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The Language of Contemporary Egyptian Newspapers: Re-Visiting Badawi's Model

A Thesis Submitted to

The Teaching Arabic as a Foreign

Language Department

The Arabic Language Institute

In partial fulfillment of the Requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

By

Yasser N. Elshami

May, 2013

To Dr. Badawi, who planted the seeds for my free thinking.

To Dr. Zeinab Taha, who provided an environment to practice such freedom.

To My mother's soul, for she would be the happiest for my achievement.

To Hosam, he knows how and how much he helped me achieve this goal.

To Amy, for being a supportive wife and a responsible mother.

To Hana, Ezzeldeen, and Nooreldeen; life is a truth seeking journey. Try hard to get as close as possible to it, for no one reaches the truth.

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Abstract

It is believed that the language of newspapers plays a major role in developing and reflecting the reality of the contemporary language in Egypt, where the Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) and Egyptian Colloquial Arabic (ECA) have become much closer and the gap between them has shrunk (Badawi, 2012). The linguistic reality described in Badawi's model (1973) demonstrates the structure of the contemporary Egyptian community. He gives a horizontal picture of the spoken language used in Egypt at that time.

This study aims at re-visiting Badawi's model and focusing on the language used in opinion articles in the current Egyptian newspapers. It explores and depicts the linguistic reality of the Language of Current Egyptian Newspapers (LCEN) in light of Badawi's model.

The data under investigation was drawn from three widely read Egyptian newspapers, *Al-Ahram, Al-Masry Al-youm*, and *Al-Tahreer*. A sample data of opinion articles from the three newspapers was collected over a period of two months from 1st of November 2011till the 19th of December. The method used to collect the opinion articles under investigation is designed to cover issues from all the week days in order to get better representing data.

The thesis analyzes the data primarily on MSA or Non- Modern Standard Arabic (NMSA) basis using the criteria Badawi used in his model. It is important to mention two points; the first is that where NMSA is concerned Classical Arabic is not included. The second is that the phonological criteria Badawi used are excluded because the data under investigation is all in the written form. The NMSA detected is classified under six different types they are: part of a song or a movie, proverbs, reported speech, slogans, loan-words, and common expressions.

The findings of this study show that NMSA is incorporated in the opinion articles of the three newspapers under investigation at different degrees in both body of articles and headlines. *Al-Ahram* has the lowest percentage of NMSA while *Al-Tahreer* has the highest percentage and *Al-Masry Al-youm* comes in the middle.

Reviewing the findings regarding the different types of NMSA, the current study show that the data extracted from the three newspapers provided enough NMSA types to be categorized under the identified six different types.

Finally, it can be said that according to the findings of this study, LCEN has shown signs it has moved downward somewhere on Badawi's measuring stick of levels of contemporary Arabic Language in Egypt. Consequently and according to Badawi's model, LCEN cannot be classified exclusively under level two, known as MSA, anymore.

The Language of Contemporary Egyptian Newspapers Opinion Articles

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Chapter I

Introduction

1- 1 Introduction and statement of the problem

       The notion of diglossia in Arabic

One of the languages in the world that is characterized by diglossia is Arabic. It is the official language of the twenty-three countries of the so called "Arab world". These countries can also be described as diglossic speech communities, i.e. two varieties (or more) of one language which coexist, side by side, in the same speech community (Bassiouney,2009). Where modern standard Arabic (MSA) is the official, and consequently, the prestigious language in the above mentioned speech communities, there are other vernaculars that are considered lower than MSA. Diglossia cannot be considered without mentioning Ferguson's contribution to the study. Ferguson (1959) defines diglossia as follows:

"Diglossia is a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard of regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation" (p.336).

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Although Ferguson's proposed definition of diglossia is a cornerstone dealing with ازدواجية اللغة in the Arab world (Boussofara-Omar, 2006), his description of the register variation is not completely successful, consequently, neither is the phenomena of register switching, and as a result the negotiation of meanings within a social context. Ferguson, upon revisiting his article of 1959 "Diglossia" mentions that "diglossia in the sense I was defining was not the same as the situation in which two different (related or unrelated) languages have a functional distribution similar to that of diglossia (i.e. a "high" [H] language and a "low" [L] language)" (Ferguson, p.52.1996).

Ferguson's original definition of diglossia and its shortcomings inspired other scholars to focus on identifying and defining the intermediate levels "middle varieties" that lie between his "H" and "L" varieties (Boussofara-Omar, 2006).

Diglossia and the theory of levels

The work of Ferguson undoubtedly spurred other famous linguists to study diglossia (Bassiouney, 2009). The subsequent work of linguists that followed Ferguson aims at refining and improving his ideas. The work of Blanc (1960), Badawi (1973-2012) and Meiseles (1980) provide more detailed and consequently more accurate, descriptive and even more representing models of the diglossic situation in the Arab speech community. They find that the binary distinction between the H and L varieties is too simple to account for the intermediate varieties or levels that may lie between them.

Blanc (1960), relying on recordings of cross-dialectical dialogues recognizes five sub-varieties: Standard Arabic, Modified Classical, Semi-Literary or Elevated Colloquial, Koineised

Colloquial and Plain Colloquial. His corpus is homogeneous representing a one coherent variety of Arabic; furthermore, it does not represent "a more varied corpus of educated spoken Arabic" (Meiseles 1980, p.118).

Badawi (1973, 2012) defines five levels of contemporary Arabic in Egypt, which are: 1-فصحى التراث "Classical Arabic" only used in Qur'an recitation; 2- فصحى العصر "Modern Standard Arabic" (MSA), the language used in writing and formal occasions in speaking; 3- عامية المثقفين "colloquial of the intellectuals", the formal spoken language of educated people; 4- عامية المتنورين "colloquial of the literate", the informal spoken language of educated people; 5- عامية الأميين "colloquial of the illiterate", the language in which the illiterate talk. It might be found that there is a correspondence between Badawi's level (1, 2) to Blanc's (1), and Badawi's (3) to Blanc's (2), yet afterwards the two models take different directions. These differences are due to the different perspective used by each of them; Blanc just proposes a descriptive picture of the varieties of the Arabic Language while Badawi describes the linguistic reality and is more concerned about the sociolinguistic factors which are manifested in the use of different levels by different people (Mitchell, 1986).

Meiseles relies on linguistic and social function criteria to propose his four level scale or four sub-varieties: Literary Arabic or Standard Arabic, Sub-Standard Arabic, Educated spoken Arabic and finally basic or plain vernacular (Meiseles 1980, p.123).

Of all the various efforts which have been made, Badawi's five-level model (BM) about contemporary Arabic in Egypt has provided a more accurate and descriptive depiction of the sub-varieties in between H and L. Basing his study, mainly but not exclusively, on broadcastings from the Egyptian media, Badawi proposes five different levels of the contemporary Arabic in

Egypt. These levels are clearly defined, described and differentiated. Each level has its own characteristic features along a continuum that ranges from **فصحى العصر** to **عامية الأميين** . Badawi's model is more important and more representative of the linguistic reality in Egypt than the others because he relates the language used to the society where it is used. The levels are based on the sociological backgrounds of the speakers such as social standard, level of education and the social context or situation. His model explains which language variety is typical of which type of speaker in which type of situation in Egypt.

In the introduction of the second edition of his book, **مستويات العربية في مصر: بحث في علاقة اللغة بالحضارة** (*The levels of Arabic Language in Egypt: a study in the relationship between civilization and language),* Badawi mentions that the sociological changes that have taken place since the first edition of the book allows for documenting the historical change in the language and re-describing the linguistics phenomena past to the period the book covers. He adds that few studies document the reality of the Arabic language in relation to a specific period of time (Badawi, 2012).

Moreover, despite all the different forms of change that took place in the current reality of the Arabic language, they all refer to a one common factor that is the creeping of certain levels of Egyptian colloquial *of* Arabic (ECA) into new fields of writing never found before. Badawi even finds it odd enough to find ECA in the production of one of the most prestigious press houses in Egypt that is *Al-Ahram*. When his book was first written it would have never occurred to anyone, including Badawi himself that ECA would be found in such publications (Badawi, 2012).

Badawi (2012) said that these five levels do not have definite border lines between one another. Each level has a medium or center point where its features are at the peak and most distinctive in addition to two margin areas. The features of each level at these marginal areas gradually fade out into the features of the adjacent level to the extent that sometimes it is not possible to classify a certain language production under a specific level. He explains that it is not due to a defect in the level system but rather a true and realistic reflection of the linguistic reality. Badawi here provides a better description of the H-L continuum.

This study is meant to re-visit Badawi's model, focusing on the language of printed media in general and the language of newspapers in particular. It investigates one important aspect of the current linguistic reality in Egypt. This aspect is the language of the contemporary Egyptian newspapers' LCEN. The framework of Badawi's model (1973-2012) of the contemporary Arabic language in Egypt is used to perform the intended investigation.

