

**An-Najah National University
Faculty of Graduate Studies**

**Repetition as a Rhetorical Device in the
Political Speeches of Three Egyptian
Presidents: Mubarak, Morsi and Al-Sisi.
A Comparative Translation Study.**

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**This Thesis is Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements of the Degree of Masters of Arts (Applied
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Fayez Aqel

Dedication

I dedicate my work to my beloved parents; mom and dad. Those who always taught me how to love success and how to work hard for it. I love you from the bottom of my heart for raising me up to more than I can be.

To my husband "Ragee", who always pushed me forward to complete this Thesis. To the one who supported me since I went away from my home "Palestine".

To my little daughter "Leen". Who gave me strength to move on despite difficulties.

To my beloved siblings, whom I miss the most when I am far away.

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First and foremost, I am humbly indebted to Allah, for giving me strength and passion to complete this work.

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Last but not least, I am heartedly grateful to my father Dr. Jaber Khdair. Who always believed in me and encouraged me to take a master degree. He believed in my capabilities.

إقرار

أنا الموقعة أدناه، مقدمة الرسالة التي تحمل عنوان:

التكرار كأداة اقناع في الخطابات السياسية لثلاث

رؤساء مصريين: مبارك، مرسي والسيسي.

دراسة مقارنة للترجمات

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Declaration

The work provided in this thesis, unless otherwise referenced, is the researcher's own work, and has not been submitted elsewhere for any other degree or qualification.

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Abbreviations

DA	Discourse Analysis
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
PD	Political Discourse
PDA	Political Discourse Analysis
TS	Translation Studies
ST	Source Text
TT	Target text
EAF	Egyptian Armed Forces
AF	Armed Forces
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CNN	Cable News Network
EN	English

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Abstract

This thesis examines the ideological functions of the lexical repetition in the political speeches of three Egyptian presidents: Mubarak, Morsi and Al-Sisi.

Besides, it investigates the translation strategies which are adopted by Arab and western media outcasts/station: BBC, CNN, Aljazeera EN, AL-Ikhwan and The Guardian, in terms of their repetition rendering into English. Repetition in Arabic is always related to its rhetorical function. However, fewer studies have focused on the relation between repetition, translation and ideology.

This research reveals two matters: Firstly, how these politicians purposefully used repetition to persuade their audience of their political agendas to stay in power. Secondly, how do different-used translation strategies of the rendered repetition by media outcasts resources, disguise media outcasts' political positions from the three Egyptian presidents and People.

Chapter One

1.1 Introduction:

The issue of discourse genre has always been the focal point in translation field. Each genre has its special conventions that distinguishes it from other types. The word choices and lexical structures, which unify each genre have led to the importance of translation- strategies suitability. These translation procedures are tools to render the source text message from the first language into the target language.

The political discourse is one of the complex text genre as Chritina Schaffner (1997) shows. She relates this complexity to the non-linguistic social factors, which are ideology and power. The sentence structure and the selected words are not haphazardly chosen. The politicians pick up each word carefully, especially if the discourse is delivered in a critical time, as in the case of this research. That it deals with the political speeches during the modern Egyptian revolution.

The research deals with "ideology", since it is the hidden part as Van Dijk (2008) explains. The politicians always use a manipulative and indirect language to communicate their ideologies. Therefore, examining "repetition" is the powerful way to uncover the disguised ideological structure. One of the linguistic device which Arab politicians use is "linguistic repetition". They utilize it to insure in one way the transference of their ideological notions, or in another to affect their Arab audience.

Critical discourse analysis approach helps to connect "repetition" with "ideology". Detecting "repetition" reveals the politicians' ideologies. This research aims at analyzing translation procedures (addition, deletion and repetition maintenance), which are originally used to render the ideological repetitive sentences into the target language. This examination exposes the translator's ideology (the media outcast/station's ideology).

Globalization necessitates the transference of political views via media. Therefore, translation works as a medium of transmission to other languages. Critical discourse analysis approach helps to inspect the used translation technique. CDA was not only influenced by linguistic aspects, but also with translation studies. CDA interferes with different social domains; and one of these is "translation studies". Hence, CDA is the main-dependent used procedure in this research to detect "repetition" with "ideology".

The translated texts are taken from international broadcasting channels and websites. The media has a prime function of transmitting the political discourses via translation. However, each media outcast/channel has its own ideological position, which distinguishes it from the other. As Dijk (1989) stipulates that no media station is out of ideology. The adopted translation procedures are: interference such addition and deletion or by preservation, echo the ideological vision of these media stations toward the addressers; Mubarak, Morsi and Al-Sisi.

Briefly, this research is makes a web connection between two approaches; critical discourse analysis and translation studies. These two techniques aim at revealing the real intention (ideology) of both politicians and media stations.

1.2 Statement of the problem:

The language plays an essential role, it is like a vehicle in a given communicated speech Feldman and Landtsheer (1998). The main aim of language in a political speech is to influence the receivers and steer their opinion toward a certain aim. Many analysts have noted the important relation between language and politics. Feldman and landtsheer confirm(1998:2) that "when broad concepts of language and politics coincide language is mainly considered a power strategy". Also Chilton(2008:226).Assures that "politics use language as a means of conveying political agendas that are at most far from the truth"

Therefore, language and politics are inseparable parts, i.e. one cannot understand the first without the second. The political discourse is the kind which uses a persuasive language, incomprehensible and emotional words Paul Chilton (2008). Both Dijk and Chilton agree that a political language disguises the real meaning and aim to deliver a certain political agenda, in which mostly far from the truth.

One of the manipulative and rhetorical tools which politicians use to deceive their audience is "repetition". Feldman (1998:4) says "it is a merit

in which Arab politicians take use of this linguistic feature to impress their people and deliver their ideology through indirectly" Therefore, "repetition" is used functionally and purposefully in a political discourse. Hence, analyzing this perspective is a problematic notion which this research faces.

Moreover, "repetition" has different use between Arabic and English. In Arabic, it is considered as a linguistic feature, which is usefully used in a discourse. However, in English it is an unfavorable stance. Thus, English grants its speaker lexical variants rather than recurrence Al-Khafaji (2005). Another problematic area that this research deals with is determining the exact ideological notion behind the used translation procedures, which are used differently by media stations.

It is known that translation strategies which a translator uses echo his own ideology or his related media outcasts. Thus, it is prominent to adhere and make a relation between politics language, translation and ideology.

1.3 Questions of the study:

1. How do CDA approaches help to connect the linguistic structure "repetition" with the non-linguistic aspect "context" to detect the ideological notion within the speeches?

2. What is the definition of the rhetorical device "repetition", its functions and types in Arabic language? And how it is used differently in English?
3. What are the used repetitive-ideological strategies? And how could the CDA approach with its two textual and contextual levels help to reveal the ideological notion of the three presidents?
4. What are the adopted translation procedures by Arab and English media outcasts? Which ones are used to render "repetition" from Arabic and English?
5. How could the link between CDA and translation studies methods, reveals the variant-ideological behaviors of the media outcasts dealing with repetition?
6. What are the differences between the literal and non-literal translation methods? How do they relate to a translator's ideology?

1.4 Aims of the study:

This study aims at connecting three notions; repetition, translation and ideology of the three-Egyptian presidents' political speeches and their translation. In a detailed manner, this research explains two points; firstly, how does the rhetorical device "repetition" in these speeches acquire an ideological and political aim, i.e. how do presidents use "repetition" to convince their audience of their ideological goals. Secondly, it confirms how the media stations' used translation techniques in term of repetition

rendering and how it carried as well ideological behaviors toward the Egyptian leaders' agendas.

1.5 Significance of the study:

This study investigates the changes in which the country "Egypt" went through from 2011 until 2013. The time starting from 2011 have witnessed national political crises, in which millions of people has participated in the what so called a "revolution" against the president "Mubarak". Following that almost two years later, two other presidents came into power; Morsi and Al-Sisi. Therefore, examining "repetition" in a speech of each president helps to detect their ideologies.

Political discourse analysis and CDA approaches are the main used tools in this research. All participates to examine how these three leaders - during the Egyptian revolution- presented themselves in their political speeches. The word choices of a speech in a critical time will surely echo a dramatic ideological thinking as Schaffner (2007) believes.

Studying three presidents' speeches in three following years helps to understand how the events have changed rapidly, but unfortunately to the worse. Also analyzing the speeches reveals how each president tried eagerly to mitigate the upgraded events (such the huge demonstrations). And it shows how they were seeking people's support and understanding.

Another important issue is translation techniques, which are used by the Arab and western media stations. Analysis of these procedures attains

how these stations have previewed the Egyptian crises to the western target audience. Translation analysis process here uncovers the ideological notions of these media stations toward the three Egyptian presidents.

1.6 limitations of the study:

This study aims at analyzing "repetition" in three political speeches of three Egyptian presidents. It also compares two translation resources for each speech. The research depends on these approaches: CDA, TS and context methods through the processes of analysis and comparison;

CDA theoreticians conceived approaches are (Fairclough 1989, 2001; Van Dijk 1988, 1989, 2000, 2006; Christina Schaffner 1996). The CDA analytical methods are applied depending primarily upon Van Dijk's (1988) socio-cognitive approach, and less more upon Fairclough's approach. A descriptive and connective procedure of the textual and contextual levels will be held as it is explained by Dijk's (2008) contextual-model theory. This research applies Dijk's theory by joining the linguistic aspect "repetition" and the contextual side of the speeches.

The translation methods of this paper are conceived by the socio-political linguists (Chritina Schaffner 2010; New Mark 1998, 2001; Basil Hatim and Ian Mason (1995, 1997). This comparative procedure is practiced to reveal the media outcasts-variants agendas toward the Egyptian leaders' speeches.

1.7 Definitions of the study terms:

1.7.1. Political discourse, speech and language:

The term "discourse" has three-dimensional points, which are: a) language and language use, b) the communication of beliefs (cognition), c) interaction in social situation. Several interdisciplinary fields intersect with the term "discourse", such as linguistics (studies of language and language in use), psychology (studies the beliefs and how they are communicated) & social science (analyzes the interaction in a social situation) Dijk (1997).

The political discourse is one of the fields that intersects with the discourse linguistics. However, other linguists tie it with the contextual domain. Generally, it is a type of discourse that deals with political matters, ideas, beliefs and practices of certain political members or groups. Normally, it covers different kinds of genres like; elections, campaigns, speeches, press conference, political debate...etc. This thesis deals with the political speech, which is a form of public speaking represented by a politician such as a president, a prime minister, or one who's in charge of doing so Dijk (2007).

Politics cannot be conducted without language. Beard (2000) expresses that the language of politics is a merit that distinguishes itself from other kinds of discourse. The PD is a complex form of a text, because politicians echo the government's sound and ideology. Moreover, it is designed to lead its audience to a certain direction of beliefs, thoughts and

ultimately actions. The PD is not directly mannered, the selected words and sentence structures are not haphazardly classified, but rather they carry a subtle and ideological meaning.

Since the early classical time, it has been known and accepted that politicians do play with the language and use it as a medium to create political intentions. The rhetorical aspect is the flexible space within the linguistic system. It is offered to politicians to disguise their intentions and goals Wilson (1990). Wilson believes that the political language is primarily based to influence people's political thoughts. The political language is used indirectly; manipulation is the basic concept that relates apparently to it. The manipulative way is a part of the ideological and behavioral thinking of politicians, in which they, consciously, convince their audience of certain political aims Wilson (ibid).

1.7.2 Discourse Analysis:

It is a rapid-expanding field of study, which examines the use of language in communication and the context which it is situated in. It is an interdisciplinary field, and its scope ranges variably. It is tangled with almost all human fields as sociology, psychology, anthropology and even education. One of these fields, which relates to this study, is linguistics. The linguistic analysis of discourse had consequently been adopted by several related approaches which are; functional grammar, phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics and finally pragmatics. But all these fields focused on one and only isolated sentence. Later on, at the end of 1960's

researches extended their range and framework of study into the language use and its real context Dijk (1985).

The old classical rhetoricians 2000 years ago had investigated the importance of the contextual aspect as a factor of text comprehension. Paltridge (2006) defines discourse analysis approach as the one which concentrates on knowledge that goes beyond the word, phrase, clause and sentence. He also divides discourse analysis approach into two different views: textually oriented view of discourse (focuses on features of language within the text), and socially oriented view of discourse analysis (deals with what the text does within the cultural and social setting).

1.7.3 Critical Discourse Analysis:

It is a sub-disciplinary field of discourse analysis. It is a recent field of linguistics; it was emerged from the "critical linguistics" in 1970 by Lancaster school of linguistics. Norman Fairclough is one of its pioneer figures. Following that, it was attached to the field of social science not as a district approach, but rather as an interdisciplinary field, which is primarily based upon the analytical research. Moreover, it is known as a problem-oriented interdisciplinary movement that studies the language and its relation to the society Paltridge (2006).

CDA focuses intensively on the text that has political or social dimensions. Therefore, it is different from the critical discourse approach in how it examines ideology, power and dominance within the text, and how

it is expressed through language. It is not only a structural study of the text, but also a systematic analysis of it and its socio-political dimensions.

Wodak (1996) defines it, as a tool which is used to analyze the linguistic and semiotic aspects of the social problem and process. It does not merely focus on the language and its use, but rather it deals with the linguistic aspects of the cultural and social processes. Wodak (ibid:20) also says: "it serves as a framework of sociolinguistics in the process of developing its own methods and tools in order to analyze discourse, where are distorted by power and ideology". In another word, CDA has a social aspect, which deals with problematic discourses for society such political discourse in order to reveal and pin out the aspects of power and ideology within the discourse.

The term "critical discourse analysis" was firstly introduced by Fairclough, but there were gradual steps for naming it. In his book *Discourse and Social Change* (1992), he used the term "critical approaches". These approaches included the linguistic approaches. Later on, he used the term "critical linguistic awareness" which was abbreviated as CLA. Following that, in 1995 he published a book *Critical Discourse Analysis*, which codifies and carries the name of the term Billig (2003).

Blommaert (2005) states that CDA approach is conducted by group of scholars. Every one of them has a different background, which made them variably distinct in their principles of analysis, and their interested-analytical issues. Also they have used various tools for analysis. The

pioneered scholars of this approach are: Fairclough, Dijk, Wodak, Chilton with more such billig and Schaeffner.

There are three major concepts that CDA deal with; concept of history, ideology and power. Wodak (2001). Wodak and Fairclough (1997) consider the language as a social practice, which implies the relation between language, situation, institution and social structures. I.e. the language of discourse is affected by society and it affects upon society as well. Therefore, language helps to sustain producing and organizing the social relations.

Discourse language is socially consequential; it gives important roles for power and its ideologies. Therefore, this research deals with social factors that are represented indirectly in the political discourse, which are the bases investigating questions of CDA approaches.

1.7.4 Main Social CDA Approaches:

1.7.4.1 Norman Fairclough's approach:

Fairclough is a professor in linguistics at Lancaster university he is also a discourse analyst. Fairclough is considered as the pioneer leader of the CDA movement because he is the first to introduce the term "critical discourse analysis" and its abbreviation "CDA". Much of this approach success is due to his pioneering works and researches. Fairclough's main status about CDA approach, that it primarily benefits in bringing a close

relation between linguistic and social analysis of discourse, Fairclough (2001b).

Fairclough (1989) deals with two matters: ideology and power, and how they are closely related. He interprets that ideology is considered as the medium by which power walks through. In addition, he refers more that the discourse has an ideological assumption, which has a role of sustaining the power relation. But he assures that "ideology is most effective when its workings are least visible" (ibid:71). In another study Fairclough (1992) supports the idea that ideology within the text is firstly disguised beneath the structure of the discourse, which is organized purposefully by the producer "the order of discourse", and secondly it is covered under the sentence structure.

Language is the medium of ideology; hence it is the only medium in which the producer uses to deliver his ideology. To conclude, his research investigates how both order of discourse and structure of sentences are packed up with ideologies.

1.7.4.2 Van Dijk's approach:

Dijk is one of CDA movement's pioneers. He is a discourse analyst and professor at the university of Amsterdam. His previous interests of discourse were about its grammatical structure with relation to racism. His new study is specified in ideology and discourse. He also published many studies and researches from 1997 till now, concerning this matter. He

established a journal which is called *Discourse and society and discourse studies* shiffen and tanen (2001).

Dijk defines CDA as a kind of research that seeks and discovers how social power, dominance and inequality found their ways to be enacted, reproduce and resisted by discourse, definitely in its social and political discourse. Therefore, the role of the analyst is to understand and expose this kind of abuse. Dijk supports Fairclough's approach, that discourse has a social role and dimension. Dijk believes that discourse is inherently a part of the social structure and influenced directly by it. He also agrees that discourse cannot but to be produced in a social interaction (power, ideology, class... and so for) Dijk (1988).

Dijk's CDA approach is called a "socio-cognitive approach". It refers to the notion that discourse is not only affected by the social dimensions, but also by the cognitive process of the producer. Dijk defines the social cognition as "the system of mental representations and processes of group members". His perspective is that the discourse and social structures are conducted by the social cognition of text producer. These facts are based on his ideas and beliefs, which originally relate to the group which he belongs to Dijk (2006).

Dijk suggests two kinds of critical analysis of discourse which: the micro and macro social levels. The micro level includes the language use, discourse and verbal interaction. Whereas the macro level gathers the notions such power, ideology, dominance and inequality Dijk (1988).

1.7.5 Translation theories:

By the mid 1980's two complementary trends emerged in the translation studies, with regard to specific issues of ideological meaning in a discourse: translation of ideology and ideology of translation.

1.7.5.1 Translation of ideology:

The concept is reviewed as the one, which is shown from the perspective of critical linguistics and discourse analysis. It mainly focuses upon the ideological traits in the text, how it is conveyed, and what is the used language to achieve it Hatim (1997).

1.7.5.2 Ideology of translation:

It is a kind of translation trend, which is examined from the perspective of cultural studies. Its main issue was seen of how context of the Anglo-American translation tradition is linked to the translator presence Hatim (1997). It is achieved through a translator's attempt to domesticate the original text into the target text. Therefore, it works favorably with the dominant and target culture, transparent and fluent style is favored as well, i.e. this strategy investigates how the translator interferes in the process of translation taking alliance with the target text language and audience Hatim (ibid).

1.7.6 The context approach:

It is a non-linguistic model that plays a crucial role in the production and comprehension of discourse. The term "context" refers to the surrounding influential aspects in which a discourse takes place at such: time, place event and participants. The context approach is considered as a fundamental base for the discourse analysis and critical discourse analysis theories. Because it helps to understand the relation between the used language and effective factors upon it Dijk (2008).

1.7.7 Ideology:

The notion of ideology is still a controversial matter for analysts. According to Williams (1976), the word "ideology" first appearance in English was in 1796, which was translated directly from French during the French revolution. Many interpretations of the word ideology were reckoned after that as "false consciousness", "set of ideas which arise from a given set of material interests". But recently, scholars focus is upon the implicit unconscious side of ideologies and its practices.

Fairclough (1995) claims that ideology does not have a fixed meaning. He argues "ideologies are tied to actions and judged in terms of their social effect rather than their truth values". Also he believes that ideology is hidden under the discourse structure and it appears obviously through real events. "ideology is located in both structure (discourse content) and event" Fairclough (ibid:25).

While Dijk (1995) connects ideology with three concepts, namely, structure of society, cognition and discourse. He defines it as basic systems of shared social representation that may control more specific group beliefs (knowledge and attitude). Dijk relates the term ideology to a group which shares the same ideas, attitudes and knowledge. In which they behave and act according to their common ideologies. Dijk's framework that the term "ideology" has a social and cognitive function.

The social function aims to sustain the group interests by orienting their actions. While the cognitive function is used to organize and monitor the shared social representations. Both aims mean that ideology organizes the attitudes and beliefs of social group members. Moreover, Dijk (1995) explains that groups have different ideologies, which are classified according to the kind of group which they belong to, either for the political parties, social movements, professions, church or any other kind of groups.

1.7.8 Translation and translation studies:

The term translation has several meaning: the product (the text which has been translated), or the process (the act of producing translation). Translation is a process that involves the translator to change the original written text (which is called the source text "ST") with its original language (called source language "SL") into a different second text (target text TT) with its different verbal language (target language TL) Munday (2001).

The act of translation is very old. Throughout history, it played a crucial role in peoples' lives. It is, for instance, used for communication between travelers and traders and for religious purposes to transmit the religion and religious books into different languages. But the study of translation based on academic subjects began at the second half of the twentieth century. Now, this discipline is generally known as "translation studies". This separate discipline relates to the theory and practice of translation Munday (2001).

At first translation studies concerned only with the linguistic matters (finding equivalences) between the ST and TT languages. The translator was considered as a medium of languages transference. Catford (1965:1) points "translation is a process of substituting a text in one language for a text in another". But at the modern time, many approaches and methods have appeared strongly to announce the non-linguistic factors' effects upon the process of translation, such as context (social, cultural, political factors). Bassnett (1991) states that translation had a turning twist from the focus on the linguistic aspects to the cultural aspects of both ST and TT languages.

Previously, a translator's faithfulness was the key core. He had to restrict to linguistic equivalent transference between the ST and TT languages without any intrusion. But after 1990's, with the focus on the cultural studies in translation, the key point was the visibility of the

translator, i.e. the translator is given a free space to intrude and adjust to what he sees appropriate but without rules violation.

Now, scholars advice that translators need to be bicultural and bilingual, because translation is not only tied with SL and TL languages but also with their cultures. Hence, a translator is considered as a helping tool for people, he enables them to comprehend the world around and shapes their knowledge about other cultures and languages Bassnet (1991).

1.7.9 Translation studies and CDA:

The translation movement have witnessed a change from the linguistic aspect to the cultural and contextual matters. Because of this twist, many linguistic and non-linguistic methods are recently related to translation such as pragmatics, discourse analysis, and critical discourse analysis. CDA and TS approaches are linked because they both have interdisciplinary fields such as the social domain. This domain helps the analysts and readers to comprehend the text function and meaning. Schaffner (1997) believes that translation is originally a social activity which relates to individuals and their situations. She adds that one of the social common fields between CDA and TS approaches is the political discourse. Schaffner (ibid) affirms that CDA's role in a PD is to bring out the ideological meanings in it. While TS's theory examines the translation procedures, which are used to transmit the source text into another language.

Billig (2003) states that Munday, Baker, Schaffner, Hatim and Mason are the most known scholars in the field of translation studies and discourse analysis. Munday was the first to initiate the integration of both fields. His functionalist theory aims at analyzing the source text with the focus upon the text genre to reveal the function of the ST. Baker was the first to introduce the pragmatic function of linguistic elements within the ST and TT.

Dijk and Schaffner concentrated much of their studies on the political discourse. Dijk concerns with the relation between political discourse and ideology. Dijk (1989:1) states "more than any other kind of discourse, political discourse is eminently ideological. Dijk also argues that a PD has an indirect ideological notion.

Schaffner (2002) focuses upon the political discourse analysis and translation studies. She affirms that a PD at the modern time often relies on translation phenomenon due to globalization. She also argues that politics cannot be conducted without language because both are determined by their social groups. Moreover, Schaffner connects PDA with CDA, and she interprets that CDA has a critical-linguistic point in examining a PD's language. Schaffner (ibid) as well affirms that translation is not only a matter of linguistic transference, but rather a social and linguistic activity, which is affected by the contextual generic, socio-cultural and ideological concepts. Thus, it requires a translator to be aware of the linguistic and non-linguistic elements to give a complementary process of translation.

Chapter Tow

Literature Review

2.1 Review of related literature:

This chapter previews the related literature on the phenomenon of repetition in political discourse, with a focus on the Arabic political one. Also it investigates how "repetition" is used ideologically through examination by CDA and context approaches. Also this section displays previous opinions about the ideological notions behind the used translation strategies regarding repetition render into English.

Political discourse is a vague term. It is like an umbrella, which covers under it different types and genres of discourse. It has been defined differently by scholars and discourse analysts. **Schaffner** (1997) and **Dijk** (1998) agree that a PD is the one which concerns with the states' political affairs. PD comes in different forms such: election campaign speeches, parliament debates, newspaper editorials or commentaries, press conference with a politician and so on.

The language of a political discourse is aimed to steer the audience emotions toward certain political opinions. It is rich in figurative language, which has an intentional role, **Chilton** (2004). **Dijk** (1998) argues that a PD's language has a hidden meaning through which politicians express their ideologies.

Dijk (1998:1) states that "probably more than any other kind of discourse political discourse is eminently ideological". He adds more "if there is one social field that is ideological it is that of politics" Dijk (2006:5). **Schäffner and Bassnett**, (2010) agree also that a political discourse is ideologically and socially dependent. They both refer to the language of politics as a complex form of human activity, which is not easy to analyze and comprehend.

The concept of "ideology" has different notions in terms of its reference with politics. However, linguists agreed upon a common definition. **Fairclough** (1989), **Dijk** (1998), **Basil Hatim and Ian Mason** (1997) note that "ideology" is the shared social beliefs and ideas by certain social members of a group. **Dijk** (2004:9) deludes that "this is not surprising because it is eminently here that different and opposed groups, power, struggles and interests are at stake. In order to be able to compete, political groups need to be ideologically conscious and organized".

This thesis assures Dijk's point that politicians use an ideological structure through their speeches to compete with others and compare themselves with other politicians. For the aim of convincing their audience of their political agendas. The selected words and sentence structures of a PD carry an ideological notion. Politicians are always careful to choose the words that would deliver their messages.

Thus, **Dijk** (2010) suggests a political discourse analysis approach to detect and understand the perplexing PD structure. He states that a PDA

shall search for the relations between discourse structure and political context structure, i.e. he means that a discourse structure or discourse strategies such: syntax, graphics, style or rhetoric, may have different reference in a certain context as in a political atmosphere.

A political discourse analysis approach can help to detect the ideological aspects, which are disguised under the used linguistic structure. **Dijk** (2000:19) asserts "more often than not however, abstract ideologies only indirectly appear in text and talk. This means that we need intermediary representations between ideologies and discourse". Dijk, (ibid) also notes that ideology is manifested in a very complex way in all structural levels of a discourse.

However, lexical and semantic levels are more to absorb ideologies than any structural levels because they depend more upon the context. Therefore, to detect the ideological structure within a discourse, an analysis of the lexical structure and the socio-political context shall be adhered to reveal the pointed ideology **Dijk** (2008) suggests a "context-model theory" as a supplementary notion in studying many kinds of discourse. Political discourse is the one that depends thoroughly upon context examination. Dijk (ibid:4) notes "we use the notion of "context" whenever we want to indicate that some phenomenon, event, action or discourse needs to be seen or studied in relation to its environment, that is, its "surrounding" conditions and consequences". Dijk (ibid) assures that examining the context is a crucial point whenever we want to study an important political

speech, such as Tony Blair's speech when invading Iraq. Because as Dijk argues, "a context-free approach to the study of discourse and conversation is constrained and leads to superficial, formalistic and sometimes trivial descriptions" (ibid:8).

Moreover, **Dijk** (2008) argues that a "context model" relates to linguistic aspect, i.e. This approach detects formal grammars and rhetoric beyond its semantic references. Dijk (2006) previews the rhetorical aspects, which are used in Blair's speech. And he adds that it should be illustrated from a political and situational point, i.e. going to a broader and contextual terms. Dijk concludes that a "contexts are generally only considered to better understand or analyze discourse" (2008:7).

CDA is a branch of discourse analysis. However Blommaert (2005) refers to it as a school in which each of its scholars specialized in a certain field of study. **Fairclough**(1989) CDA's social approach considers both discourse and society as interchangeable terms, and they are affected by each other. He examined how ideology and power as social concepts are within a discourse to serve politicians' goal. **Paltridge** (2006) calls this method as a problem-oriented one, which studies how do power and ideology are integrated within social and political discourses.

Dijk's CDA approach is titled as a "socio-cognitive" method. He believes that the addresser's social cognition (thoughts, perception and representation) are factors which affect the process of discourse production, i.e. the text structure is conducted according to the cognition of the speaker

and his political group. Hence, the group's ideology is disguised under discourse linguistic structure Van Dijk (2001).

Dijk (2006) discusses two concepts: manipulation and persuasion which are one of the crucial aspects of CDA approach that need a further distinctive analysis. However, manipulation implies a discursive power abuse in contrast of persuasion which is considered as a legitimate mind control. Despite the fact that manipulation aims at persuasion, but it pours for the dominating group interest "politicians".

Dijk (2006) discusses manipulation from three points: socially, cognitively and dimensionally. From a Social point, it concentrate how do a manipulator exercises power over other people, and usually it goes against their will and interest. And from a Cognitive point, it is the process in which a manipulator controls participants' minds, and it examines how manipulation is exercised through a text. Dijk (ibid) focuses on the polarized manipulation structure which is achieved by a politician through giving a positive self-presentation and presenting a negative other-presentation. This expresses the ideological conflicts between different political presenters.

Dijk (2006:22) concludes "we found that manipulation involves: enhancing the power, moral superiority and credibility of the speaker(s), and discrediting dissidents, while vilifying the Others".

