Shift in the level of modality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>اكد/I affirm (and its inflections)</td>
<td>/ /</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The negation (لن/not)</td>
<td>4 4</td>
<td>Shift in the transitivity patterns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>جميعا/altogether</td>
<td>5 4</td>
<td>Collocation and lexical choice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Shift in the transitivity patterns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>سلمية/peaceful (and its related forms)</td>
<td>3 3</td>
<td>Collocation and lexical choice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>نهضة/renaissance (and its related forms)</td>
<td>1 1</td>
<td>Shift in the transitivity patterns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>احافظ/I keep (and its inflections)</td>
<td>/ /</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.24: The total number of shifts for each node Tr.1
With regard to the Tr.2 English corpus, the distribution of linguistic markers of ideology is presented in Figure 5.2.

As mentioned earlier, the only instance of shift found in the Tr.2 translation is in the transitivity pattern. The analysis of the proposition in which this occurred indicates that it was void of ideological intent, but was to communicate more clearly to TT receivers. The description of this shift is in Table 5.25.
Table 5.25: The total number of shifts for each node Tr.2

The distribution of linguistic markers of ideology in the Tr.3 English corpus is shown in Figure 5.3. The figure also demonstrates the percentages and distributions of these shifts across the whole corpus.

Figure 5.3: The distribution of linguistic markers of ideology in Tr.3 English corpus
For Tr.3, Figure 5.3 indicates that collocation and lexical choice converge at the highest level of the strategies used to manipulate ideology (56% occurrences), followed by occurrences of shifts in the transitivity patterns (31%) and last is lexical cohesion (13%).

Table 5.26 demonstrates the description of these shifts along Tr.3 English corpus.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Node</th>
<th>Number of shifts</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>دستور/constitution (and its related forms)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Collocation and lexical choice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>مسؤولية/responsibility (and its related forms)</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ثورة/revolution (and its related forms)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Collocation and lexical choice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>عظيم/great (and its related forms)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Collocation and lexical choice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>النظام/the regime, and النظام السابق/the former regime</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Collocation and lexical choice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>الدعو/I call (and its inflections)</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>نعمل/we work (and its inflections)</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>اؤكد/I affirm (and its inflections)</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>النегация (not)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Shift in the transitivity patterns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>جميعا/altogether</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>سلمية/peaceful (and its related forms)</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>نهضة/renaissance (and its related forms)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Shift in cohesion patterns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>الحافظ/I keep (and its inflections)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Collocation and lexical choice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Shift in cohesion patterns</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.26: The total number of shifts for each node Tr.3

For Tr.4, the results did not display instances of ideological manipulation (see Table 5.23) so the discussion moves directly to Tr.5.

Figure 5.4 presents the distribution of the linguistic markers of ideology in the Tr.5 English corpus.
Figure 5.4: The distribution of linguistic markers of ideology in Tr.5 English corpus

A far higher percentage of occurrences of linguistic markers of ideology manipulation is for collocation and lexical choice (96%) followed by shifts in the transitivity patterns (4%). The distribution of these markers is presented in Table 5.2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Node</th>
<th>Number of shifts</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>دستور/constitution (and its related forms)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Collocation and lexical choice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>مسؤولية/responsibility (and its related forms)</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ثورة/revolution (and its related forms)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Collocation and lexical choice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>عظيم/great (and its related forms)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Collocation and lexical choice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>النظام/النظام السابق/the regime and the former regime</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Collocation and lexical choice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>الدعو/I call (and its inflections)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Collocation and lexical choice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>نعمل/we work (and its inflections)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Collocation and lexical choice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>أؤكد/I affirm (and its inflections)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Collocation and lexical choice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the negation (أني/not)</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>جميعا/altogether</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Collocation and lexical choice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>سلمية/peaceful (and its related forms)</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>نهضة/renaissance (and its related forms)</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>أحافظ/I keep (and its inflections)</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.27: The total number of shifts for each node Tr.5
To summarise, it was found that the Tr.1, Tr.3 and Tr.5 corpora of English translation exhibit different degrees of ideological manipulation, with Tr.1 and Tr.5 as violating the ideology underlying the original speeches and Tr.3 as promoting and supporting the original ideology. Instances of manipulation draw heavily on collocation and lexical choice, followed by a heterogeneous of the other markers (i.e. transitivity, modality and lexical cohesion).

The analysis also showed that the themes manipulated are not evenly distributed and the analysis of nodes showed variations in the distribution of manipulations in the corpora found to present ideological manipulations.

Research Question 4: How can each English translation be evaluated from the perspective of ideological manipulation?

As pointed out above, a comparative analysis of the frequencies of linguistic markers of ideology in translations and in their STs was the starting point in the search for an answer for the fourth research question. It was first decided to adopt Hatim and Mason (1997) three-scale model of the degree of mediation, in which the degrees of manipulation are classified into Maximal, Partial and Minimal. The first refers to a situation when the translator’s manipulation “issues from and constructs a different ideology” (Hatim and Mason, 1997, p.158) and when significant discoursal shifts occur between ST and TT. Thus, different degrees of the translator’s mediation can be said to reflect “the extent to which translators intervene in the transfer process, feeding their own knowledge and beliefs into their processing of a text” (Hatim and Mason, 1997, p.147). The major shortcoming of applying this model in empirical quantitative research, however, was the lack of clear-cut quantifiable boundaries between individual categories. Thus, in the search for numerical quantifications, and in order not to impoverish the results, it was decided to manually quantify the shifts occurring in each translation. Therefore, the more shifts there are in the corpus, the more manipulation of the original ideology is perceived, and vice versa.

The results of the analysis showed a clear difference in the degree of manipulation across the five different English corpora. One of the more tangible differences in ideological manipulation among the corpora is that whereas Tr.1 and Tr.5 made manipulations that violated the original
ideology, especially in areas where Morsi claims unique competence, Tr.3 appeared to manipulate in favour of the original ideology. Instances of both cases have been discussed in detail with examples.

However, it should be noted that not only the number of ideological manipulations add to the final effect of the TT, but also the force of the impact individual modifications have on the target audience.

5.6 Concluding remarks

In this chapter, the analysis of the five English translations is performed to answer three research questions. The first research question (Research Question 2) examined whether there is a variance between the original speeches and their five translations with regard to the ideological design. The analysis results answered this in the affirmative. They illustrated that the translations manifest different degrees of shifts and mediation ranging from high to zero. Shifts are indicators of ideological stances and given that they are more frequent and contradict the ideology of the original speeches in the translations of Tr.1 and Tr.5 more than in the other translations, it is therefore suggested that these two translations involve higher degrees of ideological manipulation than the other translations. Despite the fact that the results displayed a number of instances of ideological manipulation in the translation produced by Tr.3, subsequent analysis of the examples revealed that this translation is advocating a supportive ideological posture to the original speeches.

The findings conducted in the present chapter demonstrate also that the distribution of linguistic markers of ideology differ across the corpora of English translations; this was in answer to Research Question 3. Regarding translators’ preferences for the form of linguistic markers used to realise ideological manipulation, no conclusive results were extracted due to the limited data analysed.

The findings from Research Question 4, the evaluation of each English corpus from the perspective of ideological manipulation, pointed to differences in the degree of manipulation each corpus demonstrates. Generally, the numbers of ideological markers presented in Table 5.23 indicate that Tr.1, Tr.5 and Tr.3 revealed a higher prevalence of linguistic markers of ideology than others. With the exception of Tr.3, which illustrated a promotion of the original ideology, the translations of Tr.1 and Tr.5 appear to demonstrate an altered ideological design.
The analysis did not demonstrate incidences of ideological manipulation in the translations produced by Tr.2 and Tr.4.

In summary, the research questions addressed in this chapter and the methodology adopted enabled an exploration into the degree and nature of occurrence of linguistic markers as evidence of ideological manipulation over the five corpora of English translations. It seems necessary to mention that the shifts observed were minor details that can be detected via corpus tools, but would not be easily recognisable by simply reading the translations.

The next chapter is devoted for a critical analysis which examines further strategies employed by the translators with regard to the reproduction/concealment of the STs ideology. Van Dijk’s ideological model (1998) is used to identify instances of shifts that may be attributable to the ideology of the translator and result in ideological manipulation.
The present chapter is devoted to identifying instances of ideological keywords adopted by former President Morsi to reflect his own vision about the post-revolution socio-political change in Egypt and the way these markers were rendered in the translations. The chapter also aims to identify whether translators’ own ideologies are reflected in their linguistic selections. It should be stated that, in the present study, the findings of the two methods of analysis, the CDA and CL, are combined to reach the conclusions. The chapter then assesses the usefulness of combining methods associated with CL and CDA to investigate ideology in the STs and ideological manipulation in the translations.

6.1 Introduction
A critical analysis of the original Arabic speeches and their five translations is performed to answer the following research question:

*Research Question 5: Do translations follow the same ideological postulates of the positive in-group/negative out-group representations?*

The analysis is conducted using tools provided by CDA and political discourse structures. Van Dijk’s ideological model (1998) is adopted to account for patterns of ideological representation observed amongst different sets of texts, especially those constituting positive in-group representation and negative out-group representation.

The in-group/out-group ideological polarization (van Dijk, 1998) is a characteristic phenomenon in the composition of the STs. In his speeches, Morsi adopts rhetorical elements that glorify himself, his regime and the Revolution of 25th of January as a turning point for democracy and freedom in Egypt. His rhetoric also glorifies the revolutionaries and supporters of his regime. By doing so, Morsi appears to create polarisation against *Them*; this word will be used in the study to refer to the former regime, its adherents and any other person and group who claim that “the revolution continues”, and who are trying to subvert the country. These
identities are constructed as one group of people who are counter revolutionary and incite violence to hamper the development of Egypt and its newly born democracy.

Fairclough (1989) maintains that ideology in discourse is encoded in the lexical, grammatical and textual patterning; change in one or more of these dimensions is a potential vehicle of ideologically loaded views. In this chapter, the texts are critically analysed, the unit of analysis is variable (i.e. vocabulary and syntactic structures) in order to investigate the main discoursal features that have a direct influence on the formation of the ideological polarization in the speeches, i.e., positive in-group representation and negative out-group representation, and the strategies the translators adopt throughout the process of translation. These are:

1. Texts that reflect Morsi’s ideology.
2. Texts that capture the Us vs. Them divide.

In the analysis, different ideological patterns are grouped according to what defines each pattern as positive or negative (see Table 6.1). Concepts used in a positive sense to serve the regime’s goals, and words venerating Morsi and his regime and portraying them as saviours of the nation, are categorized as a positive ideological representation. Conversely, concepts criticizing, attacking and criminalizing the foreign regime and its adherents are categorized under the negative ideological representation.

Table 6.1 includes examples of the concepts employed in the original speeches as ideological ploys, i.e. the discursive strategy of positive/negative representation and those which seem to be either altered or emphasized in the TTs.

---

23 In the sense of ideas that help a speech bring forward the main message rhetorically.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Concepts denoting positive self-representation</th>
<th>LT</th>
<th>Concepts denoting negative other-representation</th>
<th>LT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>تنمية</td>
<td>Development</td>
<td>تخلف</td>
<td>Retardation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>استقرار</td>
<td>Stability</td>
<td>فوضى</td>
<td>Chaos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>عدل</td>
<td>Justice</td>
<td>ظلم</td>
<td>Injustice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ديمقراطية</td>
<td>Democracy</td>
<td>استبداد</td>
<td>Tyranny</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>حرية</td>
<td>Freedom</td>
<td>اضطهاد</td>
<td>Oppression</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>عدالة</td>
<td>Equality</td>
<td>تمييز</td>
<td>Discrimination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>وحدة</td>
<td>Unity</td>
<td>اقسام</td>
<td>Division</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>بناء</td>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>هدم</td>
<td>Destruction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>رخاء</td>
<td>Prosperity</td>
<td>فقر</td>
<td>Poverty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>امن</td>
<td>Safety</td>
<td>عف</td>
<td>Violence</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.1: Concepts employed for the positive/negative representation

As discussed in Section 3.5, the analysis first highlights how political, social, economic and political aspects are embedded in discourse. It also describes the ideological polarization underlining the formation of the original speeches, i.e. how these speeches are produced in a way that can influence and manipulate people’s opinions. The next step in the analysis concerns examining how these texts are translated, to detect whether translators mitigate, transfer, or reinforce the influence intended by the speeches through the employment of particular discursive practices or translation strategies. Finally, the interpretation of results is based on the presence and/or the absence of particular linguistic items and the way particular translation strategies contribute to ideological manipulation as presented by positive self-representation or negative other-representation.

6.2 A description of the ideological polarization in the original speeches
As mentioned in 3.4.2, there is a specific pattern underlining the production of the speeches. The principle axis around which most statements revolved was patently ideological. In
Appendix III, elements reflecting Morsi’s ideology in the original speeches in Arabic are highlighted\textsuperscript{24} employing van Dijk’s model (see Section 3.5).

Van Dijk (1998) argues that the ideological communication forming the “ideological square” comprises four dimensions: emphasis of positive representation about \textit{Us} and negative about \textit{Them} and de-emphasis of positive representation about \textit{Them} and negative about \textit{Us}. Van Dijk also maintains that in an ideologically polarized discourse, normally positive in-group representation is prioritized, whereas negative out-group representation tends not to be prioritized, and that these dimensions are directed toward participants representing a political group, as ideologies are group-based. In the present STs, and in the light of the critical analysis conducted on the speeches (see Appendix III), it was found that such discursive polarization is practiced, in the first place, on the in-group level, then, on the personal level (i.e. the speaker). It is also found that the positive in-group representation appears to be the basic discursive strategy, whereas the negative out-group representation appears to be subsidiary.

An analytic reading of the speeches revealed a number of themes that shape the coherence of the speeches in terms of positively representing Morsi’s regime and its allies and negatively representing its opponents. Furthermore, with regard to the positive in-group representation, four sub-categories have been identified as contributing to this strategy. These are:

1) Veneration of President Morsi as a political figure\textsuperscript{25}

Table 6.2 presents sample examples of semantic macrostructures worded with a view to venerate Morsi as a political figure.\textsuperscript{26}

\textsuperscript{24} As mentioned in Section 3.5, instances of positive representation were highlighted in blue \textsuperscript{\textcolor{blue}{[}]. instances of negative representation were highlighted in yellow \textsuperscript{\textcolor{yellow}{[}]. instances of mitigating the regime’s bad actions were highlighted in green \textsuperscript{\textcolor{green}{[}. whereas no instances of mitigating the former regime’s bad actions were found along all speeches.

\textsuperscript{25} The translation provided is the researcher’s. It is more literal than it is idiomatic, so as not to affect the meaning by the researcher’s ideology.

\textsuperscript{26} Tables 6.2-6.5, contain only sample examples of positive in-group representation. The whole set of examples can be found in Appendix III highlighted by \textsuperscript{\textcolor{green}{[}.}
I will treat all Egyptians equally. All of the rights of those who voted against, as of those who voted for me, are preserved. This is the democracy of the revolution. We are moving towards an upturn.

Morsi’s speech on the occasion of assuming power

I will work with you in all my time in presidency. I will advance the higher interests of the nation. I am determined to fix the principles of freedom and social justice, and to remove all the forms of injustice, corruption and discrimination.

Morsi’s speech on the occasion of assuming power

The armed forces, have handed over the power peacefully and with great pleasure to the first elected president in the history of Egypt. The year has passed, and I exerted all efforts for the sake of our country.

Morsi’s speech before being overthrown

As your president, I restate that I will try to overcome all the obstacles after taking all the legal procedures, which I evaluate and respect. I restate my refusal to any attempt because I am the decision maker according to your volition. There is no way for seizing the power of people.

Morsi’s speech on the occasion of assuming power

I will not monopolize power, and the final decision is for the people, the makers and protectors of the revolution.

Morsi’s speech after the events of Al-Ethadiyyah Palace

Table 6.2: Sample examples venerating Morsi as a political figure
2) Veneration of Morsi’s regime’s positive deeds

Examples

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Today we revived again with this great leadership supported by our people, we revived to achieve renaissance with our minds, our keenness to development, and our efforts.</td>
<td>دعمًا جميعًا نحن اليوم انبعثنا من جديد بهذه القيادات العظيمة ومن وراءها أبناء هذا الوطن، انبعثنا لتحقيق نهضة كبيرة بعقولنا وانتفاحنا وجهودنا.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We are continuing our outstanding performance and our respect to our opponents, we are moving to safety and prosperity. Ministers are monitored daily and we are moving in every direction to develop this country, and protect our land, but we are not warmongers.</td>
<td>نحن مستمرون في أدائنا المتميز ومعارضتنا في أعيننا ونحن ذاهبون إلى الامان، فنحن نحاسب الوزراء يوم يوم ونتحرك شرقًا وغربًا لتحقيق نهضة هذا الوطن، ونحن نحمي أرضنا ولكننا لسنا دعاة حرب.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We will not attack anyone but we are able to defend ourselves against any attack. We will make a new concept for our foreign relationships.</td>
<td>لن نعتدي على أحد ولكننا قادرون جميعًا أن نمنع أي عدوان علينا من أي جهة كانت سنصنع معاها الأحباب مفهوما جديدا للعلاقات الخارجية.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We have achieved a limitless freedom and made a constitution that cut down the president’s authorities, and allowed the construction of the press institutions and pass the legislative powers. We are working day and night for the benefit of our citizens and stop the bleeding of road accidents, the elimination of unemployment and the government’s support of health insurance.</td>
<td>لقد حققنا حرية بلا حدود ودستورا قلص صلاحيات الرئيس، وسمح ببناء المؤسسات الصحفية وتمرير الصلاحيات التشريعية، إنا نعمل على راحة المواطنين ليل نهار ووقف حوارد الطرق والقضاء على البطالة ونشر مظلة التأمين الصحي.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The government’s efforts to be exerted in the coming period will be at the forefront of my priorities and of the government’s. We should be heading forward as a nation able to work and produce.

Morsi’s speech to the Shura Council

Table 6.3: Sample examples of venerating Morsi’s regime positive deeds
3) Veneration of the Revolution of 25 January 2011 and the post revolution achievements

Examples

Table 6.4: Sample examples venerating the Revolution of 25 January 2011 and the post revolution achievements
4) Understanding that Morsi’s supporters are the vast majority of Egyptians

Examples

| 
| --- |
| **Morsi’s speech to the leaders and soldiers of the armed forces** |
| كل أبناء مصر في كل مكان وفي كل مدنها على شرق البلاد وغربها وشمالها جنوبها. كلنا يد واحدة وسأتواصل مع الجميع ولافرق بين مؤيدين ولا معارضين، أطلب النصيحة منكم والعون من الله ومن كل أبناء شعب مصر. |
| All People of Egypt; in all the cities in the east, west, north and south, we are all one hand. I will contact all of you. I will not differentiate between the advocates and the oppositionists. I ask for your advice and I need support from God and from you. |

We all spent days and weeks of anticipation and anxiety in which I pursued to virtue of my responsibility to move the country to safety, and to finish the long transition period, which continued for nearly two years, country’s economy and security suffered a lot.

| **Morsi’s speech on the approval of the Constitution** |
| إن الدولة هيبتها متمثلة في كل أبناء مصر، وفي كل الأجهزة، والتي كانت مثل التعاون في التخطيط والتنفيذ. |
| All of the people and in all authorities represent the dignity of the State, which was an ideal of cooperation in planning, and implementation. |

| **Morsi’s speech before the Board of Trustees of the Bibliotheca of Alexandrina** |
| فقنتي أعبر عن جميع طوائف الشعب المصري الذي منحتي ثقة، وحملتي المست쓸ية أمام الله ومامامتاريخ. |
| I represent all sects of the Egyptian people who put their confidence in me, and whom I am responsible for before God and before history. |

Table 6.5: Sample examples of the view that Morsi’s supporters are the vast majority of Egyptians

These sample examples and the whole set of analysed speeches can be regarded as replete with ideological messages that attempt to influence, and manipulate people’s minds. Ideological words, phrases and sentences are injected with messages which depend, to a certain extent, on the background knowledge of this particular discourse in the Arab world.
With regard to another element in the ideological square, it could be concluded from the analysis of the examples of stressing the bad properties of the Them, that the phrases used send a blatant ideological message that is creating a negative image of the Them in the audience.

Examples

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>After years of tyranny, corruption, dictatorship, and absolute power.</th>
<th>بعد سنوات من الاستبداد والفساد والديكتاتورية والسلطة المطلقة.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Morsi’s speech to the Shura Council</td>
<td>كلمة الرئيس محمد مرسي أمام مجلس الشورى</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We are all aware about the situation in the past; corruption, election fraud, theft, injustice, assaults on the rights and dignity of the human. Egypt is not up to what developed countries have achieved because of the crimes of the former regime against the country's right.</td>
<td>نحن جميعًا نعرف الوضع في الماضي; الفساد، الفساد في الانتخابات، السرقة، العدوان على الإنسان، وكرامة الإنسان، وكما أن مصر ليس لها ما تحظى به البلدان المتقدمة بسبب جرائم النظام السابق ضد البلاد وشعبها.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morsi’s last speech before being overthrown</td>
<td>كلمة الرئيس محمد مرسي الأخيرة قبل عزله من منصبه</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In order to help Egypt stands after a long setback due to the crimes of the former regime.</td>
<td>لكي تقف مصر بعد كبوة طويلة بسبب النظام الذي أجرم</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morsi’s last speech before being overthrown</td>
<td>كلمة الرئيس محمد مرسي الأخيرة قبل عزله من منصبه</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>During years of marginalization, oppression, injustice, corruption, electoral fraud and the use of all types of bullying against citizens by a regime that has fallen with its symbols and will never come back to the Egyptian land again.</td>
<td>عبر سنين من التهميش والقهر والقهر والفساد وتزوير الانتخابات واستخدام كل أنواع البلطجة ضد المواطنين من نظام سقط برموزه وكان يعود هذا النظام إلى أرض مصر مرة ثانية.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morsi’s speech after the events of Al-Eithadyiah Palace</td>
<td>كلمة الرئيس محمد مرسي بعد أحداث منشأة الأمة</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who spend their money, which they gathered through corruption from their business with the former regime, which committed crimes with them, they spend to burn these Country and destroy its establishments.</td>
<td>الذين ينفقون أموالهم الفاسدة التي جمعوها بفسادهم من جراء أعمالهم مع النظام السابق الذي أجرم وأجرم معهم هؤلاء لحرق الوطن ودمه</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.6: Examples of instances of negative out-group representation

Ideologies conveyed in these extracts attempt to affirm the negative and horrific image of the other, so as to attract people’s empathy and stir up emotions such as anger. Semantic macrostructures that emphasize supporters of the former regime’s negative properties or actions contributing to dictatorship, tyranny and a totalitarian regime in the pre-revolution Egypt are achieved through using linguistic features that have a deep psychological influence on the audience. This outline of the ideological aspects of the STs is followed by an analysis of the disparities among the TTs.

As discussed in Section 3.5, following van Dijk’s (1998) ideological square model, the critical analysis of the speeches demonstrates how discourse structures that contributed to the

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27 Table 6.6 presents only sample examples, and the whole set of semantic macrostructures implying a negative representation of Them can be found in Appendix III highlighted with [1].
ideological strategy of positive in-group representation and negative out-group representation were rendered in the translation. It also aims to highlight whether there are instances in which translations reinforce or mitigate those structures.

The CDA of the five translations identifies a number of discrepancies between the STs and some of the English versions. Such discrepancies and manipulations, as shown by the analysis of the examples, signal an intervention of a different ideology.

As Figure 2.2 demonstrates, the positive in-group representation involves Emphasising the Positive Representation of Supporters and Mitigating the Regime and Its Supporters’ Negative Actions. The negative out-group representation, on the other hand, involves Emphasising the Negative Representation of Others and Mitigating the Good Properties of Opponents.

Section 6.3 analyses instances of ideological manipulation on the in-group level, whereas ideological manipulation on the out-group level are identified in Section 6.4.

6.3 The analysis of the in-group representation in the translations

As mentioned in Section 6.1, information shaping the coherence of the STs are expressed in semantic macrostructures that imply ideological opinions to positively representing Morsi and his regime and mitigate their negative actions. Instances of manipulation of these two categories in the translation are discussed as follows.

6.3.1 Emphasis of Morsi and his regime’s positive properties

The analysis of the translation revealed that some information, which contributes to the political strategy of positive self-representation of Morsi and his regime/supporters, emphasised in the original speeches, appears to be omitted in some translations, resulting in a distortion of the ST.

The first instances of omission are found in the translation of sentences that denote a positive representation of Morsi and his regime intended by the original speeches:
Morsi’s Speech on the events of Al-Ethadiyah Palace

**Tr.1**
I address you today, and feel the sorrow for the lives that passed away and the bloodshed without any sin, during the event that took place in front of presidential headquarter in the last couple of days. I acknowledge the right of every citizen and my commitments towards them, whether they are supporters or opponents, because, for me, the country and its people are one unit.

**Tr.2**
I address you today with a heart full of pain, and a soul deeply grieved for the people killed and the blood spilled with no guilt in the events that took place in front of the Presidency headquarter in the last two days. I acknowledge my duty to protect the right of every citizen, be a supporter or an opponent, because Egypt and Egyptians are one unit for me.

**Tr.3**
I talk to you today with a heart full of pain, and a soul filled with sorrow for the lives that departed to heaven and the blood spilled of innocent victims of the events that took place in front of the Presidency Headquarters in the last couple of days. I am conscious of the responsibility laid on my shoulders toward each citizen and conscious of my duty toward all citizens, be those supporters or opposition since the nation and all its peoples are one unite for me.

**Tr.4**
Today, I am talking to you with a heart full of pain and sorrow for the spirits that met its Lord and bloods, spilled with no guilt, during the events, which has taken place in front of the building of the Presidency of the Republic in the last two days. I feel the right of every citizen upon me as well as my duty toward them whether they are supporters or opponents because this country with its people are one unit for me.

**Tr.5**
I address you today and regret the souls that went to their lord and bloodshed without any sin during the events in front of the presidential headquarter in the last two days. I acknowledge the right of everyone and my commitments towards them, being supporters or opponents, to protect them because the country and its people is one unit for me.

Clearly, Morse’s prelude to this speech is loaded with expressions of pain. He aims to convey a sense of a deep grief for the people killed in the street clashes nearby the presidency palace. However, Tr.1 skips this phrase and to reflect a sense of sorrow that is less forceful than the sense of pain and can indicate Morse’s indifference to the killing of Egyptian people. Indeed, this has social implications, and can result in more hatred towards Morsi and his regime. The
same sense of mitigation of Morsi’s empathy and feeling of pain for what has happened to his people seems to be echoed by Tr.5.

Example: 30

"ولقد صممت على إنفاذ إرادة الشعب في أن يكون لمصر دستور تستقر به الأوضاع وتقوم عليه المؤسسات ويفتح الباب أمام التنمية والتقدم والعدالة الاجتماعية وفي سبيل ذلك تلقت مسئولية اتخاذ الكثير من القرارات الصعبة، إيماناً مني بضرورة أن يكون هذا الدستور ميثاقاً ثابتاً نرجع إليه جميعاً ونحتكم إليه، وهو دستور يجعل رئيس الجمهورية خادماً للشعب محدد الصلاحيات وليس سيداً مطلقاً، ولا حاكمًا مستبداً."

Morsi’s Speech on the Approval of the Constitution

Tr.1

It is decided to enforce the will of the people to have a constitution for Egypt to stabilize the situation, establish institutions, and open the door for development, progress, and social justice. And in order to do so, I bear the responsibility of making a lot of tough decisions, believing in the importance that this constitution will be a fixed charter, which we all are governed by. A Constitution that limits the authorities and powers of the president.