The linguistic reality described in Badawi's model (1973 -2012) demonstrates the structure of the contemporary Egyptian community. He gives a horizontal picture of the spoken language used in Egypt at that time. This structure shows that the Contemporary Arabic in Egypt can be classified into five levels that are adjacent, have overlapping boundaries and have no definite border lines between one another as mentioned above. Badawi conducts his research on data not only collected from recordings of different programs of the Egyptian radio and T.V., but also recordings of other, different university lectures. Moreover, Badawi refers to written texts when he defines MSA as the written record of contemporary knowledge. He adds that level two Fusha Ala'asr or Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) has a wide range of use. It is also used in news bulletins, political analysis and the previously prepared speeches that are read from written texts.

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Badawi also adds that MSA is the written record of modern sciences and knowledge. This record may remain written or read aloud (Badawi 1973, p.127). He also says that the fields covered by MSA are versatile and include science, arts, literature, press and printed media with all its sub-categories including news, advertisement, obituaries etc.

The samples used by Badawi (2012,p 156-158) to define MSA in particular are excerpts from written texts and books in different subjects of knowledge and seven extracts from books about Sufism, physics, literary criticism, biology and lexicography as samples of MSA. Moreover, he mentions, in defining the MSA, newspaper writing style as being representative of some syntactic aspects that tend to appear more clearly in newspapers (p.131)

Newspaper language in Egypt

According to Versteegh & Effat (2010), since the 1950s the Arab mass media grew greatly, widening the use of MSA, which is the language of the newspapers.

According to Badawi (1973-2012), the language of the newspapers plays a major role in developing and reflecting the reality of the contemporary language, where the MSA and ECA have become much closer and the gap between them has shrunk. In the field of journalism in Egypt, MSA is adopted to broadcast news, current events and commentaries to the public readers in a simple, neutral, expressive and communicative linguistic medium (Abdel Fattah, 1990).

In general, the use of non-Modern standard Arabic in newspapers remains, for a long time, a reason for frowning while reading, although it is "occasionally used, for instance, in reporting direct speech" (Versteegh & Effat 2010).

Nonetheless, using dialects in newspapers continues and special justifications are required

whenever they take place. A good example is the speech of President Sadat that appears in newspapers two days after his assassination in 1981. It is in its original form, i.e. "in a mixed form of colloquial and modern standard Arabic". The editors of the newspaper apologize for not rephrasing it into MSA because of the lack of time. Then, the use of non-modern standard Arabic was normally considered a mistake (Versteegh & Effat 2010).

Observation of current newspapers shows that this is not the case anymore; the written language used in the Egyptian current newspaper is not exclusive to level two MSA only, but rather it includes other levels as well (Badawi, 2012).

Non-modern standard Arabic in the language of contemporary Egyptian newspapers

Since Badawi established his model, little research has been done on the language of newspapers and even less work done on the language of newspapers in the shadow of Badawi's model. Until recently, when defining the Non-modern standard Arabic (NMSA), it is introduced as "the spoken variation used by Egyptians in daily conversations, movies, songs, and television soap operas, and it is used in a very limited way in written texts as in comic strips, novels and short stories and in reporting dialogues (Warschauer, 2002). In addition to that, NMSA is currently used in newspapers in areas more than just when reporting speech. Ibrahim's (2010) research presents a case of written code switching in two opposition newspapers while, and at the same time, this does not take place in a state-owned one. Her study shows that code switching resulted in having NMSA in headlines with different degrees in opposition newspapers; meanwhile, the state-owned newspaper does not have one incident of NMSA in its headlines. It's

worth mentioning that NMSA is used in caricatures in both types of newspapers, opposition and state-owned ones.

Badawi (2012) believes that the use of NMSA in Egyptian newspapers is still limited except for commercial advertisements. He adds that NMSA is mainly found in headlines, more than in articles.

Newspaper language and the society

According to Hassan Hussein Fahmi (1961), language solidifies if society solidifies; language, through time and in all nations, has been like a mirror. It reflects and proves how civilized or non-civilized and how flexible or inflexible people are. If people cope and adapt according to human development, language changes accordingly and submissively. And as a result, some sort of change on the linguistic reality of the contemporary EC must have taken place in the forty years' time since Badawi presented his model. Shawqi Dayf (as cited in Boussofara-Omar 2010) mentions that media is responsible for making space for the dialects to gradually occupy areas that were typically reserved for Fusha.

Re-introducing his book, Badawi (2012) explains that at the time of writing, to use NMSA, for instance, in an article discussing education problems and in such prestigious newspaper like *Al-Ahram* was totally unexpected. His justification is that a fundamental change in the linguistic Egyptian model must have been detected by the prestigious daily *Al-Ahram* and obliging it to use it in order to keep the channels open with its readers.

He also adds at the end that language is a mirror of the society and newspapers are mirrors of the language (Badawi, 2012, p38).

1-2 The study

Rational and statement of the problem

This is an exploratory and qualitative study. It aims at re-visiting Badawi's model, focusing on the language used in opinion articles in the current Egyptian newspapers. It explores and depicts the linguistic reality of the LCEN in the light of BM. The data will be analyzed qualitatively according to the criteria Badawi used in his model. Badawi's model has been chosen as it is the most descriptive, representative and applicable model to the language used in Egypt. Badawi bases his model on the social and educational foundations of the society. Undoubtedly, as a society going through major changes, language so accordingly is definitely changing too. Moreover, the language of current newspapers needs to be accurately defined and described in the light of Badawi's model.

Opinion articles have been chosen to be investigated because it is believed that columns are written by experienced columnists and their writings represent a sample of one of the most important styles of written Arabic, namely journalistic Arabic (Al Kohlani, 2010). Opinion articles cover a wide spectrum of topics that range from everyday issues to political, sport, and economic topics and thus are potentially significant in the language varieties used in them.

Another aspect of importance of this study is in the field of teaching Arabic as a foreign language (TAFL). The language of media in general, media Arabic, and printed media Arabic in particular can be considered as a cornerstone in the spectrum of the Arabic language. It is characterized by abundance and influence, for no other variety of Arabic can be as widespread and accessible to the Arabic learners.

This descriptive study helps teachers of Arabic as a foreign language when teaching media classes to give an accurate account of the language used in opinion articles. It may also be

used to tell students how and when NMSA is used/integrated in journalistic writings. This is clarified in the pedagogical implications part of this study.

Research questions

Primary research question: Re-visiting Badawi's model, where does the Language of Contemporary Egyptian Newspapers (LCEN) used in opinion articles (headline vs. body of the article) lie according to Badawi's model?

Secondary research question: What types of non-modern standard Arabic (NMSA) is used in opinion articles (headline vs. body of the article) according to Badawi's model?

Definitions

Opinion Articles: the daily and weekly columns that appear in the Egyptian newspapers under investigation, and the daily pages that are dedicated for other writers to express their opinions about the current issues.

The Language of the Contemporary Egyptian Newspapers: the Arabic language that represents the writing style used in the contemporary Egyptian newspapers, which are, for the purpose of this study, *Al-Ahram, Al-Masry Al-Youm, Al-Tahreer*.

Badawi's model: Badawi put forward the factual basis of five levels to the CEA on the basis of his study of the spoken Arabic in the Egyptian media through the 1960s (Hary, 1996). The then newly trend of sociolinguistics inspired Badawi to establish these linguistic patterns, demonstrating that education, not gender or social class, was the prime factor deciding on which language level people belong to (Abboud-Haggar, 2010).

Classical Arabic (level 1): This is the Arabic of the literary heritage and the Qur'an. "It is a written language, but is heard in its spoken form on religious programs on TV" (Bassiouny, 2006).

Modern Standard Arabic (level 2): Bassiouny as well as other western-trained linguists consider MSA as a simplified and modified CA to meet the modern age needs. MSA is used in news bulletins by reading its written text aloud as well as commentaries to these texts (Bassiouny, 2006).

Colloquial of the Cultured (level 3): According to Bassiouny (2006), although influenced by MSA, Colloquial of the Cultured is not normally written. It is the colloquial for formal and serious talk and discussions. It is used by people who received university education and are "cultured" (i.e. well-educated) such as those who appear on television. In formal teaching in Egypt, it is the language mainly used in universities. In general, it is also becoming the language of instruction in the Egyptian classrooms.

Colloquial of Enlightened (level 4): Used by less than university level educated people, the colloquial of the enlightened is the everyday language used with family and friends and on sports, fashion and non-intellectual topics on television programs. This language is also used by cultured and highly educated people when they talk in a relaxed fashion about non-serious issues (Bassiouny, 2006).

Colloquial of Illiterate (level 5): The influence of MSA is absent in this level of colloquial. It occurs in the talk of certain characters in soap operas, comic situations and children's shows (Bassiouny, 2006).

Non-Modern Standard Arabic: since classical Arabic is not likely to be used in the language of journalism except when quoting the Quran or Hadeeths, the Non-Modern Standard Arabic, in this paper, refers to the language classified by Badawi as levels 3, 4 and 5.