Woods (2006) interpret how a political discourse is distinguished with various rhetoric and linguistic features. He assures that politicians seize the linguistic craft, and that they encapsulate their speeches with, to capture the central message which underpins their ideologies. Wood mentions some of these speech characters such: alliteration, hyperbole, metaphor, rhyme, repetition and so on.

Also Wood entitled these merits as "persuasive linguistic devices", which are used to convince the audience, so it would make their speeches favorable. Wood (ibid:56). concludes that "major political speeches are spiced up with similar linguistic devices, such as repetition, rhythm and alliteration, to ensure that their messages are as potent and memorable as possible".

According to Reynolds (1995) repetition as a multiple recurrence of a word or an idea, and when it is repeated more, it is more noticed. Both **Johnstone** (1991) and **Al-Khafaji** (2005) show how repetition use in Arabic is different from English. Johnstone (1994) believes that repetition is a universal persuasive device, which is used by all languages and texts. However, Arabic embraces it as a part of its linguistic system, and it considers it as a discourse structuring device. In another study, Johnstone (1994) points out that repetition in Arabic occurs at different levels: lexical, syntactic, morphological, phonological and semantic levels.

Al-Khafaji (2005) thinks that repetition use is a language-dependent matter, and it is employed more in Arabic. He adds "Arabic and

English employ lexical repetition in their texts, Arabic favors the "recurrence" of lexical items, whereas English usually opts for lexical variations"(ibid:7). Also Al-Khafaji recalls repetition functions generally, and particularly in Arabic. He says "repetition 'can have didactic, playful, emotional, artistic, ritualistic, textual and rhetorical functions" (2005: 6).

Schaffner (2010) affirms that both translation and PD depend upon each other despite the implicit role of translation. However, PD cannot be transmitted widely without translation. Translation strategy is one of the most important aspect when translating a political text. **Chesterman** (1993) defines the translation procedures, as the adopted procedures when facing a translation problem.

Schaffner (1997) assures that each political text type has its context, conventions which call for different translation strategies. Moreover, Schaffner (2010) believes that the used translation strategies depend upon political-text function in the target language. Also Schaffner (2010:128) argues that "a widely used translation strategies, namely omitting or deleting information, is found in speeches by politicians as well, but not very often. This again can be explained by reference to the function of texts in internal or external political communication".

The concept "repetition" is considered as a problematic theme in Arabic-English translation. **Hatim and Mason** (1997) suggest a lexical-translation strategy for it. They state "in the use of the cohesive device of recurrence or sense of selecting the nearest lexical 'equivalence' wherever

possible (ibid:147). While **James, Dickins** and **Sandor** (2002) opt for lexical variations, they comment "lexical item repetition in Arabic typically translated with lexical variation in English" (2002:1090). **Ben-Ari** (1998), **Davies** (2003), and **Al-Khafaji** (2006) suggest the critical sources which face a translator when picking up the translation strategies which are: preservation, synonymy, substitution, paraphrase nominalization, addition, announcing the repetition and omission.

Examining the used translation strategies for repetition rendering helps to detect the ideology of translator. **Hatim and Mason** (1997:147) confirm that "the translator, as processor of texts, filters the text world of the source text through his/her own world-view /ideology with differing results". Also they add "the translation of recurrence depend on the translator extent of intervention" (ibid:148). Both Hatim and Mason believe that the translator has a certain ideology, weather it represents him or the group or channel in which he belongs to. And this ideology is revealed through translation-strategy selections.

2.2 Related Studies:

Some studies were conducted to examine repetition and its relation with ideology and translation. Specifically, how "repetition" is used in Arabic political speeches during critical times of revolution.

El Mustapha Lahlali (2011) investigated repetition as one of the used linguistic strategy in the last political speeches of the two Arab

leaders before they were ousted: Hosni Mubarak and Bin Ali. Lahlali (ibid) found that both presidents used repetition as a technique to address the unrest demonstrators and convince them to calm down, so they would allow these presidents to stay in power.

Both presidents used "repetition" to attract their audience and gain their political empathy to end up the demonstration against them. Lahlali (2011) used discourse analysis approach to detect repetition strategy. However, Lahlali did not connect the persuasion strategy "repetition" with the political term "ideology". Despite the fact that Dijk (1993) assures that persuasion is an ideological method in which politicians depend much on.

Lahlali (2012) conducted another study in which he connects "repetition" with ideology. His research examined three political speeches of the Lebanese political leader "Hasan Nasrallah". The researcher used Fircloough's (1992) CDA approach to approve the ideological motives of repetition and its persuasive and emotional impact upon the audience.

Moreover, Lahlali (ibid) focused on the importance of context knowledge for a better comprehension of the addresser's ideological intension. His research findings have revealed that repetition is deliberately and extensively employed in Nasrallahs' speeches to maximize the emotional impact upon his people to achieve his political aims, and that his message would have a long lasting impression.

Wala' Al Majali (2013) conducted a study in which she investigated the distinctive features of seven political speeches for three Arab presidents during the Arab spring revolution. These presidents are; The Tunisian president "Bin Ali", the Egyptian president "Hosni Mubarak" and the Libyan president Muammer Al-Gaddafi. The researcher used Halliday and Hasan's (1976) framework of cohesion approach. The findings of the study revealed that the used lexical features such as repetition and synonymy, which are utilized differently in critical times of these countries. The presidents employed the lexical features to achieve and reinforce different political strategies and ideologies, like the strategy of threatening the civilians from demonstrating.

Fahmawi (2014) conducted a study, In order to prove that Repetition is a problematic theme in translating a political speech from Arabic into English. She examined a number of speeches that were given by the former Saudi Arabian King "Abdullah bin Abdulaziz". Her findings were that the translator adopted different translation strategies when rendering repetition occurrences. And these strategies aimed whenever possible to avoid and minimize repetition instances, which are found in the original text.

Malainine (2014) conducted a study, in which he studies translation problematic issues in Arabic-English translation of political discourse. Also he studied , how "ideology" concept is employed within a text and how it relates to translation methods. He used CDA approach to approve that the

official translation resources such socio-political communities or mass media are always trying to retrieve and shape ideologies. His finding that repetition which confront Arab translators, could be solved either by preserving or removing it in the TT.

Most previous studies that examined the political discourses were concerned with two separate matters. Either it discussed the linguistic aspects in which a political discourse comprise of, with its relation with the socio-political aspect "ideology". The other studies investigated the suitable linguistic strategies regarding repetition render from Arabic into English. However, less studies focused on repetition translation and its relation with ideology. The first type of studies employed PDA, CDA and context approach, while the seconds kind of studies depended more on translation and context approaches.

However, this research tries to make a new web connection between both previous kinds of studies and their different used approaches. This what distinguishes it and make it a unique one. It tries to prove that Arab leader's (Mubarak, Morsi and Al-Sisi)- during the Egyptian revolution- have used "repetition" to gain a certain political aim . Moreover, this thesis investigates how that western and Arab media outcasts have different ideologies.

Chapter Three

Methodology

3.1 Introduction:

This part consists of the methods and procedures, which are applied in this thesis in order to attend to the goals as effectively as possible. It previews the methods that are used to analyze, compare and contrast the data. Besides, it shows the data resources, its importance for the study and the contextual information behind each discussed text speech.

3.2 Theoretical frameworks:

This thesis applies a combination of theoretical frameworks concerning linguistic and nonlinguistic analytical aspects. Besides, it takes advantage of translation theories. The CDA approach hits the research purpose, by combining "repetition" with the non-linguistic analytical notions: context and ideology.

The CDA theoreticians conceived approaches are; Fairclough (1989, 2001), Van Dijk (1988,1989, 2000, 2006) and Christina Schaffner (1996). This study will employ CDA and translation study approaches to detect "repetition" and tie it with "ideology".

CDA analytical methods are applied depending primarily upon Van Dijk's (1988) socio-cognitive approach, and Fairclough's approach. A descriptive and connective procedure of the textual and contextual levels

will be held as it is explained by Van Dijk's (2008) contextual-model theory. This research will apply Dijk's theory by joining "repetition" and the contextual side of the speeches.

In addition to the descriptive notion, comparative and analytical methods will be conducted. Concerning the adopted translation strategies to convey "repetition" from Arabic into English. The translation methods of this thesis are conceived by the socio-political linguists: Schaffner (2010), Mark (1998, 2001) and Hatim and Mason (1995, 1997). This comparative procedure is practiced to reveal the media outcasts/station variants agendas toward the Egyptian leader's speeches.

3.3 Methods and procedures:

Three different political speeches of three Egyptian political presidents: Mohammad Mubarak, Mohammad Morsi and Abd Elfatah AL-Sisi are collected from different electronic websites. These speeches were delivered during decisive moments of the Egyptian revolution from 2011 until 2013. Mubarak's speech was his last speech before he was forced to leave power. It was delivered on the 10th of February 2011. This speech is essential because it triggered a crisis in Egypt, since it was delivered after 30 years of Mubarak's polarizing the rule.

While Morsi's speech was delivered after his winning as a first-democratically elected president, since Mubarak left the power. This

speech was held on the 24th of June 2012. It is considered as an important one because it launched a new free-democratically area in Egypt.

Al-Sisi's last discussed speech was also his first speech, in which he called for the oust of Morsi. It was delivered on the 3rd of July 2013. The three speeches are considered as essentials speeches which have affected and caused the transformation of the Egyptian-revolution events.

These speeches' scripts are taken from official Egyptian and Arab websites. They are translated into English by different Arab and western media outcasts. These outcasts/stations in sequence as follows: Mubarak's speech is translated by Aljazeera English and CNN, Morsi's speech is translated by Al-Ihkwan website, and The guardian and Al-Sisi's speech is translated by Aljazeera English and BBC.

The thesis takes different procedures to deal with the selected texts. Firstly, it compare between the used linguistic and rhetorical aspect "repetition" of each speech text. Secondly, it analyses "repetition" through CDA perspectives, following that it examines and studies repetition through the help of connection between CDA and TS approaches. Comparing the used translation procedures, which are used to render "repetition" into English, is also an essential procedural step toward achieving the study purpose.

Chapter Four

Repetition

4.1 Repetition as a rhetorical device:

Repetition is a broad term, which is used in all languages. It is not specified to a certain field. Tannen defines repetition as "the recurrence of words and collocations of words in the same discourse" (2007:2).

Recurrence of words aim at a certain function, and this depend on the discourse genre. The political speech is one of the genre that uses repetition and relies on it heavily. Politicians utilize "repetition" not only to echo its original function, which is confirmation. Rather, they believe in its strong effect of persuasion. Therefore, they resort to it either to convince their audience of a certain critical and political events, or to propose a definite previous vision, so it is more absorbed by people. Repetition is one of the rhetorical devices that functions as a persuasive tool Tannen (ibid).

Arnold (2007) states that rhetoric is a branch of philosophy, which concerns mostly with persuasion. Dijk (1997) confirms that political speeches aim at a persuasive manner. One of the structural level which is located intensively in a political discourse is rhetoric. Dijk assures that Repetition as a rhetorical device shall be examined ideologically to reach politician's main aim of its use.

Repetition in a political discourse symbolizes power. Politicians rely much upon, to model peoples' political views of certain accurate matters. Boychev (2003:118) says that:

"There is no such a discourse, striving toward a permanent return in its original literal sense, or such act, that yields novel and unique meanings with not a single one being repeated"

The use of repetition in a political discourse echoes the sound of a political power. It aims to gain a political strength. All by repeating and reasserting ones definite beliefs. The power of repetition is not recently discovered, but rather it was recognized early by Greek and Roman orators. They filled their speech with, to achieve certain political gains of earnings kings' sympathies. Also they were greedy for political positions Dijk (2011).

4.2 Repetition and ideology:

Wilson (1990) states that most linguistic analytical approaches have revealed that politicians use a certain language to present their political arguments to their audience. Politicians take advantages of using the linguistic system as a manipulative way to achieve certain political aims. Therefore, ideological means are hidden behind the used language

Rhetorical devices are one of the manipulative linguistic aspects, which are loaded within the political discourse. In almost all languages, the art of rhetoric is tied up closely with the art of persuasion. Hence,

politicians will employ it within their discourse, to affect upon the beliefs, actions and emotions of their addressees Kennedy (1999).

Dijk (2011) discusses that the rhetorical structure of discourse mainly aims at two functions, namely, semantic and contextual. Semantically, it relates to the experienced vision of reality according to the addressee and how he/she expresses it through words. While the contextual function is tied with rhetorical structure, and how to make it appellative to the addressee, in accordance with the current situation.

Dijk (2008) explains that the contextual function, is used to convince the audience of certain contextual ideas and events, with the help of the rhetorical aspect. Dijk calls this aspect as the persuasive dimension, he clarifies his idea by saying:

"This persuasive dimension of rhetoric may have the specific function of drawing special attention to specific meaning and hence to enhance the possibility that these are being constructed as important parts of intended event models" (ibid:192).

Dijk interprets how could someone takes benefits of the rhetorical aspects to persuade certain people about a certain surrounding event. Also, Dijk talks about the usefulness of directing the addressees unconsciously toward definite and intended meanings and goals. All is the goal behind the persuasive political talk.

Dijk (2000) defines the politician as a person who belongs to a certain political member or a group, or a person who represents the government. Also Dijk (ibid) believed that politicians echo the voice, attitude, ideology and belief of their political groups or governments. Each political group adopts an ideological manner and attitude. He adds that Politicians expose their ideology to the public through their politician-represented discourse. Dijk (ibid) defines the term ideology as the beliefs, attitudes and opinions of certain members of a group, in which they agreed and act upon. Dijk adds that these social group members take use of their ideology, in order to orient their addressees toward a certain political aim, as a way of legitimizing and justifying their deeds and actions.

Obviously "the rhetorical" aspect and "ideology" terms have the same definition and goal. The political discourse is loaded with the ideological manners, and they are hidden under the used rhetorical structure. However, most analysts proved that the relation between discourse and ideology is indirect. Thus, ideology cannot be discovered and understood quickly, because of differences which may affect and change the discourse, such as the social cognition (beliefs, attitudes) and the context.

Besides, Dijk's (ibid) division of rhetoric functions into semantics and contextual, linguists gave two dimensions to detect the ideological relevant aspects within a discourse: through the semantic level (choices of

lexical items and their meaning), and the pragmatic level (the effect of the context to understand the meaning of words).

To sum up both rhetoric and ideology have the same definition and aim. Thus, to understand them both, semantic and contextual analysis are needed to clarify the function and meaning. Because both disguise more than linguistic aspects could tell.

Politicians use an indirect and manipulative language. Though they realize the power of language and how it could influence people. However, most people do not discover this manipulative reality. Therefore, discovering the meaning behind the linguistics structure of a political discourse is a useful method. But as Wilson (1990) states that it should not be a mere description of the linguistic structure, because PDA does not deal only with the surface structure. Rather, it is a multi-functional job of investigating the surface structure and deep interpretation of it.

4.3 Repetition in Arabic and English:

Lahlali (2005) states that Repetition is a stylistic feature in Arabic language. Its root trails back to the pre-Islamic oratory area. It displayed a writer's or speaker's creativity and eloquence. Also he believed that this feature is valued in Arabic culture and language. And it reveals the capability to use the language properly and effectively.

Lahlali refers to Reynolds (1995) statement that repetition is the multiple use of ideas and words, the more these words or ideas are used,

the more attention they attract. Thus, repetition aims to attract the attention upon certain emphatic meaning.

Researches indicate that native Arab speakers have shared features in their communicative style. One of these is "repetition". This kind of Arabic linguistic feature may conflict with other languages styles. Feghali (1997) mentions Johnstone (1983) study, which suggests that "repetition" in Arabic is considered as a major linguistic feature. That occurs at all lexical, syntactic, morphological, phonological and semantic levels. Therefore, as Berque (1978) assures that this feature lies in the heart of Arabic language and discourse, and it cannot be easily changed or separated from the language itself.

Repetition is a persuasive tool, which is used in formal speeches, especially the political ones. Feghali (1997) argues that repetition is a tool, that could be helpfully used to achieve an effective argumentative style. A strategy in which its users utilize to persuade. Arabic speakers frequently use it, due to its cultural-centrality background. I.e. as language integrated part. Lahlali (2012) states this point, that repetition in Arabic political speeches is ideologically used to reinforce ones' thoughts. A strategy that may carry an emotional and persuasive impact upon its audience.

Despite the fact that "repetition" is a universal linguistic phenomenon but languages differ in their tolerance of its use. English and Arabic for example, are on the opposite direction regarding this matter. Arabic language considers "repetition" as a part of its linguistic system.

Thus, it gives its speakers the right of using more repetition in their interaction than any other speakers of other languages Johnstone (1994:13).

In contrast of Arabic, English does not favor "repetition" in a way or another except for special reasons to give an emphatic meaning. Hatim and Mason (1997) sustain that "repetition" is an optional available choice in both Arabic and English languages. However, English considers it as a heavily marked form, that could be only used under certain motivations. Therefore, English opts more to variation rather than giving a recurrent pattern Al-khafaji (2005).

4.4 Linguistic differences between Arabic and English, and their translation problems:

Schaffner (1997) believes that language is the most complex way of communication. Hence, misunderstanding and miscommunication is the result, when different people and groups meet to communicate. Therefore, appeared the role of translators, when they had to overcome and study the obstacles and differences between languages to come up with the best solutions.

Translation is not only a matter of replacement of a word from the source text with another word in the target text, but rather it exceeds this to the level of a decision-making process. In which a translator faces many problems due to the gap and differences between languages. Therefore, a translator has to make accurate and flexible decisions including judgment

over differences with regard to each single translated word. In addition, a translator has to pick up the best way and strategy to translate the text Sofer (2009).

The linguistic and cultural specific matters are the most common areas where languages diverse and differ. This research will deal with two unrelated languages; Arabic and English. The vast linguistic and cultural differences between them are problematic matters for a translator. English belongs to western languages, originally to the Indio-European languages, while Arabic is a Semitic language.

These two languages do not intersect totally due to their invariable origins. Dickins, Hervy, Higgings (2002) classified, that each linguistic structure has two levels: grammatical and lexical levels. The lexical level is identified with the semantic branch, it studies the lexicon (vocabularies) of the language and how they are arranged in a sentence. In contrast of the grammatical level, which is subdivided into; morphology (word and their formation) and syntax (the arrangement of words into phrases and sentences).

Dickins, Hervy, Higgings (ibid) states that the translator concerns mostly with the fact that the two types of grammatical structure (the morphological and lexical patterns) are the structural patterns which differ from one language to another. Even between languages where apparent cross- linguistic similarities occur.

Dickins, Hervey and Higgins (ibid) confirm that the grammatical level is the reason of gap between languages, which leads normally to a translation problem called translation loss. Also they clarify that this level is the most immediately obvious matter among other linguistic levels. Despite the fact that translation loss is not always problematic, but the concern here is whether it matters or not, or if it could lead to change of meaning, or losing the purpose of source text Ana Roja (1968:191) states that:

"Grammatical differences between languages are particularly important in translation since they often involve informational changes. I will thus have to decide what in for should be omitted and what should be added in the target text".

Therefore, translating the pattern "repetition" from Arabic into English will entail translation loss. And this factor could be for an economic reason, or for other ideological traits. Regarding repetition role that plays in both languages; where in Arabic it is a vital integrated part of linguistic system. Whereas in English, it is only biased to when there is a purposeful use of it Musa (1995).

4.5 Types of repetition in Arabic:

Arabic language has structurally two kinds of "repetition": morphological and lexical. Both are repetition patterns, which are common and used variably and distinctively within the language. Dickins, Hervey &

Higgins (2002) divide Arabic kinds of repetition and gave subdivisions of each. Besides, they propose the correspondent-equivalent repetitive patterns in English. Also, they brief translation problems that may occur while processing repetition translation into English. And they suggest consequently practical translation strategies to overcome theses problematic issues.

4.5.1 Morphological Repetition:

Dickins, Hervey & Higgins (2002) define it as recurrence of sentence word and their formations. Arabic has three types of morphological repetition, which are considered the most important ones for translation matters. And they are; (1) pattern repetition, (2) root repetition, (3) suffix repetition.

4.5.1.1 Pattern Repetition:

A kind of repetition in Arabic, which involves repetition of the same pattern (مفعول، فاعل، فعل، فاعلة، فعل)، in two or more words in close proximity. This pattern can be used as a cohesive device in the text. However, it may serve as a stylistic feature, or it may fulfill other kind of purposes. Pattern repetition is the most common used kind of repetition in Arabic. Mainly it covers three major functions; cohesion, stylistic significance and emphasis.

Pattern repetition occurs intensively as a common feature in Arabic. Thus, it may occur without any definite stylistic indication. Such in the phrase (1) "البيت القديم الكبير" and its reasonable translation "the old big

house". In many context, the occurrence of the repeated pattern **فعليل** such in "قديم" and "كبير" may indicate not to any particular significance or purpose.

However, the emphatic function is more important than stylistic one. The emphatic print is given, when it is combined with some kinds of semantic relationship. The words which have semantic relationship are words whose meaning generally lies within the semantic field, but with a clear distinct in meaning. There are three distinguished types of semantic relationship and they are; (1) semantically related words; (2) synonyms or near- synonyms; (3) antonyms. Examples of semantically related words such as: (2) "أفكار and أحلام", "thought and dreams". These words usually do not cause any translation problem, thus they are translated literary.

Whereas, different translation strategies are adopted when dealing with synonyms and near synonyms. Such merging, grammatical transposition, semantic distancing and maintenance. For example in the phrase (3) "أربع فتيات جميلات أنيقات", "four young pretty woman" the three semantic words "أنيقات، جميلات، فتيات", are translated by merging them into "young pretty woman".

4.5.1.2 Root Repetition:

It is a kind of repetition, which involves the process of repeating the same morphological root in close proximity within a text" Dickins, Hervey & Higgins (2002). It functions as a cohesive device. An example of root

repetition (4) "درسنا هذا", "درس", "we studied this lesson". This sentence involves repetition of the Arabic morphological root "درس". Root repetition is also subdivided into three types which are; (1) system-intrinsic ;(2) absolute accurate and (3) other.

4.5.1.3 Other Root Repetition:

The kinds of root repetition, which fall under the "other" category, have an emphatic function. Also, it occurs in an unlimited frame of grammatical structure, these examples are ones of its kind; (i) subject+ verb, such in (10) "ثار ثائرة", "totally into a rage"; (ii) verb+ object such in (11) "طلب طلبا", "to make a request";(iii) verb+ propositional phrase "صبغ" (12), "to transform";(iv) conjoined noun as in (13) "عزا اعتزازا", "honor and self-esteem"; (v) noun+ adjective as in (14) "الظل الظليل", literary translated as "shady shade"; (vi) genitive as in (15) "أطماع الطامعين", "the ambitious of the covetous"; (vii) conjoined adjectives as in (16) "الضعفاء", "the weak and oppressed".

Root repetition has several functions: a cohesive or stylistic. Or it is employed as an emphatic function, such when it occurs in larger stretches of a text. Sometime it is in a position to achieve a rhetorical function, probably it may often functions as a stylistic feature (as a text building device) in a large stretches of a text as in this sentence (17):

"وكلمها يحاورها بصوته المذبوح تأخذ بالانشيج. كأن الحوار حوار جرحي أمضهم الجرح وأعياهم التعب"

Translated as "and whenever he spoke to them in an anguished voice, they started to sob. The conversation was that of the wounded who were tormented by their voice and worn out by exhaustion" (adopted and translated by Brown 1996:21). Here the focus is on the words "يُحاور" and "حوار", which both have the root "حوار". The first is translated as "spoke to", and the latter is translated as "conversation".

Here root repetition in the Arabic text accomplishes a mission as a text-building cohesive device. Both "يُحاور" and "حوار" have the same meaning, but "يُحاور" in a verbal form, and "حوار" in a nominal form. Arabic language tends to repeat, while English tends to vary the parallel such in the lexical-item repetition and phrase repetition.

4.5.1.3 Suffix Repetition:

It is a significant kind of repetition, but less important than root and pattern repetition. It means repeating the same suffix at the end of words in close proximity, such as (21):

"أَرْضُ النُّبُوءَاتِ وَالرَّسَالَاتِ وَالْخِرَافَاتِ وَالْمَخَابِرَاتِ"

Translated as "the land of prophecies and divine messages, superstition- and secret services" (adopted and translated by Hetherington 1996:10).

Suffix repetition just like root and pattern repetition, in which it stems out from the Arabic grammatical structure. This suffix "ات" - is a

word part not a plural noun form. Suffix repetition functions as an emphatic feature, which is used more or less in a poetic context type. Because it refers more to poetic devices; alliteration and assonance. This kind of repetition is better to be ignored in translation. However, sometimes as in the previous example, splitting the words in the TT is a better strategy. Here it is spitted into two groups: a positive one that contains "prophecies and divine", and a negative one which has "superstition and secret-services".

4.5.2 Lexical Repetition:

It is the second common type of repetition in Arabic. It is achieved by repeating the same word or a whole phrase in a particular sense Dickins & Watson (1999). It is subdivided into two types; (1) word repetition or lexical item repetition (repeating the same single word); (2) phrase repetition(repeating the whole phrase).

4.5.2.1 lexical item repetition:

This kind of repetition may occur in a single sentence, or it may extend over larger stretches of a text. It is translated normally into English with lexical variations. The first kind such in this example (22):

" إن المشكلة السكانية عائق من أهم عوائق التنمية، زاعما أن التنمية الاقتصادية لن تتحقق مل لم تحل هذه المشكلة".

Translated as "the population problem is one of the most important impediment to development, claiming that economic progress will not be recognized until the difficulty is resolved" (adopted and translated by El-Serafi 1994:15).

The tow lexical items "المشكلة and التنمية" are repeated twice within the same paragraph, and they are translated variably into "problem, difficulty" and "development, progress".

4.5.2.2 Phrase Repetition:

As it is defined earlier when the whole phrase is repeated within the text such in the following text (24):

"وبعد أيام قتل إسحاق رابين رئيس وزراء إسرائيل بثلاث رصاصات أطلقها متطرف يهودي في عمر أحفاده هو إيجال عامير (...) وبعد أيام انفجرت شحنة ناسفة (...)." .

Translated as "couple of days later the Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Rabin was killed by these pullet fired by Yigal Amir, a Jewish extremist his grandchildren's age (...)" (adopted and translated by Hetherington 1996:23).

Here the phrase "وبعد أيام", is repeated in the text and regarded as a text-building device, which contributed functionally as a cohesive tool for the whole text. It is translated once, as a matter of economy. However, Arabic tends frequently to use lexical-item repetition rather than the other kinds of repetition. Whereas, English tends more to go for further variation in phrase Dickens, Hervey and Higgins (2002).

4.6 Functions of Repetition:

The use of repetition varies according to the text genre and purpose that it achieves. Repetition fulfills different functions in different text types. Johnstone (1987) suggests different approaches and functions of repetition. She interprets that repetition is a contributing factor of languages structures, but with distinct variations such in English and Arabic. Because these two languages belong to two different and departed mother languages. The functions of repetition according to Johnstone (ibid) are:

4.6.1 Repetition as a Cohesive Device:

Repetition works as a cohesive device in English, to reserve the unity between sentences or within a whole text. Halliday and Hassan (1976:60) say that "repetition functions as a tying and a referential aspect". Also they both show how repetition could either be used spontaneously, or by a plan by the native speaker within their speeches or texts. Moreover, Johnston (ibid) presents Tannen's study of repetition in conversation, when it performs a cohesive link in talking within a conversation between certain persons.

4.6.2 Repetition as a Rhetorical Device:

The traditional rhetorical devices (assonance, alliteration...etc) assures this function with little interpretations of this matter Johnstone (1987). Johnstone (1983) in another study-which is a work about repetition and how it works as a persuasive tool in Arabic texts- previews how the

rhetorical use of repetition in Arabic serves as a persuasive matter, without any resort from the speaker to add a logical support. Johnston notes that this function is mostly and only valuable in the Arabic language. Users make use of it due to its effectiveness of making things believable. However, this style of persuasion is not regarded, nor frequently used in the western societies.

4.6.3 Repetition possess a semantic effect:

This functions mostly appears in the poetic genre text. It is achieved when two terms have the same semantic effect and they are repeated, but not in an identical way. Nonetheless, they create a great effect.

4.6.4 Repetition and its function in language learning, linguistic, socialization and language teaching:

Repetition is considered as one of the oldest and most useful traditional way of language learning and teaching. It plays a central role in the first-language acquisition learning by exposing children to repetition of utterances as a way of memorizing the language structure. Also it is a helpful method for teaching and learning a foreign language as well.

Again Johnstone (1994) concludes the functions of repetition, as a tool which carries didactic, playful, emotional, artistic, ritualistic, textual and rhetorical functions. Thus, the language which specifies what is the main use of repetition in its texts. Johnstone (ibid) states that there are differences between the languages in their used amount of repetition

occurrence in their texts. And it is known intuitively among its speaker, what is the main and meant function behind the use of this linguistic structure. More specifically if the context is obvious, known or explained for both speakers or hearers, the exact goal could be pointed out more easily.