Tr.2

I am determined to enforce people’s will of having a constitution by which conditions are stabilized and institutions are upheld, and doors are opened before development, progress, and social justice. For that purpose, I have shouldered the responsibility of taking many tough decisions, believing that this constitution should be an enduring charter referred to by all of us. A constitution that makes the president a servant of the people with limited authorities, rather than an absolute master or a despot ruler.

Tr.3

I insisted on enforcing people's will to have their own constitution as a corner stone in stability. This constitution lays the foundation for institutions and opens the door to development, progress and social justice. To this end, I took the responsibility for many difficult decisions I made out of my belief of the necessity for this constitution to be an everlasting charter to which we all refer and appeal. This constitution makes the president a servant to the people with limited powers rather than an absolute master nor a despotic ruler.

Tr.4

I was keen to enforce the will of Egyptian people to have a Constitution. A constitution that helps stabilizing the country and establishing institutions. A constitution, which opens the door to development, progress and social justice. To achieve that, and believing in the necessity to have a constant charter to refer to and invoke to, I shouldered the responsibility of making many hard decisions. A Constitution that makes the president a servant of his people, with limited authorities and not an absolute master or despotic ruler.
I decided to have a constitution in order to restore the stability of the country, build the institutions, and lends itself to development, progress, and social justice. For that, and confident in the importance of this constitution to be a reference to resort to, I endured hard decisions. A Constitution that reduces the president’s powers and not to make him a despotic ruler.

In example 30, Morsi attempts to influence his audience by drawing a bright image of the political atmosphere in Egypt after endorsing the new constitution, particularly following the confusion and controversy related to its drafting. He portrays the president according to this constitution, as a servant of his people, with limited authority, not an absolute master or despotic ruler. His words serve to win people’s sympathy. Translators 1 and 5, however, eliminate the phrase “servant of the people”, which is definitely positive and favourable to people. Again, translators 1 and 5 appear to be manipulating the ST and, consequently, reducing its emotional effect on TT receivers.

Example: 31

أدعوكم للعمل الجاد والتعاون مع الحكومة والحوار مع كافة الأحزاب والقوى السياسية هذا الحوار يكون من أجل إصدار التشريعات اللازمة للمرحلة البناء والنهضة والسعى نحو الكمال.

Morsi’s Speech to the Shura Council

Tr.1

I am now calling you to work and cooperate with the government and to talk to all parties and political forces to issue the necessary legislations necessary at this stage of building our country.

Tr.2

I call on you to work diligently and cooperate with the government and to have dialogues with all parties and political powers for issuing the legislation needed for the critical stage, the stage of construction, progress, and pursuit of perfection.

Tr.3

I call on you to make serious efforts and cooperate with the government. I call on you to open dialogue with all political parties and forces. This dialogue is essential for enacting necessary legislations for the critical stage of rebuilding, revival and striving for perfection.
I am calling you for the serious work and cooperation with the government, making dialogues with all parties and political powers; this dialogue shall be for the issuance of necessary legislations for the important phase, the phase of construction, development and seeking for perfection.

I am now calling you to work hard and cooperate with the government and to talk to all parties and political forces to issue the necessary legislations necessary to this crucial stage of building, renaissance and striving towards perfection.

In example 31, ideological opinions that positively envisage post-revolution Egypt using words such as “البناء/construction”, “النهضة/renaissance” and “السعى نحو الكمال/the pursuit of perfection”. By analysing the translations, it appears that the affirmative democratic transformation of Egypt intended by the use of these expressions is not communicated in the translation produced by Tr.1. Such an omission appears to mitigate the clear positive representations to less positive/neutral ones. Further, when Tr.2 and Tr.5 reformulate by merging sentences and editing down, they do keep the last expanded part which Tr.1 does not.

Example 32 shows that positive self-representation cannot always be disentangled from the negative other-representation. Morsi uses words with positive senses and references to describe post-revolution achievements, while words with negative associations portray the situation in Egypt before the revolution.

Example: 32
"أيها الأحباب وبعد يوم الثلاثين من يونيو، هذا هو العبور الثالث لينهض الشعب بهذه الأمة، حرية نمضي بها وإرادة قوية نمضي بها وارادة قوية" نمضي بها، ديمقراطية كاملة، عدالة لنا وعدل، وعدالة اجتماعية بعد معاناة وفساد لا يخفى على أحد.

Morsi’s Speech in Cairo Stadium

The 30th of June is the third transit to let people in the history of this nation and an undeniable change (Omitted).

My beloved ones, after 30 June, this is the third crossing in which the people raise this nation. Progressing with freedom and strong will towards complete democracy, justice for us, fairness, and social justice, having been through – as all of you know – so much sufferance and corruption.
Tr.3

My beloved ones, the 30th of June is the third passage for the people to rise with this nation. With freedom, we move forward and with strong will we go. It is democracy in full bloom, and a justice for us all after the suffering and corruption that we are all aware of.

Tr.4

Dear loved ones, after 30 June, the third transit to let people develop this nation. Freedom and a strong will to go forward with. Full democracy, equality and social justice after suffering and corruption that nobody can deny.

Tr.5

My beloved people, after the 30 of June, this is the third crossing, the third time the people raises this nation. We carry on with freedom. We carry on with will, full democracy, justice and equality and social justice, after enduring a life of suffering and corruption known to everyone.

In this example Morsi positively presents the situation in post revolution Egypt by using the expressions “democracy”, “equality” and “social justice”. On the other hand, the use of the expressions “suffering” and “corruption” that evoke negative feelings in the audience are employed in his discursive strategy of negatively presenting Them. Both categories are noticeably manipulated in the translation.

It can be stated that translation shifts found in all the above examples are maintained by omitting all or part of the positive associations of the proposition intended by the original speaker. Such omissions simply contradict the fundamental principle of the original speeches, which shapes and disseminates Morsi’s and his regime’s values as well as preserving and increasing their power.

It can be noticed that Tr.2, Tr.3 and Tr.4 try to maintain as much of the STs as possible. Tr.1, however, appears to omit some of the supposedly effective parts of the messages in all the analysed examples above. Lexical items that positively denote the abstract ideological themes on which Morsi tried to ground the in-group representation, such as freedom, democracy, equality and justice are omitted by Tr.1, which results in neutralising a notably positive representation. On the other hand, words carrying negative connotations that most frequently collocate with the former regime, such as suffering and corruption, are omitted, resulting in reducing the number of instances of negative out-group representation. By detecting these
omissions, a counter ideological stance on the part of the translator to that of the ST can reasonably be assumed.

A further rhetorical feature that characterises the composition of the speeches is in Morsi’s attempts to influence the varied fabric of the Egyptian political landscape, manifested in the wide range of his allusions to Qur’anic verses and other expressions of a religious nature. Clearly, the STs abound with such examples. For a native Arab audience, Morsi’s employment of such expressions to couch his ideas, and support the positive in-group/negative out-group representation throughout the corpus is one of the most notable features of the STs. In the analysis of the disparities between the STs and the translations, it is found that the discursive strategy of employing religious texts and expressions appears altered, manipulated, and in some speeches even omitted by Tr.1 and Tr.5, depriving the extracted examples of the religious impact intended by the original speaker.

**Example: 33**

"لأجل ذلك جئت اليوم إليكم إلى الشعب المصري لا أرتدي قميصاً واقياً من الرصاص، أنا مطمئن بفضل الله ثم بك، فأنا لا أخف إلا الله ثم أعمل لكم ألف حساب. إنني أتوب اليوم إلى ميدان التحرير بعد أن حملني الأمانة والمسؤولية لأجد العهد مكتمل وانكسر كم أنكر وتحكم العجز التي دائما دائما دائما دائما أسأل من، وطالبا من الشعب المصري كلها بعد عون الله دعمهم وتأييديهم، فهل أنت مستعدون، هل أنت واقفون معني لتحصلي على كامل حقوقنا، لن ينتقص أحد كائنا من كان شيئا من حقوقهم ما دامت هذه إرادتكم بعد إرادة الله."

Morsi’s speech on assuming power

**Tr.1**

*For the sake of that, I came to you today not wearing a bulletproof jacket. I am reassured *(Omitted)* because of you and because I have *(Omitted)* a great consideration for you. I came here to Al Tahrir square to renew my promise to you and to remind you that I will always start from you. I *(Omitted)* ask your help and support, are you ready? Will you stand with me to get all our rights? No one can deprive us from our rights as long as this is your will.*

**Tr.2**

*For that, I came to you Egyptians wearing no bulletproof vest. I feel safe, praise be to Allah first and then to you. I fear no one but Allah, and then I have you in mind all the time. Having been given this responsibility by Allah, I come today to Al-Tahrir Square to renew my vows and remind you that you and you only, will always be my starting point. After asking Allah for assistance, I ask the Egyptian people for support and backing; are you ready? Will you stand by me to get our full rights? No one will be able to take any of your rights away as long as you show your will, next to Allah’s will of course.*

**Tr.3**

*For this, I came to you people of Egypt. I do not wear a bulletproof shirt. I feel secure with the blessing of God and then with your presence. I fear none but God, and then I am definitely*
accountable to you. I came today to the Tahreer Square after I was given the trust and responsibility to renew my vows towards you and remind you that you are the only place from which I will always start. I ask all the Egyptian people, after the support and assistance, I have from God, to give me their support and assistance. Are you ready? Do you stand by me to get all of our rights? No one will ever take any right from you as long as this is you will, after the willing of God.

Tr.4

For that, I came to you today not wearing a bulletproof jacket. I am tranquil by the grace of God and because of you. I do not fear but God, and I have a consideration for you. I came to Al Tahrir square with honesty and responsibility to renew my pledge and to remind you that you will always be my starting point. I ask your support and advocacy after God’s support. Are you ready? Are you standing by my side to get all our rights? No one can strip our rights as long as this is your will, after God’s will.

Tr.5

For that, I came to you today not wearing a bulletproof jacket. I am tranquil because (Omitted) I am among you. I do not fear (Omitted) but you. I came to Al Tahrir square driven by honesty and responsibility to renew my promise and to remind you that you will always be my starting point. I ask (Omitted) your support and help. Are you ready? Are you standing by my side to get all our rights? No one can take our rights as long as this is your will.

The employment of religious expressions in the STs is a revealing characteristic of the STs; it shows the high confidence and morale of the revolutionaries. It also contributes to the certainty that victory and a better future for Egypt after the revolution are imminent. The analysis of the translations, however, draws attention to a strategy explained earlier, which is omission. Tr.1 and Tr.5 did not translate the religious discourse used in the ST. For instance, it can be noted that Morsi alludes to religious expressions to venerate himself as a political figure. This can be interpreted as an attempt to touch on the core values and beliefs of Egyptians and Muslims around the world. Stecker (2011), who examined the employment of religious expressions in the rhetoric of American presidential speeches after the events of September 11, found that there is penchant among politicians to use religious references strategically; specifically, such references allow them to affect the nation, change people’s minds and to appear as God's candidate for office (Stecker, 2011, p.49).

Since manipulation in translation is perceived as the manifestation of a number of strategies translators’ adopt to express and/or hide true intentions, translators’ opinions and attitudes can
also reflected in their varying lexical choices of the same STs. The following examples demonstrate the way personal ideology influences translator’s own lexical selection:

**Example: 34**

"شهدت تلك المرحلة جدلا سياسيا كبيراً حول عملية صياغة الدستور في مراحلها المختلفة، واتخذت القوى السياسية مواقف مختلفة وهو أمر طبيعي في ظل مجتمع يتحرك نحو الديمقراطية والتنوع في الرأي.

Morsi's speech on the approval of the Constitution

**Tr.1**

*That stage witnessed great political controversy about the constitution-drafting process in its various stages. Different political powers reflected different attitudes, and this is normal in a society witnessing political change.*

**Tr.2**

*That stage witnessed considerable controversy over the drafting of the constitution in its various stages. Political powers took different stands, which is something normal in a society moving towards democracy and diversity of opinions.*

**Tr.3**

*That period witnessed a wide political debate regarding the various stages of the process of drafting this great constitution. Political powers have taken different attitudes and this is natural in a society moving toward democracy and diversity of views.*

**Tr.4**

*The past period witnessed a great controversy about drafting the constitution in all its phases. Different stances have been taken by political powers, which is normal in a society that is moving towards democracy, and diversity of opinion.*

**Tr.5**

*That period witnessed huge political controversy about the constitution-drafting process in its various stages, in which different political powers reacted differently, which a normal matter in a community that moves toward democracy and diversity of opinion.*

Evidently, the lexical choice of Tr.1 did not echo the positive sense intended by the ST, suggested by the employment of the words *democracy and diversity of opinion*, but rather the translation reflected a neutral and also vaguer sense by using the concept “political change”.

In the following example, a discursive strategy is employed to create a positive in-group representation that is manipulated by Tr.5:

**Example: 35**

"ولقد صممت على إنفاذ إرادة الشعب في أن يكون لمصر دستور تستقر به الأوضاع وتقوم عليه المؤسسات ويفتح الباب أمام التنمية والتقدم والعدالة الاجتماعية.

Morsi's speech on the approval of the Constitution
Tr.1
*It is decided* to enforce the will of the people to have a constitution for Egypt to stabilize the situation, establish institutions and open the door for development, progress and social justice.

Tr.2
*I determined* to enforce people’s will of having a constitution by which conditions are stabilized and institutions are upheld, and doors are opened before development, progress and social justice.

Tr.3
*I insisted* on enforcing people’s will to have their own constitution as a corner stone in stability. This constitution lays the foundation for institutions and opens the door to development, progress and social justice.

Tr.4
*I was keen* to enforce the will of Egyptian people to have a Constitution. A constitution that helps stabilize the country and establish institutions. A constitution, which opens the door to development, progress and social justice.

Tr.5
*I insisted on approving* the constitution so that we can move towards stabilization, development and social justice.

In order to fully comprehend the ideological manipulation of this example, it should be placed in its original context. As mentioned in Chapter 4, Egypt had witnessed much political dispute, division and even rejection over the drafting of the Constitution proposed by the regime at that time on the part of some political forces and sections of society. There was also a suspicion of rigging the positive results of the referendum. By using the *will of people*, Morsi attempts to pacify society while developing the positive idea that the people are the most important players in post-revolution Egypt. Tr.5, however, uses “I insisted on approving the constitution”, which clearly marks a hegemonic discourse and stresses the idea that Morsi has unilaterally snatched power to protect the Islamist dominated constitution drafting process and hence, a negative or at least less collective and less democratic sense in the readers’ minds.

On the other hand, Tr.1 seems to manipulate the translation by making changes to the transitivity pattern. As elaborated in Chapter 2, the ideological charge of a text can also be reflected in the transitivity patterns. In the above example, Tr.1 manipulated the meaning of
the proposition by hiding the agent “I”. The use of an agentless sentence is further device to conceal the positive sense intended by the original speaker.

Examples 36 and 37 are similar in that they mitigate the positive self-reference Morsi tries to create on hearers/receivers by assigning direct positive properties to himself and his regime.

**Example: 36**

> وانني سأبذل كل جهدي للوفاء بالالتزامات والتعهدات التي قطعتها على نفسي أمامكم جميعا، مصر للمصريين جميعا، كلنا متساوون في الحقوق، وكلنا علينا واجبات لهذا الوطن، وأنا عن نفسي ليس لي حقوق، إنما علي واجبات."

Morsi's speech to the Egyptian Nation

Tr.1

*We will work* to fulfil our obligations and commitments. *Egypt is for all Egyptians; all have equal rights, and all have obligations to this country.*

Tr.2

*And, I say to you that I shall exert every effort to meet the commitments and pledges I have made before all of you. Egypt is for all Egyptians, we all have equal rights, and we all have equal duties towards this homeland. As for me, I do not have any rights; I only have duties.*

Tr.3

*I say that I will exert all efforts to achieve my commitments and vows I took on myself in front of you all. Egypt is for all Egyptians. We are all equal in rights and in duties towards our country. As for myself, I have no rights, but only duties.*

Tr.4

*And I say to you that I will exert all possible efforts to fulfil the commitments and pledges that I made before you. Egypt is for all Egyptians, we all have equal rights, and we all have equal duties towards this country. And for me, I do not have any rights, but duties.*

Tr.5

*And I say to you that I will put all my effort in fulfilling the commitments and pledges I have taken in front of all of you. Egypt is for all Egyptians, we all have equal rights, and we all have equal duties towards this homeland. As for me, I do not have any rights; I only have duties.*

In example 36, Morsi adopts a discursive strategy that creates a positive self-representation on his audience as being a president who denies his own rights for the sake of fulfilling his obligations. Tr.1 omits this sense in the TT, and constructs an image of Morsi as claiming his rights besides admitting his obligations.
Example: 37

"وسأكون دائماً كما عاهدت شعب مصر العظيم خادماً لهذا الشعب لا أذكر جهداً في العمل مع كل أبنائه لصالح مصر والمصريين".

Morsi’s Speech on the Approval of the Constitution

Tr.1

And, as I promised the great Egyptian people (Omitted), I will work with all people for the benefit of Egypt and the Egyptians.

Tr.2

As I pledged to the great people of Egypt, I shall always be a servant of this people, saving no effort working alongside all Egyptians to serve Egypt and its people.

Tr.3

I will always be, as I promised the great people of Egypt, a servant to the people who spares no effort to work with all of them for the interest of Egypt and Egyptians.

Tr.4

I covenant the great people of Egypt, to be a servant of the people and to spare no effort to work with all of them for the benefit of Egypt and the Egyptians.

Tr.5

As I promised the great people of Egypt (Omitted), I will save no effort to work with all people for the benefit of Egypt and the Egyptians.

The image of Morsi’s positive self-representation is revealed by investigating the qualities he attributes to himself. The previous example contains an attempt by the president to appear approachable to his people, constructed by the use of “be a servant to the people”. By examining the translations, it can be noticed that Tr.1 and Tr.5, although maintaining the general positivity of the sentence, have omitted this particular phrase. This omission appears to mitigate the original message and therefore reveals an instance of ideological manipulation.

6.3.2 Mitigating Morsi and his regime’s negative actions

Critical analysis of the original speeches displays examples in which the original speaker mitigates negative aspects associated either with him or with his regime. An analysis of their
corresponding translations reveals instances where such representations are manipulated or omitted.\textsuperscript{28}

**Example: 38**

"لقد وقعت مني أخطاء ولقد وقع مني بعض التقصير ولقد رأيت الأمور أكثر وضوحاً بعد عام من المسؤولية وتحركت في كل الميادين ومع كل المخلصين لكي ننهض بمصر ولكي تقف مصر بعد كبوة طويلة بسبب النظام الذي أجرم في حق مصر وأهلها."

Morsi’s last speech before being overthrown

**Tr.1**

*I admit my mistakes and neglect*, but a year after taking responsibility I saw things more clearly. I moved in all fields with all faithful people to promote Egypt after a long stumble during the rule of the former regime.

**Tr.2**

*I have made some mistakes and dereliction*. After one year in responsibility, I see things clearer now. I have acted in all fields, with all the dedicated people, to raise Egypt, to help Egypt stand up after a long setback occasioned by a regime that committed crimes against Egypt and its people.

**Tr.3**

*I made mistakes and shortcomings* and after a year of taking responsibility, I started to see things more clearly. I moved in all fields, worked with all loyal people to develop Egypt, and help it stand on its feet after a long stumble due to the practices of the former regime who abused Egypt and its people.

**Tr.4**

*I clearly admitted that I have made faults as well as negligence;* but I saw the matters more clearly after a year from bearing this responsibility. I worked on different fields with all the faithful people to develop Egypt and lead it to evolvement after a very long set back due to the regime that committed crimes against Egypt and its people.

**Tr.5**

*I did mistakes and abandonment,* but I saw things more clearly a year after taking responsibility. I move in all directions with faithful people to develop Egypt after its long setback in the past.

The example shows that positive self-representation and negative other-representation are also entangled within the same example. The first part of the example ("لقد وقعت مني أخطاء ولقد وقع مني بعض التقصير/I have made some mistakes and negligence) represents the second category of the

\textsuperscript{28}Full examples of the mitigation of Morsi and his regime’s negative actions are listed in Appendix III.
ideological square model, i.e. mitigating Morsi’s regime and its supporters’ negative action. In this part of the above example, Morsi depicts his mistakes as less important and crucial for himself and his regime. However, the translators’ involvement in highlighting or even emphasising these mistakes results in enlarging the gap between the regime and the people. Conversely, in the second part (بسبب النظام الذي أجرم في حق مصر واهلها/Due to the crimes of the former regime against Egypt and its people), Morsi appears to emphasise the former regime’s crimes, whereas both Tr.1 and Tr.5 mitigate the assertion intended by the ST.

Example: 39

“نعم كان هناك خلال هذه الفترة المؤقتة أخطاء وعثرات من هنا وهناك، واتحمل معكم المسؤولية.”

Morsi’s Speech on the approval of the Constitution

Tr.1

*We bear the responsibility* for the mistakes made during this period.

Tr.2

*During that period, some mistakes and pitfalls were made here and there. I assume responsibility, with you.*

Tr.3

*Yes, there were mistakes and stumbles made here and there during this transitional period, and I share the responsibility with you.*

Tr.4

*Yes, during this temporary period, there were many mistakes and missteps here and there, and I bear this responsibility with you.*

Tr.5

*Yes, we made mistakes and missteps during this period, and we are all responsible.*

In this example, the speaker is admitting mistakes and missteps during his rule. It is evident that in the ST, the discursive polarization is predominantly at the self-level, exposed by the employment of the pronoun “I”, while Tr.1 and Tr.5 shifted this polarization to the in-group level by using the pronoun “we”. Such a shift seems to expose the translators’ ideological stance as opposing Morsi’s regime. In the original texts Morsi states that “we are all in this
together/equally responsible”, so defusing the personal burden of responsibility, whereas the translation appears to blame him and his regime for the negative period Egypt is experiencing.

6.4 The analysis of the out-group representation in the translations
As described earlier, van Dijk (1998) maintains that ideological communication comprises four dimensions that form an “ideological square”: emphasizing positive representation about Us and negative about Them and mitigating positive information about Them and negative about Us. Having considered the first two, emphasis of positive in-group representation and the mitigation of their negative actions, the other two dimensions will be discussed, the emphasis of negative out-group representation and the mitigation of their good actions.

In Chapter 5, the nodes نظام/ regime and النظام السابق/the former regime were examined to understand how they were rendered in the translations in concordances that literally contain both nodes. The present section continues the analysis by examining further references emphasizing the former regime’s negative actions in sentences that contain an indirect reference to the former regime as in the following set of examples:

Example: 40

"إنني أشعر بالمواطنين الأقل دخلاً في المجتمع المصري وأحس بما يعانوه في هذه الأيام، ولن أسمح – رغم التحديات التي نواجهها والتي ورثناها جميعًا من العقود السابقة – أقول لن أسمح بأن يتحملوا مزيدًا من المعاناة، وسأعمل مع الحكومة وكافة مؤسسات الدولة على تقديم أفضل ما يتحمله الاقتصاد المصري من دعم لهم."

Morsi’s Speech on the Approval of the Constitution

Tr.1

I can sense the suffering of people with the lowest income in the Egyptian society, and I will not leave them (Omitted) to bear more suffering. I will work with the government and all State institutions to help them with the best of what the Egyptian Economy can provide.

Tr.2

I understand the suffering of the citizens with the least income in the current period, and I will not allow - despite the challenges we inherited from the past decades-, I say I will not allow further suffering. I will work with the government and all state institutions to provide the best of what the Egyptian economy endures to support them.

Tr.3

I share the feeling of citizens with the least income in the Egyptian society. I share their suffering these days. Despite the challenges we face that we inherited from the previous regimes, I say I will not accept their suffering to continue, and I will work with all governmental institutions to provide the best support that the Egyptian economy can afford.
I could sense the feeling of the low-income Egyptian citizens and what they feel nowadays. In spite of the challenges inherited from the past decades, I will not allow them to suffer anymore. I will work with the government and all state departments to do the best of what the Egyptian economy could bear as support to them.

(Omitted) I will not allow the suffering of people with low income to continue. I will work with the government and all State institutions to provide them with the best support.

In this example, although Tr.1 and Tr.5 reproduced the gloomy picture of the economic situation and the suffering low income citizens as it appeared in the ST both of them omitted the possibly most effective part of Morsi’s message, i.e. the phrase denoting the former regime’s responsibility for that negative situation. The reader cannot infer clearly and easily whether this is the former regime’s direct responsibility, or the result of adverse social, economic and political circumstances. The translator making such a shift appears to deny the former regime’s crimes and abuse of power, and thus could be interpreted as supporting it; this is a distortion and also such shifts have a cumulative effect.

On the other hand, Tr.3 makes a direct reference to the former regime by adding the phrase “the previous regimes” to the translation. This addition, as a translation strategy, involves introducing new information to the translation (Schäffner and Wissemann, 2001). Although the strategy of omission of some information appearing in the ST might signify a covert operation of ideology, the strategy of addition can have several justifications. Here it can be interpreted as an attempt to create a strong ideological impact on the readers’ opinions.

Referring back to Morsi’s employment of religious discourse, a critical analysis of the speeches demonstrates that Morsi employs religious discourse to support another element of the ideological square, i.e. the emphasis of the former regime’s negative actions. This example conveys a strong discourse consisting of dismissive statements and criticism. The former regime, though not explicitly mentioned, is portrayed as ‘unfair’, ‘corrupt’ and an ‘oppressor’.

Example: 41

Morsi's speech on assuming power
Tr.1

We will work together during my mandate to prevail the interests of the nation. I am determined to set up the principles of freedom and social justice, and rub corruption (Omitted).

Tr.2

I will be working with you at every moment of my presidential term. I will put the country’s interest first, determined to establish the principles of freedom and social justice and to remove all types of injustice, corruption, and discrimination. Be aware that those who commit injustice will be punished on the Judgment Day, and that Allah delays such punishment but it surely will come. We have just seen the end he prepared for the tyrants.

Tr.3

I will work with you each moment of my presidential term. I will put the high interests of the nation above all, with full resolve to establish the principles of freedom and social justice, and to get rid of all forms of injustice, corruption and discrimination. You have to know that your injustices in this life will be rewarded with hellfire in the afterlife. God will inevitably punish the wrong doer. And here we are witnessing the punishment of the wrong doers.

Tr.4

I will work with you in every moment of my mandate. I will predominate the supreme interests of the nation, establish the principles of freedom and social justice, and remove all forms of injustice, corruption and discrimination. Should you know that injustice is darkness on the Day of Resurrection and God dictate the wrongdoer with no mercy.

Tr.5

I will work with you in every moment of my presidency, prioritize the best interests of the Country, and always keen to establish the principles of freedom, social justice and the elimination of all forms of injustice, corruption and discrimination (Omitted).