Badawi's Continuum: consists of the five levels Badawi identified. They have no definite border lines and they gradually fade into each other in a "graded continuum" (Abboud-Haggar, 2010)

Diglossic Community: where two language varieties live side by side. Functions of each variety are specific. Each variety is used through its social functions or/and linguistic contexts. (Abboud- Haggar, 2010)

Abbreviations

CEN: Contemporary Egyptian Newspapers

LCEN: Language of Contemporary Egyptian Newspapers

MSA: Modern Standard Arabic

NMSA: Non-Modern Standard Arabic

Chapter II

The Review of Literature

2-1 The language of newspapers

Imam (1972) states that the English columnist Daniel Defoe, known as the godfather of the English Press, who gained his fame after writing his science fiction Robinson Crusoe, was genius enough to reach and acquire the art of journalism writing with its unique language. This language is so different from the language of science and that of literature. According to Defoe (Imam,1972), his style of writing is a style by which he can talk to five thousand different people -- excluding the mentally ill -- and be understood by all (the number 5000 was the maximum for the distribution of newspapers in the eighteenth century in England, the era in which Defoe lived).

According to Imam (1972), in Arab culture, harbingers of press language appear even before the invention of the printing press. *Aljahez*, a writer of the third Hijri century, deserves to be the first journalist had he lived among us. Many of the characteristics of journalist style can be found in *Aljahez's* literature. He possessed encyclopedic knowledge, careful observation, smooth style, strong opposition, cynical ability and most importantly he was able to depict and materialize all this in writing. *Aljahez* was so immersed in society that he provided a tremendous prolific production. His production was closely relevant to the common ideas in his day. He depicted an accurate picture of the political, social, and cultural and religious environment surrounding him -- something that is akin to what modern press provides the society with.

According to Goumopskaya (2007), public opinion is influenced by newspapers on political, social, and moral matters. Meanwhile, Imam (1972) says that journalistic writing is not directed foremost to the purely logical, but rather to the feelings and conscience of the society as well as the logic, hence it has a serious impact on the masses periodically exposed to it. The language of the press is direct and realistic; it mentions the word "dog" or "beautiful" without having to go into precise details that may be of interest to readers who are dog lovers or beauty experts. The art of journalistic writing is based on the ability to simplify meanings (Imam, 1972).

According to Badawi (2012), language is a living being and interacts with the society it lives within. Conboy (2010) states that language has become a social activity. To members of the society, language is a key instrument of socialization and communication. It is used in different forms and in different manners. Newspapers have taken this social activity from the confines of face-to-face communication to a vast discourse based on imaginary kinship of the newspapers' readers (Conboy, 2010). He adds that the language of newspapers has always materialized the identity of that imaginary kinship of readers on its pages.

Hodge and Kress, 1993 (as cited in Conboy, 2010) argue that language is a key instrument in socialization, and the means whereby society forms and permeates the individual's consciousness signifying social behavior.

Conboy (2010) mentions that the development of newspaper language can be affected by political and sociological changes and the interaction between them. The dominant element, social or political, will direct such development.

Imam (1972) believes that press is an art of civilization. It thrives only in an environment that allows for society's progress and development.

2-2 The Arabic language of newspapers and the Egyptian newspaper

Abulleil (2008) states that if he takes the language of the press into consideration, he can only see it as the representative of the newly generated sub-variety of language that moves into the main and MSA variety.

According to Abulleil (2008), the major advantage of journalists' work in developing the Arabic language is expanding the semantic fields of many lexical items to include new meanings they never bore before. He adds that the biggest development the Arabic language has undergone in the present era was at the hands of journalists.

Hamza (1961) (as cited in Abdelfattah, 1996) mentions that the Arabic language of journalism has succeeded tremendously in developing MSA in terms of simplifying, rejuvenating and consequently elevating it to be as expressive as other world languages. Abdel Alaziz (1978) (as cited in Abdelfattah, 1996) relates the flexibility and development that current MSA relishes to the press.

Abdelfattah (1996) adds that playing a role of a public service provider and being a medium of such a service, Arabic journalism, with its nature of being aggressive and innovative, plays another important role in hosting and establishing new features of style and structure as well as taking linguistic risks that only a few linguists and academicians would dare to take. He believes that one major feature of journalistic language is that it uses terms and expressions that are already used normally and comfortably by the readers in their daily life. Therefore, neither explanation nor paraphrasing is needed for comprehension.

At the end of the 19th century, a new trend of news writing was generated as a result of using the Egyptian colloquial with MSA. That new trend is known as "Folkloristic Journalism" (Abu-Lughod, 1963). He adds that this new trend of writing mainly targeted the Egyptian social situation and deliberately aimed at lowering the level of complexity of the language of journalism and obviously succeeded. This success was evident since the illiterate could easily comprehend the news when read by their literate family members or friends. Chief editors and newspaper policy makers reacted positively to the needs of a considerable number of target leaders. The latter represented an important layer of the society when they adopted the above mentioned new trend of "Folkloristic Journalism".

The contribution of the printed media in re-shaping MSA in Egypt cannot be ignored. It has been done in different ways. Printed media has lessened the gap between MSA and ECA. Syntactic changes took place in journalistic MSA, such as the increased use of nominal sentences and the decrease of using "cognate accusative" as a verb modifier, which is an already established ECA feature (Abdulfattah, 1996, p. 134). In written media, the type of magazine, newspaper or article determines the dialectal elements used (Holes, 1995).

It is believed that ECA imposes its features on journalistic writing in different ways. Loan words and expressions are adopted mainly from English. The use of nominal sentences increases and ECA exists in newspapers' editorials and opinion articles in both bodies and titles that are mainly directed to mass audience. The phenomenon of the increasing use of ECA in journalistic writing was not observable before the middle of the twentieth century (Abdulfattah, 1996).

According to Ryding (2010), contemporary printed media Arabic and its wide range of coverage represents a gateway to Arab public opinion and a written language form which bridges into other formal or educated variations of the spoken language (as called by Ryding, 2005) the formal spoken Arabic. Ryding (2010) mentions that printed Arabic media play a prime role in establishing new standards of written language used by the public. Another central role is the interaction between the language of print media and all other spoken language variations and its levels, particularly the formally higher variety and public-oriented spoken one known as Educated Spoken Arabic (ESA). She notes that some Arabic linguistics researchers have conducted their investigations on the discourse of broadcast news. It is believed that the discourse of written and electronic news is of equal importance and worthy of equal attention and analysis.

Van-Mol (2010) states that press investigations, interviews and reports occasionally contain dialectal elements such as cartoons, which are in the local dialects. According to him, so far, there are no statistical data available to demonstrate the areas of existence of the dialectical features in written media.

Ibrahim (2010) examines the language of Egyptian newspapers and the use of NMSA in opposition newspapers in particular. She studies the cases of code switching in three newspapers; they are *Al-Masry Al-youm*, *Al-Dustuur,* and *Al-Ahram.* She states that the use of ECA was increasing in the less formal opposition newspaper, *Al-Dustuur* than in the more formal one, *Al-Masry Al-youm.* Moreover, both of the newspapers had more NMSA instances than the governmental newspaper, *Al-Ahram.*

Ever since Badawi's model was established, very few researchers conducted studies on the language of Egyptian newspapers. There has been no accurate documentation to the changes undergone by the language of newspapers in Egypt since the end of the twentieth century up to the present. The focus of those few studies in the field about the language of press in Egypt is mainly on the effect of news translated from foreign languages, mainly English, on the language of Egyptian newspapers rather than on any possible interaction between the dialects and levels of the language used.

Chapter III

Methodology and Data Collection

This study is designed to investigate the LCEN according to Badawi's 1973 model. It aims at studying the language in opinion articles as a journalistic genre. This is a qualitative study that investigates the presence of NMSA in opinion articles in Egyptian newspapers. In addition to that, the study gives raw numbers of the amount of NMSA used in the opinion articles under investigation. In order to achieve the goals of the study and to answer its questions, BM was adopted to conduct the study. The analysis of collected data for the LCEN used in opinion articles is classified under two umbrellas, namely MSA or NMSA.

3-1 Data collection

The data under investigation was collected from three widely read Egyptian newspapers. According to Dubai Press Club Report 2009-2013 (2010), *Al-Ahram* has the highest readership rates in the Egyptian newspaper market and represents the state's opinion. Statistics show that *Al-MasryAl-youm* is one of the most widely distributed Egyptian newspapers; it is considered an opposition newspaper. In addition to these two newspapers, *Al-Tahreer*, a newly established and privately owned newspaper, is also used in this study. This newspaper appeared in the post-25th January 2011 revolution period. Many of its columnists are from the younger generation. These three newspapers were chosen because, in addition to their wide readership, they represent different political stances, ideologies and even different generations**.**

3-2 Sampling

The sample data was collected from issues covering a period of two months, from the 1st of November 2011 till the 19th of December. The method used to collect the opinion articles under investigation is designed to cover issues from all the weekdays in order to get better representing data. To do that, and since there are daily columns and weekly columns, issues were chosen successively from each day of the week rather than choosing them randomly. For example, the samples chosen are from the Saturday issue of the first week, the Sunday issue of the second week, the Monday issue of the third week and so on till all the weekdays are covered.