Two different kinds of Arabic repetition will be examined In this research; the morphological and lexical repetition. But the second kind is most obviously used as Johnstone (1994:11) states that "Arabic is often referred as a language that makes much use of repetition, including lexical than many other languages". Also Alkhafaji (2005:7) supports this "there is a marked tendency in Arabic to use lexical repetition more frequently, as well as to favor recurrence over variation in its use"

Another point to mention about repetition sentences in this research. That in many cases "lexical repetition" is used by the addresser in different positions within the text, i.e. lexical- item repetition happened either in an intra or inter sentential position. It is either that the repeated items occur within the same sentence or to a very near sentence, or they are located in two different locations within the text.

With regard of repetition functions, the analysis of the three presidential political speeches does not focus nor it studies the quantity of the frequent repetition in both Arabic and English texts. But rather, it will give a priority to the main issue relating to the research, which is the function of lexical repetition, its relatedness to the ideological behaviors of

the addressers. And the tight connection between this used linguistic structure its goal and what it is possible derivational persuasion. In terms of its impacts upon the perceived audience (the source text audience).

Chapter Five

Data Analysis

Section One: Repetition and ideological strategies

5.1.1 The Contextual Background of the Speeches:

Before commencing of previewing, classifying and analyzing the collected data A brief contextual introductory is given, about the type of the three political speeches and their addressers. In most concern about the the contextual facts of the source texts. And what is their political impacts upon understanding the surrounding critical situations, regarding "Egypt" in which all these incidents took place, during the important period from 2010 until 2013. In this period, the most core incidents for the Egyptian revolution had occurred, and its effects could still be seen up to this moment.

The three-Egyptian presidential speeches which will be discussed, analyzed and compared in this research are: Mubarak, Morsi and Al-Sisi speech.

5.1.1.1 Mubarak's speech background:

The first speech of Mubarak was delivered in February 10, 2011. It was his last speech while in power, after 17 days from the start of the protesters demands to quit his position and leave the country. The demonstrations started in January 25, 2011 to make a real and

revolutionary protest, with million- gathered people at the main squares of each Egyptian city. This day was the launching and stimulus one for the Egyptian revolution. Due to the mass protests which embraced all the Egyptians cities. Therefore, later on the Egyptian revolution was named after this day as "January 25th revolution".

The Egyptian people were influenced much of the Tunisian revolution, which took place exactly a year before the start of the Egyptian one, on 17th of December 2010. After a year from the Tunisian revolution with its huge protest the president left the country after 23 years in power. Thus, it was a fruitful reason for the Egyptian people to imitate the Tunisian revolution. Assad (2011:2) acknowledges that:

"Another obvious similarity between Tunisia and several of its Arab neighbors is the combination of political repression and corruption on the part of the regime and those who close to it".

Mubarak stayed in his power for 30 years. Protesters accused the regime of taking control over the country-during this ruling time-with the worst repressive ways. Alongside with the corrupted government polices and institution, which gave an illegal support for the economic elite. This led to a wide gap between the rich and poor people. Beside the political persecutions, which deprived people from their normal rights. Lahlali (2011:2) confirms that:

"The economy began to grow rapidly from about 2004 but growth also increased the gap between rich and poor. The protesters that came out on the streets from January 25 accused the regime of corruption, brutality and political repression".

Mubarak, firstly came out with two previous speeches, trying hard to win people's empathies and hearts, promising them with the best changes and reforms. Despite the analysts opinions about these discourses, that they call for unity, and they are full of patriotism. But for protesters it was too late to believe him. Therefore, People did not take Mubarak speeches into account, and considered them as fake speeches that lack credibility. Lahlali (2011:3) comments:

"Despite numerous attempts to subdue the protests, Mubarak failed to convince the protesters that his offers of reform were sincere"

In the third speech, Mubarak tried harder to convince the masses of promises and reforms assuring and reminding them much of what he will make by repeating this over and over again. A strategy that he counted so much on as a way of persuasion. This appears in his repeated-sentences assurance that he will not run for the next presidency election, and his method of entreaty about his long-spend time for Egypt's defense as a soldier and president. Accordingly, people could not take his speeches and promises any more because of his weak record of promises and fulfillment. Thus, it was rejected the most, with millions refusals and departure

demanders. A day later, the vice president declared Mubarak's departure and designation of power. Lahlali (ibid:5) discusses that:

"As the protesters calling for downfall of the regimes grew both in number and confidence, the pressure mounted, leading to more concession".

5.1.1.2 Morsi speech background:

A year and a half later, on June 2012 two-presidential election rounds were held, announcing the win of the Muslim brotherhood-party's candidate " Mohammad Morsi". The first genuine election after "January 25th revolution", which ousted the previous president "Mubarak". Morsi's presidency lasted one year and one month. Malfait (2013:72) in her study about Morsi's ruling period declares:

"During the 25 January Revolution (...), the Muslim Brotherhood's primary objective was to seize with both hands the unique opportunity to grow out from the largest underground opposition movement to the most important political player in the post-revolutionary stage".

Malfait (ibid) believes that Muslim Brotherhood party was eager to have a winning moment, in which they can transfer from an opposing party to the former president to the ruling one. Thus, it was a turning point from the session of Mubarak to the moment where an opposing-repressed party takes the power. Specifically after a decisive period in which a revolution was held to achieve its demands of having a genuine ruling power.

Many analyst considered the period of Morsi's rule as an unsettled one. Staff (2012), CNN journalist comments: "Others described Morsi's election as momentous but stressed that it does not mean the county's "revolution" or its problems are over".

This due to the reason that Morsi and his allied party "Muslim brotherhood", were considered the most active opponents of Mubarak's regime and policies. In fact many of its member including "Morsi" were jailed during Mubarak's ruling power due to their ideological-shared base and their opposition to regime's policies and ideologies.

Therefore, Morsi's ruling period could not hold its feet upon different ideological ground, i.e. Mubarak and Morsis' ideological trends were parallel and conflicting. In addition, Morsi's party was considered insufficient, which lacks political and presidency experience because it was their first rise to a such a political and ruling position. Muslim brotherhood party only had a previous opposing history beside their Islamic ideological thoughts and goals.

Morsi's ideology was to build an Islamic-modern civil society he promises much to achieve prosperity and development. But people were almost not satisfied, because he could not achieve much due to the short period in which he ruled. And most people were in rush to see the result and promises immediately. Egyptians were thirsty to freedom and progress but without any patience. Staff (2012) like others did not expect good results because after Morsi's win, the political situation in Egypt did not

settle down, and it was expected that the military power might lose its grip in Egypt.

This research will take Morsi's first speech in June 24th, 2012, after his carnation as a nation's first-democratically elected president. His speech is full of recurrent patterns of attribute admiration and salutations for people. Mostly the scarified people, their families and official sectors (military polices, officers and judges). In addition to his promises for progression and condition amendments, he also requested people's joint effort for a better future. Beside that he promises to preserve the previous national and international accords and agreements. Moreover, this speech previews the hard tone of Morsi when he talks about the rejection of any external interference of Egypt's affairs.

5.1.1.3 Al-Sisi speech background:

After Morsi, came Abdel Fattah al-Sisi, who was appointed by Morsi as a head of the Egyptian armed forces. Later he was appointed as a minister of defense. Al-Sisi was a helping hand of Morsi's rule he declared that the army is the shield and protector of people. In June, 2013 protesters took to the street calling for Morsi's designation, because-according to them- he did not accomplish their wishes and fulfillment of what he promised. BBC (2014:1) news article describes this: "Al-Sisi helped to topple the previous president, Mohammed Morsi, who had made him commander-in-chief of the armed forces". After so, Al-Sisi and the

Egyptian army requested Morsi to take steps and resolve the protests against him, within 48 hours or the army will intervene.

However, Morsi had rejected that and clung to his legitimacy. Two days later Al-Sisi delivered a speech on the 3rd of July 2013, announcing the failure of Morsi's to conduct of a national leadership, beside his failure of achieving peoples' demands. BBC (2014:2) news confirms this:

"Gen Sisi effectively delivered the coup de grace with a televised ultimatum warning that the army would intervene if the government did not respond to "the will of the people" and end the crisis within 48 hours".

At his speech Al-sisi declared the end of Morsi's presidency, and the start of the army ruling intervention. Justifying it as an obligatory and patriotic mission of the army to handle the situation properly, and it was a request from the Egyptian people. A speech, which is full of repeated complement terms about the armed forces. He describes their strength and bravery, and how did they took the needed step to settle down the uprising-violent incidents and demonstrations.

Al-Sisi uses "repetition" strategy when he talks about the armed forces and their role, to convince the Egyptian people of their existence and intervention privilege over Morsi's. In addition, it appears in Al-Sisi's promise to his people of expression and media freedom. Moreover, in his speech he declared the constitution suspension, and new formation of a

conesus leadership, considering this as a transitive phase until choosing the next presidential election.

At the beginning, many analysts and people had considered Al-Sisi as a savior and guard, who protected and demanded people's rights. Also the one who prevented Morsi and his Islamic ideological party from polarizing Egypt's ruling power. BBC (2014) comments: "Many Egyptians see in him the strong leader needed to overcome the instability that has beset Egypt since the mass protests in Cairo's Tahrir Square ended Hosni Mubarak's long rule in 2011".

With the acceleration of events, the prices increased continuously, and electricity was cut off most of the time in most of the cities. This situation led people to go in anger, protesting down the streets. However, this time Al-Sisi enacted strictly toward them, he requested the police to arrest protestors, and enact violently against them.

Thus, Al-Sisi was and still believed, that he committed "a coup d'etat" against Morsi and led to his ousting first and then to be jailed later. Ramadan (2013:3) calls it as well "An elected president has been toppled by a military coup d'État .There is no other word for it". Due to Al-Sisi's formal relation with Mubarak's regime and ideology, it is believed that Al-Sisi has set up for all of this to happened. Later on he ran for presidency election and won it.

5.1.2 Repetition, their ideological and translation strategies:

This chapter proves how did the three politicians: Mubarak, Morsi and Al-Sisi deliberately use repetition in their speech to convince the audience of their political and ideological strategies. Thus, repetition here in these Arabic text does not function only as its usual functions (stylistics, cohesive), but as a rhetorical device. That carries under it an ideology which attracts the audience attention unconsciously toward a certain political fact. It is true that the use of certain repetition reveals the eloquence elevation of the addresser as Alkhafaji (2005) states but rather it hides other purposes behind it.

Therefore, this chapter is framed under the relation between repetition, ideology and translation. While analyzing, examining and clarifying the texts. The focus will be on the used ideological strategies by the addressers to reinforce their political goals. Different ideological strategies are used variously by addressers, and different translation strategies are used in dealing with the ideological traits. These ideological strategies are;

5.1.2.1 Repetition and the used strategy of emotive words:

Since the start of the Egyptian revolution, the tensed situation increased more and more with the time passing by. People were highly enraged, protests started to be violently faced and pushed. Therefore, the two leaders; Mubarak and Al-Sisi used a lot of emotional words and

gestures in their speeches, to ease the situations and people's anger. An ideological strategy is utilized to comfort people and persuade them to calm down, in order to give better solutions and promises.

Therefore, "repetition" here is used by both: Mubarak and Al-Sisi as a tool to emphasize the mentioned strategy in their speeches. Except of Morsi's speech, he used this strategy when people celebrated his winning, as a first democratically-elected president of Egypt after "January 25th revolution". Also he uses this strategy to express the delight moment of Egypt to evoke their impression, and to promise them with the best situations in the future as a way of appliance. Emphatically used repetition to assure this strategy as it is exemplified in the following extracts:

Excerpt (1):

5.1.2.1.1 Mubarak speech(ST1)

"أتوجه بحديثي اليوم لشباب مصر (...) أتوجه إليكم جميعا بحديث من القلب، حديث الأب لأبنائه وبناته".

(Mubarak speech: 10 February, 2011).

CNN (TT1)

"I am directing my speech to the youth of Egypt (...) I am addressing you today out of a true and an honest heart from a father to his sons and daughters".

Aljazeera (TT2)

"I am addressing you tonight, the youth of Egypt (...) I am addressing all of you from the heart".

Mubarak in his last speech and according to the contextual analysis as the Guardian (2011) states that it was a stunning speech, for both Egypt and the world. Because in the headed 18 days of the irritated demonstrations demands of his resignation, expectation were of his steeping down. Instead, he seemed to keep the power and maintain his presidency. Therefore, he used indirect strategies to deliver his ideological message. This ideological strategy is introduced firstly in his speech, with the use of the emotional repetition.

In his socio-cognitive approach, Dijk (2006) defines the social ideology, when a member of a social group is legalized to organize what is the interest for them. Such the president of a state, who speaks in behalf of his party. He has a social ideology and he expresses it through his discourse. Dijk (ibid) states that the more ideology is hidden, the more stronger its effect. He adds that when a person wants to justify his action, he resorts to use a hidden ideology within his discourse.

Different strategies can be used by politicians to propose their ideologies. Mubarak uses emotional words to attract his people. Firstly, he started his speech by saying "I am addressing you". That means all the

speech is directed for his people and for their interests. Thus, he is seeking listening ears to convince them of his ideology to maintain his presidency.

The emotional strategy is confirmed by repeating the phrase "أتوجه بحديثي" and the word "حديثي". According to Dickens, Hervey and Higgins (2002) classification, the previous repeated phrase and word are kinds of lexical repetition. The phrase repetition is used twice and the word repetition is used three times. Normally phrase repetition is regarded as a text cohesive device. I.e. it is syntactically repeated, because it relates to the main topic, so it would make the text cohesively as a single unit. However, the phrase repetition "أتوجه بحديثي" has a different function here. Mubarak uses it to gain people's attention, because he is looking for their support. Mubarak is mitigating his peoples' emotions that he cares a lot about them.

Therefore, he used the word "حديثي", "address" instead of "خطابي", "speech". Despite his official position, he preferred the informal word to make the speech more appellative. The repetition of the informal lexical item "حديثي" is a way of attraction in which Mubarak aims to convey a good sense of friendliness with his people, to break the formality barriers with them. Therefore, he intends to use this informal word to bridge the gap between him and his people, so they would be closer to each other. Mubarak manipulates the Egyptian people of his emotional words, so they would feel bitty on him, and let him complete his ruling on country.

In addition, Mubarak uses more emotional phrases such "لشباب مصر، حديث الأب لأبنائه وبناته، حديث من القلب". Mubarak here is specifying the youth in his speech, because they are the most emotional in a society, also they are the major section in protests. He wants to affect them more to reconsider their demands: firstly by using the phrase "حديث من القلب", "a speech from the heart". It is known that the heart is tied connotatively with emotions. Mubarak uses this word to convince people that his speech is an honest one out from his caring heart. Thus, he is evoking their emotions.

Secondly, Mubarak used the phrase "حديث الأب لأبنائه وبناته", "a speech from a father to his sons and daughters". This phrase is the most emotional one, which disguises under it more than a strong relation between the father and his sons and daughters. It suggests that Mubarak is seeking his presidency- maintenance approval from his people. He resembles himself as a father to his people. Thus, it is unexpectedly that this relation would be broken, in contrast it should be a closer one. Furthermore, he means that a father cannot leave his children and they cannot abandon him as well, it is a mutual interest. Again Mubarak is manipulating with words to make people closer to him like sons to a father.

Consequently, it reflects Mubarak's ideology of sustaining the power by affirming that he is the father of people and he cannot leave them. Jerit, Kuklinski, and Quirk (2000:8) comment: "Politicians intend to activate emotions in the process of shaping citizens' beliefs about future outcomes".

Thus, Mubarak uses emotional words to affect them and persuade them of his future plan of staying in presidency.

The emotional words are one of translation problems that a translator may face especially from Arabic into English because Arabic is a highly emotional language as Shuannaq and Fargal (1990) confirm. Its addressers make use of emotion in different context type as a way of persuasion. Shuannaq and Fargal (ibid) clarify that the lexical emotive words are used to arouse certain emotions in their receivers. Also there are other factors that could affect people: such as the context and speaker's intention. Arabic repeated lexical item shall be translated variably in English, Dinkins (2002). Because English language does not favor recurrent item, so the sentence would sound more natural.

However, the repeated lexical item could be translated once for an economical reason. Mubarak's speech is highly emotional and full of rhetorical repetition. Comparing between the two professional translations of Mubarak's speech: CNN and Aljazeera. Both have the same targeted audience which are the English speakers. However, they have different translation ideologies. Farghal and Shunnaq (1990) states that a translator shall consider the degree of differences between the ST and TT, and the best way is to follow the stylistic norms of TT. However, a translator could balance to maintain the emotive effects in the TT, to keep its effect upon the TT audience.

Previously, giving equivalences was the core issue of translation, which focused only on transference from the ST into TT with abiding the most close equivalences. A translator before did not have any space for interference. But at the modern time as Hatim and Mason (1997) think that translation is not a neutral activity any more. Thus, a translator's role affects the mechanism and quality of translation. Hatim and Mason (ibid:147) declare that "the translation as a process of texts filters the text world of the ST through his/her own world-view of ideology with differing results", i.e. a translator's decision reflects his ideological impact.

Translator's interference means visibility. Baker (1996) states, that a translator visibility influence concerning the cultural differences is a political agenda. Thus translators' strategies reveal his ideologies. Concerning also Schaffner (2003) study which insists that translation is one of the strongest way to reveal ideology and make it appellative. She sees translation as a mere process of ideology.

Returning to compare between CNN and Aljazeera translations, which reveals their different ideologies. In the mentioned extract the repeated phrase "اتوجه بحديثي" is translated tow times. Both channels use the maintenance strategy to render the phrase, but CNN translates it into variants "I am addressing my speech" and "I am addressing you ". Variants are used to meet the TT norms, because English opts more for variants.

While Aljazeera maintains the repeated phrase without giving variants which are "I am addressing you" and "I am addressing all of you ".

Aljazeera maintenance strategy is to preserve and deliver the emotional effect to the TT audience. The lexical repeated item "حديثي" is translated by CNN by the merging strategy into one "speech" for an economical reason, but Aljazeera merged the repeated phrase and word into one word "addressing". It might be for an economical reason.

Regarding the other emotional phrases "لشباب مصر، حديث الأب لأبنائه" which are translated by CNN (TT1) as "out of a true and honest heart, from a father to his sons and daughter". And by Aljazeera (TT2) "from the heart". These phrases are highly emotional. Thus, CNN translates them with (+emotiveness), i.e. maintaining the original words with addition of some emotive words "out of and honest". CNN adds them to increase the emotional effect.

The translator adds the word "honest" to widens Mubark's emotive strategy, that he speaks from an honest heart. Thus, CNN overtones the emotive expression of the ST. Also CNN maintains Mubarak's phrase "حديث من الأب، حديث الأب لأبنائه وبناته", "from a father to his sons and daughter", to support Mubarak's vision of seeing himself as a father for his people, and that his people should abide to it.

While Aljazeera translates the emotive phrase "حديث من الأب، حديث الأب لأبنائه وبناته" into "from the heart". The translator here chooses to use a (-emotiveness) tune, to decrease the emotive effect of the addressers' words, by omitting the second phrase "حديث الأب لأبنائه وبناته", and by translating "حديث من القلب" literary into "from the heart". Both strategies: omission and

literal translation indicate Aljazeera's ideology toward Mubarak's speech. Because it chooses to decrease much of his emotiveness, especially when it renders the father-to-son relation.

Thus, Aljazeera and CNN take two-opposing ideological translation trends. CNN is over tuning Mubarak's emotive words, to enlarge his political voice and consequently being a supporter of his speech. While Aljazeera is decreasing Mubarak's emotional words through omission. Therefore, this channel does not support his ideology of repeating the emotional phrase to affect peoples' minds. In contrast it underestimate his words by making it less emotional.

Two different studies show the contrast between Aljazeera English and CNN channels ideologies. In de Graaf (2005) study, he came up with the result that both channels contain counter-ideological elements, in terms of their news coverage. Especially when it comes to the used linguistic structure, where the differences appear distinctively. While Youmans and Brown (2011) specify their study of making a comparison between both channels, in term of their ideological coverage concerning the Arab spring events, including the Egyptian one.

Youmans and Brown (2011) statistical study included a group of native American citizens, in terms of their evaluation concerning these questions are: do you sympathize with the Egyptian protest and over throw their leader Hosni Mubarak, a longtime ally of the United states. 2) Do you think Aljazeera English as a network contributed to the protests against

Egypt's president Mubarak?. The result came out that the participants who watched Aljazeera in its transmission of the Egyptian revolution affair in 2011 said that it was less biased than the American network channel (CNN). However, participants' results, revealed that Aljazeera English channel is less favored than CNN in America, due to its anti-American ideology in the middle east.

Excerpt (2)

5.1.2.1.2 Morsi speech (ST2):

"فنحن جميعا مصريون اختلفت اجتهاداتنا، ونحن جميعا وطنيون اختلفت أحزابنا وتيارا نناونحن جميعا أوفياء للثورة".

(Morsi speech: 24 June, 2012).

a) The guardian (TT1)

We are all Egyptians. Even we differ in our views we are all citizens of this country, even our parties are different.

b) Al-Ikhwan (TT2)

We are all Egyptians no matter what our parties and trends. We are all faithful to the revolution.

The Arabic extract contains tow-phrase repetition "نحن جميعا" and "وان" suffix repetition of "نا" in the words "اجتهاداتنا"، "أحزابنا"، "تياراتنا" and "اختلفت" and suffix repetition "ون" in the words "مصريون"، "وطنيون". The phrase repetition is

a lexical repetition. While the suffix repetition is a kind of morphological repetition. Typically, lexical repetition functions as a cohesive device and translated variably in English. While according to Dickins, Hervey and Higgins (2002) suffix repetition functions as an emphatic device, and normally it is ignored in translation, because it is a linguistic matter that does not exist in English.

Morsi's winning speech makes extensive use of emotive expressions and rhetorical matters. In terms of his concentration upon terms of patriotism and nationalism. His speech is subjected toward the Egyptian people and their future.

He calls for their unity after a dividing and tough revolution. CNN writer Staff (2012:1) confirms this call "Morsi urged his countrymen to put aside their differences and come together for the common good". In addition, in this speech Morsi promises the Egyptian with a progressive and democratic future. Morsi's religious ideology is reflected in the speech as well; in his extensive use of religious words such "god", and his quotes of Qur'anic verses. Therefore, in the previous extract Morsi is strengthen people's unity, by evoking and stimulating their national sense, with the use of emotional repeated phrases.

Dijk (2003) approves that a political speech aims at a persuasive base. Thus, Politicians intend to use a dramatic over toned language, to approve their ability of changing a conflict situation. Such it is exemplified in Morsi's following phrases. "وان اختلفت أحزابنا and نحن جميعا مصريون ووطنيون".

وتياراتنا". The phrase "نحن جميعا", "we are all" is repeated twice. Morsi here is confirming the unity matter, because as CNN analyzes, even it is a democratic election, but the situation still unsettled in Egypt. Thus, focusing upon unity is an important factor that would stabilize the situation. Moreover, the second repeated phrase "وان اختلفت" as well is a request for departing differences, to live in a harmonized community. Morsi here is playing upon the core of patriotic emotions, to convince the people, that this is the solution of ending the conflict in Egypt.

Comparing between the two translations of the emotive repeated phrase, we can see that both the guardian and Al-Ikhwan use the maintenance translation strategy of the first phrase "نحن جميعا", "we are all", twice in each TT. To keep the ST effect of repetition upon the TT audience as well. Which is the confirmation of unity importance. In contrast of the second phrase "وان اختلفت", which is repeated twice but translated differently. In the TT1 it is translated as "even we differ and "even our parties are different". And by the TT2 as "no matter what our parties are". The guardian's translation chooses the strategy of repetition maintenance. The translation is over toning the emotive effect by focusing on the negative side, which is the differences among parties and people. While the TT2, translation decreases the tone of differences, with the merging strategy of the repeated phrase into one "no matter what our parties are". Without mentioning "differ, different" words.

Both translation resources have different ideology; The guardian as a British newspaper, and Al-Ikhwan website as the official site of the Islamic party, in which Morsi was a member of. The guardian's ideology is over toning the voice of differences among the Egyptian people and parties, which is a term that Morsi is defending and trying to eliminate. In contrast of The guardian, the second translation resource (Al-Ikhwan) originally echoes the ideology of the president Morsi and his previous party. Thus, it is spontaneously predictable for it to mimic the ideology of Morsi. Through over toning the emotive and encouraging words, and by turning down the voice of differences.

The process of translation is not a neutral one. I.e. the translator has the choice to pick up the strategies in which he/she sees it suitable to the text genre and the TT audience. Thus, translation strategy selection implicitly echoes the translator's ideological voice. Hatim & Mason (1997:174) affirm that "The translator as a processor of texts, filters the text world of the source text through his/her own world-view/ideology, with differing results".

Therefore, both The guardian and Al-Ikhwan different translation strategies reflect their ideological visions toward the text, and hence toward the text producer as well. The guardian strategy of over toning the repeated lexical items, in which Morsi calls for differences negation. Is an ideological tool, which The guardian uses to confirm upon the Egyptian's differences problem. In contrast of Al-Ikhwan method of downing the tone

of differences among the Egyptians, by using less negative- lexical items to describe Morsis' words. Therefore, both translation resources differ in their ideologies dealing this matter. Al-Ikhwan website is taking Morsi's side by ornamenting his words. While The guardian is trying to focus upon Morsi's view upon seeing the differences among the people, and the importance of its negligence.

Excerpt (3):

5.1.2.1.3 Al-Sisi speech (ST3)

"إن الشعب الذي يدعوها لنصرته لا يدعوها لسلطة أو حكم وإنما يدعوها للخدمة العامة".

(Al-Sisispeech: 3 July, 2013).

a) BBC (TT1)

The Egyptian people, who are calling on us to come to their support, are not in fact calling on us to assume power. Rather, they have called on us to perform public service.

b) Aljazeera (TT2)

The armed forces have been called by the Egyptian people for help, not to hold reins of power, yet to discharge its civil responsibility.

Al-Sisi in his speech is trying to justify the armed forces (AF) interference into power, to resolve the critical division among anti-Morsis' protesters and Morsi's new regime. Thus, Al-Sisi is paving the way for the

AF to take forward steps into seizing power. He claims that the AF proceeded this method, to reply and meet people's request to move and act accordingly, so people's demands and right would be fulfilled. Reuters's journalist Pfeffer (2013) comments, that the Egyptian army commander "Al-Sisi" committed a coup with his speech with the aim to push politicians into conciliation, denying at the same time of having any political ambition. Claiming as well that it was a respond only to people's demands of having a political leader who aims to unite after all the mass that Morsi have made.

Al-Sisi in this extract is talking about the AF and how did they hear people's call for support. Thus, he is playing on the emotional cords, describing the AF as a hero who is giving a helping hand to the weaker. Moreover, he assures that their heroic act is only a supportive demand and not for seeking power.

Thus, Al-Sisi as the army commander is using the emotive repetition as a tool to convince the Egyptian people of their support approval and movement. There is a lexical item repetition "يدعوها", which is repeated three times in the same extract. The word "يدعوها", "calling on her" is obviously used by Al-Sisi- that the army moved due to people's demand- as an excuse to justify and legalize the army intervention. Thus, Al-Sisi is manipulating with words to persuade the people unconsciously to play upon emotions that he is a savior who tries to do the best for the country by elevating the AF position.

Normally as Dickins (2002) states that this kind of repetition (lexical repetition) is translated variably into English to give diversity, so the sentence would sound more natural. Comparing between the TT1 and TT2, we can see the differences between the used translation strategies. BBC translates the repeated lexical item three times without using variants which are; "calling on us, calling on us, called on us". Which is an unusual used translation in English when rendering Arabic repeated items. Thus BBC translation uses maintenance strategy, i.e. it translates the three repeated words the same without any change, to keep the same effect of the emotional and persuasive words upon the TT readers. Despite the fact, that the three lexical items occur at the same sentential line. In contrast of Aljazeera translation which merges the three-repeated lexical item into one phrase "have been called by the Egyptian people".

We can differentiate between BBC and Aljazeera translation ideology, in term of rendering the emotive repeated items and their meant goals. The original Arabic sentence would be like "الشعب الذي يدعو القوات المسلحة لنصرته", BBC translates it into "the Egyptian people, who are calling on us". While Aljazeera translates it into "the armed forces have been called by the Egyptian people". BBC translation is supporting Al-Sisi's justification by foregrounding "the Egyptian people" sentence. I.e. The strategy of foregrounding the request demander (people), as a way of giving significant and concentration upon people's demand and not upon the AF. which is a strategy that Al-Sisi used to convince the people of the AF action, i.e. Foregrounding a word by moving its place to the front of a

sentence to assure its importance. Hatim & Mason (1997) discuss the "foregrounding" strategy, as the one which a translator alludes to in dealing with the repetitive items, and this reveals the ideological manner of the translator. They point out that this strategy is a mean by which a translator draws attention to prominent lexical choices, to show an instance of markedness assurance of its importance).

However, Aljazeera adopts the same strategy, but differently by foregrounding "The armed forces" sentence in the front, to concentrate upon their reactions and not upon people's demands. Which reveals the AF self-reaction, with less focus upon people's demand (back grounding it). Thus, Aljazeera translation strategy reveals its ideology concerning upon the AF intervention. It shows that the AF are greedy to seize the authority and power, and not primarily of interests to people's demands.