It can be noticed that the dominant feature in the translations of Tr.2, Tr.3 and Tr.4 is that the translators attempt to reproduce the entire ST including the religious allusion. Tr.1 and Tr.5, however, omit the translation of religious discourse. Taking into account the significance of such allusion and its sensitivity to the recipients and that such omission might dilute the original message and attenuate the persuasive force of the ST, that the ousting of the former regime is a punishment by God, it is probable that such treatment is an ideologically charged modification.
Lexical choice is also employed in the portrayal of the negative out-group representation. Instances mitigating/emphasising the former regime’s negative properties in the translations are as follows:

**Example: 42**

Morsi's speech to the Egyptian Nation

Tr.1

*Our resources are immense, but as you know they were squandered and mismanaged, and today we are going to manage these resources, to achieve the best interest for all of us.*

Tr.2

*Our resources are abundant, but, as you know, they were wasted and mismanaged. Today, however, we are working on managing the resources in a manner serving our collective interests, God willing.*

Tr.3

*Our resources are abundant. However, as you know they were spent unwisely and abused in the past. Today, we are resolved to manage these resources for the interest of us all in a way that ensures best interest to us all, God willing.*

Tr.4

*Our resources are lots and as you know, they were wasted and mismanaged; today, we are going to manage these resources in the way that achieves the interest for us all, God willing.*

Tr.5

*Egypt’s resources are great, but they were not fully exploited. Today, these resources will be managed to achieve our interest.*

The above examples highlight Morsi’s discursive strategy to repeatedly assert the positive sense of hope in the future to the Egyptians through promises of excellent management of Egypt’s resources. The ST also contains an implicit reference to the mismanagement of these resources prior to the revolution. A critical analysis of the translation demonstrates that Tr.3 appears to create social antagonism, referring directly to the former regime as abusers of the country’s own resources. This translation emphasises the negative sense embedded in the STs, and attempts to manipulate this discursive tactic and directly envisage the former regime as responsible for this abuse and, consequently, the hard economic situation Egypt was going through.
6.5 The integration of CL and CDA in the analysis

This section discusses and evaluates the usefulness of combining methods traditionally used by CL and CDA to investigate the ideological salient words in the original Arabic speeches and the possible occurrence of instances of ideological manipulation in the English translations and is devoted to answer the following research question:

Research Question 6: What are the advantages of combining methods associated with CL and CDA in detecting ideology in the original speeches and possible ideological manipulation in their translations?

As demonstrated by the analysis conducted in Chapter 4, CL has proven useful in providing a general map of the data, especially in relation to keywords and frequencies. However, there is still a need to analyse context in order to isolate IKWs from the list of keywords extracted. Extended concordance lines should be analysed in order to determine words with ideological charge. Moreover, as shown by the analysis conducted in Chapter 5, corpus-based analysis alone is not sufficient to decide whether a particular IKW is used in a positive, neutral, or negative situation and it does not normally count for the political, social and cultural context of the resulted keywords list. The CDA analysis helps to overcome this limitation by facilitating a detailed analysis that considers extended textual context. For example, the verb الدينورا/I call is displayed by corpus-based analysis as an IKW, but cannot be considered positive or neutral unless the extended concordances are critically analysed. In this way, the CDA can provide illustrative power to the descriptive findings obtained by CL analysis.

Moreover, the corpus-based analysis focuses on what is explicitly written in the texts of the speeches, rather than what might be implied or inferred by the particular use of linguistic structures. For instance, the corpus-based analysis is able to identify words denoting counter revolutionaries, but the significance of this concept is only understandable if other sources outside the corpus are considered. These sources can provide examples of other possible ways that convey the concept, for example, the Arabic word الدرو (i.e. supporters or remnants of the former regime) in example 10 that did not appear in the keywords list as it is not be frequent enough to be included in IKWs list. Therefore, the CDA facilitated a detailed analysis that considers larger amount of textual context as well as the political, social and cultural dimensions of the speeches and is useful with regard to the identification of strategies based around language usage that might be overlooked by frequency-based analysis CL offers.
Similarly, CDA can benefit from the quantitative analysis as represented by the generated keywords list so as to base the interpretations made on a particular linguistic evidence as an indicator of ideology on a more systematic and empirically demonstrable data chosen according to objective criteria and extracted using statistical procedures.

Overall, the integration of methods associated with both CL and CDA that carries out tests of statistical significance and examines specific linguistic patterns is therefore able to detect ideology and ideological manipulation in the speeches and their English translations.

6.6 Discussion of the results
The present section discusses the results extracted from the analysis within the framework of van Dijk’s (1998) *Ideological Square Model*. The data extracted from the original Arabic speeches demonstrate high occurrences of instances denoting the in-group/out-group representation (see Appendix III). The analysis of the translations highlight differences in the representation of the Revolution of 25th of January, Morsi and his regime’s unique competence, and the Counter Revolutionaries and the former regime. The following section offers a discussion of how data from each English translation source fit van Dijk’s (1998) *ideological square* model is conducted. As shown in Figure 2.2, a positive representation of the in-group members and/or their supporters involved emphasizing their good properties/actions and mitigating their bad properties/actions. As summarised in Table 6.7, Tr.1 and Tr.5 reflect a counter ideological position to the original speaker by mitigating the positive in-group and negative out-group representation. Conversely, instances of emphasis of the in-group/out-group representation is easily detected in the translation of Tr.3, whose ideology is in line with that of Morsi.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Translator</th>
<th>Description of ideological polarization</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tr.1</td>
<td>Counter ideological position to the STs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tr.2</td>
<td>Comparable ideological position to the STs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tr.3</td>
<td>Promoting the ideological representations of the STs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tr.4</td>
<td>Comparable ideological position to the STs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tr.5</td>
<td>Counter ideological position to the STs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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*Table 6.7: Ideological representation of the translations*
The analysis of the original speeches reveals that the basic discursive strategy is positive self-representation. The divergences captured by the analysis of the translations produced by Tr.1 and Tr.5 reflect different ideologies and points of view that mitigate this sense. It is worth noting, from the examples analysed, that these two translators make a larger number of shifts and alterations, and more omissions of many linguistic items and phrases than the other translators. Tr.1 and Tr.5 generally adopt translation techniques that attempt to diminish the labels of reform, democracy and reconstruction of Morsi and his regime ruling plans. Furthermore, both translators generally embrace a defensive ideological stance over allegations of corruption and injustice against the former regime found in the original speeches whether explicitly or implicitly.

With regard to the STs, the pattern of the in-group positive representation (by emphasizing their positive properties and mitigating their negative properties) applies to representing Morsi and his regime and the post-revolution achievements. One strategy adopted by both Tr.1 and Tr.5 to lessen this positive representation was to leave some instances of the positive sense untranslated (omission). Their translations also mitigate the negative sense directed against the former regime. The other strategy was to dedicate much space to emphasizing the negative actions admitted by Morsi against himself and his regime. With regard to minimizing the good actions/properties of the in-group, a good example here was the frequent denial of personal commitments to future plans of reconstruction.

Yet the representation of the out-group by Tr.3 typically fitted that of a negative representation of the out-group (by emphasizing their bad actions and mitigating their good actions). The most obvious example of emphasizing the former regime’s negative actions was the entire attribution of the deteriorating socio-political situation to the former regime. Deterioration in the economy was also highlighted by rarely providing any justification for it. The direct reference to the former regime by Tr.3 was revealing as a typical illustration of the outsider as corrupt and criminal.

The data from the translations of both Tr.2 and Tr.4, on the other hand, showed that both translated the texts as closely as possible. Instances of alterations were fewer than those illustrated in the analysis of the translations produced by Tr.1, Tr.3 and Tr.5.
Regarding the results obtained from the corpus-based analysis and CDA, it seems plausible to suggest that findings of both quantitative and qualitative analysis are compatible and support each other. Instances of ideological manipulation detected in the translations produced by Tr.1 and Tr.5 and captured by the corpus-based analysis are broadly consistent with those displayed by CDA. Similarly, the two methods of analysis show the findings of the ideological stance of Tr.3 are in close agreement. Finally, instances of ideological variation between the translations produced by Tr.2 and Tr.4 and the original speeches are not apparent.

Based on the findings of the present analysis, it is evident that the effects of the translations are not the same and that future quality-related studies may shed light on suitable practice or political implications as perceived by translator(s) or audience. By providing prefaces and relevant notes, the translators can express their attitudes and ideas about the content of the STs while producing a faithful translation of the original. The findings also reveal that ideologically manipulative shifts seem to be a common strategy used by Tr.1, Tr.3 and Tr.5. It could be argued that transformations and differences found in these translations are not arbitrary, but rather are ideologically motivated; they mirror underlying ideologies regarding themselves and the STs.

6.7 Concluding remarks

This chapter aimed to detect and analyse some linguistic strategies that reveal the translators’ ideological direction in the process of translation. Gambier, et al. (2007) argue that “(M)anipulation of opinions is related to the extensive concept of ideology reflected in language use, i.e. the various explicit and implicit ways in which attitudes, beliefs and values shared by a particular group or society are linguistically realized” (Gambier, et al., 2007, p.215). Juxtaposing the Arabic STs with the translations revealed some disparities between what Morsi intended to convey and what was rendered in the TTs.

Ideology is practiced heavily to support inherent ideas, which can trigger notable actions by the recipients. According to van Dijk (2005), “(we) also have assumed that such control is first of all a control of the mind, that is, of the beliefs of recipients, and indirectly a control of the actions of recipients based on such manipulated beliefs”. Political discourse is a powerful tool that can sway public opinion to serve ideologies and agendas.

The findings of this chapter also reinforce the findings of Chapter 5: translators make use of particular discursive strategies as an ideological ploy. The movement of texts from the context
of *Self* to the context of *Other* is an undeniable change of ideological positioning. The justification for this is that the interests of Self are different from those of Other. Moreover, as the results presented by this chapter illustrate, translators can achieve some ideological ends via the employment of discursive strategies.

Finally, it could also be concluded that CDA related methods can be a useful tool in the detection of manipulative language. In the case of translating political texts, polarization (in-group favouritism vs. out-group derogation) in van Dijk's model introduces an effective discursive strategy, particularly at the disposal of the original speaker. On the other hand, translators should be aware that changes of meaning might occur due to changes in those aspects of texts which include ideological ramifications, for instance, choice or avoidance of a specific lexical item.
Chapter Seven
Conclusions and Suggestions for Future Studies

7.1 Conclusions
The present study set out to investigate whether the influence of the translator’s ideology is prevalent in the translation of a specific type of text. Inspired by the studies of Baker (2004; 2006), Baker, et al. (2008), Koller and Mautner (2004), Prentice and Hardie (2009), and Salama (2011), among others, the present study advocates a synergy between methods associated with Corpus Linguistics (CL) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to uncover patterns of ideological usage. People’s ideologies inescapably affect the words they use, the concepts they believe, and those they may attempt to hide, or consider as matter of fact. CDA (as reviewed in Chapter 2) enables the study of ideological issues from a linguistic perspective, whether this ideology is boldly expressed or concealed. Corpora and corpus tools now enable CDA researchers to systematically examine texts in considerable detail, and in doing so to detect the most subtle ideological patterns. The synergy between CL and CDA has several key advantages, including the reduction of research subjectivity, which might not be expressed plainly but implied by the authors’ patterns of thought.

Using a mixed methods approach of corpus-based and critical analysis, the study entailed an in-depth analysis of 20 speeches of the former Egyptian President Morsi and their translations into English by five different translators. The analysis was conducted to find answers to the following research questions:

1. What are the ideologically salient words in Morsi’s speeches?
2. Are there any consistent or recurrent shifts in the English translations with regard to their ideological intent in relation to the Arabic STs?
3. To what extent does the distribution of possible instances of ideological manipulation vary across English translations?
4. How can each English translation be evaluated from the perspective of ideological manipulation?
5. Do translations follow the same ideological postulates of the positive in-group/negative out-group representations?
6. What are the advantages of combining methods associated with CL and CDA in detecting ideology in the original speeches and possible ideological manipulation in their translations?

Research questions 1-4 were addressed in relation to the IKWs, or the *nodes*, in the original Arabic corpus, then in the corpora of English translations. The starting point in the identification of ideological manipulation was to detect and then analyse the ideological keywords (IKWs) extracted from the original speeches as systematically as possible. In this regard, an explanation of the methods used in this research is given (in Chapter 3): a reference corpus to extract a keyword list and then scrutinize the results in order to focus on keywords with ideological potential. The analysis of a selection of IKWs in the original Arabic corpus speeches is presented in Chapter 4.

The focus of Chapter 5 is to analyse how IKWs were translated, and whether any translations displayed instances of ideological manipulation. For this purpose, the five different translations were aligned with the original Arabic corpus, forming five parallel corpora, one for each translator. The first step in the analysis of IKWs in the translations was to compare their frequencies in each English translation with their Arabic equivalents in the STs. Frequency lists indicate the scale of shifts in translation. As occurrences can be revealing, it is useful to know the frequency of these shifts, and whether there are patterns worth exploring in depth. This step was followed by a thorough inspection of parallel concordances and extended contexts whenever this proved necessary. Instances of ideological manipulation found in each English translation were counted in order to investigate the degree of manipulation each translation exhibits.

Chapter 6 focused on the critical analysis of the STs and the TTS and answers research question 5 (on whether translations follow the same ideological postulates of the original texts as outlined by van Dijk’s ideological square model 1998). The analysis was conducted using CDA tools to compare, political discourse structures in the original speeches semantic macrostructures, linguistic devices and local meanings, namely those employed in positive self-representation and negative other-representation. The next step was to examine how such discourse structures were rendered in the translations. Finally, the chapter evaluates the usefulness of combining methods related to CL and CDA in the investigation of ideology and ideological manipulation.
A comparative analysis of the IKWs in the original Arabic corpus, and the way these words are rendered in the translations revealed instances of ideological manipulation. These instances are higher in the translations produced by Tr.1 and Tr.5, and are interpreted as downplaying the original ideology. The analysis of the translation produced by Tr.3 suggests a political stance promoting the original ideology, whereas no indication of ideological manipulation in the translations produced by Tr.2 and Tr.4 were evidenced in the analysis.

The observation of the salient variances between the original speeches and the translations with regard to their ideological charge required an inspection of the potential reasons behind them. The starting point was to explore whether ideological manipulation was realised in all five translations, and, consequently, could be viewed as inescapable in the process of translation. The distribution of linguistic markers of ideology across the five translations and their frequency were therefore analysed. It was assumed that if the frequencies and the distribution of linguistic markers of ideology, such as transitivity patterns and modality, were related to the limitation of the process of translation rather than any other causes, no striking patterns would be noticed regarding the manipulation of ideology across the translations. The analysis carried out in this regard revealed a prevalence of linguistic markers of ideology in some translations in comparison to others, indeed, some translations revealed different ideological stances from the original speeches. Therefore, other causes might have conditioned this manipulation other than the limitation of the translation process. The major cause for these differences could be attributed to the varying ideological backgrounds of the translators, as observed in the data analysis. For instance, examples of ideological manipulation produced by Tr.3 supporting the original ideology can be attributed to his support of the idea of political Islam (see Table 3.2). On the other hand, Tr.2 and Tr.4, whose translations did not display instances of ideological manipulation, were the only participants in the present study holding a PhD degree, and with the most professional experience as deduced from their years of experience (see Table 3.2). It may also be noted that Tr.2 and Tr.4 were the only female participants in the study. And, although the issue of gender in translation has been investigated by a number of researchers such as Simon (1996), Chamberlain (1998), von Flotow (1997), Leonardi (2007), their studies examined how different texts are translated by female and male translators. The present study has offered an addition to the concept of gender in translation; the originality is that this study examined how the same STs were translated by female and male translators.
The next step to be investigated was the distribution of linguistic markers of ideology across the corpora of English translations. Where translations exhibit instances of ideological manipulation, the results are shown in Table 5.22, it was found that the category *collocation and lexical choice* topped the list of shifts in the translations produced by Tr.1 (37 out of 46). Next, shifts in *transitivity* patterns showed 6 out of 46 instances, and 3 out of 46 shifts in the level of modality, produced by Tr.1.

Only one shift in *transitivity* patterns was observed in the translation produced by Tr.2. By analysing this shift, I was found that it is attributed to the translator's stylistic preference and their way of communicating information clearly to the reader rather than to ideological bias.

The category *collocation and lexical choice* as a linguistic tool for manipulating ideology is most used in the translation produced by Tr.3, where 9 out of 16 instances were detected in which the translation was at ideological variance from the STs. This is followed by 5 out of 16 instances of shifts in *transitivity* patterns made by Tr.3, while the minimum number of shifts made were in *cohesion* patterns, with only 2 out of 16 instances.

The highest number of shifts found in Tr.5’s translation is in the category *collocation and lexical choice* (24 out of 25 instances), followed by shifts in *transitivity* patterns (1 out of 25).

To assess whether TTs follow the same ideological postulate of the TTs (research question 6), the findings of the critical analysis demonstrated that there are dissimilarities between the original speeches and their different translations as regards the linguistic devices employed to convey the ideological beliefs. It was found that Tr.1 and Tr.5, adopted certain translation strategies such as omission, and/or a contextualisation of the original speaker’s expressions not only to transfer meaning, but also to communicate a state of criticism or objection, or to contrast the original ideology either directly or indirectly. For example, the deliberate omission of the positive description of Morsi and his regime (such as the use of commissives to express promise which are meant to present him as successful and to create a positive influence on the audience) can mislead TTs receivers and provide untrue or incomplete information. Moreover, the negative portrayal of the former regime that characterises the original speeches is rendered by Tr.1 and Tr.5 with some indirectness and indefiniteness. Examples from the translations of both translators presented a possibility of presuppositions and implicatures, and resulted in an ideological mismatch between the original speeches and these two translations.
Tr.3, however, adopted translation strategies of addition and used lexical choices that appear to endorse the original ideology by reinforcing the positive description of Morsi and his regime. Tr.3 also aimed to present Morsi as a unifier of the nation, adding specific positive emotions such as those of hope, confidence and comfort, while highlighting the negative description of the former regime by strengthening their dubious political moves, lack of political consistency and their responsibility for the social and economic problems in Egypt prior to the revolution.

It is also noted that Tr.2 and Tr.4 attempted to remain faithful to the STs. Unlike the other translators, no variance from the original ideology was found in the critical analysis. These findings seem to support those resulting from the corpus-based analysis presented in Chapter 5.

In summary, the findings indicate that the ideological governance of the translators on their translations becomes more discernible through various types of translation shifts which have been identified in the five translations. In addition, the CDA framework proved successful in offering a means to recognise the strategies translators often use to polarize, transfer and manipulate ideologies in their translations.

The findings demonstrate that combining both CL and CDA strengthens the findings of ideological manipulation in the translations. Corpus-based analysis, in general, and concordance analysis, in particular, can benefit positively by subjecting its findings to CDA analytical techniques. Also, corpus-based analysis needs to be supported by the detailed analysis of selected texts using CDA theory and methodology. CDA, in turn, can benefit from employing more systematic and more objective quantitative CL analysis, as quantification can reveal the degree of generality of the study findings and conclusions.

This study cannot claim to be exhaustive in the analysis of ideological manipulation in the translation of the speeches, given that the linguistic markers that constitute the toolbox for the corpus-based analysis, namely, collocation and lexical choice, transitivity, modality and lexical cohesion, are not the only tools to perceive manipulation. Ideology can also be realised through other tools, for example, in intonation and prioritizing (i.e. how a speaker prioritizes or downplays part of the utterance content). This can be examined when investigating ideology in spoken discourse which would require the creation of a different corpus (spoken) and the use of multi-modal transcriptions.

It is should also be mentioned that research in humanities depends on a number of factors that can involve subjectivity. In this study, the translators and their respective level of competence
may result in a subjective interpretation of the STs. Also, the researcher’s personal ideology can increase subjectivity in evaluating the translations. Although CL can minimize subjectivity of the results, much of qualitative findings are based on the researcher’s individual judgment.

Moreover, the fact that translators are working into their second language can constitute a further limitation. The underlying reason for this is that there is a possibility of the lack of practical knowledge in certain linguistic choices such as lexicography and syntax particularly when these linguistic structures embrace an ideology. Also, the translators might overlook some cultural elements such as collocations and metaphors due to the possible lack of the cultural background crucial to recognize such elements.

What the present study has achieved is a systematic analysis of ideological manipulation as realised through collocation and lexical choice, transitivity, modality and lexical cohesion and other strategies highlighted by CDA. The triangulation of the results demonstrate that both CL and CDA methods are effective tools in capturing the individual ideological stances of the translators manifested in their translations.

The study has also contributed to the promotion of corpus tools in the analysis of political discourse. The literature on CL (Chapter 2) reveals that despite its advantage in processing a large quantity of texts quickly, little corpus-based and corpus-assisted research has been undertaken on Arabic texts. In other words, although many English corpora have been designed since the 1960s, there are few available for the Arabic language.

Research on ideology in translation can benefit from corpus studies as the use of corpora can lead to more varied results about the ideological load in discourse especially with the use of corpus software tools in running semi-automatic searches. Concordancers, such as the Sketch Engine used in this study, can be employed to identify linguistic markers of ideology in large electronic corpora, previously manually identified.

This research has implications for both translators and receivers of translation. For translators, understanding the vital role of ideology, when working on political translation, will assist in being able to discern mistranslation of this nature as disinformation and interference motivated by certain ideological stances, rather than the mistranslation being caused by the incompetence of the translator or the limitations of the process itself. The present study aims to emphasise that although shifts are inevitable in translation due to the differences between languages, it is
not the same as ideological manipulation, which reflects the attitudes and opinions of translators on the issues being translated. It is equally important for receivers of translated political discourse to view and analyse in depth how world events can be manipulated through translation practices and to understand the role of ideology in the reproduction of Arabic political speeches.

The complex dimension of ideology and its impact on and implications for clear communication call for further research to be conducted in order to better understand this critical phenomenon and to further enhance the present findings.

7.2 Suggestions for future studies

The present study, although limited in scope, offers an example of how the use of corpora and the study of ideological manipulation can contribute to the interpretation of meaning. The analysis is a baseline that can lead to further development and research.

Perhaps the most obvious avenue for future research involves the expansion of the data set used in the present study. This could be carried out through the inclusion of all the speeches Morsi made but not used in the present study. This could be further increased by including a larger number of translators with diversified demographic criteria.

Moreover, using the data and methodology put forward in the present study, the analysis can be broadened in exploring the translation process without necessarily comparing the TTs with their STs; rather, the variation of the degree of ideological manipulation across translations and individual translators can be examined. Such a comparable analysis could reveal new data about the translation behaviour of individual translators.

A further question that could be addressed is whether the extent of ideological manipulation as realised through the number of linguistic markers of ideology changes in relation to the theme of each individual speech; some speeches, such as *the speech in Al-Tahrir Square on assuming power on 29-6-2012* and *the speech on the approval of the Constitution on 27-12-2012* have higher instances of manipulation compared with others. The variation from abundance to scarcity of instances of ideological manipulation can be studied and counted in relation to individual speeches.
Further research into other markers of ideology is desirable to extend the knowledge of the various linguistic tools of ideological manipulation, for instance by following the method of critical stylistics of Fowler, et al. (1979), Simpson (1993), Jeffries (2010). Other textual features such as equating\(^\text{29}\) and contrasting\(^\text{30}\) can be studied to analyse whether ideologies are transferred, strengthened, or manipulated in the translation.

Finally, based on the findings presented in the present study, continued research using parallel corpora set out in this study can be conducted to examine other dimensions of political communication such as ideological persuasion. The speeches include complex persuasive techniques that employ lexis, syntactic structures and rhetorical style – as in the use of figures of speech - to create a persuasive impact on the receivers. The employment of these techniques in the original speeches, and the response of the translators is expected to display interesting results.

\(^\text{29}\) How texts establish new synonyms, thus provoking a number of semantic equivalence relations between concepts typically not taken as synonyms.  
\(^\text{30}\) How texts establish new opposites, thus provoking a set of semantic opposition relations between concepts typically not taken as opposites.
References


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Appendix I

This Appendix presents all publically available speeches that Morsi has made during his one-year tenor including those excluded from the analysis conducted in the present study.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Date Delivered</th>
<th>Link to Speech</th>
<th>Retrieved on</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Morsi’s speech after announcing of his party’s winning of the elections</td>
<td>17-6-2012</td>
<td><a href="http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uNBBIABapMU">www.youtube.com/watch?v=uNBBIABapMU</a></td>
<td>4-4-2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morsi’s speech in Al-Tahrir Square on the occasion of assuming power</td>
<td>29-6-2012</td>
<td><a href="http://www.france24.com/.../20120630-15-4-2013">www.france24.com/.../20120630-15-4-2013</a></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morsi’s speech to the Egyptian Nation</td>
<td>24-6-2012</td>
<td>alaam250.blogspot.com/2012/06/blog-spot-3673.html</td>
<td>14-3-2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morsi’s speech at the University of Cairo</td>
<td>30-6-2012</td>
<td>gate.ahram.org.eg</td>
<td>11-4-2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morsi’s speech in the African Union’s summit</td>
<td>19-7-2012</td>
<td><a href="http://www.akhbarak.net/news/2012/07/15/.../8691991">www.akhbarak.net/news/2012/07/15/.../8691991</a></td>
<td>16-3-2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morsi’s speech during the graduation ceremony of a new class of the Military Academy</td>
<td>17-7-2012</td>
<td><a href="http://www.masress.com/tahrirnews/24215">www.masress.com/tahrirnews/24215</a></td>
<td>5-4-2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morsi’s speech on the celebration of the Revolution of 23 of July</td>
<td>22-7-2012</td>
<td><a href="http://www.amircom">www.amircom</a></td>
<td>19-4-2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morsi’s speech in Eid AlFitr</td>
<td>16-8-2012</td>
<td><a href="http://www.onaeg.com/?p=249002">www.onaeg.com/?p=249002</a></td>
<td>5-4-2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morsi’s speech in the Summit of the Non-Aligned countries in Tehran</td>
<td>30-8-2012</td>
<td><a href="http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jOBncmc8KU">www.youtube.com/watch?v=jOBncmc8KU</a></td>
<td>1-4-2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morsi’s speech at the opening session of the of Arab League- round 138</td>
<td>5-9-2012</td>
<td><a href="http://www.aa.com.tr/ar/news/78672">www.aa.com.tr/ar/news/78672</a></td>
<td>1-4-2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morsi’s speech before the mini-summit on Somalia</td>
<td>27-9-2012</td>
<td>Maktooob.news.yahoo.com</td>
<td>20-3-2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morsi’s speech at Cairo Stadium in commemoration of October victories</td>
<td>6-10-2012</td>
<td><a href="http://www.akhbarak.net/news/2012/10/06/.../9768548">www.akhbarak.net/news/2012/10/06/.../9768548</a></td>
<td>3-4-2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morsi’s speech after receiving the draft of the constitution</td>
<td>1-12-2012</td>
<td><a href="http://www.rassd.com/1-50487.htm">www.rassd.com/1-50487.htm</a></td>
<td>5-4-2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morsi’s speech after the events of Al-Ethahdyah Palace</td>
<td>6-12-2012</td>
<td><a href="http://www.masreat.com">www.masreat.com</a></td>
<td>27-10-2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morsi’s speech on the occasion of the approval of the Constitution</td>
<td>27-12-2012</td>
<td><a href="http://www.akhbarak.net/.../10685585">www.akhbarak.net/.../10685585</a></td>
<td>25-10-2013</td>
</tr>
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<td>Date</td>
<td>Link</td>
<td>Date</td>
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<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>Morsi’s speech on the Canal events</td>
<td>27-1-2013</td>
<td><a href="http://www.nakshaat.com/s/t/threads/26084">www.nakshaat.com/s/t/threads/26084</a></td>
<td>27-4-2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morsi’s speech to the Islamic summit</td>
<td>6-2-2013</td>
<td><a href="http://www.el-balad.com/390417">www.el-balad.com/390417</a></td>
<td>22-4-2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morsi’s speech at the joint conference with Turkish President Abdullah Gul</td>
<td>8-2-2013</td>
<td><a href="http://www.akhbarak.net/news/2013/02/08/2068999">www.akhbarak.net/news/2013/02/08/2068999</a></td>
<td>1-4-2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morsi’s speech in Doha summit</td>
<td>26-3-2013</td>
<td><a href="http://www.ikhwanonline.com/Article.aspx?ArtID=...SecID=">www.ikhwanonline.com/Article.aspx?ArtID=...SecID=</a>...</td>
<td>28-2-2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morsi’s speech at the engineer’s day</td>
<td>30-3-2013</td>
<td><a href="http://www.trakhes.com/tra/showthread.php?c=74758">www.trakhes.com/tra/showthread.php?c=74758</a></td>
<td>14-3-2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morsi’s speech at the workers’ day</td>
<td>3-4-2013</td>
<td><a href="http://www.ikhwanonline.net/Arabic.aspx?ArtID=147943">www.ikhwanonline.net/Arabic.aspx?ArtID=147943</a></td>
<td>31-3-2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morsi’s speech the joint conference with the Russian President Vladimir Putin</td>
<td>19-4-2013</td>
<td><a href="http://www.ansarportsaid.net/News/16968/Default.aspx">www.ansarportsaid.net/News/16968/Default.aspx</a></td>
<td>5-4-2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morsi’s speech before the Board of Trustees of the Bibliotheca of Alexandrina</td>
<td>31-4-2013</td>
<td><a href="http://www.elsaba7.com/NewsDtl.aspx?id=120675">www.elsaba7.com/NewsDtl.aspx?id=120675</a></td>
<td>12-3-2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morsi’s speech to the leaders and soldiers of the armed forces</td>
<td>22-5-2013</td>
<td>gate.ahram.org.eg/المصريان/المتاول/المستند/السياسي</td>
<td>22-5-2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morsi’s speech at the conference of ensuring Egypt’s water security</td>
<td>10-6-2013</td>
<td><a href="http://www.akhbarak.net/news/2013/06/10/2728960">www.akhbarak.net/news/2013/06/10/2728960</a></td>
<td>7-4-2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morsi’s speech at the conference of supporting Syria</td>
<td>16-6-2013</td>
<td><a href="http://www.ikhwanonline.com/Article.aspx?ArtID=...SecID=">www.ikhwanonline.com/Article.aspx?ArtID=...SecID=</a>...</td>
<td>23-9-2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morsi’s last speech before being overthrown</td>
<td>3-7-2013</td>
<td><a href="http://www.masrawy.com/news/egypt/.../5665014.aspx?ref">www.masrawy.com/news/egypt/.../5665014.aspx?ref</a>...</td>
<td>25-10-2013</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix II