The collected issues are as given in the below table:

Week 1	Tuesday November 1st 2011.
Week 2	Wednesday November 9th 2011.
Week 3	Thursday November 17th 2011
Week 4	Friday November 25th 2011
Week 5	Saturday December 3rd 2011
Week 6	Sunday December 11th 2011
Week 7	Monday December 19th 2011

The parts which are under investigation are in the daily columns in the three newspapers. In addition to that, the following pages are covered:

- *Al Ahram* قضيا و آراء except for بريد القراء.

- *Al Tahrir* قلم وكيبورد.

- مساحات رأي *Al Masry Al-youm* -

The total number of articles in each newspaper as follows:

Al-Ahram 192 opinion articles

Al-MasryAl-youm 125 opinion articles

Al-Tahreer 138 opinion articles

Criteria for identifying NMSA incidents

1- Word structure:

a- **Demonstratives**: the NMSA uses دي,ده and دول with singular masculine, singular feminine and plural respectively. It uses هنا for near objects, and هناك for far objects. On the other hand, MSA uses 13 items under this category.

b- Relative pronouns: NMSA uses only اللي to replace all the different relative pronouns used in MSA.

c- Dual: The dual system in NMSA is only applied to nouns using the ين inflectional ending.

d- Plural: It is expanded in NMSA to include more than one item (except for nouns), while in MSA it includes more than 2 items. Also, there is disappearance of the final sound for feminine plural (ات) except for nouns like ممرضات.

e- Verb forms:

e-1- passive form: in NMSA the اتفعل pattern is used instead of the known passive form used in MSA فُعِل.The يُفْعل pattern is used in (NMSA) prefixed with ب, بيُفْعل.

e-2- habitual present verb: NMSA uses the prefix بــ to indicate habitual actions بيسافر

e-3- future verb form: ـه and حَــ are both used to indicate future tense.

e-4- making intransitive verbs transitive: in MSA this can be done through changing from form I to form IV as in ضحك←أضحك. In NMSA the case is different; it is done through doubling the second letter of verbs, i.e. changing from form I to form II, as in ضِحِك← ضَحّك.

2- **Sentence structure:** According to Badawi (2012, p. 198), the difference between MSA sentence structure and NMSA mainly lies in the negation system. NMSA uses this circumfix ما and ش, e.g. **ماضربش**. In addition to that, NMSA tends to use the nominal sentence structure more often than the verbal one

3- **Lexical choice:** lexical items are taken in to consideration and are used to identify NMSA instances. In another words, if a sentence has a lexical item that is clearly known and used in the spoken NMSA, then it is counted as a NMSA instance. For example, most of the loan words are considered NMSA as long as they have an equivalent in MSA.

Identifying NMSA incidents

1- The data collected is analyzed primarily on a MSA or NMSA basis using the criteria Badawi used in his model. Here, it is important to mention that the phonological criteria Badawi used are excluded because the data under investigation are all in written form.

2- Instances of NMSA are identified according to the above-mentioned criteria. Should there be any instances that are hard to identify as MSA or NMSA, they are counted as NMSA if they are inserted in a NMSA statement, for example:.in....راح الراجل **اللي قعد** شوية the verb قعد is counted as NMSA because it is preceded and followed by NMSA indicators.

3- Any sentence, clause or phrase that includes one or more NMSA item (indicator) is counted as one incident of NMSA. For example: the phrase الجيش و الشعب **ايد واحدة** has only one indicator of NMSA and is considered one instance of NMSA. On the other hand, the phrase **مش حتلاقي اللي بيقوللها** على بديل محلي مناسب لإمكانياتها has four indicators of NMSA, so it is considered as one instance of NMSA as well.

It is worth mentioning that if only one NMSA item exists in a sentence, it changes the sentence from MSA to NMSA or from level 2 to level 3 and down, but the opposite is not possible.

3-3 Data analysis procedures

To answer the first research question, the following steps will be done:

1- Upon identifying incidents of NMSA in articles' bodies, the opinion articles that incorporate NMSA will be counted and compared to the total number of opinion articles appearing in the selected newspaper issues.

2- Upon identifying incidents of NMSA in articles' headlines, the number of headlines that incorporate NMSA will be counted and compared to the total number of opinion article headlines.

3- The percentage of articles and headlines incorporating NMSA will be calculated and charts will explain the findings.

To answer the second research question the following steps will be done:

1- The NMSA incidents will be highlighted.

2- The highlighted NMSA will be grouped under categories to classify the different types of NMSA incidents. Fix types of NMSA are expected; they are:

Type 1: Part of a song or a movie.

Type 2: Proverbs.

Type 3: Reported speech.

Type 4: Slogans.

Type 5: Loan words.

Type 6: Common expressions.

In the above classification, it has to be mentioned that they are under two umbrellas. The first is reported speech and the second is the rest of the six types. The rationale behind this is whether the NMSA detected is the writer's own choice while they are writing their own articles, or the writer was just reporting others' speech and included it in the article they were writing.

NMSA detected within a speech reported by the writer is classified under type 3, namely, reported speeches, regardless of its being a part of a song or a movie or proverbs or any other type. Other NMSA incidents detected that are not others' speech reported by the writer will be classified under one of the other five types. For example:

وأحسن ما توصف به هو قول الممثل العظيم توفيق الدقن انها حكومة **احسن من الشرف مفيش**

NMSA detected is the example above, is parts of a movie where the writer chose to express his/her own idea rather than reporting others' speech. This NMSA incident is classified under type one, namely part of a song or a movie, not classified under type three, namely, reported speech.

Chapter IV

Results and Analysis

This chapter answers the two research questions. The first part is dedicated to answering research question number one about where the LCEN lies according to the definition of Badawi's five-level model. In order to do so, the results are organized in tables and percentages and column charts are used to illustrate the results.

To see all the data collected from the three newspapers under investigation, go to appendix A. To see the extracted from the data collected, go to appendix B.

The second part of this chapter is dedicated to answering research question number two about the type of NMSA found in the LCEN used in the newspapers under investigation. To do so, detected NMSA is classified into different categories and examples of each category will be given from the collected data.

4-1 Primary question

For each newspaper, two tables will be provided as well as column charts. The first table will illustrate the total number of articles in the newspaper in addition to the number of articles which incorporate NMSA. The second table will illustrate the total number of articles' headlines in addition to the number of headlines incorporating NMSA. Knowing these totals and numbers is necessary to determine the percentage of articles containing NMSA in each investigated newspaper as well as the percentage of headlines incorporating NMSA. These percentages along with column charts will help demonstrate how much NMSA is used in the LCEN, particularly in opinion articles' bodies and headlines.

The following tables and column charts demonstrate that NMSA is incorporated in opinion articles and headlines at different percentages. The first investigated data is from *Al-Ahram* and the following results are found:

Table 1

The percentage of NMSA in opinion articles' bodies in Al-Ahram

Total Number of Opinion Articles	Number of Opinion Articles' Bodies Incorporating NMSA	Percentage
192	30	15.6%

The above table illustrates the total number of opinion articles is 192 with the number of opinion articles' bodies that incorporate NMSA as 30, or a percentage of 15.6%.

Table 2

The percentage of NMSA in opinion articles' headlines in Al-Ahram

Total Number of Opinion Articles Headlines	Number of Opinion Articles' Headlines Incorporating NMSA	Percentage
192	6	3.1%

The above table illustrates the total number of opinion articles' headlines is 192 with the number of opinion articles' headlines that incorporate NMSA as 6, or a percentage of 3.1%.

The previous two tables show that where NMSA is incorporated, it is used almost five times more in articles' bodies than in headlines, as shown in figure 1:
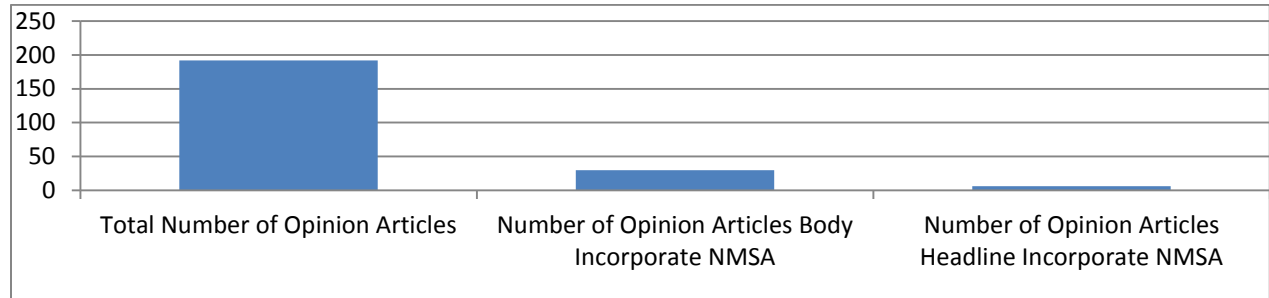
Figure1: The use of NMSA in opinion articles, body vs. headlines, in *Al-Ahram*

The second investigated data is from *Al-masry Al-youm* and the following results are found:

Table 3

The percentage of NMSA in opinion articles' bodies in Al-masry Al-youm.