Dickins also defines the foreground information as "information which is central to the overall topic". And defines the background information as "the kind of information which is not central to the overall topic of the text or section of text" (2002:120). Therefore, both CNN and Aljazeera differ in their ideological support of Al-Sisi's allegation to legalize the AF intervention. By foregrounding and back grounding translation strategies. In addition to maintenance and merging strategy in render of the repeated items.

5.1.2.2 Repetition and the strategy of unification call:

Excerpt (4):

5.1.2.2.1 Mubarak speech(ST1):

"سنثبت ذلك بحدة وعزم المصريين، وبوحدة وتماسك هذا الشعب وتمسكنا بعزة مصر وكرامتها".

(Mubarak speech: 10 February, 2011).

a) CNN (TT1)

We are going to prove this with a sense of determination of the Egyptian people, and with the sense of unity and solidarity of its people.

b) Aljazeera (TT2)

We will prove that with the spirit and intention of Egyptians, and with the unity and cohesion of the people.

This sentence cannot be understood individually, there are missing parts. Therefore, we should denote to the intra and inter textual information, to understand the referred point. Dijk (2008) suggests to understand the political point of view in a speech is by understanding the combined text- in context. And consequently it helps to understand what is the real purpose of the speech.

Referring to the previous intra-textual sentence, Mubarak here is trying to strengthen and unify the Egyptian people by evoking them to achieve their demands first. Then by proving Egypt self-sufficiency in

taking responsibilities and making decisions. Also he assures them that people at street (demonstrators) will take part in this as well. Contextually, Mubarak is using the strategy of unification in critical times that Egypt goes through. He convinces people that he intends to unify them and make them independent. With this strategy he is trying to revive people's trust in him-after their demand of his departure. Lahlali (2012) declares that a political leader who uses a repetitive items calling for unity, is the one who takes use of this style to have an immediate emotional impact upon his audience. Also it is designed to grasp his people in a rally on his side.

Therefore, in the translated extract again Mubarak uses the repeated unification terms, to stimulate their support. Thus the repeated lexical item "تماسك", which is repeated twice, briefs the unification concept in one word. CNN merges the tow words and translates them as "solidarity". While Aljazeera merges them into "cohesion". The word "solidarity" is defined by online- Cambridge dictionary, as an agreement and support between members of a group specially in a political group. While cohesion is defined, as a situation when a society group member are united. From the definition, "solidarity" comprises agreement and support of all members, while cohesion only refers to unification. Thus, "solidarity" is a stronger expression to render the word "تماسك", and more closer to Mubarak's motivating intention of unity. Moreover, in terms of unification translation ideology, CNN in its translated extract uses phrases such "sense of determination, sense of unity and solidarity".

While Aljazeera uses "spirit and intention of Egypt and with the unity and cohesion of the people". CNN (TT1) adds the word "sense", which is defined as "a general feeling or understanding". Thus, it adds the word "sense" to express Mubarks' words and meaning additionally. Here CNN translation extract is supporting Mubark's ideology of people's unification call. Also it adds flavoring words to show people interest in unity.

While Aljazeera translation uses words such "spirit and intention", which are less powerful than the word "sense". Aljazeera used items show normal affection toward Mubarak's words. Moreover, there is a big difference between the two translated words "determination & intention". The first is translated by CNN and it shows Mubarak's assurance of people will to support the unification idea. While the word "intention" which is used by Aljazeera does not imply Mubarak's affirmation of people's wish to support him in the unification matter. Which is against Mubarak's ideological goal. Because the word "intention" implies the uncertainty of possibilities.

A translator choice of vocabularies echoes the sound of his ideological view toward the original text Hatim & Mason (1997). Therefore, both Aljazeera and CNN contrastive- selected words reveal their opposite-ideological policy as de Graaf (2005) confirms in his study. Khanfar, Aljazeera's Arabic previous manager in Barkho's (2008) study assures that Aljazeera stands in the side of people's rights, and it gives

voice to the voiceless. Therefore, it is very selective and sensitive concerning vocabularies selection. As it is examined in the previous extract both media outcasts/stations: Aljazeera & CNN. They both chose different vocabularies to manifest Mubarak's' ideology of calling for unity.

However, CNN makes use of strong and positive-selected words such "solidarity and sense" to ornament Mubarak's view. In contrast of Aljazeera, which uses items such "cohesion and intention" to reduce Mubarak's effective expectations.

Excerpt (5)

5.1.2.2.2 Morsi's speech (ST2):

"إن مصر الآن في حاجة إلى توحيد الصفوف وجمع الكلمة".

"لتقوية وحدثنا الوطنية الشاملة ولتمكين الأواصل بيننا".

"وحدثنا الوطنية وتماسكنا الاجتماعي".

(Morsi speech: 24 June, 2012).

a) The guardian (TT1)

Our country is in urgent need at this moment so far the consolidation of ranks and unity of purpose.

I call upon you the great people of Egypt to strengthen our national unity and close our ranks and stand together.

Our national unity.

b) Al-Ikhwan (TT2)

Egypt needs to close ranks, untie word.

I invite you the great People of Egypt to cement bounds amongst us, to strengthen our comprehensive nation unity. And hold feet, all of you together.

"That aims at our national unity and our social coherence".

Egypt after Mubarak's departure of power was still unstable. People were very careful and have lots of requests. They wanted a new president with new ideologies to resolve the troubles. Besides that, the Egyptian people were divided into anti and pro- Mubarak's regime. This division led to many violent incidents with a worrying fusion. Staff (2012), CNN journalist, describes the events saying that Egypt after the revolution and the oust of Mubarak was still disturbed, and the problems were yet to started. Beside the political unrest; there was an economical struggle, high ranges of employment and breakdown of the touristic section.

Consequently, the contextual interpretation explains Morsi's call for unification, with repeating its importance hence and a while, to remind the people to be a unit to overcome every difficulties. The lexical word and the lexical repeated phrase "وحدتنا الوطنية and توحيد", are used by Morsi to confirm the unity matter. Both words "وحدتنا and توحيد" have the same root

"وحدّ" which means "unifies". Thus, it shows Morsi's ideology of insisting upon unity.

The word توحيد is rendered by The guardian as "consolidation", and by Al-Ikhwan as "to close". The word "consolidation" expresses the meaning more than "to close", because "consolidation" means causing a certain thing to be stronger.

Thus, it describes and calls on unity to be solid. While the render "to close" is only a call for making a unity. The lexical repeated phrase "وحدتنا الوطنية" is rendered similarly by the TT1 and TT2 as "national unity", and it is translated twice by each TT. Thus, maintenance strategy is adopted by both to confirm upon ideology and call for unity.

The ideology of translation by both, the guardian and Al-Ikhwan is obvious. The Guardian succeeded more to confirm the unification call than Al-Ikhwan. By using the word "consolidation" rather than "to close". Another important hint, that the guardian adds the word "urgent" for "need", which is not mentioned in the ST. This word "urgent" gives the notion of the important rush need for unity. It is an over toning word. Therefore, The guardian ideology is confirming the quick demand for unity, as a resolution for the erupted situation. Al-Ikhwan takes an allied side of Morsi's statement by rendering the words literary without any addition or exaggeration.

Both Media outcasts/stations: The Guardian and Al-Ikhwan did not show vast differences in rendering the repetitive items of unification call such; "وحدتنا الوطنية and توحيد". Only one succeeded more in giving a stronger and effective expression than the other. The ideological hint of translation did not appear distinctively, due to the reason of unity importance during the speech time. Which is a matter that all sides agreed upon, because the Egyptian people suffered a lot during the revolution.

Therefore, unity shall be inseparable matter of the coming period.

Excerpt (6):

5.1.2.2.3 Al-Sisi's speech (ST2)

"وإجراء مصالحة وطنية بين كافة القوى السياسية بما فيها مؤسسة الرئاسة".

"تشكيل لجنة عليا للمصالحة الوطنية تمثل مختلف التوجهات".

(Al-Sisispeech: 3 July, 2013).

a) BBC

Conduct national reconciliation comprising all the political forces.

Achieve national reconciliation among all institutions.

b) Aljazeera

A committee shall be formed comprising figures from various expertise and spectrums.

A technocrat, capable national government will be formed.

After the end of 48- hour period given to Morsi by the general army leader. Al-Sisi declared Morsi's failure of consisting the needed committee and ending the tensed situation of his anti-demonstrators rage. Therefore, Al-Sisi came up with this speech claiming to back up the Egyptian people request from the AF against Morsi's rule. Carlstrom (2013) Aljazeera English reporter comments that the Egyptian army request from Morsi to resolve the huge protests in 48 hours, or the he will face an intervention. Is a huge pressure in which is put upon the country's first democratically elected leader. And it undermines his authority.

In his speech Al-Sisi confirms upon the national consolation, he promises people to achieve this purpose ultimately. A matter which Morsi had failed to achieve according to him. Al-Sisi used the lexical repeated form of "المصالحة الوطنية", to achieve the unification promise. This lexical repeated item is translated twice by BBC as "national reconciliation", using the literal translation strategy, and maintenance of the repeated lexical items of the ST. As an ideological translation manner to agree upon Al-Sisi's plan to achieve the unification committee, also it confirms upon the importance of this unity.

While Aljazeera translates "المصالحة الوطنية" with using variants "a committee" and "a technocrat, capable national government". In the second translated phrase, Aljazeera added the word "capable". This translation by addition strategy is used by Aljazeera to assure the issue of complementing

the committee. However, Aljazeera puts its print upon to explain, that this committee must be a capable one, i.e. It should be a trustworthy committee, and it should be able to achieve the needed mission. Dickins (2002) comments that addition- translation strategy is a common feature of Arabic/English translation. It occurs frequently when there is a general usage of it in English, or the context requires it to be added for giving additional information.

Therefore, Aljazeera adds the word due to a contextual reason, i.e. to give additional information to the TT reader. That it must not only be a committee, but also a capable one to counter the unsettled situation. Aljazeera's translation ideology is confirming upon Al-Sisi's demand, with an additional interference to show more needed demands. Aljazeera here is not sure of Al-Sisi's right choice of compromising a committee. Therefore, it adds that it should be a capable one.

The translation resources: BBC and Aljazeera also have an in contrast-ideological visions. As Barkho (2008) confirms in his study. It is disguised thoroughly through examining the previous translated extract, concerning the repetitive unification item "المصالحة الوطنية". BBC renders them lexically with the maintenance of the three repetitive phrase, which detects its opponent- ideological vision toward Al-Sisi's promise of making a national committee. Confirming upon its importance for the Egyptian People. However, Aljazeera as well renders the three repeated items to

show its importance, but in a suspicious manner. Thus, it adds the words "technocrat & capable ", to guarantee a diverse and democratic committee.

5.1.2.3 Repetition and the strategy of promising:

Excerpt (7):

5.1.2.3.1 Mubarak's speech (ST1)

"بالمضي في النهوض بمسؤولية".

"بمسؤوليتي في الخروج بالوطن من هذه الأوقات العصيبة".

(Mubarak speech: 10 February, 2011).

a) CNN:

Adhere to the decision of shouldering the responsibility.

Out of a sense of commitment of carrying the nation out of this critical juncture.

B) Aljazeera

My commitment to shoulder my responsibility.

I am adhering to my responsibility to the homeland during these hard times.

Mubarak in his speech is trying to regain people's trust, after losing his popularity and credibility. His last two speeches (since the beginning of the revolution) were as well a try to convince the people to retreat their demands and protests. But people refused that and rejected his speeches.

Therefore, he came up with this third speech with a more promising and empathetic language, seeking a better result. Lahlali (2011) explains how Mubarak shifted his tow first speeches to the third and last one. A shift from despotism to a democratic one.

Thus, in his last speech and before his departure of power he tried hard to change the tone into a promising and optimizing one, of a democratic and prosperous future. However, it was too late to be believed by the Egyptian. This shift of the speeches production also echoes the shift of the political context, which led to Mubarak's decision of leaving presidency.

In the previous extract, Mubarak is concentrating upon his responsibility to develop the country, and bring it out of this critical situation. Thus, it is such a promise that he takes on himself for his people, to persuade them of his willing plans. Mubarak uses a promising repeated word "مسؤوليتي" as a strategy to win over people's hearts, that he is going to change and make his best to achieve it. Again Lahlali (2011) points out Mubarak's goal behind promising his people, as a strategy that he follows to calm down his raged protesters, desiring as well of a new chance for himself.

CNN translates the lexical repeated item "مسؤوليتي" into variants: "the responsibility" and "a sense of commitment". While Aljazeera renders them the same as "my responsibility". Both translation strategies reveal different ideological manners toward Mubarak's commitment. CNN previously uses

the word "sense", it was added to give a more powerful and effective word. Beside that CNN gives two variants for the word "مسؤولية" "responsibility and commitment" to assure Mubarak's willingness. Because the word "commitment" is stronger than "responsibility", its defined in the dictionary as the willingness to give more time and effort to do a certain matter. Thus, it gives an additional effective meaning upon Mubarak's ideological promise, which is the assurance of making the promise.

In contrast of CNN, Aljazeera renders the words into "my responsibility", and it alludes responsibility to Mubarak by adding the proposition "my". Thus, it abides the word with Mubarak to obligate him more. Aljazeera uses this strategy to deliver a message to the TT audience, that Mubarak should carry the responsibility of the critical situation in Egypt.

Both media outcasts: CNN and Aljazeera have chosen different lexical vocabularies to render the promising- lexical item "مسؤولية". The translated-selected words depend on a translator interpretation of the context. Hatim & Mason (2005:122) acknowledge that "the translator acts in a social context and is part of that context. It is in this sense that translating is, in itself, an ideological activity". I.e. a translator firstly renders the political context and transfers it into words, which reflects its ideological sight of the situation. This what had both outcasts: CNNs' and Aljazeeras' choices reveal. The CNN ornamenting words "sense and commitment" expose the channel's ideological sympathy with Mubarak's

promises and responsibilities. However, Aljazeera manifests the Egyptian rejection of Mubarak and his promises, into words that blame Mubarak and burden him with the critical situation in the country.

Therefore, it stands with the Egyptian people rights and demands.

Excerpt (8):

5.1.2.3.2 Morsi speech (ST2)

"التوظيف حقيقي لكل مواردنا... مواردنا كثيرة والحمد لله... ونحن اليوم بصدد إدارة هذه الموارد".

(Morsi speech: 24 June, 2012).

a) The guardian

Leading to real development of our resources, god has blessed us with much...We are today about to use these resources.

b) Al-Ikhwan

Real capitalization of all our resources .Our resources are massive, god's blessing are numerous. And if you would count the bounty of Allah ye cannot reckon it (...)

We are today to run these resources.

Morsi's strategy is giving the Egyptian people a solution to strengthen the economic power, after the hard days of revolution that Egypt went through. After his winning, Morsi proposes to lift up the economy with the maximal use of the Egyptian resources. Therefore, he is calling for

a self-sufficient dependency upon the Egyptian economy. Besides, he is promising to open the door for more job opportunities for young people. Thus, it is an indirect strategy of Morsi to promise and willing to achieve the demands of protesters. El-Haddad (2012:2), Morsi's campaign spokesman, comments to Aljazeera: "It comes with more challenges, turning from being the largest opposition group in Egypt to leading the country with its national front". El-Haddad shows how Morsi's winning forms a huge change, from being previously the oppressed-opposing party to the leading one. Therefore, it is a huge responsibility over Morsi. Therefore, Morsi is trying to give promises to improve the economy. A bond that he seeks to increase people's trust and credibility of him.

Morsi in this extract is using a repetitive strategy to confirm his promises for his people, a strategy to convince them of his future plan for a progressive economy. Thus, he uses the word "مواردنا", a lexical item repetition, which is used tow times. And the third one is used without the suffix "نا": this suffix is the possessive pronoun "our". Morsi uses this word to refer to the Egyptian resources, which should be a helpful factor to get over difficulties. With this used suffix, Morsi hopefully aim to persuade his people of dependency. Alongside with his promises to use these resources to achieve the possible development.

Both TT1 and TT2 use different translation strategy in rendering the lexical item repetition. The guardian merges the tow words of "مواردنا" into one word "our resources", and the third one maintains it into "these

resources". The guardian translation ideology is a positive one, because it translates the promises strategy directly with confirmation upon. Thus, it agrees upon Morsi's plans for progression. Moreover, it gives a fair and literal translation of the phrase "التوظيف حقيقي", "real development". Therefore, the translation is a faithful one without any ideological distorting effect, or any deletion.

While Al-Ikhwan uses the maintenance strategy of the three words, it translates the repeated item "مواردنا" twice into "our resources" and "هذه الموارد" into "these resources". This maintenance strategy is used by Al-Ikhwan to abide with Morsi's ideological strategy, because it is the official website of Morsi's party. Thus, it echoes the sound and ideology of the party.

However, it does not hit the point of translating the phrase "توظيف حقيقي", "real capitalization" & "مواردنا كثيرة", "our resources are massive". The two words "capitalization and massive" are over toned, and they give the vocabularies a loaded weight, which might be misunderstood by the TT audience. Al-Ikhwan's ideology is used to ornament Morsis' words and promises, and to raise Morsi's popularity with the TT audience.

Also, there is another used ideological-translation strategy, which is the addition. Al-Ikhwan adds a verse from the Qur'an "And if you would count the bounty of Allah ye cannot reckon", "وان تعدوا نعمة الله لا تحصوها" (Suraet Alnahel 269:18). As previously mentioned Dickins, Hervey and Higgings (2002) state that addition strategy is a typical Arabic-English

translation. It is either that English makes usage of it, or it is a contextual matter in which a translator uses to give additional information. Thus, Al-Ikhwan adds it to give additional assurance of Morsi's words about Egypt's resources. The verse is added to give a religious- Islamic print upon Morsi's words.

Thus, this additional strategy reveals the ideological manner of this website and its translation. That is giving the TT audience an additional-religious verse, to convince them of the ideological behavior and promises of Morsi.

Both media outcasts: The guardian and Al- Ikhwan have different ideological views. However, Al-Ikhwan translation strategy brought the website's ideology into light. Through making a total literal translation of the word "مواردنا", and an over toned translation of the phrase "لتوظيف " , "real capitalization" and the word "كثيرة", into "massive". Also with giving an additional text (Qur'anic verse), to give a religious mark. In contrast of The guardian rendering of the extract, which shows an ideological agreement of Morsi's plan of developing the economy.

Excerpt (9):

5.1.2.3.3 Al-Sisi speech (ST3)

"وضع ميثاق شرف إعلامي يكفل حرية الإعلام".

(Al-Sisi speech: 3 July, 2013).

a) BBC

"A media charter of honor shall be designed in a way that ensures media freedom".

b) Aljazeera

"Securing and guaranteeing freedom of expression, freedom of media".

This extract is a point of the road map that Al-Sisi proposed, as a chief of the armed forces. He is giving a future plan to build a strong Egyptian community. This road map includes the main essential steps to do in the next phase after eliminating the previous president "Morsi". Al-Sisi also promises as well to make an early presidential election and to conduct a national committee. Moreover, he promises to give his people more freedom and to start achieving their demand gradually.

Aljazeera English writer Carlstrom (2012) states that Al-Sisi reclaimed the sever danger of the state's national security. Therefore, as a leader of the armed forces he gave a threat to intervene to resolve the matter, as a patriotic mission. He announces a road map for the future that includes implementations with all parties' participation, i.e. Al-Sisi suggests this road map for the good benefit of Egypt, and he was strict that it should be followed.

Al-Sisi in the extract is assuring to conduct a charter to preserve the freedom of media. He promises to give more freedom for this sector, i.e.

Ideologically he is criticizing the previous president (Morsi) for giving not, or less of media freedom.

Therefore, he is attracting people to his side due to his promises. Al-Sisi pretends that Morsi within the 48- hour appointed time did not resolve the demonstration against his rule, also he did not achieve their demands. Thus, Al-Sisi is promising of more freedom for whom is not satisfied with Morsi's ruling period. This strategy indicates Al-Sisi's ideology of pursuing more opponents to his ally.

Both used words "إعلامي" and "إعلام" have the same root "أعلم". The first semantically an adjective and the second is a noun. Therefore, both are lexical repeated items, which Al-Sisi used them twice to confirm upon the importance of giving freedom for media, and confirmation to achieve it. BBC uses the maintenance strategy and it translates them both into "media", as a way of assurance to deliver the same meant goal for the TT audience. Thus, BBC translation supports Al-Sisi ideology by rendering exactly the repeated words. BBC also adds the phrase "shall be designed" - which is not mentioned in the ST- to confirm upon the importance of achieving the media chart and freedom. With this addition it concentrates upon this matter and it gives agreement with it. Moreover, BBC renders the word "يكفل" into "ensures", which is a literal down- toned translation. BBC approves that the media charter shall ensures freedom of the media. Ideology to confirm upon Al-Sisi's promise of giving a media freedom.

In contrast of BBC, Aljazeera translation strategy merges the two words "إعلامي، إعلام" into "media". With the addition of the phrase "freedom of expression", which does not exist in the ST. Hence, Aljazeera is requesting as well a freedom of expression, which is not only detached to media, but to people as well. In addition it translates the word "يكفل" into "securing and guaranteeing". Which shows Aljazeera's ideology, that it does not give reliability to the speaker. By addition of what is missing and what should be done. The word "securing" shows uncertainty of Aljazeera's opinion about Al-Sisi's achievement of media freedom.

Cambridge dictionary gives a definition of the word "securing", as: something that have to be continued and not to be failed or lost. Thus, Aljazeera wants Al-Sisi's promise to be continually achieved and not to be failed . Indeed, Aljazeera is not supporting Al-Sisi's ideology, because it is skeptic about his promises and ideology.

As it is previously mentioned that both Channels: BBC & Aljazeera have counter ideologies. It appeared obviously through their lexical choices and addition to Al-Sisi original extract. BBC translation stands to Al-Sisi's side by confirming upon his promises of giving freedom, and also by ensuring its achievement as well. While Aljazeera's translation ideology displays an anti- opponent side toward Al-Sisi. By adding the terms "freedom of expression and securing" to request a further non-mentioned and important request from Al-Sisi's duty to his people.

5.1.3 Conclusion:

This chapter has discussed three-repetitive ideological strategies: use of emotive words, call for unification, use of promises words. And how they displayed the hidden ideologies of the three Egyptian presidents. The critical discourse analysis helped to examine the ideological repetition, through the help of analyzing the linguistic phenomenon (repetition) and the contextual interpretation of it. The three Egyptian leaders used ideological repetition to convince their audience of their believes, demands and their positive visions to overcome critical times that Egypt went through.

This previous section applied the definition of critical discourse analysis approach in which it investigates the addressers' ideologies through their used linguistic structure. Each one of the Egyptian presidents: Mubarak, Morsi and Al-Sisi intended to deliver a certain ideological message to their audience. Thus the ideological strategies helped to disguise the meant message.

Mubarak's message was to steer people's emotions, in order to motivate them to stand by his side and give up their demands of his departure. Therefore, we can say that he used a manipulative technique to convince people of his interest, which may contrast people's one. While Morsi's goal was to encourage people to stand united to overcome the differences and difficulties. And to work for the good sake of Egypt to celebrate the wining of democracy. But, Al-Sisi's aim of the speech is an

unjustified one in which he wants to convince the people of the importance of the armed forces intervention, and the good advantages of replacing Morsi's rule because he did not achieve people's demands. Reality facts clear up Al-Sisi manipulative words and intervention.

The speeches were directed toward a specific audiences in a specific contexts. Following that comes the role of translation as Schaffner (2010) believes to transfer the event from a small community to the international one. Two Arab media outcasts/stations and three western ones translated the speech differently, each by adding its ideological imprint upon. The critical discourse analysis helped to make a relation between the used ideological strategies and the rendered translation strategies of them. The translation strategies are: literal translation either by merging or maintenance with less use of translation by omission or addition.

Also this chapter have examined the ideological repetition strategies and their employed translation strategies. This coming chapter previews different ideological repetitive sentences and the utilized translation strategies, literal vs non-literal translation. With the aid of the critical discourse analysis medium.

Literal and non literal translation strategies will be verified to differentiate between media outcasts ideologies, wither as opponents or proponents of the three-Egyptian president ideologies.

Section Two: Literal VS Non-Literal Translation Strategies

5.2.1 Introduction:

It is true that a political speech is aimed at specific audience, under specific circumstances and political event. But it ends ultimately to a wider audience due to the Internationalized idea of political events. A matter that Schaffner (1997) assures, that a political speech is relevance for a specific audience, but it is often of interest of a wider and international receiver audience. Thus, due to politics internationality, translation became more and more important globally as well.

Usually a source text (ST) fulfills a certain function in the ST language in a certain time and place. And it ranged between a less or more specific audience, who have certain common knowledge and background about the ST subject. But when the text is transferred and translated, it will have a different audience, time, place and circumstance. It will address a new target language community, and probably the audience may not share the same common knowledge of the ST subject and addresser. Thus, the function will be changed in the TT Neubert's idea (1985).

Therefore, a translator takes decisions over which translation strategies to uphold, to deliver the message and content to the new targeted audience. Schaffner (2010) confirms that each political text has its contextual conventions, and that would call for different use of translation strategies by translators. But these strategies are conscious procedures. I.e.

it may have an ideological goal, in which a translator aims at rendering a certain idea. Lorsch (1991:76) defines translation strategies as "a potentially conscious procedure for the solution of a problem which an individual is faced with when translating a text segment from one language to another".

To analyze the source and translated text, certain factors shall be considered; the contextual political atmosphere and translation strategies which are adopted by a translator, i.e. intra and inter analytical methods will be discussed to absorb the rhetorical linguistic usage of ideological repetition, and the different selected translation strategies of the Arabian and western media outcasts.

Analyzing the problematic linguistic term "repetition", and the various suggested translation strategies, is not only for a linguistic and translation matter. But also to conduct a critical linguistic analysis, to reveal both addresser's political ideology and translators' ideological strategies.

5.2.2 definition of key terms:

Before commencing to examine the ideological repeated sentence by the three Egyptian presidents, and the different used translation strategies. A brief definition of the discussed translation strategies and methods will be given and they are:

5.2.2.1 literal vs non literal translation strategies:

Since the early start of translation studies at 1950, as a discipline which seeks theories and practices of translation. The focus was upon the linguistic text matter, i.e. the source text linguistic is the base ground that analysts concentrated upon. Until the tremendous change in 1990's, the focus was turned from a linguistic-text model into a cultural linguistic model.

The linguistic-text model and culture-text model have different principles, a matter that Hatim & Mason (2001) confirm that a linguistic-text model is based upon the classification of text type and function. This model until 1990 focused upon two translation strategies: literal (word to word) and free translation (sense to sense). While a culture-text model discussed two new concepts: translation strategies and translator's visibility. This model brought different translation strategies rather than free and literal translation. Also it discussed how other factors, ideology and value could affect the comprehension and translation process.

The culture- text model paved the way for more approaches to emerge. Such as "translator's visibility and critical linguistic study". Baker (1996) clarifies that the critical linguistic approach is the one which aims at marking the ideological mean in a discourse. She adds that in order to achieve the goal of this method a linguistic and context model are needed.

The literal and free translation strategies were discussed long time ago in the first century by the Latin and Greek analysts (Cicero and Horace). However, they were discussed theoretically by the early start of translation studies in 1950's. Newmark (2001) makes a distinction between literal translation which is (word for word translation) and free translation which is (sense for sense translation). Both translation techniques could be used, and it depends on the genre of the text type. Previously a literal translation technique was determined by a translator's faithfulness to the ST, i.e. When he transfer a text literally to the target text, he is faithful to the original text.

This chapter does not only analyze the literal and free translation strategies from a linguistic point of view, but rather from an ideological, i.e. it will discuss how do translator's strategies use could reveal his own ideological manner concerning repetition render into English. Newmark (2001) stipulates that a translator's interference indicates his conscious process in which he aims to give a certain message for the TT audience.

5.2.3 Ideological repetition and the used translation strategies (literal VS non literal):

Excerpt (10):

5.2.3.1 Mubarak speech (ST1):

"وما لم ولن أقبله أبدا... أن أستمع لإملاء اتأجنيبية تأتي من الخارج" .

"لم أخضع يوما لضغوط أجنبية أو إملاءات".

(Mubarak speech: 10 February, 2011).

a) CNN:

And I would never permit, is that I would not listen to any sort of interventions that would come from outside, from the outside world.

I had never been accepting any sort of foreign interventions in Egyptian's affairs.

b) Aljazeera

I will never accept it to listen to foreign dictation.

I have never been subjected to foreign pressure or dictations.

The contextual information reveal that Mubarak wants to gain his people trust, by previewing his negation of any previous acceptance of foreign interference or dictations. And a proclamation promise of keeping the refusals of the foreign interference in the future as well. Both sentences

have different implications regarding the co-textual and contextual information.

Lahlali (2011) refers to the title "defending the self" as a strategy in which Mubarak uses extensively in his last speeches, especially the one before he left the power. Mubarak emphasizes upon his previous and present patriotism to Egypt, by defending his individual record and services to his country. All is an attempt of him to persuade his audience of his hard- work for Egypt. So they would be convinced of his achievements and let him stay in power with dignity.

Moreover, Lahlali (2011:11) comments upon the previous extracts:

"Mubarak in his last speeches did however make an explicit criticism of Western interference in his country's affairs. This may have been a strategy to shift the focus from his greater domestic problems, or may have reflected genuine frustration with the continuing calls for his resignation by Western governments".