This appendix displays all instances of ideological manipulation evident in the corpus-based analysis and in the translations exhibits manipulation. The literal translations provided are the researcher’s. Texts are translated according to the researcher’s comprehension of the STs, and sticking as closely as possible to the meaning of the STs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tr.1</th>
<th>IKW</th>
<th>Original</th>
<th>LT</th>
<th>Translation (Manipulation marked in red)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>إن الدستور الذي اقره الشعب جاء معبراً عن روح ثورة 25 يناير المجيدة، مرسى’s speech on the approval of the Constitution</td>
<td>1. The constitution, which is approved by people, represents the spirit of January 25th Revolution.</td>
<td>1. The constitution omitted came to express the spirit of January 25th revolution.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>أن الدستور الذي اقره الشعب جاء معبراً عن روح ثورة 25 يناير المجيدة، مرسى’s speech on the approval of the Constitution</td>
<td>1. It is in this great day of this great nation, Egypt. In this glorious day of our beloved Egypt, where the great Egyptian people are creating a new chapter in the history of his glorious civilization the great Revolution of January 25.</td>
<td>1. In this day of the Egyptian nation, the great Egyptian people are creating a new chapter in the history of his glorious civilization after his omitted revolution, the revolution of January 25.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>دوما كانت أهم تلك اللحظات الدستورية تأتي في سياق ثورات شعبية ملهمة ومحيطة ونحن أمام هذا اليوم العظيم من هذا الوطن الكبير مصر وفي هذا اليوم الأغر من واقع مصرنا الحبيبة يسطر فيه الشعب المصري العظيم صفة ناضجة جديدة في تاريخ حضارته وكتاب مرسى’s speech after receiving the draft of the constitution</td>
<td>2. All inspiring popular revolutions are followed by crucial constitutional moments. We are currently experiencing this great new moment after the glorious Revolution of 25 January, whose greatness and unique experience are not limited to Egypt and its people, but rather extends to influence peoples of the whole world geographically, historically and culturally.</td>
<td>2. Discipline is always the fruit of inspiring popular revolutions omitted.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3. Thanks be to God for the success of our revolution and Thanks to God for the freedom and democracy.

4. When we mention the martyrs we would look through history to know that the tree of freedom has been implanted by our honourable men tens of years ago since the onset of the last decade and after a long time of injustice till the 25th of January omitted.  

5. The constitution came to express the spirit of January 25th omitted revolution,
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>مصادر</th>
<th>النصnatural text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>عظام</em> /great (and its related forms)</td>
<td>إنه في هذا اليوم العظيم من هذا الوطن الكبير مصر وفي هذا اليوم الأغر من واقع مصرنا 1. It is in this great day of the Egyptian nation, the great</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>نعمل</em> /we work (and its inflections)</td>
<td>نعمل/we work (and its inflections) maintain justice, protecting human rights and dignity, development and freedom of expression without discrimination or racism which are not known to us as Egyptians. We do not adopt a double-standard policy. of total adherence in all of the State’s orientations, justice, maintaining and protecting human dignity, development, and freedom of speech without discrimination or racism, because we Egyptians are not familiar with such attitudes omitted.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The negation (إن/not)</td>
<td>لن نعتدي على أحد ولكننا قادرون جميعا أن نمنع أي عدوان علينا من أي جهة كانت 1. We will not attack anyone, but we are able to defend ourselves from any attack. 2. 2 instances omitted I will meet your expectations, your demands, wishes and your will.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>جميعا /altogether</td>
<td>ونتحاصل جميعا روح المحبة وثقافة المواطنة، والكل مساوية أمام القانون أمام الدستور. 1. We are all united by love and citizenship. Everyone is equal before the law and the Constitution. 2. We will not attack anyone, but we are able to defend ourselves from any attack. 3. We are moving to a new Egypt by the will of all or people after the will of God. 4. The provisions of judiciary rulings must be respected by all of us.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>من مصادر القضاء والاحترام منا 1. Omitted 2. Omitted. We are omitted able to defend ourselves against any attack. 3. We are heading towards a new Egypt omitted. 4. The provisions of judiciary rulings must be respected by you.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egyptian people are creating a new chapter in the history of his glorious civilization after his revolution, the Revolution of January 25.</td>
<td>2. We can never forget the sacrifices of our faithful martyrs and the injured in this great revolution as well as their families.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>people are creating a new chapter in the history of his glorious civilization after his revolution, the revolution of January 25.</td>
<td>2. We can never forget the sacrifices of our faithful martyrs of this omitted revolution as well as the injured and their families.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. We can never forget the sacrifices of our faithful martyrs and the injured in this great revolution as well as their families. Morsi's speech after receiving the draft of the constitution.

3. At the same time, I call upon all Egyptians to feel optimistic about the omitted future for Egypt.

3. At the same time, I call upon people of Egypt to feel optimistic about the omitted future for Egypt.

4. My hope is the renaissance of my country and to move it to a new stage, where we start an epic of construction and production. A new stage is, as I said before that the third crossing, which Egypt needs after our revolution, the revolution twenty-fifth of January 2011.

4. All I hope is the renaissance of my country and to push it forward to a new stage, where we start an epic of construction and production. A new stage is, as I said before that the third crossing, which Egypt needs after the great revolution, the Revolution of 25 of January 2011.

5. The days we and our beloved Egypt are living are great and will remain in the memory of history for a long time.

5. The days we and our beloved Egypt are living omitted will remain for long in the memory of history.

6. We have had a peaceful great revolution in which there were martyrs whose blood is so precious, but it was not a bloody revolution. There people are creating a new chapter in the history of his glorious civilization after his revolution, the revolution of January 25.

6. We have had a peaceful omitted coup and there were martyrs whose blood is too precious omitted. Some people were injured, and their
7. Today you are the source of power and as the whole world sees in this epic and this great transition, Egypt and ourselves are moving towards the best and great future.

8. We are celebrating a dear occasion of the second anniversary of the great revolution in Egypt.

9. I stand with you today to greet all the revolutionaries, and to greet our glorious martyrs whose great sacrifices are resonated in this place.

1. I confirm that the revolution was peaceful and aimed for freedom, equality, dignity and social justice and in which the Egyptians were united again.

2. The Egyptians with their consciousness and deeply rooted civilization have revolted against injustice, tyranny and corrected the political trajectory peacefully. With this leadership, this nation maintained and will maintain the peacefulness and purity of the revolution despite the wounds and the pain of its martyrs and the injured.

wounds will not be forgotten

This coincides with a dear occasion for us Egyptians: the second anniversary of the omitted revolution.

I stand with you today to greet the revolutionaries, and to greet our glorious martyrs whose omitted sacrifices are resonated in this place.

1. I assert that the revolution omitted aimed for freedom, equality, dignity and social justice for us.

2. The Egyptian people, with its awareness and steeped civilization have rectified its political course. Despite its wounds and the pains of its martyrs and injured persons, will preserve the name of the revolution.

were injured and we will not forget their wounds.

7. Today you are the source of power and as the whole world sees in this saga omitted we are going through and our Egypt towards the best omitted future.

wounds will not be forgotten
Appendix III

This appendix presents the whole set of the Arabic speeches in which instances demonstrate van Dijk’s ideological square are highlighted. Instances of positive representation were highlighted in blue [[ ]], instances of negative representation were highlighted in yellow [[[ ]]], instances of mitigating the regime’s bad actions were highlighted in green [[[[ ]]]], whereas no instances of mitigating the former regime’s bad actions were found along all speeches.

1. Morsi’s speech after announcing his party’s winning of the elections on 17-6-2012

الحمد الله الذي وفقنا ووفق اهل مصر جميعا بهذه الثورة المباركة والحمد الله الذي هدى اهل مصر الى الطريق السليم، طريق الحرية والديمقراطية والاعتراف، والاعتراف والاعتراف والاعتراف. ولكل الشكر الى من قالوا لي نعم ومن قالوا لا، لا يكفي الا هو رأيي في قلبنا، وكل من ساعده في إخراج هذا الحدث الكبير. وعند المبناي، أكوك ان كون الأخ والاب والمواطن الذي يعمل على مصالحكم وشفاءكم،

2. Morsi’s speech in Al-Tahrir Square on assuming power on 29-6-2012

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله رب العالمين والصلاة والسلام على أنواع المرسلين، "قل بفضل الله وبرحمته ف بذلك فليفرحوا هو خير مما يجمعون" (صدق الله العظيم).

أيها الشعب المصري العظيم، أيها الاحباب الكرام، يا شعب مصر العظيم، أيها الواقفون في ميدان الثورة في ميدان الحرية في ميدان التحرير الواقفون في كل ميادين مصر، في كل قرى ومدن ومحافظات مصر، يا من تشاهدوننا في البيت، يا من تتظاهرون في البيت، يا من يرحبوننا في البيت، يا من يرحبوننا في البيت، يا من يرحبوننا في البيت، يأيها العونون، يا من يرحبوننا في البيت.

أيها الأحباب جميعا, أتى البيت في البيت في البيت في البيت

هذا هو ميدان الشهداء، ها هي أرواحهم ترفرف حولنا في ميدان التحرير ميدان الثورة، ميدان الشهداء.
أعده الله وأعادكم، أقسم بالله العظيم أن أحافظ على النظام الجمهوري وأن احترم الدستور والقانون وأن أرعى مصالح الشعب رعاية كاملة، وأن أعهداكم أن أعمل معكم من أجل تأكيد وحدتنا وعظيم قوتنا، اعترف بأني ملتزم بأي صلاحيات رئيس الجمهورية، لا ينفعني ذكر أننا لا نحترم القانون أو الدستور أو المؤسسات، لا تعارض بين هذا أو ذلك، لأن أتهاون في حقحق من حقوقهم، رفع المعاناة عن ملايين المصريين من أجل حياة كريمة، سأتواصل مع الجميع وستظل أبوابي مفتوحة غير موصدة. كما أني أريح بكما دائما وسأتصل دائم بكما.

"ثور أحرار فهماك الشوارع"، سنعمل الشوارع في دولة مدنية وطنية دستورية حديثة، لا نعتدي على الحريات الخاصة أو العامة، لا مجال للصدام ولا مجال للتخوين.
‫كل أبناء مصر في كل مكان و في كل مدنها على شرق البالد وغربها وشمالها جنوبها‪ ،‬كلنا يد واحدة وسأتواصل مع الجميع‬
‫وال أفرق بين مؤيدين وال معارضين‪ ،‬أطلب النصيحة منكم والعون من هللا ومن كل أبناء شعب مصر‪.‬‬
‫وسأعمل معكم على عودة مصر رائدة في إبداعها وثقافتها وتعليمها والصناعة فيها واإلنتاج والزراعة بكل أنواع العمل‬
‫واالتقان وهللا يحب إذا عمل أحدكم عمال أن يتقنه وسنتقن العمل معا لنصل إلى بر األمان‪.‬‬
‫يجب أن نكون شركاء في العمل الوطني‪ ،‬وسأعمل على أن تعود مصر حرة في إرادتها في عالقاتها الخارجية وسأحذف أي‬
‫معنى للتبيعة ألية قوى مهما كانت‪ ،‬فمصر حرة في كل تحركاتها‪.‬‬
‫لن نعتدي على أحد ولكننا قادرون جميعا أن نمنع أي عدوان علينا من أي جهة كانت سنصنع معا أيها األحباب مفهوما جديدا‬
‫للعالقات الخارجية‪ ،‬وأحذر من أن ينال أحد كائن من كان من كرامة مصر أو كبريائها أو يفكر أن ينال كرامة شعبها أو‬
‫رئيسها‪.‬‬
‫وأؤكد على مفهوم األمن القومي في العمق األفريقي والعالم العربي والعالم اإلسالمي وباقي دول العالم‪ ،‬فلن نفرط في حقوقنا‬
‫ولن نفرط في حق أي مصري في الخارج‪ ،‬وسيكون نظامنا هو المحرك ألي موقف في عالقاتنا الخارجية‪.‬‬
‫سأكون دائما أول الداعمين للثورة لتستمر في كل مكان من زوايا الوطن‪ .‬أريد لهذه الحناجر أن تستمر لتعلن دائما أننا أحرار‬
‫وأننا ثوار وأننا سنكمل على ذلك المشوار‪ .‬لنستمر جميعا ننشد نشيد وطننا بالحب فحب مصر فرض علينا‪ ،‬نستمر جميعا‬
‫ننشد نشيد الحرية والكرامة‪.‬‬
‫أيها الشعب المصري العظيم أؤكد لكم وأحب أن أبقى معكم وال أحب أن أترككم وسأبذل قصارى جهدي لتحرير جميع‬
‫المعتقلين‪ ،‬ومن بينهم الدكتور عمر عبد الرحمن‪ ،‬فهذا حقهم علي وواجبي يحتم ذلك‪.‬‬

‫‪3. Morsi’s speech to the Egyptian Nation on 25-6-2012‬‬
‫بسم هللا الرحمن الرحيم‬
‫الحمد هلل والصالة والسالم على رسول هللا سيدنا محمد بن عبد هللا "صلى هللا عليه وسلم"‪ .‬قل بفضل هللا وبرحمته فبذلك‬
‫فليفرحوا هو خيرا مما يجمعون‪.‬‬
‫شعب مصر العظيم أيها الفرحون اليوم والمحتفلون بعيد الديمقراطية والواقفون في كل ميادين مصر اتوجه اليكم بحمد هللا‬
‫سبحانه وتعالى على بلوغنا هذه اللحظة التاريخية التي تشكل ملمحا مضيئا مسطرة بيد المصريين وارادتهم ودموعهم‬
‫وتضحياتهم هذه اللحظة التي نسطرها جميعا بهذه التضحيات‪.‬‬
‫فما كنت القف بين ايديكم اليوم كأول رئيس منتخب بإرادة المصريين الحرة في اول انتخابات رئاسية بعد ثورة ‪ 25‬يناير ما‬
‫كنت القف هذا الموقف معكم االن بهذه الفرحة العارمة التي تعم كل ربوع وطن مصر الحبيب لوال توفيق هللا سبحانه وتعالى‬
‫ثم هذه التضحيات وتلك الدماء الذكية لشهدائنا االبرار ومصابينا العظام‪.‬‬
‫أقدم الشكر لكل من فقدوا العزيز عليهم وضحوا به من اجل مصر وأقدم خالص الدعاء للشهداء والمصابين الذين رووا بدمائهم‬
‫شجرة الحرية والذين فتحوا لنا الطريق لنصل إلى هذه اللحظة‪ .‬التقدير والشكر ألسر هؤالء الشهداء الذين علموا اوالدهم‬
‫معنى الشهادة والوطنية الحقة والذين صبروا على فقد أبنائهم ثمنا للحرية‪ ،‬وأجدد معهم ولهم العهد أن هذه الدماء الذكية لن‬
‫تضيع هدرا‪.‬‬
‫كل التحية لشعب مصر العظيم وجيش مصر خير اجناد االرض والقوات المسلحة بكل ابنائها اينما وجدوا تحية خالصة من‬
‫قلبي لهم وحب ال يعلمه في قلبي إال هللا سبحانه وتعالى وأنا أحب هؤالء وأقدر دورهم واحرص على تقويتهم والحفاظ عليهم‬
‫وعلى المؤسسة العريقة التي نحبها ونقدرها جميعا وقدم ايضا التحية لرجال الشرطة الشرفاء‪ ،‬أن الذين يتصور بعضهم خطأ‬
‫انني قد أحمل لبعضهم تقديرا اقل من غيرهم وهذا ظنا غير صحيح وان من يرتكب الجريمة يعاقب عليها بالقانون‪.‬‬
‫وأما رجال الشرطة الشرفاء وهم األغلبية الغالية من أبنائي وإخواني من رجال الشرطة في مصر هؤالء لهم علي حق التحية‬
‫الواجبة الن عليهم دورا كبير في المستقبل لحفظ أمن وسالمة هذا الوطن من داخله‪.‬‬
‫وتحية واجبة ايضا لجميع قضاة مصر الذين أشرفوا على انتخابات مصر الثورة وحتى الذين لم يشرفوا فقضاة مصر جميعا‬
‫محل تقدير واحترام وحب وهم السلطة الثالثة التي يجب أن تبقى دائما كما كانت شامخة مستقلة تمتلك ارادتها وتنفصل عن‬
‫السلطة التنفيذية وهذه مسؤوليتي في المستقبل أن يكون قضاة مصر مستقلين عن السلطة التنفيذية والسلطة التشريعية‪.‬‬
‫واقول لجميع فئات الشعب المصري في هذا اليوم المشهود انني اليوم باختياركم وارادتكم انتم بعد فضل هللا عز وجل انني‬
‫اليوم رئيسا لكل المصريين اينما وجدوا في الداخل والخارج وكل محافظات وقرى مصر وعلى حدودها الشرقية او الغربية‬
‫او الجنوبية او الشمالية أو في وسطها ارضنا مصر الواسعة وشعبها الكريم االهل والعشيرة واالحبة أهل النوبة ورفح‬
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العريش وجنوب سيناء ومرسى مطروح والغرب والشمال ومحافظة الدلتا وبورسعيد ومدن القناة الاسماعيلية والشرقية والدقهلية وكفر الشيخ والغربية والمنوفية ومحافظة بورسعيد ومدن القناة الاسماعيلية والشرقية والدقهلية وكفر الشيخ والغربية والمنوفية ومحافظة بورسعيد ومدن القناة الاسماعيلية والشرقية والدقهلية وكفر الشيخ والغربية والمنوفية ومحافظة بورسعيد ومدن القناة الاسماعيلية والشرقية والدقهلية وكفر الشيخ والغربية والمنوفية ومحافظة بورسعيد ومدن القناة الاسماعيلية والشرقية والدقهلية وكفر الشيخ والغربية والمنوفية ومحافظة بورسعيد ومدن القناة الاسماعيلية والشرقية والدقهلية وكفر الشيخ والغربية والمنوفية ومحافظة بورسعيد ومدن القناة الاسماعيلية والشرقية والدقهلية وكفر الشيخ والغربية والمنوفية ومحافظة بورسعيد ومدن القناة الاسماعيلية والشرقية والدقهلية وكفر الشيخ والغربية والمنوفية ومحافظة بورسعيد ومدن القناة الاسماعيلية والشرقية والدقهلية وكفر الشيخ والغربية والمنوفية ومحافظة بورسعيد ومدن القناة الاسماعيلية والشرقية والدقهلية وكفر الشيخ والغربية والمنوفية ومحافظة بورسعيد ومدن القناة الاسماعيلية والشرقية والدقهلية وكفر الشيخ والغربية والمنوفية ومحافظة بورسعيد ومدن القناة الاسماعيلية والشرقية والدقهلية وكفر الشيخ والغبية والمنوفية ومحافظة بورسعيد ومدن القناة الاسماعيلية والشرقية والدقهلية وكفر الشيخ والغبية والمنوفية ومحافظة بورسعيد ومدن القناة الاسماعيلية والشرقية والدقهلية وكفر الشيخ والغبية والمنوفية ومحافظة بورسعيد ومدن القناة الاسماعيلية والشرقية والدقهلية وكفر الشيخ والغبية والمنوفية ومحافظة بورسعيد ومدن القناة الاسماعيلية والشرقية والدقهلية وكفر الشيخ والغبية والمنوفية ومحافظة بورسعيد ومدن القناة الاسماعيلية والشرقية والدقهلية وكفر الشيخ والغيبة والمنوفية ومحافظة بورسعيد ومدن القناة الاسماعيلية والشرقية والدقهلية وكفر الشيخ والغيبة والمنوفية ومحافظة بورسعيد ومدن القناة الاسماعيلية والشرقية والدقهلية وكفر الشيخ والغيبة والمنوفية ومحافظة بورسعيد ومدن القناة الاسماعيلية والشرقية والدقهلية وكفر الشيخ والغيبة والمنوفية ومحافظة بورسعيد ومدن القناة الاسماعيلية والشرقية والدقهلية وكفر الشيخ والغيبة والمنوفية ومحافظة بورسعيد ومدن القناة الاسماعيلية والشرقية والدقهلية وكفر الشيخ والغيبة والمنوفية ومحافظة بورسعيد ومدن القناة الاسماعيلية والشرقية والدقهلية وكفر الشيخ والغيبة والمنوفية ومحافظة بورسعيد ومدن القناة الاسماعيلية والشرقية والدقهلية وكفر الشيخ والغيبة والمنوفية ومحافظة بورسعيد ومدن القناة الاسماعيلية والشرقية والدقهلية وكفر الشيخ والغيبة والمنوفية ومحافظة بورسعيد ومدن القناة الاسماعيلية والشرقية والدقهلية وكفر الشيخ والغيبة والمنوفية ومحافظة بورسعيد ومدن القناة الاسماعيلية والشرقية والدقهلية وكفر الشيخ والغيبة والمنوفية ومحافظة بورسعيد ومدن القناة الاسماعيلية والشرقية والدقهلية وكفر الشيخ والغيبة والمنوفية ومحافظة بورسعيد ومدن القناة الاسماعيلية والشرقية والدقهلية وكفر الشيخ والغيبة والمنوفية ومحافظة بورسعيد ومدن القناة الاسماعيلية والشرقية والدقهلية وكفر الشيخ والغيبة والمنوفية ومحافظة بورسعيد ومدن القناة الاسماعيلية والشرقية والدقهلية وكفر الشيخ والغيبة والمنوفية ومحافظة بورسعيد ومدن القناة الاسماعيلية والشرقية والدقهلية وكفر الشيخ والغيبة والمنوفية ومحافظة بورسعيد ومدن القناة الاسماعيلية والشرقية والدقهلية وكفر الشيخ والغيبة والمنوفية ومحافظة بورسعيد ومدن القناة الاسماعيلية والشرقية والدقهلية وكفر الشيخ والغيبة والمنوفية ومحافظة بورسعيد ومدن القناة الاسماعيلية والشرقية والدقهلية وكفر الشيخ والغيبة والمنوفية ومحافظة بورسعيد ومدن القناة الاسماعيلية والشرقية والدقهلية وكفر الشيخ والغيبة والمنوفية ومحافظة بورسعيد ومدن القناة الاسماعيلية والشرقية والدقهلية وكفر الشيخ والغيبة والمنوفية ومحافظة بورسعيد ومدن القناة الاسماعيلية والشرقية والدقهلية وكفر الشيخ والغيبة والمنوفية ومحافظة بورسعيد ومدن القناة الاسماعيلية والشرقية والدقهلية وكفر الشيخ والغيبة والمنوفية ومحافظة بورسعيد ومدن القناة الاسماعيلية والشرقية والدقهلية وكفر الشيخ والغيبة والمنوفية ومحافظة بورسعيد ومدن القناة الاسماعيلية والشرقية والدقهلية وكفر الشيخ و
وأردد مؤكدًا -نحن نفرح ونحتفل بهذه الديمقراطية العظيمة بهذه الانتخابات بفوز إرادة الأمة بالشكل التي تفرحون وتحتلون.

ونحن نفرح ونحتفل بهذه الديمقراطية العظيمة بهذه الانتخابات بفوز إرادة الأمة بالشكل التي تفرحون وتحتفلون.

ما أعلنته من قبل أنني لن أخون الله فيكم ولن اعصيه في وطني، واضع نصب عيني قول الله سبحانه وتعالى " واتقوا يوما ترجعون فيه إلى الله ثم توفى كل نفس ما كسبت وهم لا يظلمون ".

رددوا معنا الآية الحكيمة بعبارة وحيدة. إننا لاحظنا أن الصمت ديمقراطية، لذلك نوجه تحذيرًا إلى جميع المصريين:

أقرب الأزمنة مسيئة إلى أبناءuria طلاب جامعة القاهرة، الذين أُجلت امتحاناته، اليوم، وهم فقط في كلية الحقوق والآداب، وسوف يؤدون الامتحان في الفترة المسائية وأُجل الامتحان الذي كان في الصباح يوم الخميس 11/7 وعلمت بذلك، فأرجوا أن يتقبلوا مني اعتذاري عن تأجيل الامتحان.

أرحب بكم جميعًا وفي جامعة القاهرة الجامعة الأم التي كانت أولى خطواتي في التعليم العالي في رحابها، والتي أتشرف بالانتماء إلى جامعاتها، ثم بعد ذلك俺绪مًا، وقد رأيتم بالعين تطورنا وتطور مبادراتنا في كافة المجالات، والبحث العلمي الذي هو قاطرة التنمية والبناء ومحرك المستقبل المشرق.

إذاً، إن شاء الله نبدأ مرحلة جديدة في تاريخ مصر، نطوي بها صفحة بغيضة، ونستفتحها إن شاء الله مضيئة إن شاء الله، نسطر معا بسواعد المصريين تاريخا يتصل بتاريخنا الشامخ منذ آلاف السنين، حيث عاشت أمتنا مصر عصور ازدهار، يفخر بها ملايين العرب والمسلمين كما عانت أحيانا لحظات انكسار، وسنبذل قوةً على لا تعود.

أرجو أن يكون شعبنا من دونprocessors، يرفع نفسه إلى الله تعالى، ثم بتضحيات شهدائه الأبرار.

أتشهد على أننييسر الله، ويستعيد بأيادي، على روحنا، وينبهر بأمانتنا.