Total Number of Opinion Articles	Number of Opinion Articles' Bodies Incorporating NMSA	Percentage
138	78	56.5%

The above table illustrates the total number of opinion articles is 138 with the number of opinion articles' bodies incorporating NMSA as 78, or a percentage of 56.5%.

Table 4

The percentage of NMSA in opinion articles' headlines in Al-masry Al-youm.

Total Number of Opinion Articles	Number of Opinion Articles' Headlines Incorporate NMSA	Percentage
138	35	25.4%

The above table illustrates the total number of opinion articles' headlines is 138 with the number of opinion articles' headlines incorporating NMSA as 35, or a percentage of 25.4%.

Here, the previous two tables show that where NMSA is incorporated, it is used almost two times more in the articles' bodies than in their headlines, as shown in figure 2:
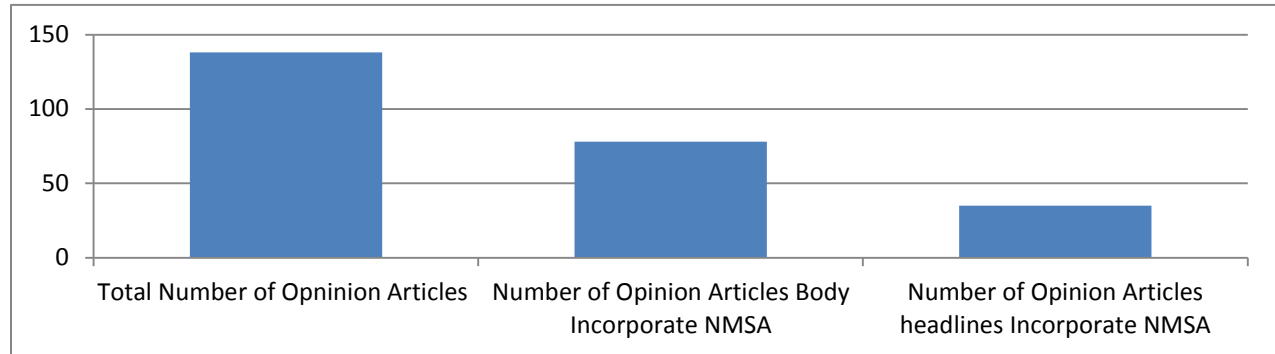
Figure 2: The use of NMSA in opinion articles, body vs. headlines, in *Al-Masry Al-Youm*

The third investigated data is from *Al-Tahreer* and the following results are found:

Table 5

The percentage of NMSA in opinion articles' bodies in Al-Tahreer

Total Number of Opinion Articles	Number of Opinion Articles' Bodies Incorporating NMSA	Percentage
125	91	72.8%

The above table illustrates the total number of opinion articles is 125 with the number of opinion articles' bodies incorporating NMSA as 91, or a percentage of 72.8%.

Table 6

The percentage of NMSA in opinion articles' headlines in Al-Tahreer:

Total Number of Opinion Articles	*Number of Opinion Articles headlines Incorporate NMSA*	*Percentage*
125	83	66.4%

The above table illustrates the total number of opinion articles' headlines is 125 with the number of opinion articles' headlines incorporating NMSA as 83, or a percentage of 66.4%.

Here, the previous two tables show that where NMSA is incorporated, it is used almost 1.2 times more in articles' bodies than in headlines, as shown in figure 3.
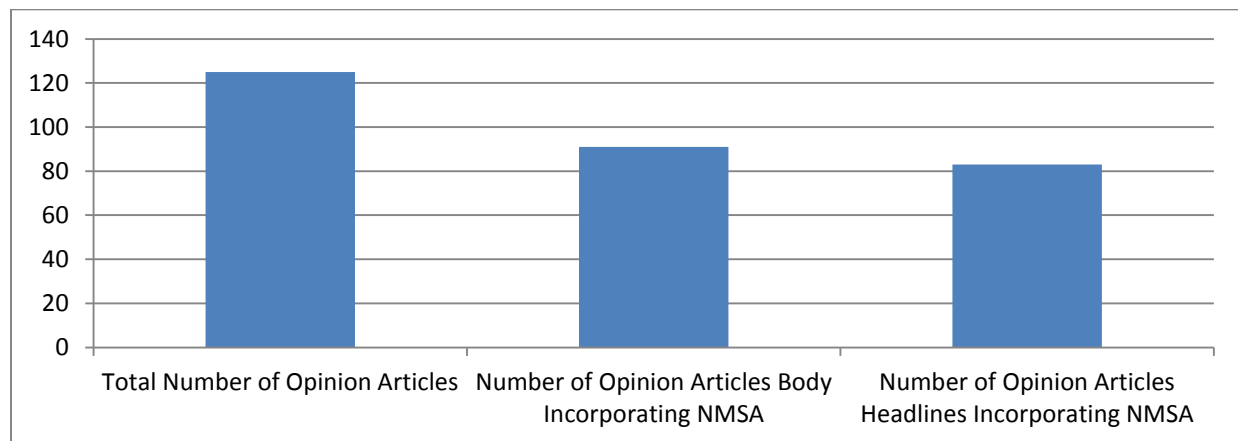
Figure 3: The use of NMSA in opinion articles, body vs. headlines, in *Al-Tahreer.*

Having analyzed the data extracted from each newspaper separately and summing up the findings, a comprehensive view of the use of NMSA in the three newspapers under investigation is provided, as shown in table 7:

Table 7

The amount of NMSA incorporated in the three newspapers

Newspaper	*Percentage of body of opinion articles incorporating NMSA*	*Percentage of headlines incorporating NMSA*
Al-Ahram	15.6%	3.1%
Al-Masry Al-youm	56.5%	25.4%
Al-Tahreer	72.8%	66.4%

Table 7 provides a comparison of the percentage of NMSA detected in each newspaper. This comparison shows the following:

1- The lowest percentage of opinion articles incorporating NMSA, body vs. headline, is 15.6% body and 3.1% headline and is found in *Al-Ahram.*

2- The highest percentage of opinion articles incorporating NMSA, body vs. headline, is 72.8% body and 66.4% headline and is found in *Al-Tahreer.*

3- .*Al-Masry Al-youm* comes in between, incorporating NMSA, body vs. headline, with the percentage of 56.5% body and 25.4% headline.

Table 8

The percentage and ratio of NMSA incorporated in opinion articles, body vs. headline, in the three newspapers under investigation.

Newspaper	*Percentage vs. Ratio of body of opinion articles incorporating NMSA*		*Percentage vs. Ratio of headlines incorporating NMSA*	
	Percentage	*Ratio*	*Percentage*	*Ratio*
Al-Ahram	15.6%	1	3.1%	1
Al-Masry Al-youm	56.5%	3.6	25.4%	8.1
Al-Tahreer	72.8%	4.7	66.4%	22

Table 8 provides a comparison of the ratio of NMSA detected in each newspaper in terms of opinion articles, body vs. headline. This comparison shows the following:

1- The amount of opinion articles' bodies incorporating NMSA in *Al-Masry Al-youm* is 3.6 times as much as the amount in *Al-Ahram.*

2- The amount of opinion articles' bodies incorporating NMSA in *al-Tahreer is* 4.7 times as much as the amount in *Al-Ahram.*

4- The amount of opinion articles' headlines incorporating NMSA in *Al-Masry Al-youm* is 8.1 times as much as the amount in *Al-Ahram.*

5- The amount of opinion articles' headlines incorporating NMSA in *Al-Masry Al-youm* is 22 times as much as the amount in *Al-Ahram.*
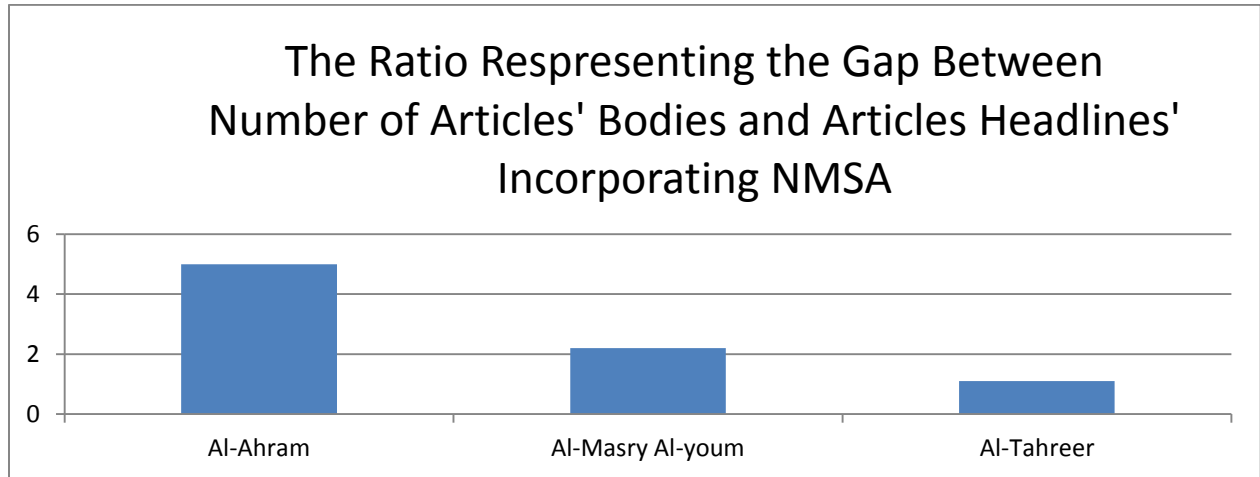
Figure 4: Ratio of articles bodies' vs. headlines, incorporating NMSA in the three newspapers