Lahlali (ibid) points out that Mubarak is trying to blame the Western interference as a way of defending the self from being blamed. Also he is criticizing any external side that requests his departure, claiming that his people is the one who decides this and not any other. Moreover, Mubarak is repeating the fact of his previous and recent dependency as a way to remind the young generation of his performance in the government. Again he

hopes to gain his people's sympathy and trust. By persuading them that he is capable of protecting the country from any intervention as he did before.

The first sentence implies Mubarak's rejection of any external interference of the Egyptian's affair in the coming future. Therefore, as McGreal (2011) "The guardian's reporter" reveals that much of the promising facts of Mubarak's last speech indicate his vision of keeping up the ruling power without any chances of stepping down. McGreal (2011:2). marks that:

"The president's defiant tone ... (when) the Egyptian leader appealed to the protesters, suggesting that his refusal to resign was due to national dignity because he was resisting foreign pressure".

McGreal here refers to Mubark's statement as a tone of refusal to resign presidency, because he is also refusing the western- intervention request of his power abandonment. Thus, in the previous sentence Mubarak is uprising the future plan for his people, that he will take serious steps in the future for more independent methods as it was in the past. By letting no one to intervene within the internal Egyptians' situations. In other words, Mubarak is trying to win people's empathies toward him by giving them a decisive outlook of taking care of the Egyptian matters at the recent moments and in the near future.

The co-textual sentences, that ahead the first sentence are: "as I am president of the republic, that I never find it embarrassing to listen to my

country's youth". Shows that Mubarak still hangs to his presidency position, that he refuses to respond to protesters' demands. Mubarak is addressing his people that he as a president knows what is the best for the country. Therefore, he provokes his people to support him to stay longer in his position. A persuasive way that he uses to trigger people's emotions and mislead them of his ideological vision, which is sustaining the power and that they would give up their demands and protests against him.

In the first and second sentences, Mubarak has an ideology of showing a positive-self representation of his image. It appears in the first sentence, when he shows himself as a well- deserved president, who has a listening ear of his people. And in another way how he is going to preserve Egypt's internal affairs from any external intrusions.

In the second sentence, he reveals his national sense, which prevented him in the past to accept any foreign dictations or involvement in the Egyptians' affairs. Again in the co-textual previous sentences, Mubarak is revolving the speech around his self-representation as well. He enumerates his heroic achievements and records during the early start of his profession as a militant, and through his lifetime as a president. Such in the sentences like "I learned the Egyptian military ethics", "I have spent my life safeguarding the country", "I have witnessed wars and victories" and "I have faced death many times as a pilot". Mubarak is exposing his total deviation to his country through his whole life, even his readiness to lose his life for it. All of these are mitigating ideological methods that Mubarak

use to manipulate people's cognitions to show them his nationalism. Again for the purpose of gaining their emotional approvals to maintain his political control.

Eventually the co-textual and contextual factors, beside the ideological traits (self-representation and nationalism awareness). Both helped to disguise the purpose and hidden meaning of the previous sentences. The context and ideology are manners in which a critical discourse analysis approach follow to investigates the political discourse and ultimately reveals the real intends and means of the politicians.

The ideological process that Mubarak uses is achieved through a concessive repetition. Through concentrating upon his promises and achievements. Thus, repetition is used over and over in his speech, as a way to confirm upon his vision. Therefore, he thinks that people will take his repeated words substantially. Hence, he is attracting their views and support.

There are two- repeated lexical items in the previous extracts, which are "إملاءات، أجنبية". They are repeated only once in each sentence, but twice in both. According to Dickins, Hervey and Higgins (2002) the lexical- item repetition in Arabic is used as a cohesive device, when they occur within the same sentence or paragraph. However, here they occur in different positions in the text. Therefore, it must have a different function in which Mubarak intends to use to achieve his ideological goals. Which aims at persuading people of his individual responsibility of protecting Egypt from

any interventions, and that he is the only one as a president that takes decisions for the good sake of the country, as he did in all of his ruling past time.

The best way as suggested by Dickins, Hervey and Higgins (2002) of translating the repeated lexical items into English is to use lexical variations of the target language. Because English does not favor repetition like Arabic, in contrast of Arabic, English tends to use variables to enrich the text with colorful vocabularies.

The lexical item "أملاءات", in Arabic is a plural noun of the word "إملاء". It has the verb root "أملئ" it is defined in ALm'ani online dictionary from a political point, that when a strong part forces the other part to make certain matters under certain conditions. Thus, this lexical item "أملاءات" implies a negative impose from a strong foreign part "أجنبية" upon Mubarak's decision. Which is a matter that Mubarak tried to deny its occurrence in the past, and that he would refuse it in the future, as long as he is the president.

These repeated lexical items reflect Mubarak's ideology of showing his patriotism and his representation of a good image regarding his records and achievements for Egypt. Therefore, it is important to examine how do both CNN and Aljazeera, differ in their translation methods dealing with the previous matter.

This chapter prefers to pick up item the translation technique "non-literal" rather than "free". Because free translation as Newmark (1998) defines as a sense-to-sense translation. Which is a matter that this chapter does not deal with, but rather it takes the counter-part of the literal translation. Which goes beyond Newmark's definition (1998) word-to-word translation, and it concerns more with the translator's political technique of giving literal equivalence or not.

CNN (TT1) gives variants equivalences of the item "أجنبية", "outside"& "foreign", and only one equivalence for "إملاءات", "interventions". CNN follows a non-literal translation technique, when it gives an additional repeated phrase such "from the outside world", and when it manages the phrase "لم أخضع" into "I had never been accepting".

The first used methods with adding the phrase "from the outside world", implies an ideological repetition. Because firstly, it is only mentioned once in the first ST sentence, and secondly CNN translates it before into "that would come from outside". Therefore, CNN is trying to focus on Mubarak's ideological refusal of the foreign intervention, by giving an additional repeated phrase. The focus shows that it agrees with Mubarak's ideology of letting no one to intervene of Egypt's' affairs, and it stands on Mubarak's side of his capability of taking subjective and positive decisions as a president.

The second-used ideological method is rendering the lexical item "لم أخضع", into "I had never been accepting". CNN gives another managed

translated way by changing the meaning from being subjected to foreign interventions into never accepting it. This explicit statement is not directly mentioned by Mubarak. Thus, CNN is translating his ideological words into its real meaning, by putting evident words. Which disguises its ideological translation method, in the matter of Mubarak's denial of foreign intervention.

While Aljazeera follows a literal translation technique, regarding the repeated lexical items, without any addition or changes. And it gives recurrent translations of "إملاءات، أجنبية", "foreign dictations". These literal equivalences do not mean that Aljazeera's ideology is in the side of Mubarak's. In contrast, as it was shown it stands against its policies. Thus, it approves with a literal translation of Mubark's opinion, i.e. Aljazeera agrees with the refusal of any foreign dictation or interventions. Because, it stands with people and their rights to express what they want, considering their request of Mubarak's departure. Apparently, as if it expresses that Mubarak should listen to his people voice first, before paying any attention to the external requests.

Ismail (2011:2) "a writer of the Middle East affairs" alludes to Aljazeera Arabic general director "Khanfer" statement that "the station strive to be fair and accurate and at the same time to ensure that the voice of the people is heard". Also, Aljazeera's English managing director (cited in baker (2011) states that this channel stands against the dictators presidents such Alqadafi, Bashar Al-Assad, Bin Ali and Hosni Mubarak,

who have oppressed their people for more than 30 years. He adds more that this channel have an ideology of "giving a voice to the voiceless" Aryn Baker (2011:2).

Moreover, Aljazeera English (2013:10) titled Mubarak's last speech as "No Resignation", with the comment that "Mubarak appears of TV for the third time refusing to step down triggering anger among demonstrators and encouraging protesting crowd to swell", i.e. Aljazeera Arabic and English role is to transfer people's voice either to the domestic nation or to the western one. The title that Aljazeera gives of Mubarak's last speech interprets its ideology against Mubarak's rule and its alliance with the Egyptian people's wish of Mubarak's departure.

Again both CNN and Aljazeera English follow opposite- ideological and translational methods. As Baker's (2011:1) acknowledgment reveals that "Aljazeera English seeking an alternative to the western perspectives of the BBC and CNN". This reflects their policy dealing with Mubarak's vision. CNN is trying to interpret Mubarak's ideology, so it could be reached directly to the TT audience, with giving additional-explainable information revealing its approval upon. Such the additional phrase "from the outside world" and the managing translation of "لم اخضع", into "I had never been accepting". In which both have an extra explanation and sympathy of Mubarak's argument of the western intervention's refusal.

In contrast of CNN, Aljazeera stayed neutral by giving a literal rendering of the repeated items (املاءات، أجنبية). Firstly, by giving no

additional phrase, and secondly, by giving a fair and literal rendering of the phrase "لم أخضع" into "I have never been subjected". However, it does not mean that it allies with Mubarak's policy, but rather it agrees upon his opinion of the non-intervention. The literal translation does not properly hint a pro-ideological manner, and the non-literal translation as well does not imply a co-ideological mode. This is what the comparison between the CNN's and Aljazeera's translation strategies revealed.

Excerpt (11):

5.2.3.2 Morsi speech (ST2)

"كنا ننظر حولنا في العالم ونقول متى يصبح شعب مصر هو مصدر السلطة واليوم أنتم مصدر السلطة كما يرى العالم كله".

(Morsi speech: 24 June, 2012).

a) The guardian

We used to look around us and say: when will Egypt and its people become the owners of their destiny? Today you have became the source of authority and the world bears witness.

b) Al-Ikhwan

We used to look around in the world and say: when will Egypt, the Egyptian people, be the source of power? Today you are the source of power as the world can see.

After a year and a half later of Mubarak's departure of power, after a strong revolution which demanded that. The situation did not settle down totally, and the Egyptian people requested their demands over and over again. People were in rush for the election to choose their own president with their free will. Thus, after the held of the elections round and the win announcement of the Muslim Brotherhood candidate "Morsi". The Egyptian people rejoiced and gathered in Millions at Tahrir square to listen to Morsi's first speech. Dardera is member of the Muslim Brotherhood declared to CNN's reporter (2012) his joy of Morsi's winning:

"We've been waiting for it for 7,000 years (...) For the first time in history, we have our own president, elected by us. The power of the people is now in the hands of the president- and the president has to go and move forward" (CNN (ibid:1).

All of Muslim Brotherhood members rejoiced when Morsi was declared the winner, because it was never been imaginable that this opposing party to Mubark's rule will ever be in presidency instead of him. However, as Aljazeera (2012) express that Morsi's winning comes with the most challenges, due to instability condition in Egypt. There were fears of people's acceptance of this party's candidate winning for the first time.

Morsi in his first speech tried to ensure his people of their worries about the future and the critical situation in Egypt. He promises them to end the corruption and help them to develop the country with the maximum use of the internal resources and to give more job opportunities for the

majorities of people. All of these were their demands. Therefore, Morsi tried to give an optimistic view of achieving all of demonstrators' demands gradually, with the help of them.

Moreover, as the guardian (2012) titled the speech as the one which emphasis upon the national unity importance. Thus, Morsi insisted upon unity to get over critical events that Egypt went through.

The previous description of the situation was the contextual atmosphere that surrounded and headed Morsi's first winning, according to CNN and The guardian websites' statements. Dijk (2008) assures that understanding of the political meaning in a speech, a contextual and co-textual construction comprehension are requested. In order to have a political background which gives you a specific knowledge concerning the speech to comprehend the discourse and goals properly.

The political words shall not be analyzed in isolation. We must refer to the whole sentence, the heading sentence and even the whole text as entire. Therefore, both co-textual and contextual interpretations are important factors understanding the meaning.

The co-textual previous sentences that headed the previous one is: "the Egyptian people have been patient for long enduring tyranny, oppression, marginalization and forgery of their free will and elections". This sentence explains why Morsi followed it with the previous sentence. Morsi here is criticizing the previous president and the government, by

mentioning the negative attitudes of them which made the Egyptian people suffer out of poverty, sickness and oppression, and most importantly the forgery of their voices of electing their president. Therefore, Morsi here is exposing his pride of free and true election that came up with him to presidency.

Morsi is ensuring the people that their right choice is for the good sake of them. Because, it led them to achieve their demands from a fake elections, to a genuine and heard voice of them. Morsi here is persuading people of his full support of the revolution and its requests. Thus, he is seeking people's assistance of his ideological visions and plans for Egypt. He promises them that they will be heard more, and they will be the source of decisions after a long time of deprivation from participation. His ideological method of persuasion is obvious through repetition of the phrase that encourages people of their huge role of change.

Repetition is not the only ideological technique, but also the positive-self presentation way, which Dijk (2006) proposed. In which Morsi shows himself as a positive one, when he came to power through an honest election with people choice. Also "ideology" appears through concentration upon the negative representation of the previous president and his rejected behaviors by people. Displaying a positive presentation of the self and a negative one of the other, is a way that Morsi pursued to gain people's support and empathy toward his ideology.

Dijk (ibid) assure that politicians in their speech, manipulate their audience through many ways to convince them of a certain political view. One of the manipulation technique is complementing the self by giving a positive view of it, and giving a negative side of the other. Dijk (ibid:1) explains this saying:

"Manipulation generally involves the usual forms and formats of ideological discourse, such as emphasizing our good things and emphasizing their bad things".

Dijk assures that by analyzing the discourse, it would be revealed if this is manipulation or either a legitimate mind control. The first appears to be against the interest of the dominated group (audience), and the latter appears to be for the best interest of the dominated group.

Moreover, Dijk interprets that when the receivers are aware of the context, and that they have specific knowledge that enable them to understand and not to be passive or manipulated. Hence "the receivers are free to believe or act as they please, depending on whether or not they accept the argument of the persuader" (2006:2). In Morsi's case it is revealed when he gives a positive review of the free election that brought him to presidency, and the forgery elections that brought Mubarak for more than 30 years in presidency. Here comes the audience role to believe him or not. However, facts indicated Morsi's credibility of winning the power and foulness of Mubarak. Otherwise, the Egyptian people would not have made a revolution which set Mubarak out of his chair.

Here this section will preview repetition method and translation techniques, to confirm upon the ideological traits and goals. Firstly of Morsi's policy and secondly of the various ideological translation technique, that both "The guardian" and "Al-ikhwan" followed toward Morsis' ideological behaviors.

It is important to mention that each language has its political vocabularies, which differ from one language to the other. Repetition is one of these characters that is used heavily in Arabic political discourse. Politicians must rely on it, to achieve a full-supportive view from their receiver. However, when it comes to translation, a flexible procedure of selecting appropriate translation technique, is the best method to give a faithful translation and to transfer the text purpose. Therefore, a literal translation does not specifically implies a proper strategy, which hits the ST intended meaning. It depends upon the translator's intention of choosing the linguistic structure, for the good sake of the TT's audience comprehension.

In the previous translated extract, Morsi gives one phrase-lexical repetition "مصدر السلطة", and one word-lexical repetition "العالم". As previously mentioned, that the lexical- item repetition mainly functions as a cohesive. However, here it is aimed as a persuasive device. Once with the use of "مصدر السلطة", to convince the people of their achievements toward choosing him. Another with the word "العالم", to provoke the Egyptians' emotions that their deeds are represented and revealed to the whole world.

Both lexical items were chosen to reinforce the Egyptians self-confidence and the world-confidence toward them. The word-lexical repetition "العالم", is rendered differently by the guardian and Al-Ikhwan. The guardian translates them variably into "us" and "the world".

Whereas Al-Ikhwan translates them repetitively into "the world". The guardian translation succeeds more to meet the ST sentence meaning. Because Morsi mentions the first word "العالم", to refer to the previous time in which Egypt suffered a lot without any developing role in the world. Thus, Morsi means that Egypt used to look around where it has no high position for it in the world.

Therefore, the world "us" is more effective than "the world" in hitting the right intend. "We used to look around us", Morsi means that in the previous time the Egyptian people-referred as "us" were looking around in their position in a democratic world. In which people choose their president by a free well. And this what they have been deprived from over 30 years of Mubarak's monopoly of power. Again Morsi, is bragging and telling the people that it is a great change to be a winner of a free-democratic election.

Whereas, the second word "العالم", is translated literary and correctly by both target texts into "the world". It agrees with the ST sense, in which Morsi uses to expound the accomplishment of the Egyptian's revolution of their-president free selection. Which is a matter that the whole world witnesses with them. The first used word "العالم" is a perplexed question of

Egypt's position in the past, with having no genuine elections for more than 30 years. While the second used one is a rejoiced and proud vision that must be announced to the whole world.

The phrase-lexical repetition "مصدر السلطة", is also translated by TT1 and TT2 variably. The guardian gives apart and non-literal translation "the owner of their destiny", "the source of authority". Whereas, Al-Ikhwan gives a literal and recurrent equivalence "the source of power". Again The guardian hits the meaning properly, despite the non-literariness method of translation. Due to the fact that Morsi in the first phrase is wondering how could the Egyptians in the past makes a difference, with no chance of change for the free well of election choice. I.e. he means how could they be the owner of their choice and their destiny, without a true election. Therefore, "مصدر السلطة" here is triggered appropriately into "the owner of their destiny".

The second phrase "مصدر السلطة" means that Morsi now confirms the occurrence of the change by people. He assures them with the use of the pronoun "أنتم", "you" to enhance their choice, and to reveal that they were the only who made this. Thus, they deserve to be the owner of their authority with their own free option. The non-literally translation method is used ideologically by The guardian, to deliver an assured massage to the TT audience, that the Egyptian people achieved their goals through their revolution.

The guardian different-item use such "owner, destiny, source and authority", approves a variety in translation. Despite the non-existence of the tow words "owner, destiny" in the ST. However, they were added, or we could say they are non-literarily translated from "مصدر السلطة" to achieve a certain goal. Which is giving a good image to the world of the Egyptian's revolution result, that came with the first democratically-elected president after the post-revolutionary stage. Therefore, understanding the real intension of the text producer (a politician) helps to catch the real meaning and its ideology behind using the lexical terms.

Hence, picking up the appropriate translation method will be an easy job for a translator. This what Newmark (1988) shows that a translator has to search for a text's producer intention, and it shall not be isolated from general understanding of the text. And that the text's intention lies in the ST producer's attitude toward the subject.

However, Al-Ikhwan translation takes a total literal-translation trend concerning the phrase- lexical repetition "مصدر السلطة", into "source of power". It gives a recurrent translation of the phrase, which does not resolve the difference recognition between the two sentences. Thus, Al-Ikhwan translation does not succeed in meeting the ST sentence intentional meaning. We can title it with a mistranslation method of rendering Morsis' words. Moreover, the world "power" gives a stronger impression than the original one "السلطة".

Oxford online dictionary defines the word "power" as: a political or social authority or control, especially that is exercised by government. Whereas, the word "authority" is defined as: a person having a political power and control. Thus, the word authority is closer to the ST main word "السلطة", because it is defined for a person who has a political power. A matter which Morsi means when he speaks about the Egyptian political power to change the matter. However, the word "power" is tied mostly to the government as the definition reveals, which is a matter that Morsi did not refer to exactly, but he means that people are in authority now due to their election-choice.

Al-Ikhwan literal translation does not differentiate the two sentences. Obviously, it is not only it has a reflective-ideological attitude toward Morsis' words. But also its translation does not care of transmitting a clarified-interpretative translation to the TT audience. As much it cares of publishing the speech to the TT audience.

Undoubtedly, it echoes Morsis' ideological traits, because it is the official website of Muslim brotherhood which Morsi belongs to. Regardless of his droopiness from the party after his presidency winning. However, it is obvious that this website still holds Morsi's ideology as a member of the brotherhood party.

The guardian and Al-Ikhwan translation techniques imply their different ideological manners. The guardian ideology is to transmit a clarified message, regarding the ideological targeted meaning of Morsis'

words. So it could be reached directly to the target audience. In contrast of Al-Ikhwan translation technique, which only cares for transmitting the words literary to the target audience without any concern of the ST-original meant meaning. This what Newmark (1988) means, when he explains that a translator has an intention of translation, in which he aims to persuade or construct a new idea for the new readership.

Ultimately, a translator shall be professionally able to choose the best translation procedures, to transmit the text into the TT language. Because, whenever a translator chooses better translation techniques, the best message would be conveyed properly to TT readers. As Newmark (1988) confirms, that a translator is the most practitioner of a profession that is faced with choices.

Choosing a translation method is very important in transferring the political discourse into the TT language. Because, a political speech is confined to a certain context and audience, then it will be rendered to a totally new one. Therefore, a translator has to give the appropriate choices in translation, so the discourse would be comprehend by the new audience. This what The guardian translation hits properly, in which its translation is more convenient and closer to the ST terms and meaning.

Excerpt (12):**5.2.3.3 Al-Sisi speech (ST3)**

"لقد بذلت القوات المسلحة خلال الأشهر الماضية جهودا مضنية... وإجراء مصالححة وطنية بين كافة القوى السياسية بما فيها مؤسسة الرئاسة منذ شهر نوفمبر 2012، بدأت بالدعوة لحوار وطني استجابت له كل القوى السياسية الوطنية وقوبل بالرفض من مؤسسة الرئاسة"

(Al-Sisispeech: 3 July, 2013).

a) BBC

Over the past few months, the armed forces have exerted tremendous effort (...) and conduct national reconciliation comprising all the political forces, including the presidential institution. In November 2012, the armed forces called for a national dialogue, to which all the national and political forces had responded, but which was rejected by the presidency.

B) Aljazeera:

The EAF over the past month has inserted efforts... and achieve national reconciliation among all institutions, including the presidency. Since the past, the army has called for national dialogue, yet it was rejected by the presidency.

Al-Sisi's speech came to announce Morsi's removal from presidency office. Due to what is believed a frustrating year of rule, in which Egypt had confronted economic problems, energy shortage beside the lack of security and many others. Therefore, Al-Sisi as the head of the AF, he

stepped on to announce Morsi's removal, proclaiming that this urgent intrusion is a respond to Morsi's-counter demonstration demands.

Al-Sis came with this speech to announce the intrusion of the Egyptian AF, after the failure of Morsi's 48- hour appointed time of resolving the critical situation. Thus, the core issue of this speech is revolving around the previous achievements of the AF when it gave solutions to resolve the matter. Beside the justified statements that led to their intrusion. And ultimately it gives promises of a better future, where freedom of speech and media will be given a big space to move in.

Springborg (2014), in a BBC article comments that Al-Sisi in his speech relied much on talking about military and its achievements. Beside his hope to achieve a balance among the various political parties and forces under one rule. A matter in which Morsi has failed to achieve, in accordance to Al-Sisi. All of this implies his future plan of having the role by himself.

In the co-textual sentences that surround the previous extract, Al-Sisi is reminding the Egyptian people of the AF suggested solutions in which they gave to Morsi. And these solutions came to meet the protesters demands. These sentences are: "The EAF have presented a strategic assessment on the domestic and foreign level, addressing the most challenges and dangers facing the homeland". Al-Sis here is exposing the AF role in giving solutions to end the situation safely for the good sake of Egypt.

However, Al-Sisi mentions that when he and the AF have given Morsi a chance, and told him if the diplomatic and political solutions did not succeed, then there would be a military intrusion. Carlstrom_(2013:1) "Aljazeera's reporter" confirms that "The Egyptian army has asked President Mohamed Morsi to resolve huge protests against his rule or face intervention within 48 hour". Consequently, the second choice was achieved, which called for Al-Sis's speech to be held.

In the previous extract Al-Sisi is presenting the great effort that the EAF have conducted, for calling of a national dialogue consisting of all group members and parties. However, Al-Sisi tells that this proposal was totally rejected by the president "Morsi", despite Al-Sisi's assurance of its importance. Al-Sisi here is displaying his ideology of showing off the AF idealism and their tremendous achievements. As a way of gaining people empathy and approval toward their intrusion formerly, recently and lately.

Al-Sisi here uses ideological strategies to achieve his goals, in terms of persuading the Egyptian people of the AF intrusion importance. The first ideological strategy is giving a positive-self presentation and negative-other presentation. And the second one by giving a repetitive statement concerning this matter. Dijk explains the main use of the first ideology by stating:

"The strategy is very typical (...) of the facts in favor of the speaker's or writer's own interests, while blaming negative situations and events on opponents or on the other" (2006:373).

Al-Sisi is showing a positive-self presentation of himself and the AF, by showing his and their advantages of proposing the best solutions to end the difficult situation in which Egypt went through. In addition, he gives a negative-other presentation of the previous president (Morsi), when he shows how Morsi rejected all of their useful solutions and how he as well failed to give good solutions.

Therefore, as Dijk (ibid) shows that the speaker uses this strategy only for his own interests by trying to give an ideal picture of the self and by blaming the other of their negative attitudes. Thus, Al-Sisi is revealing a positive and a negative presentations to the audience, and let them decide that it is of their good to look at the positive one.

However, facts have revealed Al-Sisi Manipulative words and promises. Dijk (2006) assures that manipulation lies in the format of persuasion. And in order to detect the truth of the addresser's real intention, an examination of the real consequences of the beliefs or actions, which is advocated by the manipulator, shall be studied merely. Bandow (2014:1) declares that:

"Gen. Abdel Fata al-Sisi is preparing to grasp supreme power, most likely as the country's next president. He is posing as democracy's savior while his troops are detaining or killing those who oppose him".

He adds more:

"After some time out of the news, Egypt has reemerged as perhaps the administration's greatest foreign policy failure. Washington has proved impotent in the face of political revolution, Islamist activism, and military repression. Terrorism is accelerating, and Egypt is likely to end up without stability, liberty, democracy, or prosperity" (ibid:1).

Bandow reveals Al-Sisi's real goal, which is grasping the power, despite his denial of doing so in the future. Moreover, Bandow's words reveal Al-Sisi's manipulative words, when he explains that Al-Sisi exposed himself as a savior who wants to rescue the country from Morsi's rule. While in reality he contradicted himself, when the AF detained and killed who opposed him. In addition to that, time has revealed Al-Sisi's policy failure. When the situation was deteriorating in Egypt, ending up with instability, liberty and democracy shortage. This contradicts what Al-Sisi has promised to work on more.

Dijk (2006) distinguishes between two kinds of manipulation in the political discourse: the illegitimate manipulation and legitimate persuasion. However, it is difficult at first to adhere it to the real concept, because the line between them is a fuzzy one, and the distinction cannot be revealed until actions are consequently apparent to the recipients. Whereby, many people are manipulated unconsciously, and they act against their full awareness. Yet, manipulation always pours in the best interest of the manipulator.

Chilton (2008) defines the political discourse as the one, which uses a language that is full of a persuasive rhetoric, an implied meaning, an exclusion of undesirable reality and a use of language which arouses people's emotions. From his definition, it is obviously that politicians use the language as a way to convey their political agenda, which at most could be far from the truth. Dijk and Chilton agree that a politician's language disguises the real intension behind achieving a political ideology. Therefore, this could be manipulative to the majority of people at first.

In Al-Sisi's case, the use of the persuasive repetitive sentences of the AF achievements and their good attitude by making a relief intervention. Shows Al-Sis's real agenda in- which facts have revealed- of aiming to seize the power.

Hence, his manipulation is a kind of an illegitimate one, because he deceived people with his promising words of democracy and prosperity. While in reality the situation turned upside down. At first most of the Egyptian people were manipulated with his speeches As Ramadan (2013:3) states that "millions of Egyptians rallied in support of the "second revolution" and appealed to the Armed Forces, which were quick to respond".

However, later people discovered that they were fooled with Al-Sisi's plan of rescue. Consequently, a manipulative language will be only discovered when the politicians' linguistic vocabularies contradict with their real implication Dijk (2006).

The second ideological method, which Al-Sisi follows, is the repetition of the lexical items. Concerning two phrases to show a positive-self presentation which are: "القوى السياسية", "القوات المسلحة". And one phrase to give a negative-other presentation which is: "مؤسسة الرئاسة".

The first lexical repeated item "القوات المسلحة", is mentioned obviously and at the second time as an enclitic-reflexive pronoun "بدأت", which is the pronoun "ت" attached to the verb "بدأ". Al-Sisi speaks about the AF effort to wrap up the situation by seeking a national reconciliation among all the political forces. Thus, Al-Sisi assembles the AF to a hero, which will save the situation. This magnification of the AF role to persuade the people of their positivity and importance.

The repeated-lexical items are not favored in English sentences. As Dickins, Hervey and Higgins (2002) show, even though it is used more in Arabic. However BBC chooses to give a repetitive and literal translation of the lexical item "القوات المسلحة", even it occurs twice at the same sentence. BBC gives a literal translation to convey the same message that Al-Sisi means, which is focusing upon the AF role and their importance. BBC translation "the armed forces", is faithful to the original text. Thus, faithfulness matter entails approval of the speaker's ideology. I.e. BBC supports Al-Sisi's view of the AF importance to solve the critical conditions in Egypt. BBC translation alliance ideology is revealed through its published article over Al-Sisi's speech and his following political procedures.