殿堂ت في مصر الجديدة الحاكم فيها أجير وخادم للشعب.

والسلام عليكم ورحمة الله وبركاته.

4. Morsi’s speech at the University of Cairo on 30-6-2012

لا يوجد نص يمكن قراءته بشكل طبيعي من الصورة المعروضة.
السيدات والسادة،

سوف أبذل كل من نتبول له نفسه المساس بمصر أو تهدد أمنها القومي.

أعاهد الله تعالى أن أحقق هذا المسؤولية وعلى أبنائنا، جنودًا وقيادات، وأتخذ كل الوسائل والأسباب لنكون أقوي مما كانت، وتستمر راسخة ويعود الشعب معها في كل ما تعمل إن شاء الله.

أعاهد الله وأعاهدكم العالم يعم ويري - والله فقير الجميع يعم ويري - أن يكون أمن البلاد واستمرارها نصب عيني، ومن أجلها مع رجال الشرطة الأوفياء الذين ذهبوا أنفسهم لحماية المنشآت والأرواح، أعلنت وأعلنت من خلال القضاء، وأن يكون حكمنا هو الفيصل، وأن يكون كل مراعاة للدستور، وإن يكون كل قوة ملمة لحماية أمن وحدود الوطن، والحفاظ على قوانينه، قوية عزيزة تماشاة تعمل مع باقي مؤسسات الدولة في إطار الدستور والقانون، فتحية لهم على ماذا يبذلوا من جهد وما يتحملونه من مضاجع.

إنه من موقعي هذا التعدد أمام المصريين أن تقوم الدولة بكل موانعاتها تجاوز المجتمع وتجه أن ببناء مصر، وتسر على ما يخص أمنه واستقراره وسلامته وترفع كل نفقات المجتمع، سأبذل كل ملازمة لدعم وتشجيع النهوض بين أبناء المجتمع، وتعزز المواطنة بين المواطنين.

إنه مسألة مأساة لإزالة أثار القوض في كل المجالات، خاصة في المجال الاقتصادي، هذه الفوضى التي أسهم بها النظام السابق، لأن تحقق عدالةً جماعية يعتمد عليها تنمية المجتمع المصري.

إن الأمة المصرية هي الحارس الأمين على مسار الدولة، وهذا الشعب قادر على النجاح، وهذا الشعب الذي خرج ثائراً في ميادين العزة والكرامة استطاع تقويم مسار السلطة، بل أطغى هذه السلطة، استطاع النظام السابق في قضاء، ونظام نظام يضمن أمنا، واستقراره وسلامته وترفع كل نفقات المجتمع.

أقول لهم: إن الشعب أختارني من أجل استكمال حضارته الدولة المصرية، ولن يقبل الشعب الخروج عن تلك المسرة، ولن يقبل أي خروج عن تلك المسرة.

إنه آماني الله أن نبذل غاية الربيع والطاغية، وأن نحافظ على الدولة وإصلاحها، بما يجعل المؤسسات أكثر تعبيرا عن المصريين، وأن نعمل أجهزة الدولة على رفع مصالح المواطنين، باعتبار أن المصريون هو محور اهتمامها وهو العمود الفقري.

أيها الشعب المصري العظيم، إن النظام السابق فشل في أمننا القومي ووادي إلى تفشي الدولة، وسنعمل بكل جدية لتفعيل منظومة العمل العربي المشترك، وما يتطلب ذلك من تطور في جامعات العربية والسوق العالمية.
العربية المشتركة والدفاع العربي المشترك، كل الدول العربية حريصة على ذلك، ومصر الرائدة، فإذًا نهضت ينهض العرب جميعًا إن شاء الله.

مصر في عهدها الجديد لن تقبل بأي انتهاك للأمن القومي العربي، ستكون دائمًا في صف السلام الشامل العادل، وتستقف قوية صلبة في وجه التحديات والمخاطر التي تهددها.

السيدات والسادة الذين أحبهم وأقدرهم جميعًا، وأسعى دائمًا أن أكون جزءًا منهم، ونبذلا لهم إلى مصر الجديدة، كان قد مصر منذ الأبد أن تكون رائدة وتصبح بمثابة أبنائها في ميدان العمل والإنتاج قادرة على التقدم.

 ستسلّم مستقبلاً زاهراً لأولادنا وأحفادنا، سلمين وصحيين، نتعمد مصر عزيزة قوية، ونسكّل أهداف ثورتها ونسكّل معًا أهداف ثورتنا ونسكّل القلب، وأاعادّهم أن لا أخون الله فيكم.

لن أخون وطنيًا أبدًا، لن أخون أهلي أبدا، سكون عند ظنكم وإرادتكم.

إن دماء الشهداء وأنات الجرحى والمصابين، حق في رقبتي، حتى يؤخذ القصاص العادل لهم.

نسجل مستقبلًا زاهراً لأولادنا وأحفادنا، سلمين وصحيين، نتعمد مصر عزيزة قوية، ونسكّل أهداف ثورتها ونسكّل معًا أهداف ثورتنا ونسكّل القلب، وأاعادّهم أن لا أخون الله فيكم.

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5. Morsi’s speech during the graduation ceremony of a new class of the Military Academy on 17-7-2012

أيضا يظللنا شهر كريم مبارك، اليوم 27 من شهر شعبان، وشهر رمضان يدخل علينا برحمات الله الواسعة. أتقدم اليكم جميعا

vertis et la bénédiction de l’alimentation de la terre et de la mer.

أيها الحضور واليا شعب مصر بل إلى كل الأمة الإسلامية، وتأهمد النورات إلى جميع شرفة أداء الله لها أن تكون له في الدنيا طاب ثابية

العامة الناجحين منهم، ونتمتى التوفيق لمن لم يحالفه الحظ هذا العام في مرات قادمة.

ابناء الأعزاء. الحضور الكريم، أن الأيام التي نعيشها في التاريخ مبكر، اليوم 27 من شهر شعبان، وشهر رمضان يدخل علينا برحمات الله الواسعة. أتقدم اليكم جميعا

أيها الحضور واليا شعب مصر بل إلى كل الأمة الإسلامية، وتأهمد النورات إلى جميع شرفة أداء الله لها أن تكون له في الدنيا طاب ثابية

العامة الناجحين منهم، ونتمتى التوفيق لمن لم يحالفه الحظ هذا العام في مرات قادمة.
لقد انطلاقَت قواتنا المسلحة بحق إلى إرادة الأمة وأعلنت هذه الارادة الشعبية فوق هماتها المرفوعة، لقد رأينا جميعنا في يوم 11 فبراير 2011 كيف قدمت القوات المسلحة التحية للشعب المصري، وهذا لا يكون إلا من فرد قيادة الشعب وأنه جزء منه ولا يكون إلا من يستحق، والشعب المصري يستحق.

لقد أثبتت القوات المسلحة بقياداتها وجنودها بحق أن الجيش ملك الشعب وأنه درعه الحصين وعقله الواعي وسيفه القاطع.

ان رياضة مصر ودورها الإقليمي والدولي لن يبنيها إلا عمل دؤوب وهمة متوقدة وعزم متواصل لكل أبناء مصر وأنت في قلب منهم،نحن يا أبنائي،القادة،الطلاب جميعا: إنكم تخرجتم اليوم بتأكيد من معاهد العلوم العسكرية وخاصة تخرجكم اليوم من الكلية الحربية، هذا الصرح الإلهي العسكري الكبير، وهذا المعبد الحاضن للوطنية المصرية الذي يعده دور أكبر، أكثر من قرن ونصف وقد أعلنت له بوادر ومآت وكتابات القوات المسلحة وفروعها وجميعها أعطوها للوطن ومشوارها يعطرن مسارنا في العسكرية والＦامة يحقق كل مصر أن يفكر ويتظاهر بها.

إن وجودي اليوم بينكم ومع قادة القوات المسلحة ومع قادة الشرطة وقيادات مصر هو تأكيد على إيماني العميق والمطلق بدوركم في مشروع مستقبل مصر الذي تحمله وتعمل له لن نهار وإيمانيا أيضاً أن دور القوات المسلحة كأحد أهم مؤسسات السلطة التنظيمية في الدولة المصرية العريقة هو دور محوري وأساسي في تأسيس حاكم جديد ومستقبلي واعد لبلادنا بإذن الله.

إن مصر تنتظر منكم جميعاً ومن قواتها المسلحة كنا عاهدناها ودوماً عمل دؤوب واستعداداً قتالياً كاملاً وعملياً متخصصاً وواجبياً بكافة قدراتك تردد كل من تسول له نفسه أن يتعلق على ملك من أرضنا لم يجرؤ أحد في وقت الله ثابث، واستعدادكم وودعتنا جميعاً وأن يكون أحد أن يتحقق ملكه جزء من وطننا العزيز.

تificaciones عن مصر جميعاً وندفع كل من يتوهم شر بها إثبات كرسيت للجمهورية ومستقلهم أمام الله والشعب المصري مستقل عن هذا الوطن وعن هذا الشعب، وعن القوات المسلحة وأعادمأ أن قيم على هذه المنظومة وأن العصي لتم توترك، وعما حقاً لهذا الوطن، وأن يكون عند هذا الشعب الكريم مؤسساً للقيادة ليشير على أن يكون رجال القوات المسلحة قادة ووجود أن يكون الكل فينا فخور بانتمائه لهذه المؤسسة وأن يضحي كل مصري من هذا الشعب من أجل قوة جيشنا ورفعته.

إن الشهر الماضي بعد أحداث ثورتنا الخالدة قد أثارت بعض الغبار هنا وهناك وليست لذا، فإن قواتنا المسلحة كانت على عهدنا ووعدها، وشدد على ذلك كانت على عهدنا ووعده ودعت أن نحتلمن المنظومة في أيام صعبة، ورادة إلى إعدادنا الكبير، عملنا لجهة الإدارة الدولة المصرية فقد سلمت السلطة بحق يوم 30 يونيو 2012 هذا يوم عيد لنا جميعاً، لأن في إثبات المصريون شعباً ونظاماً وشرطة وقضاء وékفاته إنها فعلاً على قلب رجل واحد.

لقد سلمت القوات المسلحة السلطة يوم 30 يونيو 2012 لتعود بعد ذلك دورها الكبير ومساندتها العظيمة لحماية أنفسهم وحذّرنا جميعاً، محمد الباقر للعمل الذي نستلمه عليه، وكذالك القوات المسلحة مستمرة بتعزيزهم بالرجل الشريف لحماية الأمن الداخلي، أيضاً إلى أن يكون اليوم ليكون كل دورها حماية حدود الوطن وانه ضد كل من تسول له نفسه عليه.

ان
الحضور الكرام، أبناء الطالب الحرمين، أن الأسر المصرية التي حضرت اليوم هذا الاحتفال تستحق مني التحية والتهنئة على ما قدمت لمصر من شباب نظره بجميع وقرونا وقبائل ذلك في كل الكيانات العسكرية التي احتفلنا بالمدينة. وفي هذا العام ومن أكاديمية الشرطة أيضا.

إن هذه الأسر المصرية جميعها تستحق مني التحية والتهنئة على ما قدموه لمصر من شباب نظره بجميع وقرونا وقبائل ذلك في كل الكيانات العسكرية التي احتفلنا بالمدينة. وفي هذا العام ومن أكاديمية الشرطة أيضا.

أؤكد لكم جميعاً أبناء الشعب الكرم أيها الحضور الكرام بانني أتابع بنفسي الأوضاع الأمنية في كل زوايا مصر في المناطق الشعبية والقروي والمدن والمحافظات وأراصد كل انجاز أو قصور وصدى التوجهات المشتركة بين الشرطة والقوات المسلحة في هذه المناطق خلال الفترات القادمة وسنداد من إمكانيات وزارة الداخلية لمواجهة كل أشكال الحركات على القانون لتحقق أمننا الداخلي وتخليد العهد تدريجياً عن القوات المسلحة في هذا الجانب في المستقبل.

ومن هنا في هذا الجمع فإنني أتوجه إلى كل الشعب المصري وأقول له كل عام وأنتم بخير ومناسبة حركة شهر رمضان، أقول للذين يتطاولون أو يجرحون الناس. وهم عدد قليل جداً وهم من أبناء مصر وهم كل الحق أقول لهم لا يغرنكم حلم الحلم يمكن به قانوناً وبالقوانين وحده أن نردوه ونكتني ويجب الحب أسلوب على ذلك وقبل ذلك الحب بالألفة والودة المحبة إلى الكريمة.

إن الحضور الكرام جميعاً، كل عام وأنتم بخير، تحياتي لكم أشكركم على هذه الوقفة التي رأت فيها كل المروءة والرجل الواحد العزيمة والمشاعر الوطنية. وكل عام وأنتم بخير والسلام عليكم ورحمة الله وبركاته.

6. Morsi’s speech on the celebration of the Revolution of 23 of July on 22-7-2012

يا أبناء شعب مصر العظيم، في حياة الأمم وفي دورات التاريخ أيام هامة تأتي أمامها الشباب تشملهم منها دروساً لحياتها ومسارها في السياسة والاجتماع وفي النهضة والإبداع في القيم والرفق وتحصين الأمومة الداعمة إلى إعادة قراءة هذه الأحداث لتصويب فيها ما قد يطرأ عليها من ضعف أو إفراز أو تغيير أو تبديل.

إن ثورة 23 يوليو 1952 كانت لحظة فارقة في تاريخ مصر المعاصر وأسست الثورة الجمهورية الأولى التي دعوها الشعب والثقافة حول قادتها وحول أهدافها السائدة والتي تخص رغبة الشعب المصري في تأسيس حياة ديمقراطية سليمة، وتمكين الزعامة والمشاركة في اتخاذ القرار الوطني ودعم العدالة الاجتماعية للخروج من الفقر والجهل والمرض ومن استغلال رأس المال والإقطاع.

يا أبناء شعب مصر العظيم، كنا نحن نعتبر 23 يوليو بعبارة الأمة بقيادة الشاعر المصري من تقرير مصيره ودعم تحرره ويكون بمصر وصوب الشرعية. وخصوصاً الثورة المصرية معركة الجلاء والاستقلال وحاولت أن تقدم نموذجاً لدعم حركات التحرر في العالم العربي والإسلامي.

حاولت ثورة 23 يوليو أن ترسم مقربلاً للعدالة الاجتماعية والتنمية المخططة وحشد الموارد من أجل مشروع وطني متكامل. ونجحت الثورة في بعض هذه الأهداف وتعتبر في أهداف أخرى وخصوصاً في ملف الديمقراطية والحقوق وال التجارية.

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تراجمت خطواتها لإقامة حياة ديمقратية حقيقية قائمة على سيادة الشعب وتمكين الأمة لتكون مصدر السلطات. وشملت
التجربة الديمقراطية في الثلاثين سنة الأخيرة بفعل التزوير والاستبداد الذي أنتج في نهاية المطاف فسادا استنزف كثيرا
من موارد وأمكانيات مصر.

7. Morsi’s speech in Eid AlFitr on 16-8-2012

أيها الأخوة الأحباب الكرام والأخوات الفضليات، السيدات والسادة الحضور في بيت من بيوت الله عز وجل، في هذه الليلة
المباركة الطيبة في ليلة التاسع والعشرين من شهر رمضان المعظم وهي أيضا ليلة الجمعة وفي هذا التوقيت وبعد صلاة
التراويح وبعد ختان القروان وبعد دعاء ختم القروان ونحن ضيوف الرحمن في هذه الأجواء الطيبة وفي هذا المقام أحيكم
جميعا بتحية الإسلام فالسلام عليكم ورحمة الله وبركاته وكل عام وأنتم بخير.

هذا هو شهر التوبة يقضي وقد دفعت ساعات قليلة وهذا هو عيد الفطر يظلنا ومناسبة مناسبة عيد الفرج وسرور فرحا بالصوم
ويتوقع الله أن شاء الله للجميع في ختم القروان وفي القيام والصيام وبلوغ الجمع رمضان هذه مناسبة نتمنى جميعا ثم يختتم
هذا الشهر الكريم بعيد الفطر ولا تنسوا أيا الأخوة الفقراء أن يكون رحمة الفطر هو خير ومراقبة لفقراء من كافة البلدان.

8. Morsi’s speech at Cairo Stadium in commemoration of October victories on 6-10-2012

ثورات أحرار ها نكمل المشوار. إن اليوم هو ذكرى ملحمة السادس من أكتوبر العاشر من رمضان والتي نحتفل ونناجون
أن مصر شعب وما زلت نجدة ونحنا نحن البطلة كانت في سعاده قيامتها في ذلك اليوم منذ 39 عاما وقادة الجنود ومن ورائهم
كل أنباء مصر يعبرون قناته السويس وتحتفلان خط بارليف ويمحظون سيناء.

وأشهد بالقيادة الراعية التي خلطت وأعدت وقررت الحرب أكتوبر والضباط والجنود وأبناء مصر، فالكل توجه إلى معركة
جمعة كانت بفضل الله كل معارك التاريخ تميزها وأعادت للعسكريين جميع العزة والكرامة، وآمن أن أماننا مستقبل
عظم كما كان لنا ماض عظيم.

واوجه التحية لرجال أكتوبر وشهداء الحرب المجيدة. أن الأرادة ابتعت من جديد في ثورة 25 يناير وأراد الله أن يكون
الغزو الثاني في 25 يناير أيضا للشعب والجيش معا بدأ واحدا، كأنه قد نجا واحدا، حيث تتحرك السيطرة بدون حائط
لا، وللزوير لا، ليقفنا نحاول أن نوظف روح أكتوبر لصالح قلة قليلة لا وأفت، ووقت القوات المسلحة برجالها مع
المقاومة ضد الزوير ولا لتزوير الانتخابات.

وأحيي وقوف الشعب رجالا ونساء بكل ألوان أطياف مصر في ثورة 25 يناير وحمتهم القوات المسلحة من أي أذي فكان
لحمة ثابتة وكأنه الملايين للჂرية لصلة الكرامة لاحصاها، وآمن كلمة كرامة الثورة ونفادها كانت ترد الحريه للجميع وترد
العدل والكرامة والعدل الاجتماعي، وكان المصريين على قلب واحد مند أخرى.

إن يد الغدر امتدت فقتلت، فاستشهد أبناءنا وأصبينا كأنهم القادة الذين جعلوا هم نفسه من أجل السلام. إن القوات المسلحة وفعت
بعدها في الانتخابات بأن حريت الثورة والنعم وسعت إلى أن تقلت هذه المصلحة إلى إداره ملفعة، وقد حدد هذا في 30 يونيو
الماسي براده حرة باختبار الشعيب وبارداً القوات المسلحة. وأحبنا من نوعوا وضعا وتقد روؤسهم وتميز لهم
بالجمل، ونعيهم معه على مدار السينارذي ذكرى أكتوبر التي استثنى خالدة في فنوسنا ونوقنا أشهداها.

أؤكد ضرورة الضياء
فإنها لحريتنا من أجل النجاح وصرخة من أجل الاستقرار والعدل والأمن والعادالة الاجتماعية.

إن الشباب كان مكمنا أساسيا ووجوهنا في ثورة 25 يناير في مسيره النهضة الوطنى. إن هذا الوطن والشعب والجيل
والقيادة والرئيس توجه نحو هدف واحد وهو مصر الجديدة. نحن ماضون إلى مصر الجديدة بإطار يا الشعب جميعا بعد
التحقيق. لقد تمكن الحكومة الجديدة في 2 أغسطس الماضي أي من شهرين تقريبا بعد ان سلمت القوات المسلحة السلطة
لرئيس منتخب إزاء المصريين وقيادة هذا الشعب وبوضاءة نتم بما أعلنت القوات المسلحة مرارة تكراز خلال المرحلة
الانتقالية تحقيقا لهذه الأرادة.
وأؤكد أن مصر لديها موارد كثيرة أهدت بالفساد. أن أمامة مشوار كبير ولدنا رؤية واضحة ورداءة وعزم ستعود نحو إصلاح ما حل 결ح. إن أجمل الصفاء كفاءة مبكر وأسالك لقاء هذه المعرفة في 100 يوما وهم يفضل من الميزة وردة تحقق الأمن، ما تحقق حوالي 70% من الاستهداف، وإن أكتوبر هو العبور الذي يعبر عن أمرنا وشعبنا واسمه أغلبه ما نعثيه ونضج ما يعثره برزوهم وراءهم، كل ذلك فقط نحن يمكنه به وبولطننا الذي نحبه جميعاً، فالله ألم بين قلبنا وأصلنا ذات بيننا وديرنا يا فداءك لا تحذف التدريب. هذه مصر وطننا ونحن نتفق سوياً هنا حرصاً على عدم نسيان رجالنا البواسل وعائلاتهم والشهداء والأنصار والجيش، ونستطيع في هذا المائة يوم، أن نجح في كافتنا كاملة، ونسأل الله أن يعفيها على أحد، هذه العبور الثالث لهذه الأمة ومصر.

ثم تأتي الأحباب بعد أن مضت هذه الثورة في طريق واحد وأهداف واضحة، وساعدة عامة في حريتنا وبراءة أبناء مصر، عرفنا بالمصطلح بدقة كを与يه، ثم توُج هذا بمنحاتنا رئاسية شهد بها القاصي والداني، عبرت عن رأية الشعب، ووقفت القوى المصنوعة إلى إهلاك أمهام في 30 بدر ومنشأه عبرة حرة للجميع.

لكننا نقول اليوم جيش يحرس المسيرة وشعب ينهض لينمو نحو غد أفضل. أيها الأحباب بعد يوم الستة من يونيو، هذا العبور الثالث لينهض الشعب بهذه الأمة، حرية نمضي بها وإرادة قوية نمضي بها، ديمقراطياً كاملاً، عدالة بحالة عادلة، والقدرة على التدبير،...

وما هو أبعد من المائة يوم. بالنسبة لتحقيق الأمن، ما تحقق حوالي 70% من الاستهداف. إن نصر أكتوبر هو العبور الذي يعبر عن عارمة وشعبنا، واسمه أغلبه ما نعثيه ونضج ما يعثره برزوهم وراءهم، كل ذلك فقط نحن يمكنه به وبولطننا الذي نحبه جميعاً، فالله ألم بين قلبنا وأصلنا ذات بيننا وديرنا يا فداءك لا تحذف التدريب. هذه مصر وطننا ونحن نتفق سوياً هنا حرصاً على عدم نسيان رجالنا البواسل وعائلاتهم والشهداء والأنصار والجيش، ونستطيع في هذا المائة يوم، أن نجح في كافتنا كاملة، ونسأل الله أن يعفيها على أحد، هذه العبور الثالث لهذه الأمة ومصر.

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إلى الحملة الكبيرة التي قادتها الداخلية على بحيرة المنزلة وتم القبض على عناصر إجرامية خطيرة، ولهذا ساهمت كبيرة في الحملة التي يقودها رجال القوات المسلحة ووزارة الداخلية وكافة الأجهزة الأمنية في ملاحقة الإرهاب في مناطق أخرى.

الحملة التي يقودها رجال القوات المسلحة ووزارة الداخلية وكافة الأجهزة الأمنية لتسهيل هذه الملاحقة.

هذا يعني أن هناك عناصر إجرامية خطيرة تم القبض على عصابات تهريب الوقود تعمل في وزارة البترول، وهذه العناصر معروضة حاليا أمام النيابة العامة لمحاسبتهم بالقانون.

إن السياحة زادت خلال الشهر الماضي بنحو 11% مقارنة بالشهر نفسه من العام الماضي، وأن الاقتصاد المصري استمر في نموه، وأيضاً الطريقة التي تم فيها الحفاظ على قرب من أي شبهة وتحول على فترة سماح تصل إلى حوالي ثلاث سنوات ونصف السنة، ثم بمجرد أن يطلق هذه البدعة في عملية السداد وتسليم مالية قيادة دون رصمة وثيقة، كما أن الرئاسة تعتمد على شهادة جديدة.

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9. Morsi’s speech after receiving the draft of the constitution on 1-12-2012

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وقل اعملوا فسيرى الله عملكم ورسوله والمؤمنون

أناشيد جميع المصريين من أجل تحقيق أهداف مصر الجديدة والمستقبل الأفضل لأبناء الوطن. وأناشد جميع العاملين بالدولة وأصحاب الحرف والمهن بالتعاون من أجل تحقيق الإرادة المنشودة التي تحقق الاكتفاء والاعتماد على النفس من خلال التوحد حول خطة شاملة ورؤية واضحة، وأدعو في الوقت ذاته أبناء مصر جميعا إلى التفاؤل بمستقبل عظيم لمصر.
دومًا كانت أهم تلك اللحظات الدستورية تأتي في سياق ثورات شعبية ملهمة وموجزة، وهذا ما يجعلنا نستعرض في هذه اللحظة الجديدة الكبرى بعد ثورة يناير المجيدة.

إذاً، بينت给我们 a new beginning in the field of completing the revolution.

وأنا اليوم أعتقد أننا لا يمكننا أن ننسى أبدا تضحيات شهدائنا الأبرار وكذلك مصابي هذه الثورة العظيمة وذويهم أيضا. هؤلاء الشهداء الذين لولا دماؤهم الزكية ما كنا نصل إلى هذا المشهد المهيب.

10. Morsi’s speech after the events of Al-Ethihady Palace on 7-12-2012

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم واعتصموا بحبل الله جميعًا ولا تفرقوا، أيها الشعب المصري الكريم السيدات والسادة، أتحدث إليكم اليوم يقبل عصوره الأسود، ويشمل لقائي الآسي على الأزواجه اللاتي قتلت ربيا والدماء التي سال من القلوب الذين جربت أمرا مقر رئاسة الجمهورية في الورقين الماضيين، حيث أعلم بأن كل مواطن على واجب، حتى هويه، هو أن يأتي موضعه في هنا. أما ما يتعلق بمجلس الوطن والازدراء على إرادة الشعب، فإنه في هذه المناسبة، لا أستطيع أن أرى ما تعنيه لغة محبة وحوار وتفاهم بين شعبنا. أما ما يتعلق بالثورات الخضراء، فإنها لا تزال فارغة، ولكنني أعلم أننا نحن نعيش في عالم جديد، حيث لا يمكن أن ن疸و يعود لن يعود هذا النظام إلى أرض مصر مرة ثانية.

أقول أن ننزل جميعًا على إرادة هذا الشعب وهذه المصلحة لا يحققها العنف، ونستطيع من التجمعات الغاضبة إنما يتحقق بالحكمة والتعقل وسكون النفس التي تمنح الفرصة للتفكير السوي والقرار الصائب الذي تنزل فيه الأقلية على رأي الأغلبية. ما أتمنى أن يكون في مصر الوطن الغالي علينا جميعًا مصر العزيزة لكن الرياح جرت بأشياء أخرى. أرجو الله أن يقي الوطن والمواطنين من شرور تلتهاب الدين.

الشعب المصري كرسي الذي يعرف قيمة وحضارته ومعتقداته واعترافًا بما يحدث في الدنيا ويعيش هذا العالم وهذا العصر ويدر عظمة هذا الشعب، بذل إمكانياته وقواته على النضال من كوبا طال fostering the conditions.

وجهت حديثي إلى من عارضني ويعارضني بشرف ومن جاء يتطلعون إلى الشريعة ونها في ذلك ثمانية، وأي شيء أعلى من الحياة، وأقول أننا جميعًا في مصر الوطن الغالي علينا جميعًا أننا نعيش في عالم جديد، حيث لا يمكن أن نخذلهم سليما مقبولا ولكن ذلك مشير مشيرどこ من بين البعض، ولن يفلت هذا من العقاب.