Figure 4 compares the gaps of NMSA incorporated in opinion articles' bodies vs. headlines in each newspaper. It is worth mentioning that the ratio between the amounts or percentage of use of NMSA in body vs. headline is found to be inversely proportional to the amount of NMSA incorporated in the articles of the three newspapers. In other words, the more NMSA incorporated, the less the ratio or gap between the percentages of NMSA incorporated in body vs. headline.

4-2 Secondary question

The list of categories of the different types of NMSA is based on regular observations of different daily newspapers. These categories are: parts of a song or a movie, proverbs, reported speech, slogans and common expressions. Then, this list was expanded to include another category which is loan words that are used very frequently in NMSA and is considered part of its lexicon such as,فولورز، يو تيرن ، سوبر ، لوكس ،الموبايل and many other expressions that are accepted

in NMSA. As a result of such observations, it can be said that reported speech is no longer the only form that NMSA incorporates in LCEN.

It is worth mentioning that in addition to the five expected types of NMSA mentioned in the methodology, another type of NMSA is detected. This newly detected NMSA type cannot be categorized under the previously mentioned five types. Consequently, a sixth type is added, namely, common expressions. The types of NMSA will be categorized under six different types; they are:

Type1: Part of a song or a movie

In our daily life, NMSA tends to use parts or names of songs and movies as fixed expressions to perform certain linguistic and social functions in a figurative manner, such as warning, irony, describing behavior, manners or practices.

Type 2: Proverbs

NMSA incorporates a considerable number of proverbs used on a daily basis in different contexts by Egyptians from all walks of life. The proverbs serve the purpose of conveying meanings and explaining ideas. Using proverbs in NMSA is quite common in order to make long stories short in everyday communication.

Type3: Reported speech

This was the only type that existed in the LCEN for a long time. Thirty years ago, reporting speech using NMSA needed excuses and justifications as mentioned in the introduction about President Sadat's pre-assassination speech (Versteegh & Effat 2010). This does not appear

to be the case anymore. Reported speeches are found in the data under investigation without any justifications whatsoever for using them.

Type4: Slogans

Because of the January 25th revolution, and the current political situation, it became very common to find slogans written in the headlines of newspapers and in the bodies of articles. This was the least type that appeared in my data.

Type 5: Loan words

Words of this sort are taken from English and other foreign languages and have become so common to be used in everyday speaking, such as Lux, computer, super, mobile, mall, missed call, message, Face (short for Facebook), followers, etc. Loan words are becoming common in the daily communication of people from all the social layers of the Egyptian society.

Type 6: Common expressions

NMSA is characterized by the huge number of chunks and fixed expressions. These expressions can be a word or a phrase that is used in everyday communication. According to Badawi (2012, p.212), level 5 tends to frequently use "clichés" and "ready–made" expressions and language. Based on the investigated data, this type was the most observed. The following are examples of each type. The following are samples/examples of each NMSA type detected.

Examples of NMSA types according to newspaper:

1- Examples from *Al-Ahram*

Type 1: part of a song or a movie

ـ وأحسن ما توصف به هو قول الممثل العظيم توفيق الدقن انها حكومة <u>احسن من الشرف مفيش</u>

November 17th 2012, p10

ـ أما أنا فدائماً أسرح فى <u>"بنت السلطان"</u>أغنية الرائع عدوية، فهى من أكثر الأغانى التى تستهوينى وخاصة كوبليه <u>"سعيدة يا</u>

<u>حلوة سعيدة. ومواصلاتك بعيدة .. أأمرى وأنا اجيلك ماشى لما لمصر الجديدة"</u>

November 17th 2012, p42

Type 2: Proverbs

ـ فمن كثرة حبي له وخوفي عليه فإنني لا أتوقف عن نقده وايلامه.. عملا بالمثل الشعبي الذي يقول: <u>يابخت من بكانيـ وأبكى</u>

الناس علي.. ولا أضحكني وأضحك الناس علي!

November 9th 2011, p24

ـ <u>على رأى المثل: لا بنت عاقلة ولا أم تهديها.</u> أعداد صغيرة من الشباب جزء منها يريد إثبات أن الإخوان ليسوا وحدهم وجزء

آخر لديه مشكلات خاصة به مع الشرطة مثل الألتراس وجزء ثالث يشارك والسلام فى أى تظاهرات

November 25th 2011, p17

Type 3: Reported speech

- اتجهت إلي الدكتور جابر وتحدثت معه بشأن البطاقة التي لم تصل بعد.

وهو سألني:- <u>هو عايش فين؟</u>

قلت: <u>في استراليا</u>

قال: <u>لأ يا شيخ، أنا فاهم إنه عايش في لبنان. تذكرة استراليا غالية جدا.</u> يعني ممكن بثمنها نوجه الدعوة إلي أربعة أو خمسة شعراء ممن يعيشون في أي بلد عربي. واعتذر وانتهي اللقاء وقد شعرت بقدر هائل من الحرج والاستياء..

November 1st 2011, p11

Type 4: **Slogans**

- <u>كان فيه زمان إعلان</u> أيام الطفولة البريئة عن علبة سجائر يقول بنغمات حماسية :

<u>- تنتخبوا مين؟</u>

<u>- الباكبورت!</u>

<u>- وحبيبكم مين؟</u>

<u>-الباكبورت!</u>

وطبعاً كلمة «<u>الباكبورت</u>» هذه <u>من عند العبدة لله الغلبانة الطهقانة</u> من إعلانات وأحداث وأيام وزمان الكهولة.

November 25th 2011, p41

Type 5: Loan words

ـ وما حدث فى ماسبيرو وسط مظاهرة الأقباط منذ أسابيع كان <u>متكنتكا</u> (بضم الميم) ومعروفا ويرتبط بنفس تلك المجموعة.

(Derived from the English word "Tactics")

November 1st 2011, p10

ـ أما أنا فدائماً أسرح فى "بنت السلطان" أغنية الرائع عدوية، فهى من أكثر الأغانى التى تستهوينى وخاصة <u>كوبليه</u> "سعيدة يا حلوة سعيدة.

(Derived from the French word "Couplet", meaning part or syllable)

November 25th 2011, p41

Type 6: Common expressions

ـ دلوني علي بلد واحد في العالم المتقدم أو المتخلف أو النامي, يوقف دوري الدرجة الأولي للمحترفين لمدة شهر من أجل تصفيات المنتخب الأوليمبي تحت 23 سنة!!.. <u>حاجة تقرف!!</u> ص 16

November 9th 2011, p16

ـ <u>وعليه العوض في الفلوس</u> التي أنفقت علي مشروع بلا أي لمحة جمال أو فائدة! ص 11

November 9th 2011, p16

2- Examples from *Al-Masry Al-youm*

Type1: part of a song or a movie

ـ هل تتذكرون «كارلوس» <u>مستر «إكس»</u> الذى دوخ أجهزة الاستخبارات الأمريكية والأوروبية على مدى عشرين عاماً؟!

(Name of the Egyptian movie "Mr. X")

November 9th 2011, p 13

‐ .. لذلك ماتقولش إيه إدتنا مصر لأنها كلمة «عيب»..

(Part of an Egyptian song)

November 17th 2011, p 12

Type 2: proverbs

‐ يرون فى الأعماق أن السياسة لعنة وألاعيب وبهدلة و«ديرتى جيم».. يبقى الحل هو إبعد عن الشر وغنى له.. ولكنهم فى الوقت نفسه قلقون على المستقبل ويريدون حلولاً آمنة بأقل قدر من الخسائر.. كيف؟

November 1st 2011, p 2

‐ ولا يترددون فى ضرب كرسى فى الكلوب.. مما يؤدى فى النهاية إلى ظلام وظلم ووجع فى القلب!!