Springborg , the writer of this article titles it as "Abdul Fattah al-Sisi: New face of Egypt's old guard" (2014:1). Other supportive statements to Al-Sisi as:

"Key to his political skill has been his secrecy coupled with expert role-playing that duped his opponents into thinking he was an un ambitious professional officer while simultaneously appealing to the Egyptian public as the man to lead them out of the post-Mubarak political morass Springborg (ibid:1).

"One poll suggested that two-thirds of Egyptians approved of Field Marshal Sisi and his performance" Springborg (2014:10).

"The field marshal's popularity is due to that of the military, which continues to be the most trusted institution in the country, with around 90% of Egyptians expressing their support for it; to his message of restoring stability by virtue of a crackdown on Islamists" Springborg (ibid:10).

"He is the very living example of what traditional Egyptian values and practices can produce" Springborg (ibid:11).

These statements display BBC full approval of Al-Sisi's ideology. Firstly, by describing him as the old guard who protected Egypt previously. Secondly, by previewing his high-ranged popularity among the Egyptians with his performance. And finally by presenting him as a good example that a country could have.

However, this published article was at 26 March 2014. I.e. after a year of his speech. Where, in facts statistics and reports presented contradictory statements to BBCs' ones. In which his popularity was decreased a lot, due to instability of the economic and political life.

Moreover, Springborg (ibid) interprets Al-Sisi real intention of calling for a national reconciliation, which shall include all the political parties by saying:

"At present, he is relying on the military, other elements of the deep state and Mubarak-era technocrats to manage his campaign, thereby suggesting he hopes to rule as a sort of president ... (who makes) balancing off the various political parties and forces under him while relying on the deep state for the essence of his rule" Springborg (2014:16), i.e. BBC shows its approval of Al-Sisi's decision of constructing a national reconciliation, which includes all the political parties. To reveal his real goal of becoming a good example of a democratic-modern president. Therefore, BBC literal translation strategy is motivated with its full appliance to Al-Sisis' honest words and promises. Beside its coincide position of the armed forces intervention by referring to it as a justified one to rescue the country's of Morsi's power:

"Field Marshal Sisi is an enormously talented, manipulative, and highly politicized officer who has managed to rescue the military and the deep state more generally from potential destruction at the hands of revolutionaries or Muslim Brothers" Springborg (ibid:15).

To sum up, a literal translation strategy aims at two functions: firstly of transferring the ST (source text) linguistic structure "repetition" to the TT(target text). For the aim of giving a literal informative sentences which are typical to the ST. So the new audience would comprehend and recognize the original text as it occurred. Secondly, either it shows the translator's or the translating media outcast's approval of the addresser's ideology, and hence being a proponent of his opinion. In which ultimately, they both want to transfer it as well to the TT audience.

However, the first function has two-sided side of opinions. I.e. it could be either that a translator or the translating media coincides with the ST interlocutor's opinion (a politician) or it could be not. Both functions cannot be determined exactly, without giving a critical linguistic and non-linguistic (context) analysis. So the real intended goal would be revealed.

In contrast of BBC, Aljazeera's translation of the phrase "القوات المسلحة" gives firstly an abbreviated form of the phrase "The EAF", and secondly it refers to it as "the army". This type of translation shows Aljazeera's translation interference of the ST, hence it reflects its ideological traits concerning Al-Sisi's statements. Aljazeera does not give the full form, when it translates the lexical item "القوات المسلحة". Despite the fact that the EAF issue and achievements are the core of Al-Sisi's speech. Therefore, Aljazeera is marginalizing the most important issue, as a way of opposing Al-Sisi's ideology. Moreover, Aljazeera is underestimating the

EAF role and capability, when secondly referring to it as only "the army", without the second word "forces".

Therefore, Aljazeera here takes the opposite side of what Alkhafagi (2009:16) explains about the role of repetition "the exercise of repetition is designed to appeal to the reader and attract their attention". Thus, Al-Sisi aims to repeat constantly alongside the discourse the lexical item "the armed forces", so their role and interference would be absorbed and appealed to the Egyptian people. Hence, Aljazeera's ideology of abbreviating the word and then shorting it, is only a way of Al-Sisi's and the armed forces justifications denial, so their voice of rejection would be heard to the TT audience (the western one).

The second repeated-lexical item "القوى السياسية", is repeated twice at the same sentence. Al-Sisi mentions it to preview his positive proposal of compromising a national reconciliation, in which all political forces contribute in. Thus, he shows his and the AF democratic view of accepting all parties role, in resolving the Egyptian matter. Again Al-Sisi is repeating his positive-ideological proposal to convince his audience, of his nation's care as a patriotic person who works for the best of the people and country.

Alkhafagi (2005) confirms that a politicians uses a discourse and tone of unity to persuade his audience of his patriotic role, so they would be convinced and let him stay in power. This exactly what Al-Sisi gives in the previous statement, in which he calls for unity by gathering all the political parties. As a method of giving his nationalistic ideology toward Egypt and

its people. And hence people would be persuaded and let the intervention works.

BBC translates the lexical item "القوى السياسية" twice and literary into "all the political forces". Thus, it transmits Al-Sisi's ideological and democratic vision into the TT audience. As a mean of faithfulness to the ST phrases, and literary translating it into the TT language without any changes. It means that BBC agrees with Al-Sisi's ideological proposal, and it approves the importance of this national reconciliation. As a way of transmitting Al-Sisi's democratic vision to the TT audience.

Aljazeera's translation displays an opposite direction of BBC's translation ideology. Firstly, by translating the lexical items once non-literally "among all institutions". And secondly, by deleting the second-repeated lexical item. Again it is Aljazeera's try to underestimate Al-Sisi's proposal and its effectiveness. As a mean of rejecting Al-Sisi's ideology. It stands as an opponent through the used method of translation. The first translated word "institution" is ambiguous, it does not reflect the ST word point "القوى السياسية".

The two translation strategies: non-literalness and deletion echo Aljazeera's translation interference to deliver its ideological and denial message of Al-Sisi's ideology to the western audience. It might be that deletion of the second phrase could refer to an economical reason, or to give a natural sound in the TT language. However, it has a translation-ideological point over dealing with Al-Sisi's repetitive sentences.

Aljazeera's published a study about Al-Sisi's speech as an unjustified coup against the legitimate and the free elected president "Morsi". This study shows Aljazeera's anti-ideological vision toward Al-Sisi's speech and the AF intervention. Statements confirming its inverse opinions:

"The Egyptian coup of July 2013... (in which) General Abd al-Fattah al-Sisi, came on state-owned television to announce the suspension of the constitution, the dissolution of the parliament, the removal of the elected president, and the appointment of another" (2013:1).

"Ideally, the SCAF would have liked to combine a parliament with limited powers, a weak presidency subordinate to the army and constitutional prerogatives that legitimize the army's intervention in politics" Aljazeera (2013:2).

"The July 2013 coup can lead Egypt into several scenarios. They aren't certain, but the future of Egypt's democracy is certainly in danger. When elected institutions are removed by military force, the patterns show that the outcome is almost never positive: outright military dictatorship, military-domination of politics, civil war, or a mix of all" Aljazeera (ibid:3).

"The coup of 2013 is certainly a step back in civil-military relations... In the end, what remains certain is that no democratic transition is complete without targeting abuse, eradicating torture, and annulling the impunity of security services, with effective and meaningful civilian control of both the

armed forces and the security establishment. This is the ultimate test for Egypt's democratic transition" Aljazeera (ibid:3).

All of the previous statements reveal Aljazeera's observance of Al-Sisi's speech as a coup in which he aimed to oust Morsi for the sake of AF rule interference. Also Aljazeera previews how the AF and its chief "Al-Sisi" want a parliament of their own with a less-shared power by other political parties; which contradicts Al-Sisi's real words of making a unified one Aljazeera (ibid:201). Moreover, Aljazeera believes that the AF intervention could lead to Egypt's democracy failure, which would finally lead to a military dominance over politics. However, all of this will be held with people's oppression and control. A matter that the revolution had fought against.

The third repeated-lexical item "مؤسسة الرئاسة", has tow contextual meanings. In the first one, Al-Sisi mentions his proposal suggestion upon all the political parties participation, including the presidency (Morsi). Thus Al-Sisi shows a positive self-image of proposing a great issue even with the president inclusively. And in the second phrase he represents Morsi's rejection of the proposal. Hence, Al-Sisi here reveals Morsi's negative image of proposal dismissing. Showing tow contradictory images is an ideology that Al-Sisi peruses to gain his audiences empathy and support.

BBC translates the tow-repeated lexical items differently, because originally they aim at different meanings. "Including the presidential institution", and "rejected by the presidency". Aljazeera also translates

them variably for the same reason "including the presidency", and "rejected by the presidency". However, the first lexical item is translated differently by the two media outcasts, while the second one is translated the same.

BBC translation "including the presidential institution", and Aljazeera's translation "including the presidency" show different translational ideologies. The first one is a literal translation without any change upon the ST phrase. Whereas, the second translation omits the word "مؤسسة", and only it translates the word "الرئاسة". BBC literal translation shows a faithful method, of rendering Al-Sisi's words without any change. So his message would be delivered seemingly to the TT audience.

Thus, it allies with Al-Sisi's democratic vision. However, Aljazeera's ideology is in the opposing side, because it translates Al-Sisi's words with some omission. Hence, it lessens its effect upon the TT audience, and at the same time it tries to give a miss-trusted view of Al-Sisi's vision.

5.2.4 Conclusion:

This chapter, through the aid of the critical discourse analysis approach, revealed the real political intentions and meanings behind the repetition of the ideological sentences. In which the three Egyptian political leaders uttered to achieve their political agendas.

CDA approach helped to detect the ideological procedures, namely, a positive- self presentation and negative- other presentation. In which each

of Mubarak, Morsi and Al-Sisi applied them in their speech. This message interprets their political ideologies which are:

- Mubarak's point was to present his sacrifices for Egypt in the past when he was a soldier, and at the present when he works hard as a president for the sake of Egypt. His hidden agenda is that he wanted to raise people's emotions toward him, and that they would be convinced to let him stay as the president.
- Morsi's goal was to make a comparison between himself and the previous president "Mubarak". This comparison is to celebrate the democratic election which brought him to power. In contrast of Morsi, Mubarak's forgery election brought him to polarize the power for more than 30 years.
- Al-Sisi's aim was to justify his and the AF intervention to deprive Morsi from the role. Because according to Al-Sisi and the AF, Morsi had failed to accomplish the appointed duties for people. Al-Sisi used the comparison to win people's sympathy to take the rule.

Also CDA approach discussed other factors: the contextual (non-linguistic) factor and the co-textual sentences (linguistic) elements. The contextual interpretation as Dijk (2006) reveals is the first key component to understand the atmosphere, in which a sentence is mentioned. And hence it would be easier to comprehend the reason behind it is being said and aimed at.

Firstly this chapter gave a brief contextual information, which were taken from media outcasts/stations' websites which are (BBC, CNN, Aljazeera, The Guardian, and Al-Ihkwan). The co-textual linguistic components were as well given and introduced for each discussed repetitive sentence in this chapter.

These contextual information are used to realize its important role of absorbing and comprehending the meant and examined repetitive phrases by the three Egyptian political interlocutors. Moreover, the contextual and co-textual interpreted elements helped to detect the ideological and political agendas behind each repetitive sentence in the three political speeches.

This chapter has also examined two adopted translations strategies by media stations which are: the literal and the non-literal ones. Also this section has analyzed how each translation method was taken consciously and ideologically by each translation media outcasts/stations. These translation strategies are concerned with repetition render from Arabic into English. The results were as the following:

- Mubaraks' speech translation resources are: CNN and Aljazeera, CNN followed a non-literal translation strategy by giving additions and changes, to render Mubarak's self-defiant repetitive sentence **و** "املاءات أجنبية", "intervention & foreign intervention". Aljazeera followed a literal translation form without any changes. Both media outcasts have a contradictory-ideological translation, concerning the

matter of CNN's sympathy with Mubarak's ideology and Aljazeera's denial and rejection of it.

- Morsis' speech translation resources are: The guardian and Al-Ikhwan. The guardian succeeded more with its non-literal rendering of the repetitive phrases "مصدر السلطة", "the owner of their destiny & the source of authority" and "العالم", "us & the world". Which met the ST meant meaning. In contrast of Al-Ikhwan which mistranslated them into English. This difference disguised each translation resources goals. When The guardian attempted to transmit a clear and repetitive message to the TT audience, while Al-Ikhwan only aimed for transference without hitting the exact meaning
- Al-Sisis' speech translation resources are: BBC and Aljazeera. BBC gave literal equivalences to Al-Sisis' repetitive phrase "القوى السياسية", "all the political forces", "القوات المسلحة", "the armed forces" and "مؤسسة الرئاسة", "the presidential institution & the presidency". These literal equivalences are given to monitor a convenient view of Al-Sisi's ideology, and hence to deliver it to the new targeted audience. In contrast of BBC, Aljazeera's non-literal translation techniques gives abbreviation and short forms of the armed forces "AF & the army". These translation methods are used to confirm upon Aljazeera's counter ideology of Al-Sisi's one and its underestimating of his solutions and words.

Chapter Six

Conclusion

This research has examined three political speeches of three Egyptian presidents, Mubarak, Morsi and Al-Sisi. The speeches were delivered in critical moments during the "25th January Egyptian revolution". Therefore, focusing upon each of these speeches is a worthy of study. Analyzing the linguistic structure of these political speeches and comparing between their various translation resources helped to detect the socio-political agenda (ideology) of the three politicians and the ideological agendas of different media outcasts/stations in terms of translation.

The use of CDA approaches (contextual and ideological strategies), and translation studies approaches (such literal and non literal translation) were useful tools to adhere to the aim of the research. This thesis has an object, which is examining the rhetorical device "repetition" in these speeches. This object aimed to assure the point that the repeated lexical sentences in the three political speeches have an ideological function. This thesis amounted the frequency of the repeated phrases and connected this phenomenon with the social aspect "ideology". A step that explores a new function of the lexical repetition, rather than its formalistic known one.

The analysis has revealed how repetition has been employed by the three politicians deliberately to persuade the Egyptian people of their political agendas. The presidents use their agendas to seek support from

their people.. These political strategies such as: using emotional and promising words beside calling for a unification. These methods have been commonly utilized by speakers as a way of strengthening their speech to make it more persuasive.

Moreover, the analysis has investigated that translation strategies which are adopted by the Arab and western media outcasts/stations , in terms of repetition rendering into English, have as well political agendas. These agendas serve these channels ideological direction in regard with their support or opposition of the three political leaders.

The concluding results of the analyzed data of the tow- data analysis chapters are as followed:

- The three Egyptian leaders, Mubarak, Morsi and Al-Sisi have used common three-repetitive ideological strategies which are: use of emotional words, call for unification and use of promises.
- CDA approach through the linguistic and contextual analysis of the previous repetitive-ideological sentences have conducted that these used methods are purposefully used by the three politicians to reinforce their political aims which are:
 - Mubarak's' repetitive ideological sentences: (أتوجه بحديثي، أتوجه (حديث من القلب، حديث من الأب), إليكم) "I am directing my speech & I am addressing you today, out of a true and honest heart".
 - (تماسك هذا الشعب، تمسكنا بعزة مصر)، "sense of unity and

(النهوض بمسؤولية، بمسؤولية في الخروج بالوطن) . "solidarity",
 "shouldering the responsibility & carrying the nation out of
 this critical junction".

Mubaraks' aims were; firstly, to stimulate people's emotions
 toward his honest promises of improving the country.

Secondly it was for persuading people of his capability to take
 care of the situation, so they would let him stay in power.

- Morsis' repetitive ideological sentences : نحن ، نحن (نحن جميعا مصريون ، نحن)
 (جميعا وطنيون), "we are all Egyptian & we are all citizens of this
 country). (إن اختلفت اجتهاداتنا، إن اختلفت أحزابنا). "even we differ &
 even our parties are different". (لتوظيف مواردنا، مواردنا كثيرة، إدارة .
 "our resources & these resources". (هذه الموارد

Morsis' aim was to call the Egyptian people for unity as a
 solution to overstep the difference, and to convince his people
 of its importance. Moreover, he aimed to give promises of
 employing the national resources to boost the country
 economically. An ideology in which he followed to preview
 his future plans for his people, during the tough time of the
 country.

- Al-Sisis' repetitive ideological sentences: يدعوها لنصرته، يدعوها (يدعوها لنصرته، يدعوها)
 (لسلطة، يدعوها للخدمة), "calling on, are not in fact calling on us to

assure power & called us to perform public services). (شرف)
 (اعلامي، حرية الاعلام), "media charter & media freedom".

Al-sisi's aims were to persuade the audience of the AF's intervention importance, to save the situation. Also he aimed to give promises of a free democratic nation.

- The comparative and analyzed translation strategies of the Arab and western media outcasts/stations have revealed their diverse ideological visions toward the three-Egyptian leaders' visions. These revealed ideological divisions as followed:
 - CNN & Aljazeera as translation resources of Mubarak speech: CNN translation strategies: overtone of Mubaraks' emotional words, use of positive words and giving variants of the lexical repeated phrases. Aljazeera translation strategies: down tone of Mubaraks' emotional words, use of understatement words, and maintenance of the repeated phrase rather than giving variants.
 - The guardian & Al-Ihkwan as translation resources of Morsi speech. The guardian translation strategies: overtone of differences voices, and give a literal but convenient lexical choices. Al-Ihwan translation strategies: down tone the voice of differences, and give a literal but inconvenient lexical choices and use of maintenance lexical repetitive words as pro-Morsi's ideology.

- BBC & Aljazeera as translation resources of Al-Sisi's speech:
BBC translation strategies: maintenance of the lexical repetition phrases to render the same impact of the ST message, and foreground of the phrases which talk about the AF importance and give literal equivalences. Aljazeera translation strategies: backgrounding of the AF repetitive phrases and give additions to make a suspicious view over Al-Sisi's political vision.
- The translation strategies are consciously employed by the media outcasts. It either indicates an approved ideological vision of the politicians, or anti-ideological traits The proponent media outcasts of three politicians Mubarak, Morsi and AL-Sisi in sequence as follows: CNN, Al-Ihkwan websites and BBC. While the opponents of them also in sequence as follows: Aljazeera, The Guardian and Aljazeera.
- **CNN** stands with Mubarak's side through its supportive translation that raised his voice to the Western audience. In contrast of CNN, **Aljazeera** took the side of revolution against Mubarak's rule through its underestimation of Mubarak's emotional words.
- **The guardian's** translation of Morsis' words reveals its professionalism of a good rendering. However, it tried to exaggerate Egypt's problems through concentrating upon the obstacles. It tried to burden Morsi with the new situation. On the

opposite side was **Al-Ikhwān** translation's direction, which failed to convey the perfect meaning in contrast of its supportive translation of Morsi's speech.

- **BBC'S** translation shows its supportive view side with Al-Sisi through its focus upon AF and Al-Sisi's intervention, This oust to take the power from Morsi. In contrast of BBC, **Aljazeera's** translation chose to stand with people's rights against Al-Sisi's unjustifiable intrusion. It appeared through its questionable translation of Al-Sisi's promising words.
- CDA asanalysis as well previewed how Mubarak and Al-Sisi have manipulated the Egyptian people with their hidden ideology. Manipulation with words is used to deceive people. This manipulation have contradicted and contradicts reality. Mubarak deceived people's emotions with repetitive unrealistic words, only for his sake. However, people did not believe him and he was forced to resign. Whereas Al-Sisi used the manipulative words to complement the AF and himself (head of AF) when he describes them as saviors who want to rescue Egypt from Morsi's rule. However, Morsi's year in power did not expose his intention of what he had promised his people of progressive future for Egypt.

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Appendix (1)

Mubarak speech at Aljazeera website.

فيما يلي نص كلمة الرئيس المصري حسني مبارك للشعب مساء الخميس 10 فبراير/شباط 2011

" بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم.. الإخوة المواطنين، الأبناء شباب مصر وشاباتنا، أتوجه بحديثي اليوم لشباب مصر بميدان التحرير وعلى اتساع أرضها، أتوجه إليكم جميعا بحديث من القلب، حديث الأب لأبنائه وبناته.. أقول لكم إنني أعتز بكم رمزا لجيل مصري جديد يدعو إلى التغيير إلى الأفضل ويتمسك به ويحلم بالمستقبل ويصنعه.

أقول لكم قبل كل شيء، إن دماء شهدائكم وجرحاكم لن تضيع هدرا، وأؤكد أنني لن أتهاون في معاقبة المتسببين بها بكل الشدة والحسم، وسأحاسب الذين أجزموا في حق شبابنا بأقصى ما تقرره أحكام القانون من عقوبات رادعة.

وأقول لعائلات هؤلاء الضحايا الأبرياء: إنني تألمت كل الألم من أجلمهم مثلما تألتم، وأوجع قلبي كما أوجع قلوبكم.

أقول لكم إن استجابتي لصوتكم ورسالتكم ومطالبكم هو التزام لا رجعة فيه، وإنني عازم كل العزم على الوفاء بما تعهدت به بكل الجدية والصدق، وحريص كل الحرص على تنفيذه دون ارتداد أو عودة للوراء.

إن هذا الالتزام ينطلق من اقتناع أكيد بصدق ونقاء نواياكم وتحرككم، وأن مطالبكم هي مطالب عادلة ومشروعة، فالأخطاء واردة في أي نظام سياسي وفي أي دولة، ولكن المهم هو الاعتراف بها وتصحيحها في أسرع وقت ومحاسبة مرتكبيها

وأقول لكم إنني كرئيس للجمهورية لا أجد حرجا أو غضاضة أبدا في الاستماع لشباب بلادي والتجاوب معه، لكن الحرج كل الحرج، والعيب كل العيب، وما لم ولن أقبله أبدا.. أن أستمع لإملاءات أجنبية تأتي من الخارج، أيا كان مصدرها وأيا كانت ذرائعها أو مبرراتها.

الأبناء شباب مصر، الإخوة المواطنون.. لقد أعلنت بعبارات لا تحتل الجدل أو التأويل عدم ترشيحي للانتخابات الرئاسية المقبلة، مكتفيا بما قدمته من عطاء للوطن لأكثر من 60 عاما في سنوات الحرب والسلام.. أعلنت تمسكي بذلك، وأعلنت تمسكا مماثلا وبذات القدر بالمضي في النهوض بمسؤوليتي في حماية الدستور ومصالح الشعب حتى يتم تسليم السلطة والمسؤولية لمن يختاره الناخبون في شهر سبتمبر المقبل، في انتخابات حرة ونزيهة توفر لها ضمانات الحرية والنزاهة.. ذلك هو القسم الذي أقسمته أمام الله والوطن، وسوف أحافظ عليه حتى نبلى بمصر وشعبها بر الأمان.

لقد طرحْتُ رؤية محددة للخروج من الأزمة الراهنة، ولتحقيق ما دعا إليه الشباب والمواطنون، بما يحترم الشرعية الدستورية ولا يقوضها، وعلى نحو يحقق استقرار مجتمعنا ومطالب أبنائه، ويطرح في ذات الوقت إطارا متفقا عليه للانتقال السلمي للسلطة من خلال حوار مسؤول بين كافة قوى المجتمع وبأقصى قدر من الصدق والشفافية.

طرحَتْ هذه الرؤية ملتزماً بمسؤوليتي في الخروج بالوطن من هذه الأوقات العصيبة، وأتابع المضي في تحقيقها أولاً بأول، بل ساعة بساعة، متطلعاً لدعم ومساندة كل حريص على مصر وشعبها كي ننجح في تحويلها لواقع ملموس، وفق توافق وطني عريض ومتسع القاعدة، تسهر على ضمان تنفيذ قواتنا المسلحة الباسلة.

لقد بدأنا بالفعل حواراً وطنياً بناء يضم شباب مصر الذين قادوا الدعوة إلى التغيير وكافة القوى السياسية، ولقد أسفر هذا الحوار عن توافق مبدئي في الآراء والمواقف يضع أقدامنا على بداية الطريق الصحيح للخروج من الأزمة، ويتعين مواصلة الانتقال به من الخطوط العريضة لما تم الاتفاق عليه، إلى خريطة طريق واضحة وجدول زمني محدد تمضي يوماً بعد يوم على طريق الانتقال السلمي للسلطة من الآن وحتى سبتمبر المقبل.

إن هذا الحوار الوطني قد تلاقى حول تشكيل لجنة دستورية تتولى دراسة التعديلات المطلوبة في الدستور وما تقتضيه من تعديلات تشريعية، كما تلاقى حول تشكيل لجنة للمتابعة تتولى متابعة التنفيذ الأمين لما تعهدت به أمام الشعب. ولقد حرصت على أن يأتي تشكيل كلتا اللجنتين من الشخصيات المصرية المشهود لها بالاستقلال والتجرد، ومن فقهاء القانون الدستوري ورجال القضاء.

وفضلاً عن ذلك فإنني إزاء ما فقدناه من شهداء من أبناء مصر في أحداث مأساوية حزينة أوجعت قلوبنا وهزت ضمير الوطن، أصدرت تعليماتي بسرعة الانتهاء من التحقيقات حول أحداث الأسبوع الماضي، وإحالة نتائجها على الفور إلى النائب العام ليتخذ بشأنها ما يلزم من إجراءات قانونية رادعة.

ولقد تلقيت أمس التقرير الأول بالتعديلات الدستورية ذات الأولوية المقترحة من اللجنة التي شكلتها من رجال القضاء وفقهاء القانون لدراسة التعديلات الدستورية والتشريعية المطلوبة.

وإنني تجاوباً مع ما تضمنه تقرير اللجنة من مقترحات، ومقتضى الصلاحيات المخولة لرئيس الجمهورية وفقاً للمادة 189 من الدستور، فقد تقدمت اليوم بطلب تعديل ست مواد دستورية هي المواد 76 و77 و88 و93 و189، فضلاً عن إلغاء المادة 179 من الدستور، مع تأكيد الاستعداد للتقدم في وقت لاحق بطلب تعديل المواد التي تنتهي إليها هذه اللجنة الدستورية وفق ما تراه من الدواعي والمبررات.

وتستهدف هذه التعديلات ذات الأولوية تيسير شروط الترشيح لرئاسة الجمهورية، واعتماد عدد محدد لمدد الرئاسة تحقيقاً لتداول السلطة، وتعزيز ضوابط الإشراف على الانتخابات ضماناً لحريتها ونزاهتها، كما تؤكد اختصاص القضاء وحده بالفصل في صحة وعضوية أعضاء البرلمان، وتعديل شروط وإجراءات طلب تعديل الدستور.

أما الاقتراح بإلغاء المادة 179 من الدستور فإنه يستهدف تحقيق التوازن المطلوب بين حماية الوطن من مخاطر الإرهاب وضمان احترام الحقوق والحريات المدنية للمواطنين، بما يفتح الباب أمام إيقاف العمل بقانون الطوارئ فور استعادة الهدوء والاستقرار وتوافر الظروف المواتية لرفع حالة الطوارئ.

الإخوة المواطنون.. إن الأولوية الآن هي استعادة الثقة بين المصريين بعضهم البعض، والثقة في اقتصادنا وسمعتنا الدولية، والثقة في أن التغيير والتحول الذي بدأناه لا ارتداد عنه أو رجعة فيه.

إن مصر تجتاز أوقاتا صعبة لا يصح أن نسمح باستمرارها فيزداد ما ألحقته بنا وباقتصادنا من أضرار وخسائر يوما بعد يوم، وينتهي بمصر الأمر إلى أوضاع يصبح معها الشباب الذين دعوا إلى التغيير والإصلاح أول المتضررين منها..

إن اللحظة الراهنة ليست متعلقة بشخصي، ليست متعلقة بحسني مبارك، وإنما بات الأمر متعلقا بمصر في حاضرها ومستقبل أبنائها..

إن المصريين جميعا في خندق واحد الآن، وعلينا أن نواصل الحوار الوطني الذي بدأناه بروح الفريق وليس الفرقاء، وبعيدا عن الخلاف والتناحر، كي تتجاوز مصر أزمتها الراهنة، ولنعيد لاقتصادنا الثقة فيه، ولمواطنينا الاطمئنان والأمان، وللشارع المصري حياته اليومية الطبيعية.

لقد كنت شابا مثل شباب مصر الآن، عندما تعلمت شرف العسكرية المصرية والولاء للوطن والتضحية من أجله.. أفنيت عمري دفاعا عن أرضه وسيادته، شهدت حروبه بهزائمها وانتصاراتها، عشت أيام الانكسار والاحتلال وأيام العبور والنصر والتحرير.. أسعد أيام حياتي يوم رفعت علم مصر فوق سيناء، واجهت الموت مرات عديدة طيارا وفي أديس أبابا وغير ذلك كثير، لم أخضع يوما لضغوط أجنبية أو إملاءات، حافظت على السلام، عملت من أجل أمن مصر واستقرارها، اجتهدت من أجل نهضتها، لم أسع يوما لسلطة أو شعبية زائفة.. أثق أن الأغلبية الكاسحة من أبناء الشعب يعرفون من هو حسني مبارك، ويحز في نفسي ما ألاقه اليوم من بعض بني وطني..