يوم الثلاثاء 4 ديسمبر بعض المتظاهرين اعتدوا على سيارات رئاسة الجمهورية فوقع هذا الاختراق على العديد من هذه السيارات وأصابت إصدار إصابات جسيمة في قري ليزيل المستشفى نتيجة ما قد يحدثه للترنتو، ومن فكاننا أن نكون في مسما، ولكننا نعيش في عالم جديد، حيث لا يمكن أن نخذلهم سليما مقبولا ولكن ذلك مشير مشيرどこ من بين البعض، ولن يفلت هذا من العقاب.

كان اليوم أحدًا من الأيام السابق حيث اعتدوا على المتظاهرين المسلمين من المدنيين اعتدوا عليهم اعتدوا صارخا باستخدام السلاح، وهذا هو الجديدي في الأمر، أن يستخدم سلاح الخرطوشة والأسلحة النارية من قبلنا الذي قد خلفه في أحداث يوم أمراء الأطباء يوم 4 ديسمبر. ومنهم 6 شباب من شباب مصر الأطباء وأكثر من 70 رجل وأمراؤهم 19 أصيبوا بطلقن نارية و20 بقايا حروق واستمرت أعمال التهريب على العنف وعمارة الإرهاب على المواطنين العزل حتى صبح اليوم واستمرت له وقائع أحداث العنف، وقائع قوات الأمن، على أكثر من 80 متروث في أعمال العنف والاعتداء على المواطنين العزل ومبادرتهم في المساعدة مع بعضهم البعض، ومحاولة محتجرون في التحقيق، وحمية ومن المستقيم أن بعض المقيض عليهم لديهم روابط عمل واتصال ببعضهم البعض.

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من ينتمون أو ينسبون أنفسهم إلى القوى السياسية وبعض هؤلاء المستخدمين للسلاح والممارسين للعنف من المستأجرين مقابل مال دفعه كشفت عن ذلك التحقيقات واعترافاتهم في عدد من المواقع، وذلك بعد فترة طويلة من المرحلة الانتقالية قد أُعيد إلى ذلك حديثا وجها بكتشفات العنف الثلاثة في أحداث ماسبيرو ومحمد محمود ومجلس الوزراء وORIZيد.

ولم يتمكن أحد من التوصل إلى التحقق في هؤلاء المعوقين عليهم تكلموا معهم وعلمتهم في مواقعهم، ومن أعطى لهم المال ومن هيأ لهم السلاح ومن وقف يدعمه. وذلك حدث منذ فترة طويلة في المرحلة الانتقالية ونتى ذلك الحكايا المرة الأولى في بعض المواضيع والمسائل.

لقد كان إصدار الإعلان الدستوري محركا لبعض الاعتراضات السياسية والقانونية وهذا أمر مقبول أما من استغلال هذا وحراك للهذا العنف يبادر بالأنشطة وأحيانا يتحدر إلى سلاح ويدفع المال. فقد أقد أن الأوان أن يحتوي على سياسيين وقد قاد أقواله أفراد اعترافاتهم الصادرة من جراء أعمالهم مع النظام السابق الذي أجرهم وأجرهم.

فذلك فكاننا اتصلنا بكل راحة صدر وعزة أفقي التوجه الأول وشكر القانون بكل حسن على التوجه الذي يحقق العدالة والحق.

ولذلك فإنني أتولائي بكل وضوح تحميلاً بالقانون بين سياسيين والرؤساء الوطنيين المعتقلون على بعض المواضيع والمسائل والمعارضة لانعدام مشروع الدستور، لأن هذا أمر طبيعي ومتوقع عليه ومؤكده هذا اتفاق بعض الاعترافات بكل أنواعها. أميزة بين هذا وبين الذين ينفقون أموالهم الفاسدة التي يجمعها بيضاء من جراء أعمالهم مع النظام السابق الذي أجرهم وأجرهم.

أميزة شديدة بين سياسيين والرموز الوطنية المعترضة على سياسات الثورة وال막ثنية في أكثر من مواقع أو مواقع وللأوان أن يكون الإعلان الذي دفعتني إصدار الإعلان، كانت ولا تزال تظل خطرة هائلة على الوطن وأمنه.

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المصرية وبعض رؤساء الأحزاب وأخرين يهتمون بأمر هذا الوطن ويشغلون أفقيهم في مصلحته ومستقبل أبنائه وآسر ذلك كله عن دعوة كل الرموز والقوى السياسية ورؤساء الأحزاب وشبب الثورة وفقيه القانون لتجمعهم مما يوم الستين في الساعة 12 ونصف بعد الظهر بمقر الرئاسة لتواصل في اتفاق جامع لكلمة وموقف لأم الخير به جميع من طبق الفغر والربيع إلى رحابة الاختلاف. إننا نستلم إلى الجهود والارفادات في ذلك كثرة منها اجتماع مجلس الشورى، فقانون الانتخابات القادم وكيف سنكون أيضاً كيف سنكون خارطة الطريق بعد الاستفتاء سواء كانت كلمة الشعب لا أم

إن الدماء الزكية التي سالت في الأحداث في الأيام السابقين لن تذهب هدراً وليزودوا السلاح بالمال وحَولوا على العنف بدأوا ينزلون إلى الباب العاممة مهدياً لتحقيق معهم في اتهامات ولا يسعى في ذلك إلا أن أقدم بخالص العزاء لأسر الشهاد.

أدعو الشعب المصري أن يتصدى لكل هذه الأعمال العنيفة، وإلى الذين يتظاهرون فالتظاهر حق مكفول ولكن كما أكدت أن التظاهر السلمي بعيداً عن تعطيل العمل أو المرور أو تهديد الأمن أو العدوان على الشركات أو المؤسسات أو السفارات لا مجال لذلك.

أتمنى لكم جميعاً التوفيق والتعاون والتحاور والمحبة حفظ الله مصرنا من كل سوء والله سبحانه وتعالى من وراء القصد وهو يهدى السبيل.

11. Morsi’s speech on the approval of the Constitution on 27-12-2012

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم "واعتصموا بحبل الله جميعًا ولا تفرقوا"، الحمد لله على نعمته الكثيرة علينا، على مصر وأهلها، "إن تعذوها نعمة الله لا تحصوها". إن المصريون جميعاً السيدات والسادة.

نقف اليوم نحتفل ونحتفل بدستورنا الجديد، إنه يوم تاريخي مشهود، لقد أصبح ل مصر للمصريين دستور حر ليس منحة، من تلك ولا فرض من رئيس ولا إسلام من مستعمر، ولكن دستور اختيار شعب مصر براده الحرة الواعية ومنه للنفسه، واستطاع هذا vẻ من يعمل للاستفتاء في أطراف التاريخ مازالت حية وثابتة.

فقد تم الاستفتاء في شفافية كاملة وإشراف قضاة كامل ومحاكمة من الأعلام ومؤسسات المجتمع المدني، وفي ظل إقبال المواطنين وتعاونهم وحماية من جيش الشعب وشرطة، فتحية للشعب الذي خرج ليقول كلمته وتحية للجنة العليا للإلتخبات وهي لجنة حرة، وللشعب الذين كانوا يعيشون على أن نعبر الشعب عن رأيه، وتحية للشرطة المصرية التي نظلت آمنة على واجبها، تحمي الأمن وتصوين الحقوق وتلتزم بالقانون.
ومن هذا فانتوجه بالشكر والتقدير إلى هؤلاء وإلى كل من شارك في إدارة هذا العمل الوطني الكبير من الرجال والنساء العاملين الذين أمضوا أوقات من أجل أن تنهي هذه المرحلة إلى مرحلة جديدة من عمر الوطن، مرحلة أكثر آمنًا لألبانيته وبناءه.

لقد عنا جميعًا لما وسعته الأملين، نقل فيها اقتصاد الوطن، وأمنه الكبير، إلى مرحلة جديدة.

انتقالية طالت منذ ما يقرب من ستينيات، تكلف فيها اقتصاد الوطن، وأمنه الكبير.

شهدت تلك المرحلة جدلا سياسيا كبيراً حول عملية صياغة الدستور في مراحلها المختلفة، وكشفت القوى السياسية مواقف مختلفة وهي أمر طبيعي في ظل مجتمع يتحرك نحو الديمقراطية والتنوع في الرأي، وهذه ظاهرة صحية، تستفيد منها جميعاً، بحكم مسئوليتي أن ينتقل الوطن إلى بر الأمان، وأن ننهي فترة الانتقالية الطويلة التي جرى hồiاً في مسألة شؤون السياسة والاقتصاد، وتشير إلى رفع من الخلق والحضور.

ومهما كانت مصاعب المرحلة السابقة فإنني أراها بمثابة مرحلة نهوضية، مرحلة أخرى أرضها بمثابة آلام ولادة فجر جديد، فقد أثبت الشعب المصري مرة أخرى قدرته على تجاوز الصعاب والتقدم إلى الإمام، على طريق الاستمرار في بناء مؤسساته الديمقراطية.

نعم كان هناك خلال هذه الفترة الموقعة أخطاء وعثرات من هنا وهناك، وأتحمل معضم المسؤولية على هذه الفترة.

ولقد أقر الشعب المصري أن يكون دستور مصر الثورة يُقسم عليه المؤسسات ويتمتع بالذات والشعب أمام النظام التشريعي وال-transparent والشورعي، وفي سبيل ذلك قامت المؤسسة اتخاذ الكثير من القرارات الصعبة، إضافة إلى تجاوزه في مسألة جديدة من عدم منحConcurrency ذاتها بناء وانتظار، مرحلة جديدة هي خلاص قل بذل الشعب المصري في الثورة الحميدة والثورية.

والحمد لله بإقرار هذا الدستور انتقل التشريع إلى ممثلي الشعب في مجلس الشورى حتى إتمام بناء السلطة التشريعية واقامة مجلس النظام، وذلك يembros أن ينتخب برلمان قوي يشرع ويراقب وسلطة قضائية مستقلة، وحماية PICCP thươngب.

وأود هنا أن أتوجه بالشكر والتقدير إلى كل من شارك في إدارة هذا العمل الوطني الكبير من الرجال والنساء العاملين الذين أمضوا أوقات من أجل أن تنهي هذه المرحلة إلى مرحلة جديدة من عمر الوطن، مرحلة أكثر آمنًا لألبانيته وبناءه.

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من أجل بناء الوطن لابد أن تتكاتف الجهود، ولذا أصبح الحوار ضرورة لا بديل عنها، نسعى جميعاً في إطاره إلى التكامل والتوافق حول قضيّات المرحلة القادمة. ومن هنا فيأتي أجد الدعوة لكل الأحزاب والقوى السياسية للمشاركة في جلسات الحوار الوطني الذي أراده الرئيس، الذي تبدأ جلدها الخاصة برئاسة الجمهورية اليوم الأربعاء من أجل استكمال خريطة الطريق لهذه المرحلة، وسكون دائماً كما عاهدت شعب مصر العظيم خادماً لهذا الشعب لا أخر حياً في العمل مع كل أبنائه بصاحب مصر والمصريين.

السيدات والشيوخ، أن الأزمات القادمة أيام عمل وصمة من الجميع. وسوف أعلن كل جهدي مكم ن أجل دفع الاقتصاد المصري الذي يواجه تحديات ضخمة وأيضاً يمتلك فرص كبيرة للنمو. سوف أقوم ببعض التغييرات الضرورية التي تتعاضدها هذه المهمة من أجل نجاح مصر ووضع مسار التنمية الشاملة في بوتيرة اهتمام الجميع، وفي هذا الطريق أود أن أوضح أن الحكومة الحالية التي بدأت عملها منذ الثالث من أغسطس الماضي تودي دورها قدر المستطاع في ظروف صعبة، ومع ذلك هناك مشاكل واحتاج إلى المزيد من الجهد والعمل. وقد كلفت الدكتور هشام قنديل رئيس الحكومة وأتشاور معه لعمل التعديلات الوزارية اللازمة التي تناسب هذه المرحلة لمواجهة كل المشاكل الصغرى والكبيرة والمسئويات وذلك حتى تكون مجلس النواب الجديد طبقاً للدستور.

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ان مصر لن يبنيها بعض ابنائها دون البعض الاخر مصر لكل المصريين الحرية لكل ابنا الشعب، بل استثناء الديمقراطية

تمة جهد الجميع بعد نجاح الثورة العظيمة.

ان بناء دولة عصرية بعد سنوات من الاستبداد والفساد والديكتاتورية والسلطة المطلقة وبناء الدولة بعد ذلك لا يمكن القيام به إلا بتكافؤ مجوع المجتمع الحري واننا نتطلع جميع ابناء الدولة المؤسسات وتشريع ما يلزم من أجل تطبيق آراء حكم مؤسس ي👉 في المحاسبة لكل مخطئ أو مقص وعمل بكل حزم لمقاومة الفساد بكل شكله.

ان الدولة الديمقراطية الحديثة لا يمكن أن يتصل بها دون بسط القانون على الشعب المصري كله وتعزيز سلطان القضاء، وضمان استقلاله، ولذلك فإن الدولة العربية لا يمكن أن تقوم بأعمال حري بعيد عن سطوة السلطة والتمويل القداس لا يمكن ابد ان تقوم الدولة العصرية بدون تمكن المجتمع المدني ليقوم بدور قوي ومرأقب.

ايهما السيدات والسادة اعضاء الشورى، ادعيكم للعمل الجاد والتعاون مع الحكومة والحوار مع كافة الأحزاب والقوى السياسية، هذا الحوار يكون من أجل اصدار التشريعات اللازمة للمرحلة الانتقالية مرحلة البنية والهندسة وال услуги نحو الكمال.

ان مجلسكم أصبح أول مرة يشارك في سلطة التشريع، وهو الآن يقوم بالتشريع كلاماً ويتم انتخاب مجلس النواب الجديد، لذلك يكون مجال التعبير عن كل الأطياف، ولذلك يا أعضاء مجلس القضاء، يجب أن يكون هنا أهميته تحملاً مسؤولية كبيرة للدولة والرقابة على السلطة التنفيذية.

عليك التوجه قدماً لانتخاب مجلس الشعب القادم، ادعو كافة الأحزاب للحوار الوطني الذي أرعاه نفسي ليتسع الحوار حول قانون الانتخابات ليعبر عن كافة الأطياف والاحزاب بحري، وأنا أستعرض الله ما يواجه على الرأي العام، ولللمادة الخامسة من الدستور، فان الحديث على أن السيادة للشعب يمارسها ويضمن وسادة، وتحت الإجراء، ثم تنعى على أن السيادة للشعب يمارسها ويضمن وسادة الوطية الشعب مصير الدستور.

انني علي ثقة تامة من قدرة المصريين على انجاز السلطة (بالإقبال على الترشح والتنافس على مقعد مجلس الشعب، والذي سيكون أول مرة شريك في اختيار الحكومة ورقيب عليها.

懑 ميدان الشعب وتشريع القانون، وتجلى الديمقراطية، إذا نزلت من أول انعقاد للحكومة ببداية اعتصام ماضي، كانت تجاهه يوجد نقاط اتخاذ عادة لمكافحة الفساد والوقاية في توزيع الضرائب، وتم اتخاذ التدابير لمنع الأزمة من الحالة الاقتصادية سبعة، وتعزيز سلطان القضاء، وتعزيز سلطان القضاء.

ووعلى الرغم من تقلبات الاقتصاد لا يمكن ان تمتلك ارقتان، وسط حالة اقتصادية ضعيفة تستدعي زمن طويل سادة، وتمارين الاقتصاد المالي في انتخابات 2011، وبدءاً من انتخابات العديد، استعمل انتخابات المصري المالي، أوضح مسألة التضخم أدناه مستوى لها منذ ان تشير الثورة.

في قطاع البنوك على الرغم مما يتردد من شائعات أن البنوك تباعها أو باري ورضا، وتعبدت الأفكار في الآراء، في ربع عام.

لم تشمل بأصلي ما تستطيع على الحكومة لمضاعفة في المستقبل، وتمكين الجميع.

حققت ودائع البنوك زيادة لتقويض الف و300 مليار جنيه، مباشرة 192 مليار جنيه، بالنسبة للسياحة، وتمت الأداء في ربع عام.

حققت قناة السويس ارتفاع في عوائدها حتى اكتوبر زاد عن مليار دولار أكبر نسبة سجلتها القناة في ربع عام.

السياحة زاد في اشهر الماضية بنسبة 7.1%، وهي ضعف العدد الذي سجله قطاع السياحة في 6 اشهر من العام الماضي.
ولولا الاحداث التي خرج فيها البعض من سلمية العمل السياسي لكان ذلك نسبته أكبر من ذلك تدرك حجم التحديات الاقتصادية التي تواجهها مصر. ولكن نعرف أن هناك فرص كبيرة للتنبؤ بالعمر الثالث لتنمية واستقرار حقيق.

من يتحدثون عن الأفلاس هو المفلسون مصر لن تفلس ابنها الله ولن تركع في فارق الله ما دام الشعب المصري منش جاد يعوض ويعرف ما يفعل وما كانت تعليمقه من الاحداث هي مجرد دول معينة مثل مصر أن يقال أنها ستكتم ومن لا يعلم فإنهم الذين عليهم ندبهم عن 160% من أجمالي العائد.

دعونا نتحدث عن تحديات ومشاكل مواجهتها بدلاً من أثارة حالة من الرعب للكبار. نحن المصريون نعرف معنى الايمان مسلمين ومسيحيين نحن جميعاً نؤمن بالله ونعرف ما قاله الله وفي السماء رزقكم وما تعودون لا تقلق على الرزق وخذ بالأسباب. لو أن الهذى امتن واذا فتحنا عليهم بركات من السماء والأرض.

من تمام الايمان العمل هنا نحن ماضون أن شاء الله إلى ذلك

السيدات والسادة يجب أن نعرف ليس هذه المرة الأولى التي يتم فيها تخفيف الامتناع ل مصر السبب عدم استقرار الوضع السياسي في المرحلة السابقة حسب ما ورد بتأثير الأحداث التي قامت بتفشي بسبب يجب أن ندرك متطلبات المرحلة الاعتقاد والمسؤولية.

أن الجهد الذي يبذلها الحكومة في الفترة القادمة ستكون في مجال الاعتدال والاصلاحات التي تعتبر نتائج ثلاثة من التحديات ورفع سلامتها وبناء وتعزيز عزيمة الدولة.

تążيس على ما يمكن أن تكون مادة قادرة على العمل والاستقرار هذا هو التحدي لمر وسنمضي وبراعة وعزيمة قوية جميعاً كنا عقبة معروضة قوية مؤسسات في شرطة أحزاب كثيرون بعضنا بعض نعرف على ما يفعل مؤسسات هؤلاء الذين أن يكون هناك الأفلاس لن تكون من يقول ذلك لنا لا أشتك في نواباً واحد من أشتك في أشتك في أشتك من يكون الوطن عرضاً لخطر اقتصادي فلما إذا هذا الحالة لننطلق على هدى وهدى نعرف غاية مصر القوية المنتجة مستقرة الناهضة.

من هذه الاهتمامات سيسكر العمل بمشروع تنمية قناة السويس لإعمار سيناء ونستغل الميزة لموقع مصر وقناة السويس وفي المجال الزراعي طرح 360 ألف فدان للاستزراع بمساحة 5 آلاف نادي بادي الربيع وتوشكي وشرق العوينات للإنتاج والجاري الإعداد لطرح 300 ألف فدان خلال الأشهر القادمة كما تم طرح 320 ألف فدان للاستشار الحاج بيني سوف.

شهد العام هذا اليوم زيادة المساحة المزروعة من القمح 204 ألف فدان تصل المساحة 3 مليون الف فدان.

تم توفير 320 ألف فرة عمل عن 120 رخصة لمصانع وتم إدخال 5 مليارات متر مربع في 5 مناطق صناعية تتيح 50 فرة عمل.

السيدات والسادة ان مستمرين جمعيًا رئاسة وحكومة وشعب مستقلة كبيرة وناضجة بعد مصافحة الشعب على الدستور لابد أن نطلق الطاقة الجديرة نحو فاعل واسع للعمل القائم على العلم ونقل التكنولوجيا والصناعات الحديثة بإلتزام إلتزام.

كان الزاما علينا اجراء تعديلات حكومية توجهاتها وواضحة لتطبيق سياسات لمنظمة سياسية لمكافحة الفساد والفساد وعلاقة البطالة وتحلية حكومة لعمل الدور في تحسين وضع مصر ورفع الجهاز الحكومي وتخفيف لاحقة الدولة لضمان خطط التنمية بالكفاءة والالتزام والارتقاء باللائقية.
ان القضية الفلسطينية في بؤرة اهتمامنا ولن ندخر وسعا لدعم الحق الفلسطينيين بإرادته هو وليحصل على حقه بتقرير مصيره واقامة دولته ذات السيادة الكاملة. ان الخليك العربي مستنolle قومية وسوق العرب جميع صفًا واحد لحماية امنة القومي العربي.

إن الثورة السورية مستضيي بأن الله نحن نعدنا مستضيي لتحقيق أهدافها للحرية والكرامة والعدالة الاجتماعية. سوريا جندها في الشرق ستكون سوريا موهد حرة مستقلة كل ابنيها لا تتحدث باسم شعبها الا الممثلون الشرعيون. أعلن اماكن اولويتنا في سوريا في هذه المرحلة تقوم وقف نزيف الدم السوري ودعم عودة الاجئين السوريين لوطنهم وتقديم كافة الدعم لهم ليعودوا لوطنهم الام.

الوقوف ضد تدخل عسكري والسعي لحل سياسي يدعم وتوافق عربي يضم فتح الطريق امام الشعب السوري واتخاذ قيادته التي تعبر عنه لا مجال لنظام حالي في مستقبل سوريا مع الحفاظ على وحدة الأرض السورية.

السيدات والسادة شعب مصر العظيم اننا اليوم بألفتكم جميعا بادرتنا بفعلنا باعتمادنا علي الله نصن مستقبلنا بأيدينا ونحتفي بمولده عزيزنا الذي بمولده أنارت البشرية وتحولت من الظلام إلى الهدى إلى النور وحق.

نحن نجتمع على ذكرى مؤسسنا العظمى الذي يعد راهبنا من قبله "ربنا وأبعث فيهم رسولا" واحتفى بسيرته شعراء وأدباء الدنيا.

المصريون جميعا داخل مصر وخارجها نحن المسلمون الأوائل والخلفاء الراشدين والدولة الإسلامية التي امتدت حيث يحمل المسالمة رسالة الرسول الكريم التي بعثه ربه ليتفرك الآخلاق وضرب جذر الأخلاق فينا، حتى مهدد الله وقال عنه إله لعلي خلق عظيم، جاء لعلم الناس أن الله لا ينتظر إلى الصور والأسماء ولكن النية، جاء بشريعة تنظم الحياة كله، تنظف بالواقعية والشمولية، وجاءت رسالته جامعة شاميلة جميع فاطحات عقد في الإسلام، والدين، وأقام وأصبحت المجتمع المميز البديع المساحي.

السادات والسيدات عدب مصر العظيم انا اليوم مبادرتكم جميعا بادرتنا بتعزيز تنظيم الطريق امام الشعب المصري وتعزيز قيادته التي يعبر عنها لا مجال لنظام حالي في مستقبل مصر مع الحفاظ على وحدة الأرض المصرية.

13. Morsi’s speech on the anniversary of the Revolution of January and the Birthday of Prophet Mohammed on 24-1-2013

وزير الأوقاف الإخوة والأخوات الأبناء والبنات السادة الكرام الحضور

أحييكم بتحية الإسلام وكل عام وأنتم بخير وهذه مناسبة غالية عزيزة أساسية محورية في حياتنا بل في حياة البشرية إلى أن يرث الله الأرض ومن عليها ونحن نؤمن به بعد أن نوحد ربنا سبحانه وتعالى ونؤمن به من سبقوه من الرسل ونؤمن بين أحد منهم.

نحن نجتمع على ذكرى مولد عزيز علينا الذي بمولده أتفرق البشرية وتحولت من الظلام إلى النور والحق.

فسلامات الله عليه وعلى الله.

ونحن في مناسبة غالية عزيزة نحن المصريين الذين ذكرت ثورة دار الإله في حياة البشرية إلى أن يرث الله الأرض ومن عليها ونحن نؤمن به بعد أن نوحد ربنا سبحانه وتعالى ونؤمن به من سبقوه من الرسال ونؤمن بين أحد منهم.

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فسلامات الله عليه وعلى الله.
لا يمكنني قراءة النص بشكل طبيعي.
إن العمل يشمل تحقيق الأمن ودعم مؤسسة الشرطة وتشجيع عقود الشرطة للولاية الأمن، والمواطن والوطن بدلا من النظام المحكم.

إن الجيش الذي يحمي مؤسسات مصر يستحق كل الدعم والتقدير لتقومصر مصر بدورها، في الاستعداد الضروري للدفاع عن النفس وليس الاعتداء.

ولا يفوتني أن أحيي رجال الصحافة والإعلام الشرفاء لإعلاء مصلحة الوطن وتقديم النقد البناء والرسالة الإعلامية وإعلانها، قانوناً بعد الثورة بسهو المعارضية البينية.

أحاول أن أؤدي ما علي من واجبات أؤكد أنه لن يضار صاحب رأي أو رؤية في هذا العصر أبدا وهذا كله بإعمال القانون واحترام أحكام القضاء.

ونحن نحتفل اليوم نهدف أن يكون الاحتفال بالفعل لا القول فقط وذلك أؤكد دعوتي للجميع للحوار الوطني الذي أرعاه دائما ينفيت لوضع تصور كامل لكافة القوة السياسية والاقتصادية، لذلك نريد أن نضع مع التصور الكامل لكل فضاءات السياسية والاقتصادية والإدارية والدينية لأن هناك قضايا تحتاج منا التعاون مثل دور العبادة لضمان السلام للجميع، اللي عازب بني مسجد أوك كنيسة بالقانون إذا غير أحد في ذلك أو وقعة مخالفات القانون فهذا سيولتي لضمان حقه بالقانون.

أدعو جميع الأحزاب السياسية لإدراج المرأة في مواقع متاحة بالقانون لضمان أن تكون للمرأة ممثلة بالبرلمان فأنما أخير.

أدعو لنشر الوعي وبلس السلم ونشر الوعي والاحتكاك والعمل على رفع مستوى الإحاطة وتنشئة المشاركة في الانتخابات البرلمانية القادمة عرفة من الجمع ونشر الوعي السياسي وعمر الشباب وضمن في مقدمة القوانين الإنتخابية.

حصيلة الأحداث الأخيرة هناك العديد من الأهداف التي لم تتحقق وما زالنا نتطلع للتصدي للثورة المضادة التي تسعى لتأخير الوطن وتنسي تطهير الدولة من الفساد وإصلاح المرافق العامة واقامة المشروعات القومية الكبيرة للقضاء على البطالة والهوار وهذا يحتاج لوحدة وطنية قبل الاحتياجات الاقتصادية.

علينا أن نشعر أنها في سفينة واحد ونحن نحتفل بقوى الديمقراطية الناتجة عن الصناديق وعدم اللجوء للتعبير عن الرأي، علينا أن نتفاهم مع الأندية، من أجل أن يصل الدعم لمستحقه والاستثمار في الوطن، الاشتراع في منظومة العمل والمصر وروح العمل الاجتماعي.

تحتاج لضمان كل الجهود وأمد Así للجميع لتصبح مصر التي نحلم بها، لذلك أدعو الشعب كله أن يحتفل بهذه المناسبة العظيمة التي تأتي باكثير مولد النبي بطريقة تتفق مع أخلاق النبي وبطريقة سلمية حضارية تحافظ بها على وطننا ومؤسساته وشوارعه بطريقة سلمية حضارية تتفق مع جمال هذه الذكرى.