November 17th 2011, p 13

Type 3: reported speech

‐ رجل ١: يا أخى أنا ساعات بأحس بأنى عايش كابوس. كله كوم ومرشحين الرئاسة كوم. أنت شفت مناظر الناس اللى عاوزين الرئاسة؟! هى رئاسة مصر دى لعبة يا اولاد الإيه أنتم؟! كل من هب ودب عاوز يبقى رئيس

‐رجل ٢: خليهم يرشحوا نفسهم براحتهم يافندم

November 1st 2011, p 20

‐ وإليكم هذا الحوار : بسلامتك جاى وجايب الجمرات دى، وفاكر إنها تحل مشكلتك معايا؟!

‐ أيوه...وكل الناس دى معايا... ولا سلطان لك علينا من الآن!

November 9th 2011, p 5

Type 4: slogans

ـ وبات هتاف المغرضين من أصحاب الحركات «المدفوعة»: «كلمة فى ودنك يا حربية إحنا اللى ضربنا الداخلية»، و«إحنا اللى ضربنا الداخلية والدور عليك يا حربية». لا تسأل من هؤلاء، ولكن اسأل ماذا يريدون!

November 9th 2011, p 14

ـ وكانت بعض جماهير الأهلى قد رفعت قبل انطلاق المباراة وأثناءها لافتات غاضبة ضد اتحاد الكرة.. «الثورة من أجل التغيير وزاهر لسه بيدير»..

Type 5: loan words

ـ الناس طيبين يافندم. إنما المشكلة فى العيال بتوع فيس بوكهم اللى فضلوا يهيجوا فى النا

November 1st 2011, p 17

ـ هذه المبادئ هى: الشعب مصدر السلطات، والفصل بين السلطات الثلاث التشريعية والقضائية والتنفيذية، وتوازن القوى (تشكس آند بالنسيس) أى أن لكل سلطة صلاحيات تجعلها قادرة على كبح جماح السلطين الأخريين

November 9th 2011, p 16

Type 6: common expressions

ـ وعندما وجد الممرضة تنظر إليه فى دهشة وذهول سألها.. هوه الراجل اللى بيضرب العيال مشى ولا لسه؟

November 1st 2011, p 2

ـ ويكفى أن يؤجر أى شخص قناة من تلك القنوات المتواجدة على الأقمار التى تقع فى نفس الموقع المدارى للنايل سات (بثمن بخس)، وعن طريق جهاز SNG يقوم بالبث من أى مكان، ونشاهد تلك القنوات على موقع النايل سات نفسه، ويولع فى مصر براحته، ويكون بعيدا عن رقابة وزارة الإعلام أو الدولة المصرية بصفة عامة، وربنا يستر.

November 1st 2011, p 4

3- Examples from *Al-Tahreer*

Type1: part of a song or a movie

ـ «أنا برىء يا سعادة البيه.. إدبح يا زكى قدرة.. يدبح زكى قدرة.. إسلخ يا زكى قدرة.. يسلخ زكى قدرة.. هى المعلمة وإحنا صبيانها»..

(Part of an Egyptian movie)

November 1st 2011, p 12

ـ مثل الحب لا منطق له أحيانا نقع فى حب عمل فنى أو أغنية تخاصم المنطق «ساعات ساعات أحب عمرى واعشق الحاجات»، أصبحت هذه الأغنية عنوانا لصباح

(Part of an Egyptian song)

November 17st 2011, p 13

Type 2: proverbs

ـ لو أن المخرجة اللبنانية تحررت من الإطار الشكلى الذى تقيدت به لاستطاعت أن تقدم لنا سعاد بعيون سعاد، ولكن كما يقولون فى مصر ولبنان «الحلو مايكملش»!!

November 1st 2011, p 13

ـ وسوف يعرضه بإذن الله فى رمضان القادم مع تليفزيون إسرائيل حسب توقعاتى.. وزغرطى يا اللى مانتيش فاهمة حاجة.

November 9th 2011, p 12

Type3: reported speech

ـ ويواصل بجاحته، ويقول «إيه يعنى لما الحكم يغلط، هو أحسن من المدرب أو اللاعب، ما همّ كمان بيغلطوا»،

ولا يكتفى ويواصل «المشكلة مش فى الحكام، الأزمة فى الإعلام والصحفيين، همّ اللى بيهيّجوا الناس على الحكام»،

November 1st 2011, p 11

ـ يحكى خالد: سألتها أتقدم لك وأجيب شبكة ورزقنا على الله فى الشقة،ولا نستنّى لما يبقى معانا مقدم شقة ونبقى جاهزين،

قالت: اتقدم ورزقنا على الله فى الشقة،

November 9th 2011, p 2

Type 4: slogans

ـ فى المرتين كان الهتاف واحدا «يا نجيب حقهم.. يا نموت زيهم»!!

November 1st 2011, p 2

ـ الشباب صرخ فى محمد محمود: نار نار نار نار.. بينا وبينكم دم وتار

November 25th 2011, p 7

Type 5: loan words

ـ فضلا عن أنها كذلك تعبر عن جيل شاب تهكمى، علمته رسائل المحمول الكثافة والاختصار والترميز والتشفير فى الكتابة، وتدرب فى حوارات الشات والإيميلات

November 1st 2011, p 3

ـ إنه العرض الجديد من المجلس العسكرى.. الخبر والإفيه منه فيه.. الإتنين بسعر واحد..

(From the French word "Effet", meaning effect)

November 1st 2011, p 14

Type 6: common expressions

ـ وأنا مش عارفة هو بيرتعش ليه <u>اسم الله على مقامها</u>إن كانت هى على كوبرى أكتوبر، والمشكلة أمام ماسبيرو

November 1st 2011, p 4

ـ لأن المملكة السعودية دولة بها مستشفيات وأطباء <u>وليست كيس جوافة!</u>

November 1st 2011, p 6

It is worth mentioning that data extracted from each newspaper provides enough examples to cover each of the six types of NMSA in this study. This means that the six types of NMSA are found in each newspaper under investigation. Table 9 provides a summary and comparisons of the examples extracted from the investigated data and are in appendix B.

Table 9

Summarizes and compares the numbers of examples of each NMSA type from each newspaper

	NMSA Type 1	NMSA Type 2	NMSA Type 3	NMSA Type 4	NMSA Type 5	NMSA Type 6	Total	Amount of NMSA
Al-Ahram	4	3	1	1	2	4	17	15.6%
Al-Masry	5	4	2	4	8	13	36	56.5%
Al-Tahreer	7	6	4	3	12	22	57	72.8%
Total	16	13	**7**	8	22	**39**		

It is apparent from the numbers of examples in table 9 that there is a proportion between the total numbers of examples the data of each newspaper provided and the amount of NMSA found in opinion articles in each newspaper.

In the three newspapers, the NMSA type that existed most was type six, representing the common expressions; on the other hand, the type of NMSA that existed least was type three, representing reported speech.

As can be seen from the table above, *Al-Tahreer* provides more examples than both *Al-Masry Al-youm* and *Al-Ahram* respectively. The table also illustrates that NMSA type six exists in more examples in each newspaper than all other NMSA types, contrary to type three that existed in the least numbers of examples of each newspaper.

Keep in mind that NMSA of type three was the only type that possibly existed in newspapers when Badawi developed his model and that its existence had to be justified. Table 9 illustrates that type three existed in the least number of examples of each newspaper. Significantly enough, table 9 shows there is a new dominant type of NMSA over other types used that is type six, namely, common expressions and phrases. The nature of structure of such a type provides better communication tools and consequently justifies the tendency of its extensive use compared to other types.

Chapter V

Discussion and Conclusion

This research attempted to take a screen shot of one important aspect of the present linguistic reality in Egypt. This aspect is the LCEN represented through opinion articles of three mostly circulated and popular newspapers in Egypt. The analysis of the results is done according to Badawi's model (1973 − 2012). Working according to his model, discussion of results must start with the fact that he classified the language of newspapers under level two, known as MSA (Badawi 1973- 2012). According to him, levels three, two and one, known as NMSA in this study, were not normally found in the LCEN. The results of this study provide answers for both research questions.

5-1 Primary research question

The answer to the first research question demonstrates where the LCEN lies according to the definition of Badawi's five-level model. The findings of this study show that NMSA is incorporated in the opinion articles of the three newspapers under investigation at different degrees in both bodies of articles and headlines.

Arranging the three newspapers according to the amount of NMSA each incorporate, *Al-Tahreer* comes first. It is found to incorporate the highest NMSA proportion of the three newspapers. In second place comes *Al-Masry Alyoum*. It is found to incorporate NMSA at a lesser extent than *Al-Tahreer*. Last is *Al-Ahram*, as expected, with a minimum proportion of NMSA.