وعلى أية حال، فإنني إذ أعني خطورة المفترق الصعب الحالي، واقتناعا من جانبي بأن مصر تجتاز لحظة فارقة في تاريخها تفرض علينا جميعا تغليب المصلحة العليا للوطن، وأن نضع مصر أولا فوق أي اعتبار وكل اعتبار آخر، فقد رأيتُ تفويض نائب رئيس الجمهورية في اختصاصات رئيس الجمهورية على النحو الذي يحدده الدستور.

إنني أعلم علم اليقين أن مصر ستتجاوز أزمتها ولن تتكسر إرادة شعبها، ستقف على أقدامها من جديد بصدق وإخلاص أبنائها كل أبنائها، وسترد كيد الكائدين وشماتة الشامتين.

سنثبت نحن المصريين قدرتنا على تحقيق مطالب الشعب بالحوار المتحضر والواعي، سنثبت أننا لسنا أتباعا لأحد، ولا نأخذ تعليمات من أحد، وأن أحدا لا يصنع لنا قراراتنا سوى نبض الشارع ومطالب أبناء الوطن.

سنثبت ذلك بروح وعزم المصريين، وبوحدة وتماسك هذا الشعب، وبتمسكنا بعزة مصر وكرامتها وهويتها الفريدة والخالدة، فهي أساس وجودنا وجوهره لأكثر من سبعة آلاف عام.

ستعيش هذه الروح فينا ما دامت مصر وشعبها، ستعيش هذه الروح فينا ما دامت مصر ودام شعبها، ستعيش في كل واحد من فلاحينا وعمالنا ومتقينا، ستبقى في قلوب شيوخنا وشبابنا وأطفالنا، مسلميهم وأقباطهم، وفي عقول وضمائر من لم يولد بعد من أبنائنا..

أقول من جديد.. إنني عشت من أجل هذا الوطن حافظا لمسؤوليته وأمانته، وستظل مصر هي الباقية فوق الأشخاص وفوق الجميع.

Appendix (2)

CNN Translation of Mubarak speech

In the name of God the most gracious, the most compassionate.

Dear citizens, my sons, the youths of Egypt, today I am directing my speech to the youth of Egypt, those who are in there in Tahrir Square and the vast areas of the country I'm addressing you today out of a true and an honest heart from a father to his sons and daughters, and I'm telling you that I really cherish you as a symbol for a new generation for Egypt who are calling for change for the better, and are adamant to achieve this change for a better future.is own words

I'm telling you here before anything else, that the blood of the victims will not go unpunished. And at the same time, as I said here, that I will follow all those perpetrators who have afflicted those crimes with full sense of decisiveness. Those who had committed those crimes are going to be punished severely. And families of those victims, that I really felt the pain, I felt that I was in your boots, and my heart really felt for what really happened.

I tell you that I'm actually opting to satisfy your demands and I am fully determined to fulfill my promise with a full sense of perseverance and honesty and out of a sense of keenness of carrying out the demands without taking any steps backwards. This sense of abiding comes from a sense of convincing from your honest demands and your honest movement, and that those demands are legitimate demands.

Mistakes can happen in any political system and in any country, but at the same time, the most important is to recognize them and trying to put things on the right track as quick as possible, and to punish those who commit crimes. And I tell you here, as a head of state, I do not find any embarrassment at all in listening to the youth of my country, and to satisfying their demands. But the embarrassment would only lie in the fact -- and I would never permit -- is that I would listen to any sort of intervention that would come from outside, from the outside world, whatever the source is, whatever the intention behind them are.

Dear youth of Egypt, dear citizens, I had already announced before that I am not going to run in the upcoming presidential elections. I have already given a lot to this country for more than 60 years of my effort, whether during the years of war or years of peace, and I am going to adhere to this decision, and at the same time adhere to the decision of shouldering the responsibility in defending the constitution and the national interest of the people until the transfer of power and the transfer of responsibility, which is going to be to the one that the people will choose as their leader in transparent and free elections where guarantees are going to be there for full transparency and for freedom.

This is the offer that I undertook before Allah almighty and the people and I'm going to keep my promise so that we would put Egypt on a path of security and stability, and would already out a perspective for coming out of this crisis and to satisfy the demands of the youth and the people in a way that respects the constitutional legitimacy and would not restrict it in any way. And at the same time put a framework for a peaceful

transition of power through respectful dialogue between the different political parties of Egypt and with a sense of honesty and transparency.

I have put all those perspectives on the table and out of a sense of commitment of carrying the nation out of this critical juncture and I'm following up on the steps held day by day, hour by hour, if I can say, looking forward to the full support of all those who are really keen on Egypt and the Egyptian people so that we would succeed in translating it to action on solid ground, according to a national reconciliation that has strong bases, and that the armed forces with full due respect, can stop and initiate a national dialogue that includes the youth of Egypt and all of the different political parties. And this national dialogue can result in a near sense of consensus that is going to put our feet on a way out of this crisis. We need to continue this sense of dialogue, so that we would go further from the main guidelines into a roadmap that is quite crystal clear and that has a timetable to achieve those issues.

Egyptians pack streets: Violence not a solution

We are moving day after day on the path of a peaceful transfer of power from now until next September. This nation has already agreed that a committee will be held to study the different constitutional elements and all the requirements that would make those constitutional elements. Also an investigative committee will be held to take care of the follow-up of what I had promised the people. I was very keen that those two committees of people who are known among Egyptians as honest brokers, the constitutional leaders of Egypt. and members of the judiciary. In addition to that, and owing to the victims that we have lost in miserable circumstances, that really made us feel the pain and really shake the conscience of the nation, and I have given my directives that the investigations will be carried out very quickly concerning the issues that happened last week and that the results would be set up with the prosecutor general's office to take the necessary measures regarding this issue.

Yesterday I had received a preliminary report concerning the constitutional amendments that are of priority at this stage, as suggested by the committee that we have established. And in accordance to the suggestions that have been presented, and in accordance to my legislative and constitutional powers, according to Article 189 of the Egyptian Constitution, I have already presented the demand of six articles of the Egyptian Constitution 76, 77, 88, 93, and 198 this in addition to abolishing Article 179, this in addition also to expecting a sense of preparedness to adding other amendments to the constitution.

Those constitutional amendments in the first place will facilitate the procedures for the presidency, and would put a certain term for the presidency, and would also ensure that the judiciary would supervise the upcoming presidential election. The judiciary is also going to deal with the issue of the legitimacy of the members of parliament. And the suggestion to abolish Article 179 was maybe a way to achieve a sense of balance between protecting the nation from the dangers of terrorism and at the same time respecting legitimacy and civil freedom of the citizens in a way that is going to open the door further to abolishing the emergency law until when the situation permits in the country.

Dear citizens, the priority right now is regaining the sense of confidence in Egyptians and a sense of trust in our economy, our reputation. Change and transfer that we have already started and that is not going to bring us any sort of step backwards. Egypt is passing through a critical juncture. We should not ever permit that this is going to continue because this affects negatively our economy. Negative repercussions on our economy day after day would lead to a situation where we find those youth who had called for change, they would really be endangered out of the movement. This critical juncture is not at all co-relevant to me personally, it's not co-relevant to Hosni Mubarak, but now Egypt is a top priority. It's present, it's future, the future of the coming generations, all of the Egyptian people now are all in one boat, in one corner, and we have to continue the national dialogue that we have already started with the spirit of a team and away from any sense of animosity and any sense of differences. So that we would overcome this critical juncture, and so that we would regain confidence in our economy and we would retain security and stability on the Egyptian street.

I used to be exactly like the Egyptian youth when I was honored to be part of the military, and the sense of loyalty and providing sacrifices for my country. I have spent my life safeguarding the interests of the nation, witnessed wars, and witnessed victories, and I had already lived the years of occupation, I lived also the moments of crossing and the moments of victory. The best moment of my life was when I put the Egyptian flag on Sinai, and I had already endangered my life for the sake of the country. I had never ever been accepting any sort of foreign intervention in Egyptian affairs. I've retained Egyptian security, I exerted efforts for the sake of its people, for the sake of Egyptian civilization, I did not seek any type of forced popularity and I am quite confident that the majority of the Egyptian people know who Hosni Mubarak is.

So Egypt is a top priority now.

So I thought I would delegate powers to the vice president, according to the constitution, stipulations of the constitution I know quite well that Egypt, while fighting should try to go out of this juncture, but at the same time the determination of the people is going to help Egypt across this juncture through the perseverance, the honesty of its people, and is going to be above all.

We are going to prove that we the Egyptians, our sense of awareness, of the demands of its people through a national dialogue, through the wise dialogue, we're going to prove that we are not followers to anybody, we're not going to take instructions from anybody, and no one is going to take decisions on our behalf, except only the rhythm of the street and the demands of the people.

We are going to prove this with a sense of determination of the Egyptian people, and with the sense of unity and solidarity of its people and by putting Egypt's pride and dignity above all, and preserving our identity, which is the main essence of our presence for more than 7,000 years of civilization.

The spirit is going to live in us as Egypt is going to long live, with its peasants, with its laborers, with its intellectuals, and its going to be in the hearts of our elderly, in the hearts of our youth, the hearts also, of our kids, and the hearts of Copts and Muslims and all of those who are going to live on this soil.

Once again, I say that I have lived for the sake of this country. I have shouldered the responsibility with honesty, and Egypt is going to live above all until I deliver and transfer the responsibility. Egypt will continue to be in my heart until I die and Egypt's people will always be living with pride, with dignity, to the end.

God bless Egypt. God bless Egypt, a country of security and stability. God bless the Egyptians with wise decisions for the sake of their nation.

Thank you.

Appendix (3)

Aljazeera Translation of Mubarak speech

"In the name of Allah the Merciful, the Compassionate ...dear fellow Citizens, I am addressing you tonight the youth of Egypt at Tahrir Square and people across Egypt...

"I am addressing all of you from the heart, a speech from the father to his sons and daughters ... I am telling you I am proud of you as a symbol of a new Egyptian generation that is calling for change to the better, sticking to it, dreaming for a better future and is making it.

"I am telling to you all that the blood of the martyrs and wounded people will not be lost in vain, and I confirm that I will resolutely and firmly hold perpetrators who acted fiercely against our young people with the maximum penalties stated in the law.

"I am telling to the families of innocent victims: I have suffered all the pain for them as you have suffered, and hurt my heart as it hurt yours.

"I am telling tell you that my response to your voice, your demands and your commitment is not irreversible, and I have every intention to fulfill my commitments in all seriousness and honesty, and keen to implement it without hesitation and without going back to the past.

"This commitment stems from a certain belief, sincerity and purity of your intentions and movements which are just and legitimate demands... regimes could commit mistakes in any any country, but the important thing is to recognise and correct them as soon as possible and to hold accountable the perpetrators.

"I am telling tell you, in my capacity as am president of the republic, that I never find it embarrassing to listen and respond to my country's youths, but it is shameful and I will never accept is to listen to foreign dictations , whatever their sources, pretexts or justifications were.

"My sons, the youth of Egypt, fellow citizens...I have made it clearly that I would not run for the next presidential elections, as I am satisfied with more than 60 years serving the homeland during wartimes and peacetimes...

"I announced my adherence to this, and announced at the same time and at the same degree my commitment to shoulder my responsibility to protect the constitution and safeguard the interests of the people until handing over power and responsibility to those chosen by voters next September, in a free and fair elections that will provide them guarantees of freedom and integrity...

"This is the oath I have taken before Allah and the homeland, and will keep it until we take Egypt and its people to safety and security.

"I have proposed specific vision to get out of the current crisis, and to achieve what youth and citizens have called for in a way that respects the constitutional legality and does not undermined it, and in a way that achieves stability for our society and demands

of its citizens, and promotes at the same time an agreed upon framework for a peaceful transition of power through responsible dialogue between all forces of society in the maximum degree of honesty and transparency.

"I put forward this vision as I'm adhering to my responsibility to the homeland during these hard times and will keep on achieving it, looking forward to the support of all those concerned about Egypt and its people to get ahead with turning it into a tangible reality, through a broad-based national consensus and that our valiant armed forces will ensure its implementation.

"We have already begun a national and constructive dialogue that included Egyptian youths and all political forces who led the call for change... the dialogue has come up with preliminary consensus and positions to pave the way for the beginning of a right path out of the crisis..

"We will continue it (dialogue) to move forward to what has been agreed upon, to reach a clear roadmap, a specific timeline and a peaceful transition of power from now until next September.

"The national dialogue has agreed on the formation of a constitutional commission that will study the required amendments ... it (dialogue) has also come up with the formation a follow-up committee to fairly implement what I have pledged the people to do.

"I have been keen that the formation of both committees includes Egyptian personalities known for their independence and impartiality, and scholars of constitutional law and the judiciary.

"Furthermore, I am after the martyrs from Egypt's sons we have lost during the tragic and sad events that hurt our hearts and rocked the conscience of the nation... I have ordered immediate investigations into last week's events, and refer results immediately to the Attorney General to take the necessary deterrent legal action.

"Yesterday I received the first report on the primary constitutional amendments proposed by the committee that is composed of judiciary experts and legal scholars to study the constitutional and legislative amendments.

"In response to proposals set by the committee, and in line with powers granted to the president of the republic as per Article 189 of the constitution, I submitted a request today to amend six articles of the constitution which are article 76, 77, 88, 93 and 189, as well as the annulment of article 179, with confirmation of readiness to advance in later request to amend articles which the constitutional commission suggest after considering reasons and justifications.

"The primordial amendments aim to facilitate conditions for nomination for the presidency, adoption of specific terms for presidency to achieve transition of power and to strengthen conditions of monitoring elections to ensure it will be free and fair.

"The amendments also confirm the competence of the judiciary to decide the validity and membership of members of the parliament, and to amend terms and procedures for requesting amendment of the constitution.

"The proposal to abolish Article 179 of the constitution is designed to achieve the required balance between protecting the country from the dangers of terrorism and ensuring respect of civil rights and freedoms of citizens, including opening the door to annul emergency law as soon as we restore calm and stability when conditions for lifting of the state of emergency are attainable.

"Fellow citizens...the priority now is to restore confidence among the Egyptians...confidence in our economy and our international reputation... confidence in the change and transformation we have started and which is irreversible.

"Egypt is undergoing difficult times that it is not right to allow them continue as they would increasingly damage and inflict losses to our economy

"They (hard times) would lead Egypt to a situation youth, who called for change and reform, will be the first ones to be affected.

"The present moment has nothing to do with me personally, with Hosni Mubarak, but with a situation of Egypt in its present and the future of its sons

"All Egyptians are in now the same trench, and we must continue national dialogue that we have begun with the spirit of the one team and not as as opponents, and away from controversy and conflict so Egypt could overcome its current crisis, and to restore confidence to our economy, trust and security to our people and daily normal life to the Egyptian street.

"I was a young man like today's Egyptian youth when I learned the Egyptian military ethics, loyalty to the homeland and how to sacrifice for it ... I have spent my life in defence for its land and sovereignty... I have witnessed wars with their defeats and victories... I lived days of defeat and occupation and days of victory and liberation ... The happiest days of my life were when I raised the flag of Egypt over the Sinai... I faced death many times as a pilot in Addis Ababa and many more...

"I have never been subjected to foreign pressure or dictations... I have maintained peace, worked for Egypt's security and stability, worked hard for its boom... I never seek power or fake popularity... I am confident that the overwhelming majority of people knew who Hosni Mubarak is, and it hurts me what I am experiencing today by some of my fellow citizens.

"In any case, as I am now fully aware of the seriousness of the current difficult junction, and based on my belief that Egypt is undergoing a defining moment in its history that requires us to look at the best interest of the homeland, and puts Egypt first above any other consideration and every other consideration, I've delegated my powers to the vice president as stated in the constitution.

"I am sure Egypt will overcome its crisis and that its people will never be defeated... it will stand on its feet again through sincerity and faithfulness of all its sons, and it will face plotters.

"We, the Egyptians, will prove we could achieve the Egyptian people's demands through a civilised dialogue and consent... we will prove that we are not followers of any one and that we do not take instructions from any one, and that no one makes decisions on our behalf but the people in the street and demands of sons of the homeland.

"We will prove that with the spirit and intention of Egyptians, and with the unity and cohesion of the people, and commitment with Egypt's self-esteem, dignity, unique and eternal identity as it is the foundation and essence of our existence for more than 7000 years.

"This spirit will live in us as long as Egypt and its people live ...this spirit will live in us as long as our farmers, workers and intellectuals remain in the hearts of our elders , our youth and our children, Muslims and Christians, and in the minds and consciences of unborn children.

"I am telling you again that I have lived for this country embracing its responsibility and its faithfulness... Egypt will remain above persons and above everyone. "

Appendix (4)

Morsi speech

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
الحمد لله رب العالمين والصلاة والسلام علي اشرف المرسلين ،،

قُلْ بِفَضْلِ اللَّهِ وَبِرَحْمَتِهِ فَبِذَلِكَ فَلْيَفْرَحُوا هُوَ خَيْرٌ مِمَّا يَجْمَعُونَ

ابناء الشعب المصري العظيم أيها الأحباب الكرام يا شعب مصر العظيم العريق أيها الواقفون في ميدان الثورة في ميدان الحرية في ميدان التحرير ايها الواقفون الآن في كل ميادين مصر وفي كل قري ومدن ومحافظات مصر يا من تشاهدوننا الآن في البيوت يا من تنظرون إلي هذا الموقف.

أيها العالم الحر أيها العرب أيها المسلمون أيها الأحباب يا شعب مصر

الأخوة والأخوات الأبناء والبنات أيها المسلمون في مصر أيها المسيحيون في مصر أيها المواطنون الكرام أينما كنتم أيها المصريون في داخل مصر وفي خارج مصر.

أهلي وأحبابي أعزتي ها نحن اليوم نقف لنقول للعالم اجمع هذه هي مصر هؤلاء هم المصريون هؤلاء هم الثوار هؤلاء الذين صنعوا هذه الملحمة وهذه الثورة وهذا هو ميدان الشهداء ها هي ارواحهم ترفر حولنا في ميدان التحرير ميدان الثورة وميدان الشهداء في كل ميادين الشهداء وفي كل محافظات مصر ايها التحاباب جميعا ايها الشعب المصري العظيم في البداية وقبل ان اقول كلمات ستخرج من قلبي اليكم في يوم الاحد الماضي في المساء عندما اعلنت نتيجة الانتخابات وكان قرار اللجنة العليا للانتخابات الرئاسية بفضل الله ثم باراتدكم كان قرارها بتكليفني بان اكون رئيسا لجمهورية مصر العربية هذا شرف عظيم وهذا تكليف اعتز به واحمله علي ظهري في هذا اليوم تحدثت الي الشعب المصري كله في المساء وذكرت محافظات مصر وذكرت فئات كثيرة من ابناء مصر جميعا ولكني نسيت ولم اقصد بعد محافظات مصر وبعد الفئات المهمة التي اقدرها واحترمها واکرر بالتاكيد واوكد الان التحية الي كل ابناء مصر والشعب المصري والي من انسانس الشيطان ذكرة في المحافظات دمياط والبحيرة والقاهرة والجيزة هؤلاء هم بالضرورة اهلي واحبابي كباقي كم ذكرت من المحافظات وكذلك من الفئات اتوجه للتحية الي كل فئات الشعب المصري ولكني اوكد انني ايضا بجانب من ذكرت يوم الاحد اكدت علي تقديري لاهل الفن والابداع والثقافة ولرجال الاعلام المخلصين لمصر وكذلك لاحبابي وابنائني واخوتي واخواتي متحدي الاعاقة تالي هؤلاء اوكد بالتكرار تحية الي جانب من ذكرت يوم الاحد الماضي عشية تكليفني برئاسة الجمهورية اقف اليوم في ميدان الحرية معكم وانا لا انسي العاملين في يا مكان واوكد العاملين في مجال السياحة والحريصين علي نهضة هذا الوطن في كل المجالات.

اقف اليوم في ميدان الحرية معكم وميادين اخري في كل مدن مصر لا هذا الميدان علي وجه الخصوص شهد ميلاد جديدا لمصر الحرية والكرامة والارادة والتغير والنهضة والحقوق التي لا تضيع اقف معكم اليوم لاحيكم جميعا واحي كل الثوار في كل ميادين مصر واحي قبلهم واقف اليوم معكم لاحي كل الثوار في كل ميادين مصر واحي قبلهم شهدائنا الابرار الذين تنطق جنابات هذا المكان بتضحياتهم العظيمة وتبرهن ان دماهم الذكية هي

التي روت شجرة الحرية وعندما نذكر الشهداء ايها الاخحاب الكرام ننظر في التاريخ لنعرف ان شجرة الحرية قد بدء غرسها وغرس جذورها رجال كرام منذ عشرات السنين منذ عشرات السنين ومنذ بدايات القرن الماضي غرس الرجال جذورا ووضع بذرون روتها دماهم واحيتها تضحياتهم علي مدار العشرينيات والخمسينيات والستينيات وما ادراك ما الستينيات وبعد ذلك عقد الي عقد الي ان وصلنا بعد ظلم طويل الي 25 يناير 2011 وكان شهداء هذه الثورة واحي كذلك كل مصابي الثورة العظام واسرهم وكل من قدم الي بلدة واعطى لوطنه وضحي في سبيل نهضته وتقدمه يارجال الثورة الصامتين عندما اقول يارجال الثورة اقصد الرجال والنساء الاولاد والبنات اقصدكم جميعا وانا منكم كذلك كنت وما زلت وسابقي دائما كنا كما تعلمون ايام الثورة في هذا المكان نقول ان الثورة يقودها اهدافها واذا كانت الثورة مستمرة وتتبلور اليوم علي شكل ارادة واضحة ارادة الشعب المصري باجمعه برئيس منتخب للبلاد يقود سفينة الوطن فانه قبل ذلك ويعدده يقود الثورة ويقف امام الثوار ويتقدم مسيرتهم حاملا هذه المسؤولية امام الله وأمامهم لتستكمل اهداف الثورة.

يا رجال الثورة الصامدين ايها الشعب العظيم جئت اليكم اليوم لانني مؤمن تماما بانكم مصدر السلطة والشرعية التي لا تعلوا عليها شرعية انتم اهل السطة ومصدرها وانتم الشرعية واقوي ما فيها من يحتمي بغيركم يخسر ومن يسير مع ارادتكم ينجح ونريد لوطننا النديج جئت اليكم لانكم مصدر السلطة والشرعية التي تعلوا علي الجميع لا مكان لاحد ولا لمؤسسة ولا هيئة ولا جهة فوق هذه الارادة الامة مصدر السلطات جميعها وهي التي تحكم وتقرر وتعد وتعدل من اجل ذلك اتيت اليوم الي الشعب المصري والكل يسمعي الآن الشعب كله يسمعي والوزارة والحكومة والجيش والشرطة ورجال مصر ونسائها في الداخل والخارج لا سلطة فوق هذه السلطة انتم اصحاب السلطة انتم اصحاب الارادة انتم مصدر هذه السلطة لكم ما تشاءوا وتمنعوا عما من تشاءوا يا أهل مصر جميعا من اجل ذلك اتيت اليوم اليكم الي الشعب المصري

انا مطمئن بفضل الله ثم بكم انا لا اخاف الا الله ثم اعمل لكم الف حساب من اجل ذلك اتيت اليوم اليكم الي الشعب المصري بعد ان اولاني ثقته وحملني الامانة والمسؤولية جئت لاجدد العهد معكم واذكركم انكم وحدكم الجهة التي دائما سابدء منها طالبا بعد عون الله دعمها وتأييدها فهل انتم مستعدون هل انتم معي الي اخر الشوط لنحصل علي كامل حقوقنا وحقوقكم لن ينتقص احد كاننا من كان شي من حقوقكم ما دامت هذه ارادتكم بعد ارادة الله .

ها انا اقف امامكم ايها الشعب المصري العظيم قبل اي جهة اخري وقبل اي اجراءات اخري واقول ايها الشعب المصري العظيم ايها الواقفون في كل الميادين اوالمشاهدون في كل البيوت يا من انتخبتموني ويا من عارضتموني وما زلت انا لكم جميعا في مكان واحد وعلي مسافة واحدة ولن ينتقص حق من حقوق من قالوا لي لا كما لا ينتقص حق من حقوق من قالوا نعم هذه هي الديمقراطية نحن نمضي الي البناء انا اقف امامكم ايها الشعب المصري العظيم اقول باعلي صوت ” يامن تقفون الان هنا وفي كل محافظات مصر ومدينة وقرية انتم الاصل وغيركم عندكم وكيل واذا غاب الوكيل او النائب اعود الي الاصل

اعاهد الله واعاهدكم اقسم بالله العظيم ان احافظ مخلصا علي النظام الجمهوري وان احترم الدستور والقانون وان ارعى مصالح الشعب رعاية كاملة واحافظ علي استقلال الوطن وسلامة اراضية اقسم امامكم ” اعهد الله

واعاهدكم يا شعب مصر ويا جماهير مصر من اقصاها الي اقصاها اعاهدكم علي ذلك واتعهد امامكم بشهادة ربنا والعالم بالوفاء بذلك اعهدكم ان اعمل معكم في كل لحظة لتوحيد قوتنا ورفضني الي اي محاولة لانتزاع سلطة الشعب او نوابه واكد لكم جميعا اني كرئيس لكل المصريين وبعد الاجراءات القانونية التي اقدرها واحترمها لانها لن تكون ابدا عقبة بل سامضي بارادتكم لتخطي كل العقبات . واؤكد رفضي لاي محاولة وانا صاحب القرار بتوكيلكم وارادتكم امضي بكم فلا مجال لانتزاع سلطة الشعب او نوابه

اوكد لكم انني لن اتهاون في اي صلاحية من صلاحيات رئيس الجمهورية ولن اتهاون ولم افطر ولا املك ان افعل ذلك وليس من حقي ان افرد في الصلاحيات والمهام التي اوكلتموها الي واخترتوني علي اساسها عقد بيني وبينكم علي ذلك وهذا هو مفهوم الدولة الحديثة ولا يعني ذلك اننا لن نحترم القانون او لا نعطي من قيمة الدستور والقضاة لا تعارض بين هذا وذاك ساعمل معكم في كل لحظة من اجل تحقيق كافة اهداف الثورة ولا اتهاون في اي حق من حقوق شهدائها دماء الشهداء والجرحي والمصابين القصاص لهؤلاء دين في رقبتي لن اتهاون فيه وسأعمل معكم في كل لحظة من ولايتي الرئاسة علي بقاء النسيج الوطني متماسك قوي وسأغلب وسوف اغلب مصالح الوطن العليا علي كل ما دون ذلك عاقد العزم علي ارساء مباديء العدل والحق والحرية والمبادئ الاجتماعية وازاله كل اشكال الفساد والظلم والتمييز . .

الظلم ظلمات يوم القيامة والظالم لم يفلت وها نحن نري اخذ الله للظالمين سأعمل معكم علي نهضة الاقتصاد المصري ورفع المعاناة عن كاهل ملايين المصريين من اجل حياة كريمة واجتماعية وهي هدف كل مؤسسات الدولة ساكون معكم واتواصل مع الجميع ابواب مفتوحة وليست مغلقة وارحب بكم دائما علي اتصال دائم ” ثوار احرار هنكمل المشوار”

هنكمل المشوار . في دولة مدنية وطنية دستورية حديثة لا نعطل الانتاج ولا نعطل المرور ولا نعطي علي الملكيات الخاصة والعامة نحافظ علي بعضنا البعض ولا مجال للصدام او التخوين كل ابناء مصر في كل مؤسساتها وبهياتها وعزبها ومدنها وقراها علي شرق البلاد وغربها وشكاتها وجنوبها كلهم ” ايد واحدة ” سأواصل مع الجميع ولا افرق بين مؤيدين ومعارضين اطلب النصيحة منكم والعون من الله ومن كل ابناء شعب مصر ساعمل معكم علي عودة مصر رائدة في ابداعها وثقافتها واعلامها وتعليمها وبحثها وعلمها والصناعة فيها والانتاج والزراعة بكل انواع العمل وبكل الاتقان ان الله يحب اذا عمل احدكم عملا ان يتقنه وسنتقن العمل معا لنصل الي بر الامان وسأعمل معكم جميعا علي ان نكون شركاء في هذا العمل الوطني ونوسع الثقة بيننا ونعظم التوافق والائتلاف ساعمل معكم ان تعود مصر حرة في ارادتها وعلاقاتها الخارجية وساحذف اي معني للتبعية لاي قوة مهما كانت مصر حرة علي ارضها وحررة بقرارها وحركتها جاءنا برسالة سلام لا نعطي علي احد ولكننا قادرين بالجميع ان نرد بل نمنع اي عدوان علينا من اي جهة كانت سنصنع معا ايها الاحباب المواطنين وايها الشعب الكريم مفهوما جديدا للعلاقات الخارجية مع الجميع ونمد ايدينا مع الجميع واحظر من ان ينال احد كان من كان من كرامة مصر او كبريائها او يفكر في ان ينال من كرامة شعبها او كرامة رئيسها بغض النظر عن الشخص ولكنني اتحدث عن ارادتكم نوكد علي مفهوم امننا القومي الكامل في العمق الافريقي والعالم العربي والاسلامي وباقي دول العالم لم نفرض في حقوقنا ولا نفرض في حق اي مصري في الخارج وسيكون نظامنا السياسي الذي يحترم ارادة الشعب هو المحرك الاساسي لعلاقتنا الخارجية ساكون دائما او الداعمين لاستمرار

الثورة قوية وفاعله وحاضرة في كل مكان وفي كل زاوية من زوايا الوطن والعمل الوطني اريد لهذه الحناجر بهذه الارادة ان تستمر لتعلي دائما اننا احرار وثوار وسنكمل علي ذلك المشوار لنستمر ننشد نشيد وطننا بالحب وحب مصر فرض علينا حب الوطن نستمر جميعا ننشد نشيد الحرية معا وتذكروا ما قال الاولون وقف الخلق ينظرون جميعا كيف ابني قواعد الملك وحدي

ايها الثوار ايها الشعب المصري العظيم اوكد لكم واحب ان ابقي معكم ولا اترككم ولكنها ايها الاحباب الاوقات والمسئوليات اوكد لكم في ختام هذه الكلمة القصيرة.