14. Morsi’s speech at the canal events on 27-1-2013

أبناء الشعب المصري العظيم عاشت مصر في الأيام الماضية أوقاتا حرة حرة سالت فيها دماء مصرية غالبية وتعبرت فيها منشات عامة خاصا لإنشاءات أمية تستمروا رواة التطورات النبيلة التي خرج فيها بعض أبناء مصر معررين عن رأيهم بسلمية في الذكرى الثانية لثورة 25 يناير المجلدة، ولكن للأسف وجدنا انخراف من سلامة الثورة وصعودا للسلاطات وجرحى بأيدي أمننا كأسناء للوطن وتعيد على أمين المواطنين عفويًا لكل المصريين لمجلسنا الذين أظهروا من أبناء الشعب المصري من المدنيين والشرطة والعلماء للصحفيين بالاختيار والشفاء وأخص بالتعزية أهالي بورسعيد الباسلة.
والسويس الصامدة. هؤلاء الذين قادوا كفاح المصريين في أيام صعبة في سنين سابقة تكسرت على صخرة صمودهم كثيرا من احترامهم وذكائهم عالم الدنيا والكثير من الأعمال الوراثية من الوطنية والفضائية والقومية.

إن أحكام القضاء واجبة الاحترام منا جميعا فهي ليست موجهة ضد فئة فردية ولاتنافسة. إن التفرقة يجب أن تكون واضحة حجة بين التعبير الصريح عن الرأي وبين العنف والإهانة على حياة ورفاهية هذه الشعب العظمى.

إن حماية حقوق هذا الشعب واجبة من واجباتي، وحق المواطن في الحرية لا ينف بصل عن حقه في الأمن والأمان، وحقوق الإنسان تتجاوز تحليق الفجر في الدنيا، وحق المواطنين في رفع الظلم، وحق الطالب في التحقوق في القانون، وعلى الثورة بل هي الثورة المضادة بوجهها القبيح.

إن الشعب المصري يرفض تلك الأفعال كما يرفض من يدافعون عنها أو يسكونون عن إدانتها، فالصبريون الشرفاء يدينون ويرفضون تلك التصرفات. إن حماية الوطن مسئولية الجميع وسنواجه أي تهديد لأمنه بقوة وحسم في ظل دولة القانون.

وفي هذا السياق فإن أؤخذ من رجل الشرطة بالذكرى على الجهود الكبيرة التي بدأها في الدفاع عن المواطنين وعن مؤسسات الدولة ونزاعا يفصل. كما أن أحياء القرى المسلحة على التفتيش الفني لما أصدرته من تكليفات إلى مدنهم من شأنها مباشرة، في حفظ أمان الوطن وتأمين منشآته.

وأتابع الإجراءات القانونية التي تجري لتفتيش الجمرات للعدالة في أقرب وقت، اتبع ذلك الالتزام بمساحة وعبارة، وأصدرت التعليمات إلى رجل وزارة الداخلية، واتساق، مما يضمن للقوى المسلحة على التفتيش الفني لما أصدرته من تكليفات إلى مدنهم من شأنها مباشرة، في حفظ أمان الوطن وتأمين منشآته.

وقد أدركت قبل ذلك ما تعلم أن يسعنا أن نستعيد أساليب الاستقرار، ولكننا أدركت أيضا أننا إذا اضطررت ساقعنا، فأن أفعال هذا البلد وحول للأمن ضد من يثير الشغب والخارجين على القانون وحماية المواطنين، فقد قررت بعد الإطلاع على الدستور:

1- إعلان حالة الطوارئ في نطاق محافظات بورسعيد والسويس والاسماعيلية لمدة ثلاثين يوما اعتبارا من بعد منتصف الليلة.

2- يجري التبادل في نطاق محافظات بورسعيد والسويس والاسماعيلية طوال مدة إعلان حالة الطوارئ من الساعة التاسعة مساء وحتى السادسة من صباح اليوم التالي.

وذكر أنه إذا رأيت الوطن أبناءه أو مؤسساته أو الممتلكات العامة أو الخاصة سأتصل الابن بإبني وسأصبر معاً، وإلى ذلك.

إن الحوارات بين أبناء الشعب المصري لا يبدع عنه كما أعلنت قبل ذلك ودعت اليه واستمر كثيراً هذا الحوار لا يبدع عنه وهو السبيل الوحيد لرفع الضرير من الاستقرار، ولأمم العالم دعوة قادة ورموز الفي القوى السياسية للحوار، وحول موقف الراهم وتحديد محور واليات الحوار، وسيصر بقيني هذا الشأن.

وإن شاء الله نحن جميعاً ماضون في ذلك واللى ذلك، حفظ الله مصر وجعلها أمناً ومنوراً وسالم نعم والعالم أجمع وسلام الله وبركاته.

15. Morsi’s Speech at the Engineer’s Day on 30-3-2013
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم "وأهل العلماء فسير عملكم ورسولكم ومؤمنون". 

زملائي ومذلالي الأعزاء مهندسي مصر العظيمة، السيدات والسادة، السلام عليكم ورحمة الله وبركاته. اسمحوا لي في بداية كلمتي أن أتوجه إليكم جميعاً بتحية تقدير وعرفان لما تقومون به كمهندسين مصر من دور مقدر ورائد في شؤونه.

مصر الحبيبة، فباسمها وباسم مصر جميع أقول لكم "شكرًا على ما بذلتم وتبذلون، وتحية تهنئة على احتفالكم بيوم المهندس.

أني بخصوصي بنينك لا أستطيع أن أفصل بين مشاعري كرئيس للجمهورية التي يشارك في احتفال قبل مشاعري كمهندسة زميل لك، وأنا شعر يختلط فيه الفخر بالانتماء لهذه المهنة العظيمة بالإحساس بالمسؤولية الوطنية التي تتلقاها كمهندسين فضلاً عن جميع التخصصات والمهن الأخرى في بناء منظومة مصر الجديدة على أساس من منagination العلم والوعي.

وقد مثلت النقابات الساحة الأولى لإفراز قيادات نقابية جاءت بانتخابات حرة تعكس إرادة أعضائها، فقد كانت أفكار بوجود ومشروعات المهندس المصري، بابا من أبواب النصر في المعارك العسكرية المجيدة، ومعارك التنمية المستمرة، وما حدث في مصر في أكتوبر المجيد 1973 شهدنا باهتمامكم بمسار وبدء مسيرته.

إن دوركم في قيادة التغيير والتنمية في مصر بعد الثورة، دور كبير ومثير، إذ يُعد قاطرة التنمية، وبوصلة التطوير، وعامة الأمل التي تتطلع إليها قوى وقوى المصريين جميعاً فأنبتي مصر إسهامك señاباً من إعداد المهندسين الذين قفزت خلال سبع عشرة عاماً من مائتي ألف مهندس إلى ما يزيد على خمسة آلاف مهندس حاليًا، لتперед علينا جميعاً ضرورة الاهتمام بهذا القطاع الحيوي الذي يتواجد في جميع المصالح والوزارات والمؤسسات الأكاديمية والاقتصادية والعسكرية.

إن ممارسة النقابة لدورها الفعال بعد مرور سبع عشرة سنة من فرض الحراسة يجعلنا نتطلع اليوم إلى أن تقوم بدورها كما نص عليه قانونها بأنها الجهة الاستشارية للدولة في تخصصها الهندسي، كما نقلت إلى كفاءتها أدور أكبر في خدمة المهنة، والارتباط باستمرار الأعضاء واعدة إعداد النموذجية في وقت تتضمنا متزامنة الوطنية أن تكون طاقة نهائية وراء الأعمال، أن تأخذ مصر وموجز أمها، وتعمل على شعوربالغاء، كما يقول شاعر النيل/ حافظ إبراهيم في مصر التي تتحدث عن نفسها: إنما مصر إليكم وكم، وحلوك العريق، أولى بالقضاء.

وطيب لي في يوم المهندس المصري أن أطرح معكم بعض القضايا التي أحب أن تدرسها لكي نصل إلى ما نريد من رقي المهندس المصري في كل المجالات وهي:

أولاً: إن أكثر من (75) تخصصًا هندسياً دقيقة تنظمها نقابة المهندسين في مصر، بما تتمتع في قيامها بإعداد أكبر في خدمة المهنة والمهنة، واتخاذ النقلية الأولية المقامة انتخابية ت עומד، وكما يقول شاعر النيل/ حافظ إبراهيم في مصر التي تتحدث عن نفسها: إنما مصر إليكم وكم، وحلوك العريق، أولى بالقضاء.

وثانياً: تنظيم مصر الثورة أن تشهد مزيداً من التطور باهتمام النقابة بالتغذية والتطوير المستمر للمهندسين الذين يتوافقون في القطاعات الحكومية وال وخاصة، وقطاع الأعمال، بما تتضمنا إمارة الإسكان والتشييد، والزراعة، والترفيه، والتعليم، والتدريب، والرقي، والتعليم العالي، والبحث، والأعمال، والتنظيم، والاتصالات والمواصلات.

ثالثًا: يعتمد على الدولة أن تضع مهندسين مصر فيما يتحؤن من مكانة، وإن يكون لهم التقدير الذي يلبسهم هي خصوصاً أولئك العاملين بالدولة، ثم ناري النقل، وذلك باستعمال كافة المناهج القصيرة.

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رابعاً: أطلع إلى مزيد من العناية الاجتماعية بالمهندس المصري وأفراد أسرته، وأنظر إلى النقاية ذات السبق دائما، فلن إصدأ مشروع متكامل في هذا الخصوص، وكما أُولى الدولة عناية بالعمل النقابي عموما، فإنها ستدعم كل مشروع يزيد من قدرات المهندس المصري.

خامساً: زاد عدد المعاهد الهندسية من ثلاثة معاهد إلى أربعة وأربعين معهد خاصاً، تحتاج جميعها إلى الارتقاء وحسن التجهيز من هواتف تدريس إلى معامل إلى مكتبات لكي يكون خريجوها على المستوى الذي ينبغي من مصر ويرشدها في الداخل والخارج إن تحقيق الربرعة لمصر لا ينفصل عن الربرعة التي حققت المهندس المصري في الداخل والخارج، وهذا هو الرصيد الحقيقي لمصر. إنا نحبس أنت الحرص على دعم دور ورسالة المهندس المصري وتطويره ليكون لنا أداةً بمهنديس مصر بحضاوة.

سادساً: إنني أدعو مهندسي مصر من خلال نقبتهم إلي التركيز في المرحلة الحالية على عدد من القضايا ذات الأهمية وعلى أراها "قضية الطاقة بمختلف أنواعها، ومشروعات التنمية والعشوائيات، والنقل وخصوصاً النقل النهري، والطرق" كما أدعو حضورهم إلى المشاركة في إعادة ورسم الهيكلة الجديدة للدولة بما يتناسب مع تطور العصر والزمن.

بأني هذا الحفل واللقاء نقلات على دريب استكمال بناء مؤسسات الديمقراطية وإنني أدعوكم إلى النظر إلى المشهد بكليته ودموعه حتى لا نحرف النظر عن مسار البناة، ولكن نتمكن من مواجهة العقبات وتذكر خلافاً طبيعياً في الطريق. عابدنا على مكتسبات الثورة المصرية في الاعتدام إلى إدارة الشعبية وإحتراز سيادة القانون، ومبرعاً في أي احتفالات، دعوني أوكل لكم أن يكون بعثاً تضامناً جميحاً وإعلامياً للمصلحة العليا للوطن، وتبعد ترقبنا عن المشاكل الضيقة تستهاجر هناك هذه المرحلة الانتقالية التي تتري بها جميع الأمهات العظيمة في المرحلة ما بعد الثورات وتمر بها مصر، وأدعوكم إلى التركيز في المرحلة الحالية.

وبعد نقبتم معهم بالحكم والعد على الإثارة والتهيج والحنين، أهلاً وسهلاً يا عمال مصر، أرحب بكم في بيت تمسلكه بعرق المصريين، وكان حكرا على قلة قليلة فيما مضى ونولا ثورة الشمس والشمسين من ينير ما كنا نجمع في هذا المكان، فتهبنا إجلال وإكبار لشهداء الثورة ومصايبها وتحية إعزاز وفخر بناء مصر الحضارية والعراقية.

16. Morsi’s speech at the workers’ day on 3-4-2013

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم، الحمد لله القائل في محكم كتابه "وقل اعملوا فسبرى الله عملكم ورسوله والمؤمنون" وأصلي وأسلم على نبينا محمد الذي مد يده يسلم علي معاذ بن جبل، وصلى الله عليه وسلم، وسلام ورحمة الله وبركاته.

وبعد، فأهلا وسهلا ومرحبا يا عمال مصر وبناء حضارتها، أهلا وسهلا بالقيادات العمالية والنقابية، أرحب بك في بيت تم بناؤه بطرق المصريين كان حكرا على قلة قليلة فيما مضى ونولا ثورة الشمس والشمسين من ينير ما كنا نجمع في هذا المكان، فتهبنا إجلال وإكبار لشهداء الثورة ومصايبها وتحية إعزاز وفخر بناء مصر الحضارية والعراقية.
أهلا وسهلا ومرحبًا بقائمة مصر الصلبة ورصيد عافيتها الممتد في أعماق التاريخ، الذين انطقوا الجدر ليتحدث عن مهاراتهم وفنونهم، يا عمال مصر وبناء حضارتها، إن هدفك قد حظف للدولة المصرية بقائها وازدهارها وريادتها فتحية لكم ايها العمال.

يجيئ عيد العمال اليوم بعد مرور أكثر من عامين على ثورة 25 يناير تلك الثورة التي التحق فيها الشعب المصري كله حول هدف التغيير وكان للعمال دور كبير ليس فقط في المشاركة في الشوارع والميادين ولكن أيضاً والأهم في تدوير عجلة النتاج في ظل ظروف صعبة وقد قامت هذه الثورة من أجل رفعة وكراكة الشعب المصري وأتمنى أن تحقق هذه الثورة ونتبع بمصرنا الحبيبة بكم ومن اجلكم قاموا الثورة وقد نكمل المسيرة الثورية في البناء والتنمية.

أيها الحفل الكريم إن العمال هم عماد الطاقة البشرية وهم ثروة مصر الحقيقية والقدرات النموذجية لأي بلد مرتبطة بما تمتلكه من طاقات بشري مؤهلة ومدرية، طاقات قادرة على التعامل مع كل جديد بكفاءة عالية.

إن العامل المصري، من أكفاء وامهر العمال على وجه الارض إذاما ما توافرت له الظروف الملائمة ونريد لأناخ الحرية أن يعيد شعار صنع في مصر ليكون فخرا لنا جميعا ورمزًا للعزة والكرامة الوطنية.

17. Morsi’s speech before the Board of Trustees of the Bibliotheca of Alexandrina on 31-4-2013
أننا رغم التركة القبلية التي ورثناها بسبب التحالف بين الفساد والاستبداد والاستناد إلى التبعية الأجنبية، وغياب العدالة الاجتماعية، فإننا ماضون في طريقنا لتحقيق التنمية الشاملة، التي تستند إلى ارادة شعبية حرة، ونمو اقتصادي حيوي، وعملية إعادة بناء مستقلة لمفضليتهن من جبل الدينية.

إن مثل النهضة التي نسعى إليها كمثل شجرة أصلها ثابت في تاريخنا وحضارتنا وعقيدتنا، وفرعها في السماء تلفحه شمس المعرفة وتداعب أغصانه نسائم الحرية، ونؤمن أن النهضة ليست مسئولية فرد ولا نخبة ولكنها ارادة شعب حر.

نهضة تجمع بين التجديد والتأصيل، وتتفتح على الذيل وتوقتك بصورها وروحها. فإن قسم الحدود والألفاك بالنسبة في عالمنا سوء التغيير ما هو إلا استسلام للانتحار بطبيعة الطبيعة، والاقتصاد على البيئة، والتنمية، والخير.

وإذا بدأ الحديث عن الثقافة فالتارک مازاً علينا أن نتقبل أنظارنا ووقعنا إلى مكتبة الإسكندرية قديماً وحديثا.

السادة الحضور، إن مكتبة الإسكندرية، اسم لامع في التاريخ، اقترن بمؤسسة فريدة رسمت إطاراً جامعاً للمعرفة الإنسانية عبر خمسة قرون، وجعلت التروال العلمي بين الشعوب، وأصبحت مركزاً للتفاحض العلمي والإشعاع الثقافي، وذكرنا أنها جسدت حلم العلماء والمثقفين والفنانين والشعراء في جمع المعرفة الإنسانية في مكان واحد.

وكان تحت أمانة أكاديمية للعلوم ومكم الفوائد ومكتبة أدوارها أعظم علماء ومفكرين المصري وصممت ما يقرب من 700 ألف لفة أورد كتب كتب في الكتب المختلفة المطبوعة، واستثناها المكتبة العالم من جميع الثقافات، وتوافد عليها الشابين والفلسفات للدراسة، كما أتيت في أعمال الترجم إلى العربية، مع إن كلية الإسكندرية الدينية، كان أول من قال:

"أن الأرض تدور حول الشمس"، وتم حساب محيط الأرض بدقة مذهلة ووضع أول فهرس للكتب.

وكانت المكتبة القديمة منارة للعلم والمعرفة، حيث أنفتح روادها على ثقافات العالم ووضعوا أسسًا راسخة للحوار بين الحضارات وعززوا قيم النشاموالعقلانية، والتعاون بين الثقافات، والتعاون بين المعتقدات، حيث منح الن تقديم العقلاء.

وقيمت المكتبة مركزاً للعلم والمعرفة لمدة تزيد عن ستة قرون ولكنها لم تنج من بطش الرومان، حيث أمر الإمبراطور أوغستوس بحرق المكتبة وتدميرها. وبالرغم من ذلك فقد ظلت مصر داراً مهماً للفكر والمعرفة، والثقافية.

لا يتنقل الزمني في المكتبة القديمة، بل من مكان إلى آخر، من كنيسة إلى أخرى.

وقد كانت كنيسة الإسكندرية هي الكنيسة الكبرى في العالم المسيحي، حتى مجمع خلدونية.

وقد أسست المكتبة الإسلامية في عصرها، وكانت مفتاحاً لكل الطيور والألوان، ومركزًا للتجارة العالمية، وظهر فيها مما لم يعد مكروه.

ردت أثر أسم مصر وأهلها بالأيديولوجيا السماوية دائماً حيث حضر إليها الخليل إبراهيم ويوسف الصديق ومعصي النبي عليهم.

وقد عرف أهل مصر المذهبية ودخلوا فيها من مصر انتشرت المسيحية إلى العالم كله، وقد كانت كنيسة الإسكندرية هي الكنيسة الأولى في العالم المسيحي لعدة قرون، وحتى مجمع خلقية.

وكان هناك لتناموس العادة، حافظاً للحرية.

وقد تجمعت المكتبة الإسلامية لاحتراء كل المعرف والمثقفين والمفكرين، واستمر ذلك أكثر من 450 ميلادية.

وأظهرت انضاجها تماماً، فإن الدولة الإسلامية نموذج بليغ على ذلك، فقد قامت في قلب القارة الأوروبية واستمرت أكثر من
سبعة قرون منذ مطلع الأندلس عام 711 م حتى سقوط غرناطة عام 1492 م، وتعايشت فيها الأديان الثلاثة اليهودية والمسيحية والإسلام بشكل مثالي لا نظير له، وذلك في ظل ساسة المرؤوسين بحكم الإسلام، أكبر نهضة فكرية وفلسفية وعلمية جعلت من مدن طليطلة وقرطبة وغرناطة منارات العالم المتأخر قبل عصر النهضة الأوروبية.

إن حركات الإصلاح والتجديد والنهضة التي شهدتها العالم العربي والإسلامي خلال القرنين الماضيين، كانت تعبر عن شعور عميق بالإلتزام بالتراث الإسلامي، ووعي تاريخي بأن أي محاولة للنهضة لا تستند إلى الموروث الحضاري للأمة، تظل ظاهرة سطحية، محدودة الأثر.

السيدات والسادة، لقد جاءت مكتبة الإسكندرية الجديدة لإحياء هذا التراث الإنساني، بكل ما أتسم به من تميز في مجال الاداب والعلوم والفنون، والاهتمام بالمساواة في البحث العلمي وتفعيل التواصل بين الحضارات، وшаяد مكونات المكتبة الجديدة المتاحف والمدارس، المراكز البحثية، والקולاغرافية، والمناهج والمواد، وامرتحت كل هذه المكتبات لتنتج عملًا متميزًا على أرض مصر، إسهامًا منها في المسرة الإنسانية الكبرى، وتأدياً لأصالة الروى المصرية المعاصرة، ووضع لها نظام قانوني وإداري خاص يمكنه من تحقيق رسالتها تحت إشراف مجلسها الموقر.

وقد تبين لي من الأوراق محل دراستكم في هذا الاجتماع، أنه من المفترض تطوير عدد من البرامج الدراسية لتصبح مراكز بحثية ومكتبات إسكندرية ومنها دراسات الحضارة الإسلامية ودراسات اللغة العربية بباحس، ودراسات البناية، ولكل منها أن يكون أقدر على برنامج الدراسات الفعلية كبرامج، والتي أرى أنه من المناسب أن تتحول هذه البرامج إلى مركز للدراسات الأكاديمية، بتقنية البحث العلمي، للدراسات الأكاديمية في مكتبة الإسكندرية، تتعزى بذاتها ووجودها.

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السيدات والسادة، أن مكتبة الإسكندرية مؤسسة مصرية الجذور، دولية الأبعاد، عالمية الرسالة، ومن هنا أرى أن لمكتبة الإسكندرية عدة أدوار باتت ملحة في الفترة القادمة حيث تبني مصر دولتها الديمقراطية الجديدة، ودخل في معركة العالم الحديث بما فيه من تساوي علمي ومنافسة اقتصادية، والعمل على بناء مجتمع معرفة وتنبئ العلوم والهندسة اساسًا للتقدم.

أولاً: التواصل الدولي، لتكون مؤسستنا هذه نافذة مصر على العالم ونافذة للعالم على مصر، هو ما بدأته فيه، وسعت إليه، ولكننا نريد لها أن تحقق المزيد وال المزيد بنجاح، وإدايا للدبلوماسية والمرافقة، والخروج بالمرأة للعالم، فإن القافة اليوم لا تتعدى بصائر جذور الهوية فحسب، بل تتعالى وتحلزل وتتفاعل مع المتغيرات العالمية، وفي تجديد من التأصيل.

ثانياً: إن هذا الدور الدولي الذي نراه يأتي مكملًا ومؤكداً لثاني أدوار المكتبة، وهو أن تكون ملقى للحوار بين الحضارات والشعوب، ومكايا للتعارف بين الأفكار والثقافات، فإن الأفكار الجديدة تهتم بالمحتوى، والأنواع وال🏡، بل تجلى الوحدة الكليّة بانعقادها في المناقشات والحوار، والأفكار الفكرية والفكير، والذي نراه من ضمان ذلك سوياً هو العقلية التحليلية، والتحقيقية، والبحثية، وتنبئ العلوم والتكنولوجيا اساسًا للتقدم.

ثالثًا: أن تكون مؤسسة رائدة في ذلك العالم الرقمي الجديد، الذي يغير حيواتنا اليومية بشكل مذهل بما لا يدع مجالًا للشك في أن المسائل الدمغوية المتزامنة والماليّة الممتلكات، التي تاجت لوكاً لهذا التغيير، تعتمد على تفاعل مع وريع الدعاية، وقد قطعت مكتبة الإسكندرية شوطًا كبيرًا في هذا المجال، وقد ساعدت بما قامت به لتطوير قدرات الدائرة الرسمية لمكتبة اللغة العربية، ولزيادة تواصلك الكرام مع زاويتها بصحراء رفيعة وللدور الذي تلعبه في مشروعيات دولية كبرى أخرى. وبريدها أن تنمية مكتبة الإسكندرية في مقدمة إقليم أفرانها من مؤسسات المنتدبة العالمية، والتي تتمتع بعداً من فساتينها، والتي تلتزم في تحقيق هذا المbject نكم.

رابعًا: أن تكون المكتبة تفاعل مع بالإضافة إلى إعلانها الدولية، فاندلاع مكانة لإنهاء النشاطات الثقافية الأخرى في كل أنحاء مصر، وألا تكتفي بوجودها في الإسكندرية وما هو من توافد في القاهرة وأن يأتي هذا التوافد من مختلف المحافظات عبر شبكة الإنترنت بالإضافة إلى إتاحة الفرصة للمشاركة في برامج تقديم الأكاديمية الإسكادرية، والبحثية العالمية، والتي تتم بعد هذا التوافد، من رسلتها.

السيدات والسادة، أعضاء مجلس الأمناء بشكل مستمر، ونعتز بالمكتبة التي أنت تتعدد، ونؤمن بها، ونعد لكل التقدير رسالة التتويج التي تباعها هذه المكتبة إلى كل مصر ومصرية، وكل مكتبة تعلق بالثقافة، وتمتح في حريص على شر.
18. Morsi’s speech to the leaders and soldiers of the armed forces on 22-5-2013

In this context, I want to emphasize that the role of the army and the police is not just to maintain security and stability, but also to promote a culture of cooperation among all citizens.

I assure you that all criminals will be held accountable, and that the spread of the military forces will continue until security and stability are achieved, and the army will enforce security on the land with all its power and authority.

I congratulate the army and their families on their safety in returning, and I would like to mention the brave efforts of the army leaders, including General Abdel Fattah Al-Sisi, Minister of Defense, and Major General Saeed Al-Marzouq, Commander of the Second Field Army, who have been at the forefront of this operation.

I also extend my congratulations to the Minister of Interior, Major General Mohamed Ibrahim, and all the other commanders and soldiers who participated in this success without any single drop of blood.

I also extend my congratulations to all the commanders and agencies of the police and the army who cooperated with the army in implementing this operation successfully.

I would like to also extend my gratitude to the government as a whole, and I assure you that all Egyptians will contribute in this victory, and these efforts in planning and implementing are a model for the cooperation and teamwork and execution.

The army and the police are the first and the last, and the Egyptians are the backbone and achieving their security and stability is what we are seeking, and our people in Sinai are doing their best to protect them and their families, and they cooperated with the army and the police to make this operation successful, and bring our soldiers out of this shape that preserves the dignity of the army and the Egyptian.

The army is the symbol of all Egyptians, and all the agencies, which were an example of cooperation in planning and implementing, and this is Egypt that does not lose her rights, and we are now moving towards a strong and integrated army.

We must move quickly to spread the forces in order to prevent any threat and also spread the forces inside and cooperate with our police to maintain security in the interior. I extend my congratulations to all our unknown heroes who have contributed in achieving this success.
تم تحرير أبنائنا دون نزيف نقطة دم واحدة، وأنا هنا أحب أن أشكر رجال وشيوخ القبائل في سيناء لتعاونهم مع القوات المسلحة والداخلية لتحقيق هذا الهدف دون أن تكون هناك إصابات، وهو تعاون على حفظ الأمن، ليكون ذلك منطلق لنا جميعا.

نحن الآن نعمل ونتنين لنفتذ ندماننا وسنا وذنودنا ودورنا، ونتخطيط رجال وشيوخ القبائل لمصلحة الوطن، وأنا أدعو جميع أبناء الوطن الحرفين على مشكلة وأحب أن الجعفر يحكم على مصلحة الوطن، أدعو الجميع، هيا لنا ننطق في نفسنا واحد، ونجلي بينا بعضنا البعض أكثر، وندخل في الائتلاف في هذا تفاصل كثير، وندخل في الأورورقية، وندخل في الوطنية أن يكون لنا يقدم بكل روح، وانفتاح ذراعي لكل من يكون منقوماً، وبهذا الوطن وأحب أن الجميع كننا، أدعوهم للتعاون، لكي يكون بين أبناء ثورة 25 يناير، ولنجلي ونتفق هنا، ونحن أماناً أكثر من الأشواك لأنا قادرون على تحقيق نماماً وتحقيق هدفنا.

القوات المسلحة ورجالها حموا الثورة ومارسوا بحور الوطن وأصبح لدينا قيادة منتخبة لهذا الوطن، وليدنا الآن فرصتنا كبيرة لتحقيق الاستقرار، وأدعو الجميع أخلاقياً ومعارضة لمصلحة الوطن، هيا لنا نتحاور ونتحدث ونتفاوض، ولكن في تحقيق الهدف.

نحن اليوم بانتظار من جديد لهذه القيادات العظيمة ومن رؤوسنا أبناء هذا الوطن، أدعوكم لهذه نهضة كبيرة بعيوننا ونفتحنا، ونحن نستعد فأتنا وناشا، ونحن نحتاج إلى دعاة حرب نهضة الوطن، ونحن نحن نحن أرضنا ولكننا أقرب لنا دعاء حرب.

هذا الحادث رغم ما به من ألم إلا أنه فرصنا كبيرة لأتنا الجميع جسداً واحداً، وليرى الجميع كيف يجب أن نتقبلي ونسجل العمليات المحركتة المماثلة الدقة التي تنتج عنها انحراف أبناءنا دون نقطة دم واحدة.

أدعو أبناء سيناء ممن لديهم سلاح إلى تسليمه، فالسلاح لا ينفع، ولكن ليس بالسلاح والإجرام، ونحن مستمرون في وجوبنا ونستطيع أن نتغلب على حرب، ونتحكي وأنا ألا تنسى لأننا أطبنا لنجح في تحقيق هدفنا.

نحن نسعى إلى أن نقيم دولة مستقرة وسيناء في القلب منها وعليها أن نكتافج جميعنا لتحقيق ذلك.

19. Morsi’s speech at the conference of ensuring Egypt’s water security on 10-6-2013

أيها الإخوة والأخوات، أبنائي وأشقائي يا شعب مصر العظيم، شعب الحضارة الضاربة في أعماق التاريخ، شعب الأصالة الذي أضاءت حضارته العالم القديم ونجلت أبناه وتجلت إبداعاته وإنجازاته على مر العصور.

أتحدث إليكم اليوم عن قضية مصيرية تتجاوز كل الاهتمامات وتعلى فوق كل الخلافات وتتجاوز كل المصالح الشخصية والرؤى الفردية، إنها قضية نهر النيل العظيم الذي ترتبط به حياة جميع المصريين، إنه رمز الحياة وشراب الحياة، وهو وريق الحياة، وهومو، ولكنه ورد الحياة وشرائح.

إن حضارة الشعب قامت ونمت على ضفاف النيل ونمت على ضفاف نهر عظيم، ودفعت إلينا تاريخنا، ودفعت إلينا تاريخنا.

أنا أتحدث إليكم اليوم عن قضية تتجاوز كل الاهتمامات، تتجاوز كل الخلافات، وتعلي فوق كل الخلافات.

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إن المشكلة التي نواجهها اليوم لم تكن وليدة اللحظة وإنما حصيلة تراكمات سابقة ليس مجال ذكرها الآن وفيما يلي أعرض على حضوركم عدة من الحقائق ومن ثم أوجهكم عدة رسائل واضحة.

أولا: إن التعرض لموضوع سد النهضة وتقييمه بشكل دقيق، لا يمكن أن يتم إلا بعد استعراض الاتصالات والتحركات التي قامت بها مصر مع الجانبين الإثيوبي والسوداني - شركائنا في حوض النيل الشرقي - على مدى العامين الماضيين، فمنذ شهر مايو 2011، شاركت مصر في اجتماعات بما يسمى بلجنة الخبراء الدولية، والتي تم تشكيلها محلياً لدراسة تقييم الأثر المحتمل لسد النهضة على دولتي المصب (مصر والسودان).

ثانيا: خلال تلك الفترة، عقدت اللجنة ستة اجتماعات، وأربع زيارات ميدانية إلى موقع المشروع. تجتمع في جميع الحضور، وفي كيف أثر ذلك على تقييم دقيق بشأن الأثر المحتمل لسد النهضة على حجم ونوعية المياه الواردة إلى مصر.

ثالثا: قام الجانب المصري بإعداد دراسات فنية موازية، استعان فيها بخبراء دوليين متخصصين في مجالات السدود. حيث برز وجود مؤشرات لآثار سلبية محتملة لسد النهضة على ماء النيل.

رابعا: شهد génral من هيئات أخرى تشكلت في خلال تلك الفترة، وتشملها التزامات بالحفاظ على حقوق الإنسان، والتنمية المستدامة، والبيئة. تجتمع هذه الدورات في جميع الحضور، وتساعد في تقييم الأثر المحتمل لسد النهضة على حجم ونوعية المياه الواردة إلى مصر.

خامسا: عقب عودة الوفد المصري من اديس أبابا مباشرة التقيت مطولا بهم ثم عقدت اجتماع للقوى الوطنية ثم لقاء لمجلس الوزراء الطارئ يوم 3 يونيو الجاري وتقرر تشكيل لجنة قومية تضم الجهات الرسمية والشعبية والخبراء المختصين في هذا المجال طالعتم الرموز الوطنية المرتبطة بها عبر وسائل الإعلام.

كما أنتهز هذه الفرصة لأوجه عددا من الرسائل:

الرسالة الأولى: إلى الشعب المصري، تكفيك مسئوليتنا كرئيس للدولة المصرية وأحد مواطني هذا الشعب العظيم أن أصارحكم بكلمات واضحة لا لبس فيها عن أمن مصر المائي الذي يحظى بالاهتمام والأولوية العالية لدى كل المصريين، لا فرق هنا بين حكومة ومعارضة، ولا رأياً ولا مواقف، ولا قضية ولا مسألة، أن أمن مصر المائي لا يمكن تجاهله أو المساس به وإن كرسيت الدولة ما أن يؤثر على أن جميع الصفوف متغيرة في التعامل مع هذا الملف، إن عطاء الشعب المصري كمنان في مواجهة هذه المشكلات، وبناء واحترام وقت الضغط، وانضاج الانتباه، والإصرار على أن معاوننا لن نكون معدة أن تكون فائتة آذان وونعمت أحمد ما سمعنا أو أعطانا من تفاوت في مشاعرنا باليد التي تقبل الأشياء الطازجة في هذه المرحلة، ونعمل لدعم الجماهير الرمزية لحماية مصر وشعبها حتى يمكن أن نتجاوز التحديات.

الرسالة الثانية: للقوى السياسية والوطنية، نحن نحرص على حاضرنا في لجنة اجتماعات دولية خدماتية، تعمل على تحقيق الفضاء لل📊 الذي يحمل طاقة النزاع، وبناءً على ذلك، إننا نتمنى أن نتمكن من الحفاظ على حقوق الإنسان، والتنمية المستدامة، والبيئة.

الرسالة الثالثة: إلى دول حوض النيل وخصوصاً إثيوبيا، نحن نعطي اهتماماً فائتياً لعلاقاتنا الأخوية، ونعمل على بناء أمن المنطقة، وبناء على ذلك، إننا نتمنى أن نستطيع أن نحقق التقدم في هذا الملف.

وبما أنني كنت على ذلك، إنني أدعو الجميع إلى عدم التردد أو التآ/mat في تقديم المشورة التي تعكس مدى حب هذا الشعب لوطنه، ونعمل على تحقيق المصالحة الشاملة التي تضع أمامنا هذا الشعب.
التي تجمع شعوب تلك الدول في رابطة تأملها في النهوض بجميع الدول والأطراف، ولا زال دخل أن يتزامن الجميع بذلك.

وختاماً، فإننا على ثقة من أن الله سبحانه وتعالى موفق هذا الشعب المصري الكريم ومؤيده بما يستحق من تأييد، وأن مشروع الثورة المصرية سيشهد غزارة التي طالما حلمنا بها جميعاً ببره ما يواجها من تحديات خارجية وداخلية لا تستجيب إلا إصراراً على أن نسعى مع المصريين جميعاً قلباً واحداً ويداً واحداً، بناءً غير سلبي. والله غالب على أمره ولكن أكثر الناس لا يعلمنا.

والسلام عليكم ورحمة الله وبركاته.

20. The last speech of Morsi before being overthrown on 3-7-2013

أيها الشعب المصري العظيم يا صاحب ثورة 25 يناير 2011 أنا أتكلم اليوم وأنا أعرف وأرى وأنتم الآن تنتظرون مني كلمة لتوضيح الموقف وتلطفونا بما فيها، وإنما إنني أقول، كنا عارفين ما كان قبل ثورة 25 يناير 2011، فصار تزوير الانتخابات وسرقات وظلم، وعدان على الإنسان وكرامة الإنسان، وتأخرت مصر بسبب النظام البائد الذي أجرم في حق الوطن.

لقد قمنا بثورة سلمية عظيمة وكان فيها شهداء ودمهم غالب علينا جدًا كأن لم تكن ثورة دموية، وكان بنا مصايف وروحهم وإصابتهم لا تنساه، لكن الحمد لله مرينا بمرحلة انتقالية واكتسبنا قدرة برادة حرة، وأجرينا انتخابات رئاسية حرة تزويج。

شهد لها العالم كلها أنها أول انتخابات في تاريخ مصر وكان بها إرادة المصريين واضحة.

المصريين في الانتخابات مايو /يونيو 2012 الماضي أعلنا للعالم أنهم اختاروا رئيساً بطريقة حرة وأعلنوا طريقاً واضحاً نحو جمهورية حرة وديمقراطية والعدل والعدالة الاجتماعية، ويوم 29 يونيو 2012 خرجت معاكم في ميدان التحرير وعملت لكي يستقر الوطن وتمتلك إرادةنا، وقامت أمامكم أمام الله، والعالم يوم 29 يونيو 2012 القسم الذي اعتز به ورأيته في عيون الجميع رضا بمعنى الديمقراطية يوم 29 يونيو 2012، وفي اليوم 30 كان القسم الرسمي في المحكمة الدستورية، وجامعة القاهرة، والهابسبت، والقوات المسلحة تنتشل ذهبها ومصر وتسى بلدة برقة وبرداً رئيس مدني مصري.

متأخر لأول مرة في تاريخ مصر، ومصر في الأيام جدل العالم، وبدلت فيه كل ما استطعت من جهد، في خطابي الماضي يوم الأربعاء الماضي قلت لكم بوضوح لقد وقعت مني أخطاء ولقد رأيت الأمور أكثر وضوحاً بعد عام من المسؤولية وتحرك في كل الميادين ومع كل المحافظين لكن نضج بمصر، ولكي نقف مصر بعد كبرى طويلة بسبب النظام الذي أجرب في حق مصر وأهلها.

انحرفت في كل اتجاه كما تعلمن و أنا أرى وما زلت أرى أن تمثلت مصر إرادةنا فعلاً يعني عليها أحد أبدأ إرادة ولاتشيرها قوة رغم عنها أنها كان مصيدينها، وأنا وأعلم أن لكل ذلك أن مصر تمثل إرادة، وتمناها ونتحت غداها ودوها وساحباً، وهنا أمر ليس سهلاً يحتضن لجهد ويحتضن لتكافئ ويحتضن لوقف، لكن كما تعلم أيضاً، وفي الثاني بلداً تمثلت المأساة فالثورة المصرية كانت ثورة تامة لوجودها، جداً وعمرية، وانتصار على النظام السابق، والدولة العميقة، والأسرار على الفساد المنهي، والفساد، والاقتصادي المزيف، والديمقراطية مثيرة جدًا، وفي وهب بعض الناس في الخارج إلا تمثل مصر إرادةنا.

وأريد أن نستمتع الكلام وننهي، ثورة المصريين لم تمت تمامًا حيًا وطلبناها كانت ثورة إرادة، أن الفساد والدولة العميقة، وتلك النظام السابق، فعلاً يقول العالم أن 32 عائلة التي سيطرت على البلد ووصوا بهم الناس، هذا كله مازالنا نحمل أوزاره ويبقى الشاب العظيم، ولاذي بدأ وعده مشاكل ولهم حق ولهم العديد من الحقائق الكبيرة والفساد.
والتحديات بتاعة، والاقتتال من هؤلاء ليبق الحال كما هو عليه لكن المشاكل الاقتصادية وحركة هؤلاء في كل اتجاه
وتنسي وننعم وبكل حجم التحدي كبير فهم يريدون العودة، وبرعايتكم أنتم المصريين لن نعودوا أبداً.

وتحدي كبير والناس يأخذ سنين طويلة من أجل الدستور واستحقاق الشعب عليه يوم 25 ديسمبر الماضي، وأقر الدستور
بائية يتوافق مع حوالي 64% من يقرب من تلك الشعب المصري قال نعم للدستور وأصبحت مراعية وشرعية
باراداغنا رئيس متنازع، ودستور بارادة الأمة ينشئ طلقًا لهذه الشرعية وهي الوحيد التي تضمن لنا جمعًا إذا احترمناها لا
تكون بتنا نف 판단، ولا تكون بتنا نقلع وأعتراك بالعنف وأي نوع من ألاعة سفك الدم.

الفعل تعتبر شعب لثورة الفقيرة وفي الوقت الذي يختاروه فقط وحينما ينظروا أنهم داهمون بالعملية لتغيير النظام وإلغاء
الديمقراطية، ونحن لا نريد الشرعية وارد عليهم الشرعية هي المرحلة الوحيد للحفاظ على بلدنا ونمنع سفك الدماء وننتقل
لمراحل جديد لذلك أولًا لأننا مصر معارضين فيضيف يا دستور يعني أننا استطاع أن أقول هذا لسفك الدماء ومرتكب العنف الكلام.
وي للعارضين الشرفاء: أن نقول لمصر مستمر وحيد ومعهد مرسى لا ينالان ولا نحن حريصًا أبداً على كرسي.

أن الحفاظ على الشرعية ثمنها حياتي أنا. أن دماء المصريين غالبية جداً، وسافل بكل ما أقف من قوة وإراده ضد من يحاول
بأي شكل أن يبري هذه الدماء أو أن يرتكي عرف أو خطأ يؤدي لهذا العنف لذلك الرسالة للمعارضين أنني كنت للكون لهذه
الشرعية، وأقول للمرضيين الذين يبرمون الشرعية للمعارضين الشفاء بيردون العيد وجزء الحرة لدلك هذه الدولة والعدلية
الأجتماعية والنمو والتضمنية ومصر الحديثة صاحبة المساحة الكبيرة والتاريخ العظيم، والصلة بالبراميم والرحيل،
والنسلة الفضائل، والأعراض والموارد، والظلم الذي وقع ونزوته والإجرام الذي جرى وتقصي عليه، واللمس لليزليه بإجراء
أقول حافظوا على مصر والثورة التي اكتسبناها عبرنا ودعم شهداءنا، ومسلمتنا عنا ونصف يا مرضيين ويا معارضين.

وأخصروا من سرقة الثورة بأي حجة فالسحرة كثائر من التحدي كبير. وأسئل قادرون على الحفاظ.

لاقت مع الفريق عبد الفتاح السيسي، ووزير الدفاع، والدكتور هشام قنديل، رئيس الحكومة، على تطبيق مبادرة للإصلاح
الوطني، دون بدائل عن الشرعية الدستورية والحواور الوطني، مع التأكيد على عدم عودة النظام السابق بمساعدة الشعب
المصري.

أريد القول لكل أنبا مصر في كل العالم، أولاً: لا بد من الشرعية الدستورية والقانونية، والانتخابية، التي أقررت رئيس
منتخبًا لدلك لأول مرة في تاريخها وشعبنا نمضى بذلك والبعض معارض لا بد وأن يتسبب ماشي، نعمل إنه ببعض ساوق
لكن لا ينثر الشرعية.

ثانياً في إطار الحركة الموجودة في الشارع منذ مدة وانتهاجات والملفوبات لم تقتطع طوال العام، ولكن لما يكون إطار ها
سلي، وقلت من ساعدت أن أذهب لكل واحد وأتشار مان ما نصل إليه تقف، داعي أريدكم تعليق في شكلي مبردة نقتتها
لي بعض الأحزاب وأيضاً مؤسسة القوات المسلحة هذه المبادرة فيها تغيير الحكومة وتشكيل حركة انتفاضة من الطيف
الوطني، وتشكيل لجنة متوازنة وطنية لإعداد مواد دستورية مثل التي اقترحتها على البارلمان لكب تؤهيل للتأهيل أو الطلب.
وإضافة، وفي هذه المبادرة، لدينا إتخاذ في الحوار أجراءات وضمانات نزالة الانتخابات القادمة وتنشأ المحكمة الدستورية
وان تنتهي بسرعة من قانون الانتخابات ليفر مجلس الشورى ويصدره رئيس الجمهورية مباشرة يضم مثمنة وسقافة ونزاعة
ومضافة كلام.

وقل أوضح أن المبادرة المتقفرة تشمل أن النظام العام أن يتم حل الموضوع في إطار القانوني وتحقيق من قبل القضايا
المختصة، وأن نتفق جميعاً لإجراء انتخابات وإعطاء مدة 6 أشهر لإنهاء الانتخابات، وتمكن الشباب فيها أيضاً تكون

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اللجنة العليا المقترحة للمصالحة من كل الاتجاهات ووضع ميثاق شرف اعلامي لقول الاعلام أن يبني معه، وقد قمت بالموافقة عليها حتى يجتمع عليها معظم الناس من المؤيدين والمعارضين وهذه طلبات كانت موجودة على الساحة. حافظوا على الجيش لأنه رصيدنا الكبير، لأننا أخذنا وقت طويل حتى يكون بالشكل القوي وسنأخذ وقت أيضاً لكي يكون أقوى وأقوى، أخذوا من مواجهة أو استخدام عنف معه. أنا رئيس مصر و يقول لكل المصريين لا عفو بل الكرسي بين بعض ولا عفون ألام الأوضاع المسألة، أو رجال الشرطة لأنهم مسؤولين عن الأمن الداخلي ويجارون العودة ليس كما كانوا ولكن المعروض أن يكونوا عليه أن الوطن في رقابهم، لاستقرار الوطن ومنع البلطجة وتنفيذ القانون، والسهر. على المواطنين لأنها مستحيل كبيرة.

أقول للجيش أن يحافظ على حدودنا وبلدنا مستقر وهذا أمر هادأ لندكر جميعا أنه العنف واراقة الدماء هذا فخ إذا وقعت فيه ليس له نهاية ويسعد أعدانا، ويا فرح من انتصاراتنا، ونصيرون على ما اذهبنا به، وشعرنا نصير على بعضنا البعض. لن ننسى الجهد لأن الجهاد والاقتناع لأنه لا يكون إلا أمام العدو. سأبذل دمي مقابلاً للشرعية ومن أجل استقرار دمي، والمعارضة على العين والرأس، والحوار كان وسائل وسبيق موجودا، ومباشرة الإصلاح الوطني ستظل في ظل الشرعية واحترام القانون والدستور والإرادة الشعبية، نعم وافقت نعم وعلى هؤلاء، وعلى ذلك يكون مني تقريباً وعلم احتراز الدستور، وعدم القيام كحكم بين السلطات، أنا لا أرضى لكم ولا لنفسني ذلك.

ليس المهم الشخص ولكن الأول هو الوطن، وليس المهم بعض الناس أو حتى المؤسسة، ولو كنا نحافظ على المؤسسات لكن المهم هو مصر ومستقبل أولادنا ومستقبلنا، وعاصتنا وعناصرنا. أنا أبناء مصر ونسعى للاستقرار وشرعية وديمقراطية الدستور وتناول سلطة حقيقية، وهذا أمر أردت أن يوضعي لكم جميعاً بما أبناء مصر الكرم ويا أهلها في كل مكان، ويسامح تفهم في مبادئ مصر وشوارعها تستمعون إلى. قلبي على وطني تنفس وارأيتها مع أهلي ووطني، لأحل مصر كلهم ورادنت. مهم حقيقية لا تترؤس خطوة واحدة إلى الضعف أو سردار أو نفق من أن يأتي إلى الهاربة فيه، فإنها.
This appendix presents all examples of ideological manipulation in the translations, which have been extracted from the Critical Analysis conducted in this study.

**Tr.1**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ideological Representation</th>
<th>Original</th>
<th>LT</th>
<th>Translation (Manipulation marked in red)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Positive In-group Representation</strong></td>
<td>مِنْهَا نَجَّيْتُونَا وَنَسْلَكْنَا وَعَدَّنا وَهُمُ الْعَادُ وَأَصْلَحَهُمُ اللَّهُ لَهُمْ مِنْهَا بَيْنَاهُمْ وَبَيْنَ النَّاسِ وَاللَّهُ بِكُلِّ شَيْءِ لَهُ مُحِيطُ</td>
<td>1. <em>Praise to Allah, and may peace and prayers be upon Allah's Prophet.</em> It is a great blessing from Allah that we gather in this place, addressing by our words and acts the great Egyptian people. <em>It is a blessing from Allah we hope it would last.</em> “If you should count the favours of Allah, you could not enumerate them. Indeed, man is most unjust and ungrateful”. Mr. President of the Privy Council, ladies and gentlemen members of the Council, I praise Allah before you and solute you with his blessed solute. May Allah’s peace and mercy be upon you. Ladies and gentlemen, generous Egyptians, since the dawn of history we have been a nation that shapes history and provides significant landmarks in the history of humanity, a nation that worships no one by Allah and drives people to reveal their energies in all steps of life.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Morse’s speech to the Shura council
2. Praise to Allah, who guided us and guided the people of Egypt to this blessed revolution. **Praise to Allah**, who guided Egyptians to the right path, the path of freedom and democracy.

3. We look forward, and never look backward; we move towards work and production. Soon we shall be reaping fruits. “**Do deeds. Allah shall see them, and so shall his Messenger and the believers**”. May Allah peace and mercy be upon you.

4. I wish all of you the best and I can foresee a better future in which you pass this stage safely **Omitted**.

5. **Omitted** With the adoption of this Constitution, legislation moved to the representatives of the people in the Privy Council until the completion of the legislative power through election of the House of Representatives.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Positive In-group Representation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6. I pledge to Allah, and to you, I swear by Allah the Great to protect with loyalty the republican system, to respect the constitution and the law, to take full care of our people's interests, and to maintain our country's stability and integrity. I pledge to Allah and to the people of Egypt. I pledge before you to be loyal and to work with to consolidate our unity and strength.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. I pledge to Allah to exert my best efforts, to protect and reform the State, making our institutions more expressive of Egyptians, and to make State entities work for the benefit of our citizens.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Negative Out-group Representation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8. I clearly distinguish between and separate by law those politicians and national symbols objecting some political attitudes and acts, and the opposition to the constitution project on the one hand, and those who spend their ill-gotten money collected through corrupt associations with the previous regime, with which they conspired to burn and bring the country down.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. By law, I clearly distinguish between politicians and national symbols rejecting some political stances and behaviours or objecting the draft of the constitution pursuant to law because this is normal, agreed upon and that is what the opposition means. I distinguish between this and those who spend their money, which they gathered through their business with the former regime.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Morsi's speech on assuming power

Morsi's speech at the University of Cairo

Morsi's Speech at the events of Al-Eithadiyah Palace

Omitted
9. We are all aware of the corruption, election rigging, thefts, injustice, and aggression on men and their dignity before the January 25th, 2011 revolution. Corruption, elections’ fraud, thefts, oppression, abuse of people and their dignity and Egypt lagged behind due to the crimes of the toppled regime.

10. The Egyptian people endured a lot in the past, and suffered from disease, hunger, injustice, oppression, marginalization, fraud of will, and of elections.

11. After years of despot, corruption, dictatorship, and absolute authority.

9. We all know what was going on before the January 25th, 2011 revolution. Corruption, elections’ fraud, thefts, oppression, abuse of people and their dignity and Egypt lagged behind due to the crimes of the toppled regime.

10. Egyptian people have suffered from disease, hunger, injustice, oppression, marginalization, fraud of will, and of elections.

11. After years of a totalitarian rule.

Tr.5

<table>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive In-group Representation</td>
<td>Praise to Allah, and may peace and prayers be upon Allah’s Prophet. It is a great blessing from Allah that we gather in this place, addressing by our words and acts the great Egyptian people. It is a blessing from Allah we hope it would last. “If you should count the favours of Allah, you could not enumerate them. Indeed, man is most unjust and ungrateful”. Mr. President of the Privy Council, Ladies and gentlemen, members and all attendees. Dear honourable brothers, all Egyptians, Omitted since the dawn of history Egypt is a nation that creates civilization and progress. We stand as evident examples, in the human history, as a nation that worships God and employs...</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Council, ladies and gentlemen members of the Council, I praise Allah before you and solute you with his blessed solute. May Allah’s peace and mercy be upon you. Ladies and gentlemen, generous Egyptians, since the dawn of history we have been a nation that shapes history and provides significant landmarks in the history of humanity, a nation that worships no one by Allah and drives people to reveal their energies in all steps of life.

2. Thanks be to God for the success of our revolution and for the freedom and democracy, we gained.

3. We are looking forward, we are moving to work and production Omitted.

2. We look forward, and never look backward; we move towards work and production. Soon we shall be reaping fruits. “Do deeds. Allah shall see them, and so shall his Messenger and the believers”. May Allah peace and mercy be upon you.

3. We wish you the very best, all of you. I see a human energy in all phases of creativity.
Positive In-group Representation

5. *Praise to Allah;* On approving this Constitution, the legislation has been transferred to the representatives in the Shura Council until the completion of the legislative power through election of the House of Representatives.

6. I promise *Omitted* to uphold the Republican system, look after Egyptians' interests, and keep the country's safety and the integrity of its land. I *Omitted* will do my best, with your support, to bolster our unity and our great power.

7. I *Omitted* promise to exert all efforts to protect, and reform the country, and to make its institutions more reflective of the people, and the various State apparatuses more
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Morsi's speech at the University of Cairo</th>
<th>the benefit of our citizens.</th>
<th>defendant of the citizens’ interests.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Morsi’s Speech at the events of Al-Etihadiyah Palace</td>
<td>8. I clearly distinguish between and separate by law those politicians and national symbols objecting some political attitudes and acts, and the opposition to the constitution project on the one hand, and those who spend their ill-gotten money collected through corrupt associations with the previous regime, with which they conspired to burn and bring the country down.</td>
<td>8. I clearly distinguish between politicians and national symbols objecting some stances and behaviours, or opposing the text of the draft of the constitution pursuant to law. This is normal, and agreed upon and this is how opposition should act. I distinguish between them and those who spend their money, which they collected from their corrupt business and which they spend to burn the country and destroy its establishments.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morsi’s Speech to the Shura Council</td>
<td>9. We are all aware of the corruption, election rigging, thefts, injustice, and aggression on men and their dignity that were going on before the January 25th, 2011. Egypt lagged behind due to the crimes of the toppled regime.</td>
<td>9. Omitted Corruption, fabricating the elections, thefts, oppression, attacking people and their dignity that were going on before the revolution has resulted in the underdevelopment of Egypt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morsi’s last speech before being overthrown</td>
<td>10. After years of despot, corruption, dictatorship, and absolute authority.</td>
<td>10. After years of the rule of the former regime.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>