كنت اري اسرة الشيخ عبد الرحمن والمعتقلين هؤلاء حقهم عليا وسأبذل كل جهد من الغد حتي يتحرر هؤلاء ومنهم الشيخ عمر عبد الرحمن

واوكد في ختام هذه الكلمة ما رددنا جميعا كشعارات سنحقق معا قوتنا في وحدتنا اتحدوا كونا اخواننا لوطنكم احباء في ظل الحب والمحبة ترتقي مسيرة الامة والله معكم ومعنا والله غالب علي امرة واكثر الناس لا يعلمون معا نمضي الي الامام ثوار احرار وسنستمر لتحقيق باقي الاهداف نحترم ارادة الشعب والقانون والدستور والاحكام التي تصدر من قضاء مصر الشامخ

انتهي خطاب الرئيس ، وترك مرسى الميدان وسط هتافات الممتواجدين في الميدان ،مثل ” يامشير قول الحق ، مرسى رئيسك ولا لأ .. يسقط يسقط حكم العسكر

Appendix (5)

The Guardian Translation of Morsi speech

My people of great Egypt, who today celebrate democracy in our country; those of you standing in the public squares, in Tahrir Square, and all the public squares of Egypt; my dear people, big family, brothers and sons, you who are awaiting the future, who want security and safety, goodness and revival, and development and stability for our country, I turn to you praising God for having brought about this historic moment.

This is a shining course written by the hands of Egyptians, by their will, their blood, their tears and their sacrifices. I would never have been able to stand before you today as the first elected president by the will of free Egyptians in the first presidential elections after the revolution of 25 January, nor I would have been able to stand before you now with this overwhelming happiness that extends to the four corners of our beloved country without the support of God almighty and the sacrifices and precious blood of our noble martyrs and the noble, wounded citizens.

I give my thanks and greetings to the martyrs, to their souls, to the mothers and fathers of the martyrs, and all my people who lost their dear ones and sacrificed for Egypt. I offer my sincere prayers for them and for the wounded who watered the tree of freedom with their blood and cleared the way for us to arrive at this moment.

We are grateful to the families of all, who taught their sons the meaning of patriotism and true martyrdom. They have shown steadfastness and courage in confronting the great loss of their own flesh and blood, the price of freedom.

I renew with them the pledge that this sacred blood would not be lost in vein. I salute the great Egyptian people, and salute the army, the best soldiers on earth, our armed forces, wherever they are. I offer my heartfelt greetings and love to them. I value their role and I am keen to strengthen and secure them and their esteemed institution which we all love and value.

I also extend similar greetings to the honourable police, whose role many people wrongly perceive that I appreciate less than others. This is not true. Whoever committed a crime would be held accountable before the law. As for the honourable policemen, who make up the majority among the police in Egypt, they are entitled to the highest expressions of appreciation. They have a great role in the future to maintain internal security and peace in our nation.

We are duty bound to acknowledge the judges of Egypt who supervised the elections of revolutionary Egypt. Even those who did not participate [in the electoral process], we equally hold them in a position of esteem and love. Our judges make up the third source of authority, which would always remain strong and prominent. Our judiciary owns its will; it is separate from the executive and it must remain so in the future, to be independent of the executive and by necessity the legislative powers.

I affirm to all segments of the Egyptian people that I have today, by your choice and your will, through the favour of Allah, become the president of all Egyptians, wherever

they are, at home or abroad, and in all the provinces of Egypt, on its eastern borders and the west, and in the south and north and central Egypt.

I turn to you all on this historic day, in which I have become president of all Egyptians, equally. Everyone will be afforded due respect, without any privilege, except that rendered by their service to our nation and their respect for the constitution and the law.

It is not possible to forget the members of the diplomatic corps, and those who work in it, as well as the members of the general intelligence; I will not forget any of them.

My beloved Egyptians who astonished the world with their revolution and whose youth surprised the world by standing in long lines to vote – whether in the referendum for the constitutional proclamation, the parliamentary elections, the elections of the consultative assembly, or the presidential elections – Egypt today is the Egypt of the entire nation. Our country is in urgent need at this moment for the consolidation of ranks and unity of purpose so that our great and patient people would reap the rewards of their sacrifice to live with dignity.

Social justice, freedom and human dignity are our basic slogans. These are the main goals for which the revolution was started in all the squares of Egypt on 25 January 2011 and the strong voices which demanded them still do so in every expression of our ongoing revolution.

The revolution will continue until it realises all its objectives. Together we will complete this process. The Egyptian people have been patient for long, enduring tyranny, oppression, marginalisation and forgery of their will and elections.

We used to look around us and say: when will Egypt and its people become the owners of their destiny? Today you have become the source of authority and the world bears witness to your endeavour for a better future.

O people of Egypt, you have bestowed upon me a heavy trust and great responsibility. I say to all of you, by the grace of Allah and your will, that I have been entrusted with this and I am not best of you. I will sacrifice all my efforts to be loyal to the duties and pledges which I made before all of you, and that all would be equal in rights and duties.

As for myself I have no rights but I have duties; so I call upon you my people to support me as long as I establish justice and righteousness among you, and as long as I obey God in your affairs. If I don't do so, and I disobey God and I do not adhere to what I promised, you are not obliged to obey me.

At this historic juncture, I call upon you the great people of Egypt to strengthen our national unity and close our ranks and stand together. We are all Egyptians. Even though we differ in our views we are all citizens of this country, even if our parties are different. There is no room for the language of confrontation and there is no room to accuse each other.

National unity is the way to lift Egypt out of the present situation and to embark upon a broad project of renaissance, one that is truly Egyptian, leading to real development of our resources. God has blessed us with much, but as you know [our wealth] was

squandered and not put to proper use. We are today about to use these resources to realise our interests.

I call upon you to begin this renaissance project. We Egyptians, Muslims and Christians, are harbingers of development and civilisation and we will remain so. We will meet the trials and schemes which are aimed at undermining our resolve and national unity as we did during the revolution. I am determined with you to astound the world with the Egyptian revival that realises prosperity, dignity and stability.

I am determined, with your help, to build a new Egypt, a civil state, which is democratically constituted. All my energies will be devoted to this great project. I will work to preserve Egypt's national interests on all fronts, Arab and African, regional and international.

We will respect the international treaties and conventions we signed, and we will work to have a system of Egyptian values, especially in the area of freedom and human rights, and women's and children's rights, and to remove all forms of discrimination.

We will establish balanced relations with the entire world community, relations based on mutual interests and respect between equal parties.

We will not allow ourselves to intervene in the internal affairs of any country and we will not allow interference in our affairs.

We will preserve our national sovereignty and the borders of the Egyptian state and everyone must know that Egyptian decisions will come from within and by the will of its people.

Egypt is capable with its people and its forces and history to defend itself and to prevent any hostility or anyone from contemplating aggression against it or its people, wherever they are in the world.

My Egyptian people, we recognise the challenges of the moment. I am convinced that with help of God we will together be able to pass through this phase quickly so that Egypt becomes stronger and assumes its leadership role. This is the destiny of Egypt and what awaits it in the future.

We all are happy and we celebrate this great democracy, the elections and triumph of the will of our nation. I reaffirm what I announced before, that I will never betray Allah in your affairs, or disobey Him in the affairs of my nation. I place before me His saying, "Fear a day when we will return to Allah".

Therefore, say with me together my beloved people, by our will and our unity and our love for each other, we will be able to make a great future. My beloved people some may see these hopes as distant, but we, together, see them very near, by the grace of God and "He is able to enforce His will but most people do not know".

Appendix (6)

Al-Ikhwan Translation of Morsi Speech

In the name of God, Most Merciful, Most Gracious

O great people of Egypt, dear citizens standing here in the Revolution square, in freedom square, in Tahrir Square, in martyrs' square, and all citizens standing in all liberty squares across the homeland, Egypt, in villages, towns and cities, in all governorates of Egypt...

O great citizens watching us at home, O free world, Arabs, brothers and sisters, sons and daughters, Egyptian Muslims and Christians, all citizens wherever you are, inside Egypt and abroad...

You are all my family, my friends. We are here today to tell the whole world: these are the Egyptians; these are the revolutionaries, who made this epic, this revolution. First, I remind you of the words that came out from my heart to you, last Sunday, when the elections committee announced your decision to entrust me with being the president of the Arab Republic of Egypt. That is certainly a great honor, an assignment I certainly cherish, and a responsibility I solemnly carry on my shoulders.

I spoke to all the Egyptian people that evening, and I mentioned almost all the governorates of Egypt and many categories of Egyptian society, but I did forget, without meaning to, some of the governorates of Egypt and some important categories of my beloved people that I greatly respect.

I pay tribute to all Egyptians, including those I forgot – the provinces of Beheira, Damietta, Cairo and Giza. These all are my family and friends, like the rest of provinces I mentioned on Sunday. I extend my greetings to all the Egyptian people without exception, and I assure my respect and my love for the people of creativity, art, culture and media, loyal to Egypt, and all citizens facing up to challenging disabilities.

Special tribute is due to tourism workers. I reiterate and emphasize that I am determined to help them advance and progress. I also stand here with you today, in this our iconic square of freedom and revolution; and we all stand together in all liberty squares of Egypt, and in particular Tahrir Square which saw the rebirth of Egypt, free and dignified Egypt of the real renaissance and the rights that will not be lost... we stand together today to celebrate all of you. I salute all the revolutionaries in all Egypt's freedom squares. Above all, I salute the honorable martyrs who have made a great sacrifice and with their pure blood have watered the tree of liberty.

When we mention the martyrs, we also look at history to know that the tree of liberty was planted by honorable men decades ago, since the beginning of last century, and after suffering the dark decades of injustice and repression for so long, on January 25, 2011 the martyrs of this revolution achieved a major victory.

I salute all the injured of the revolution and their families and all those who generously gave their homeland all they could and sacrificed for the sake of rebuilding and advancing their country.

Let us remain steadfast, men of the revolution, boys and girls, men and women. I am one of you – that is how I was; I still am; and will always be. During the revolution, in this place, we used to say that the revolution is led by its own objectives. Well, the revolution continues to achieve its objectives. It is reshaping to reflect the free will the Egyptian people, with an elected president steering the ship home, leading this revolution, standing in front of patriotic revolutionaries, leading them on the path to full democracy, and doing all he can to achieve all the objectives of the great revolution.

I came to talk to you today, because I believe that you are the source of power and legitimacy. There is no person, party, institution or authority over or above the will of the people. The nation is the source of all power; it grants and withdraws power.

I say to everyone now... to all the people, the Ministries and the government, the army and police of Egypt, men and women, at home and abroad... I say it with full force "No authority is over or above this power". You are the source of power. You are the owners of the will. You grant power to whomsoever you choose, and you withdraw power from whomsoever you choose.

I come to you, today, my beloved Egyptian people, and I wear no bullet-proof vest, because I am confident, as I trust God and I trust you, and I fear only God. And I will always be fully accountable to you.

I come today to Tahrir Square, after it placed this responsibility on my shoulders, to renew my pledge to you; to remind you that you alone are always, always the first station for me to call. I say to all the Egyptian people that, after God's help, I seek their support and their assistance. Are you ready? Will you stand by me to fully regain our rights?

Will not detract from a creature was something of our rights, so long as such your will, after the will of God.

I stand here with you, O great people of Egypt, before the usual formal proceedings, and I say to all honorable Egyptians – those who elected me and those who did not – I'm for all of you, at the same distance from all. I will never subtract from the rights of those they told me "No", nor will I subtract from the rights of those who said to me "Yes". This is democracy. And that is how we set on our journey to rebuild our homeland.

'I pledge to God and I pledge to you – I swear by Almighty God to uphold the Republican system; to respect the Constitution and law; to look after the interests of the people fully; and to safeguard the stability and territorial integrity of the homeland.'
[Oath of Office]

I pledge to God and I pledge to you, the honorable people of Egypt, to fulfill my promises. I pledge to work with you in order to bolster our unity and our strength. I stress my rejection of any attempt to blackmail the people power.

I confirm that I, as president of the Egyptian people, after the legal formal proceedings which I respect, will endeavor to overcome all obstacles. I reiterate my rejection of any attempt to wrest the power of the people, because I am the decision-maker – with your will.

I will not tolerate any curbing of the powers of the President of the Republic. I have no right to give up presidential powers and functions on the basis of which you chose me. This is a contract between you and me. That is the concept of the modern State.

This does not in any way mean we do not respect the law, the constitution or relevant state institutions. There is no contradiction between this and that.

Furthermore, I will not give up the rights of our martyrs and wounded. Fair retribution for them is my responsibility, which I will not shirk.

I will work with you in every moment of my presidential term. I will always put the higher interests of the country above all else, determined to establish the principles of freedom and social justice, and to remove all forms of injustice, corruption and discrimination.

I will work on rejuvenating the economy and alleviate the suffering of millions of Egyptians seeking a decent dignified life. I will connect with everyone; and my doors will remain open for all. I will always welcome you; and I will always be in touch with you.

All the masses in Tahrir Square chanted with President Morsi: "Revolutionaries, Free, We will complete the journey".

Then, President Morsi went on:

We will complete the journey in a civil constitutional modern State, without disrupting production nor traffic; without violating any private or public freedoms, and without clashes or confrontation or distrust.

O citizens of Egypt everywhere, in all cities, in the east and west, the north and south... we are united as one, we are all one hand. I will not differentiate between supporters and opponents. I ask for your advice, and for God's help, and all the people of Egypt's support.

I will work with you to restore Egypt's status as a leader in creativity and culture, education and industries, production and agriculture. We must be partners in national action.

I will endeavor to regain Egypt's free will in its foreign relations. I will abolish all meanings of subordination to any power whatsoever. Egypt is free in all its actions and discourses.

We will not commit any acts of aggression against anyone; but we are all able to prevent any aggression against us. Together we will introduce a new concept of international relations. And I warn everyone, no matter who they are, of attempting to undermine Egypt's dignity or pride, or of even thinking of assaulting the dignity of its people or its president, whoever he may be.

I emphasize the concept of national security in perspectives pertaining to the depths of Africa, the Arab World, the Muslim World and the rest of the world. Will not relinquish

our rights; we will not relinquish the right of any Egyptian abroad. Our regime will drive our discourses in our foreign relations.

I will always be the first supporter of the revolution, so it should continue everywhere in the farthest corners of the homeland. I want these voices to continue be heard announcing that we are always free, revolutionaries, and we're going to continue the march, complete the journey.

We will continue to chant, expressing our love for our homeland. Because love for Egypt is our duty. We will continue to chant for freedom and dignity.

O great Egyptian people, I will do my best to free all detainees, including the blind sheikh, Omar Abdel Rahman. This is their right onto me, and my duty towards them.

Appendix (7)

Al-Sisi speech

"بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ... شعب مصر العظيم"، إن القوات المسلحة لم يكن في مقدورها أن تصم آذانها أو تغض بصرها عن حركة ونداء جماهير الشعب التي استندعت دورها الوطني، وليس دورها السياسى على أن القوات المسلحة كانت هى بنفسها أول من أعلن ولا تزال وسوف تظل بعيدة عن العمل السياسى.

ولقد استشعرت القوات المسلحة - انطلاقا من رؤيتها الثاقبة - أن الشعب الذى يدعوها لنصرته لا يدعوها لسلطة أو حكم وإنما يدعوها للخدمة العامة والحماية الضرورية لمطالب ثورته.. وتلك هى الرسالة التى تلقتها القوات المسلحة من كل حواضر مصر ومدنها وقراها وقد استوعبت بدورها هذه الدعوة وفهمت مقصدها وقدرت ضرورتها واقتربت من المشهد السياسى آملة وراغبة وملتزمة بكل حدود الواجب والمسؤولية والأمانة.

لقد بذلت القوات المسلحة خلال الأشهر الماضية جهودا مضنية بصورة مباشرة وغير مباشرة لاحتواء الموقف الداخلى وإجراء مصالحة وطنية بين كل القوى السياسية بما فيها مؤسسة الرئاسة منذ شهر نوفمبر (تشرين الثانى) 2012.. بدأت بالدعوة لحوار وطنى استجابت له كل القوى السياسية الوطنية وقوبل بالرفض من مؤسسة الرئاسة فى اللحظات الأخيرة.

. ثم تتابعت وتوالى الدعوات والمبادرات من ذلك الوقت وحتى تاريخه. كما تقدمت القوات المسلحة أكثر من مرة بعرض تقدير موقف استراتيجى على المستوى الداخلى والخارجى تضمن أهم التحديات والمخاطر التى تواجه الوطن على المستوى الأمنى والاقتصادى والسياسى والاجتماعى، ورؤية القوات المسلحة بوصفها مؤسسة وطنية لاحتواء أسباب الانقسام المجتمعى وإزالة أسباب الاحتقان ومجابهة التحديات والمخاطر للخروج من الأزمة الراهنة. فى إطار متابعة الأزمة الحالية اجتمعت القيادة العامة للقوات المسلحة رئيس الجمهورية فى قصر القبة يوم 22 / 6 / 2013 حيث عرضت رأى القيادة العامة ورفضها للإساءة لمؤسسات الدولة الوطنية والدينية، كما أكدت رفضها لترويع وتهديد جموع الشعب المصرى.

ولقد كان الأمل معقودا على وفاق وطنى يضع خارطة مستقبل، ويوفر أسباب الثقة والطمأنينة والاستقرار لهذا الشعب بما يحقق طموحه ورجاءه، إلا أن خطاب السيد الرئيس ليلة أمس وقبل انتهاء مهلة الـ 48 ساعة جاء بما لا يلى ويتوافق مع مطالب جموع الشعب.. الأمر الذى استوجب من القوات المسلحة استنادا على مسؤوليتها الوطنية والتاريخية التشاور مع بعض رموز القوى الوطنية والسياسية والشباب ودون استبعاد أو إقصاء لأحد.. حيث اتفق المجتمعون على خارطة مستقبل تتضمن خطوات أولية تحقق بناء مجتمع مصرى قوى ومتماسك لا يقصى أحدا من أبنائه وتياراته وينهى حالة الصراع والانقسام وتشتمل هذه الخارطة على الآتى:

- تعطيل العمل بالدستور بشكل مؤقت. - يؤدى رئيس المحكمة الدستورية العليا اليمين أمام الجمعية العامة للمحكمة.

- إجراء انتخابات رئاسية مبكرة على أن يتولى رئيس المحكمة الدستورية العليا إدارة شؤون البلاد خلال المرحلة الانتقالية لحين انتخاب رئيس جديد.

- لرئيس المحكمة الدستورية العليا سلطة إصدار إعلانات دستورية خلال المرحلة الانتقالية.

- تشكيل حكومة كفاءات وطنية قوية وقادرة تتمتع بجميع الصلاحيات لإدارة المرحلة الحالية.

- تشكيل لجنة تضم كل الأطياف والخبرات لمراجعة التعديلات الدستورية المقترحة على الدستور الذى تم تعطيله مؤقتا.

- مناشدة المحكمة الدستورية العليا لاسرعة إقرار مشروع قانون انتخابات مجلس النواب والبدء فى إجراءات الإعداد للانتخابات البرلمانية.

- وضع ميثاق شرف إعلامى يكفل حرية الإعلام ويحقق القواعد المهنية والمصادقية والحيادة وإعلاء المصلحة العليا للوطن.

- اتخاذ الإجراءات التنفيذية لتمكين ودمج الشباب فى مؤسسات الدولة ليكون شريكا فى القرار كمساعدين للوزراء والمحافظين ومواقع السلطة التنفيذية المختلفة.

- تشكيل لجنة عليا للمصالحة الوطنية من شخصيات تتمتع بمصداقية وقبول لدى جميع النخب الوطنية وتمثل مختلف التوجهات.

تهيب القوات المسلحة بالشعب المصرى العظيم بكل أطيافه الالتزام بالتظاهر السلمى وتجنب العنف الذى يؤدى إلى مزيد من الاحتقان وإرافة دم الأبرياء.. وتحذر من أنها ستتصدى بالتعاون مع رجال وزارة الداخلية بكل قوة وحسم ضد أى خروج عن السلمية طبقا للقانون وذلك من منطلق مسؤوليتها الوطنية والتاريخية. كما توجه القوات المسلحة التحية والتقدير لرجال القوات المسلحة ورجال الشرطة والقضاء الشرفاء المخلصين على دورهم الوطنى العظيم وتضحياتهم المستمرة للحفاظ على سلامة وأمن مصر وشعبها العظيم. حفظ الله مصر وشعبها الأبقى العظيم.. والسلام عليكم ورحمة الله وبركاته.

Appendix (8)

BBC Translation of Al-Sisi speech

"In the name of God, the Most Merciful, the Most Compassionate. Oh great people of Egypt!

As the armed forces cannot just turn a deaf ear and a blind eye to the movement and call of the Egyptian people, they have invoked their patriotic, and not political, role.

The armed forces themselves were, still are and will continue to be the first to announce their need to remain distant from political action.

Relying on their insightful vision, the armed forces have realised that the Egyptian people, who are calling on us to come to their support, are not in fact calling on us to assume power.

Rather, they have called on us to perform public service and to secure essential protection of the demands of their revolution. Such is the message which the armed forces have received from across Egypt's urban centres, cities, villages."

'Tremendous efforts'

"The armed forces have comprehended this appeal, understood its intention, and come to see its necessity. We have drawn closer to the political scene, motivated by hope and willingness and stressing commitment to every sense of duty, responsibility, and faith.

Over the past few months, the armed forces have exerted tremendous efforts, both directly and indirectly, to contain the domestic situation and conduct national reconciliation comprising all the political forces, including the presidential institution.

In November 2012, the armed forces called for a national dialogue, to which all the national and political forces had responded, but which was rejected by the presidency at the last moment.

Subsequent calls and initiatives have been put forward since then. The armed forces have on several occasions presented a strategic assessment on the domestic and foreign levels, addressing the most pivotal challenges and dangers facing the homeland on the economic, security, political, and social levels.

We have also presented the vision of the armed forces, as a national institution, as to how to address the factors leading to social divisions; how to remove tension; and how to confront the challenges and dangers in order to end the current crisis.

As parts of the efforts exerted in response to the current crisis, the General Command of the armed forces held a meeting with the president of the republic in the Quba Palace on 22 June. The armed forces expressed their opinion and conveyed rejection of inflicting harm on the state's national and religious institutions.

We also expressed rejection of attempts to intimidate or threaten the Egyptian people. There was hope that national accord would be achieved to delineate a roadmap and to

give the people a sense of trust and reassurance, in addition to stability, in a way that secures their hopes and aspirations."

Roadmap

"However, the speech which the president made last night before the expiry of the 48-hour deadline failed to meet the overall demands of the people, prompting the armed forces - in compliance with their historic and national duties - to consult with some figures representing political, national, religious, and youth forces without excluding any party.

The parties present agreed on a future roadmap containing initial measures which ensures the construction of a strong and coherent Egyptian society which does not exclude any of its members and trends, and which ends the state of conflict and division.

The roadmap includes the following:

The Constitution shall be temporarily suspended

The head of the Supreme Constitutional Court shall take oath before the court's general assembly

Early presidential elections shall take place

The head of the Supreme Constitutional Court shall run the affairs of the country during the transitional period until a new president has been elected

The head of the Supreme Constitutional Court shall have the authority to pass constitutional declarations during the transitional phase

A national technocrat government - which shall be both strong and competent - shall be formed and shall enjoy all the powers needed to run the current phase

A committee shall be formed comprising figures from various expertise and spectrums to review the proposed amendments to the Constitution, which has been temporality suspended

The Supreme Constitutional Court is hereby urged to pass the draft law on parliamentary election and to embark on preparing for parliamentary election

A media charter of honour shall be designed in a way that ensures media freedom; observes professional rules, credibility, and neutrality; and advances the homeland's top interests

Practical measures shall be taken to empower young people and integrate them into the state's institutions so they can be partners in the decision-making process on the various levels of the executive authority

A higher committee for national reconciliation shall be formed. The committee shall comprise figures who enjoy credibility and acceptance from all national forces, and who represent all affiliations

The Armed Forces hereby call on the great Egyptian people, with all their affiliations, to ensure the peacefulness of the demonstrations and avoid violence as it only leads to further tension and to the shedding of innocent blood.

We hereby warn that - in co-operation with the elements of the Ministry of the Interior and in accordance with the law - we will stand firmly and decisively against any forms of painlessness in fulfilment of our historic and national responsibilities.

The armed forces hail the honest and dedicated elements of the forces, the police, and the judiciary for their great national role and their continued sacrifices to maintain the safety and security of Egypt and its great people.

May God protect Egypt and its glorious great people. Peace be upon you."

Appendix (9)

Aljazeera translation of Al-Sisi speech

The Egyptian Armed Forces first declared, is still declaring and will always declare that it stands distant from political forces. The Armed Forces, based on its insightfulness, has been called by the Egyptian people for help, not to hold the reins of power, yet to discharge its civil responsibility and answer demands of responsibility. This is the message received by the EAF and heard in all of the country.

In turn this call was heeded by the EAF, and it has understood the essence of this message. Before it has come close to the political scene adhering to its responsibility, the EAF over the past month has inserted efforts, direct and indirect to contain the situation within and achieve national reconciliation among all institutions, including the presidency.

Since the past, the army has called for national dialogue, yet it was rejected by the presidency in the last moment. Many calls, initiatives followed until to date. The EAF similarly on more than one occasion presented a strategic assessment domestically and internationally, which contained the most eminent (this part unclear).

The EAF as a patriotic institution to contain division and confront challenges and perils to exit the current crisis. As we closely monitored the current crisis, the command of EAF met with the president on June 2nd where it presented the opinion of the AF on the state of (the country) and (relayed) the cause of masses and Egyptian people. Hopes were all pinned on national conciliation. Yet, the address of the president yesterday and before the expiry of the 48-hour ultimatum did not meet the demands of the people.

As a result, it was necessary for the EAF to act on its patriotic and historic responsibility without sidelining, marginalising any party, where during the meeting a road map was agreed upon which includes the following:

Suspending the constitution provisionally; The chief justice of the constitutional court will declare the early presidential elections; Interim period until president elected. Chief Justice will have presidential powers; A technocrat, capable national government will be formed; The committee will offer all its expertise to review the new constitution; The Supreme Constitutional Law will address the draft law and prepare for parliamentary elections;

Securing and guaranteeing freedom of expression, freedom of media. All necessary measures will be taken to empower youth so they can take part in decision making processes. The EAF appeal to the Egyptian people with all its spectrum to steer away from violence and remain peaceful. The Armed Forces warn it will stand up firmly and strictly to any act deviating from peacefulness based on its patriotic and historic responsibility.

May God save Egypt and the honorable, defiant people of Egypt.

جامعة النجاح الوطنية

كلية الدراسات العليا

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رؤساء مصريين: مبارك، مرسي والسياسي.

دراسة مقارنة للترجمات

اعداد

سجود جبر خضير

اشراف

د. أيمن نزال

قدمت هذه الأطروحة استكمالاً لمتطلبات درجة الماجستير في اللغويات التطبيقية
والترجمة، كلية الدراسات العليا، جامعة النجاح الوطنية، نابلس، فلسطين.

2016

ب

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اشراف

د. أيمن نزال

الملخص

تبحث هذه الرسالة في وظائف الأيديولوجيا لتكرار المفردات والصرف، لثلاث خطابات
مصرية سياسية: لمبارك، مرسي والسيسي. بالإضافة لذلك فهي تدرس استراتيجيات ترجمة التكرار
من اللغة الإنجليزية إلى العربية والتي تبنتها كل من وسائل الإعلام والقنوات العربية والغربية الآتية
وهي: قنوات البي بي سي، السي إن إن، الجزيرة الإنجليزية ، موقع الإخوان المسلمين، وصحيفة
الجارديان.

يرتبط التكرار دائما بوظيفته الشكلية، بحيث أن هناك دراسات قليلة ركزت على العلاقة بين
التكرار، والترجمة والأيديولوجيا. لذلك فإن هذا البحث يبين أمرين مهمين وهما:

أولاً: كيف أن السياسيين قاموا بتوظيف التكرار بشكل متعمد في خطاباتهم؛ لإقناع الجمهور
بأجندتهم السياسية من أجل البقاء في الحكم.

ثانياً: كيف أن استراتيجيات الترجمة المختلفة لوسائل الإعلام تظهر مواقفهم السياسية من هؤلاء
السياسيين المصريين وموقفهم من الجمهور المصري أيضاً.