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The findings that *Al-Ahram* incorporates NMSA contradict a recent study conducted by Ibrahim (2010), in which she mentions that *Al-Ahram* does not incorporate NMSA in all articles' headlines. Furthermore, the findings concerning the three newspapers support Badawi's opinion, when he re-introduced the second edition of his book, about the use of NMSA in Egyptian newspapers and contradicts another opinion, of his, at the same time. The findings concerning *Al-Ahram* support what Badawi mentioned, that he observed the use of NMSA in *Al-Ahram*, in 2006, in an opinion article about education in Egypt as well as some opposition newspapers. However, the findings about the three newspapers contradict Badawi's expectations about and comments on the use of NMSA in terms of areas in which it is used and whether its use is increasing or decreasing. In terms of the area where NMSA is used, Badawi mentions it is used in opposition newspapers and less methodologically in state-owned ones. This is the part that is supported by the findings of this study. However, Badawi describes the use of NMSA outside the field of commercial advertisements as limited, an opinion which is contradicted by the findings of this study as well.

In terms of whether the use of NMSA is increasing or decreasing, Badawi mentions that NMSA witnessed noticeable regression after the January 25th 2011 youth revolution and that it is almost limited to headlines of articles. It can be seen that the findings of this study contradict what Badawi mentions in this regard where, for example, NMSA is used in 15.5% of *Al-Ahram* opinion articles' bodies and 3.1% in articles' headlines. Significantly enough, *Al-Ahram* has the least proportion of NMSA incorporated in opinion articles and their headlines.

Having stated the aforementioned results, it can confidently be said that according to Badawi's model, the LCEN cannot be classified exclusively under level two, known as MSA,

anymore and that it has moved downward somewhere on his measuring stick of levels of contemporary Arabic Language in Egypt.

5-2 Secondary research question

The answer to the second research question demonstrates the different types of NMSA incorporated in the opinion articles and headlines of the three newspapers under investigation. As mentioned in the methodology, NMSA was expected to be classified under five categories; after the analysis was done, a sixth type is added.

Reviewing the findings regarding the different types of NMSA, the current study shows that the data extracted from the three newspapers provided enough NMSA types to be categorized under the six different types identified. An important finding is that reported speech is not the only type NMSA incorporated within newspapers under investigation. Furthermore, reported speech is not even the type that was found most; on the contrary, it is the type of NMSA that existed least. One unanticipated finding is that within the three investigated newspapers, type six is found to be the most under which NMSA is incorporated. It can be seen that using NMSA in the LCEN can be more of a trend than just individual incidents of random NMSA use. This supports Badawi's (2012) observation when he mentioned he was trying to detect not just individuals' attempts but rather new NMSA templates, regularly used in certain situations within certain contexts. Comparing the first five types of NMSA in this study, they are all found to have one thing in common, and that is the source. The source of the first five NMSA types is someone other than the writer him/herself. The NMSA classified under these five types can be considered ready-made chunks of language where the writer using them has never played any role in creating them. However, it still is their choice to use such language. Type one represents a part

of a song or a movie, type two represents proverbs, type three represents reported speech, type four represents slogans and type five represents loan words. In terms of source and choice of language produced, only type six, representing everyday expressions and daily words, is the type that can be the most representing of the writer's entity, inner self and identity. This justifies that NMSA under type six is the type that is incorporated most in the three newspapers under investigation. The fact that type six is distinguished from the other five types by being the choice of its user and originated by him/her as well as being the most flexible to use shows that using NMSA in opinion articles in general and type six in particular is becoming more of a trend rather than a series of random incidents that may lead to the emergence of a new journalistic writing style.

5-3 Conclusion

This study shows that NMSA is incorporated in the opinion articles' bodies and headlines of three contemporary newspapers in Egypt at differing degrees. Consequently, the LCEN cannot be classified exclusively under level two of Badawi's model known as MSA anymore. It has moved from level two downward in his model of contemporary Arabic Language in Egypt.

NMSA detected in opinion articles is versatile, type-wise. It is classified under six different types. Not only type versatility but also the extent of use shows that the NMSA incorporated in LCEN signifies the emergence of a new style of journalistic writing. In such a style, the gap between the two language variations, NMSA and MSA, is decreasing.

The prime conclusion that can be drawn from the findings of this study is that NMSA is becoming a component, that is second of two, constituting the body of LCEN opinion articles,

first of which is MSA. The study shows that NMSA is playing a prime role in creating a new trend in which the two Egyptian language variations, NMSA and MSA, are blended together. A new journalistic writing style is about to emerge as a result of such a growing trend. Based on his observations, Badawi (2012) described such a blend as a type of modern rhetoric.

The amount of NMSA this study has proved the newspapers under investigation incorporate is a clear indication of a considerable level of acceptance of this new trend by its readers. It is also shown by findings of the study that NMSA has been the writers' choice to express their ideas and that it has succeeded to perform linguistic functions that were exclusive to MSA.

The variety of NMSA types in the findings of this study show how it can easily represent the society and reflect its aspects. Type one includes parts of a song or a movie reflecting culture and arts. Type two includes proverbs reflecting folklore and people's heritage. Type three includes reported speech which is inevitable when in narrating stories. Type four includes slogans which reflect political aspect. Type five includes loan words reflecting the interaction with other languages. And finally, type six includes everyday expressions and daily words representing the individual's choice of which variation to use.

Language has always been a mirror of the society and the changes it undergoes. Consequently, the increasing area NMSA is occupying within the LCEN is a direct reflection of the changes taking place within the society. This study and its findings detect the arising of a new linguistic reality in Egypt. In this new reality the relationship between the two language variations of the diaglosic situation in Egypt is being reformulated. This means that the two variations when considered will be within a context of integration rather than differentiation.

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5-4 Pedagogical implications

The findings of this study suggest implications regarding the content of Arabic language books. Since the data under investigation is taken from newspapers, the first implication in this regard is for writers of media Arabic books. According to the findings of this study, MSA is no longer the only variation used in Egyptian newspapers. So, it is suggested that the material used in media Arabic books include texts that represent the two components of the LCEN, MSA and NMSA.

Regarding other language books, it is worth mentioning that, in general, language books should introduce the learner to not only the language but also the society where they will use the language they learn. The findings of this study indicate the importance of taking the diaglosic situation in Egypt into consideration when books are written. This is necessary in order to have a language book that reflects the linguistic reality of the language taught. In such books, both language variations should exist side by side. Each variation will be only used in situations and contexts corresponding to those in which it is used: in reality. This will help learners acquire both language variations in the same course and develop the ability to use the right variation in the right situation.

The final implication is suggested to the teacher. According to the findings of this study regarding the emerging of a new linguistic reality, the new language will better reflect this reality if it is introduced to the new learner as one language that has two variations that are integrating and living side by side. The most important concept that a new learner should have is that there are situations where one variation is used and other situations where the other variation is used. This will help the learner develop the ability to confidently decide when and where to say what.

5-5 Limitations and delimitations

Limitations

1- The study does not represent all opinion articles of contemporary Egyptian newspapers. Hence, it confines itself to the three most popular ones.

2- Since Badawi's model is applied to spoken forms of the language, the phonological features are taken into consideration, as this is crucial in identifying each of the five levels. As for this study, the data under investigation is only in a written form. Hence, it is more difficult to classify the investigated data under a certain level based only on the other available features, i.e. syntactic, morphological, and morph-syntactic ones. The lexical choice is taken into consideration to help overcome this difficulty.

Delimitations

1- The study is diachronic. It aims at giving an up-to-date description of the LCEN and does not focus on tracing the changes that took place in the LCEN which may need a larger corpus that represents different periods of time and more newspapers.

2- The focus of this study is to describe the linguistic reality of current newspapers, and therefore giving reasons or justifications for using NMSA is beyond this paper's scope and needs further research.

5-6 Suggestions for further research

- This study can be replicated on not only different fields of journalistic writing but also different newspapers and magazines.

- More research is definitely needed to decide exactly on which levels NMSA is incorporated in LCEN.

- More research may lead us to recognizing more levels or sub-levels of NMSA to be recognized. This may lead to attaining a more detailed and comprehensive description of the linguistic reality as a whole in Egypt.

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Appendix A

Source of Data

The date	The Newspaper	The Issue Number
Tuesday November 1st 2011	*Al-Ahram*	45620
	Al-Masry Alyoum	2697
	Al- Tahreer	122
Wednesday November 9th 2011	*Al-Ahram*	45628
	Al-Masry Alyoum	2705
	Al- Tahreer	130
Thursday November 17th 2011	*Al-Ahram*	45636
	Al-Masry Alyoum	2713
	Al- Tahreer	138
Friday November 25th 2011	*Al-Ahram*	45644
	Al-Masry Alyoum	2721
	Al- Tahreer	146
Saturday December 3rd 2011	*Al-Ahram*	45652
	Al-Masry Alyoum	2729
	Al- Tahreer	145
Sunday December 11th 2011	*Al-Ahram*	45660
	Al-Masry Alyoum	2737
	Al- Tahreer	162
Monday December 19th 2011	*Al-Ahram*	45668
	Al-Masry Alyoum	2745
	Al- Tahreer	170

Appendix B

List of Examples

List of Al-Ahram Examples

Type1: Part of a song or a movie

1- وأحسن ما توصف به هو قول الممثل العظيم توفيق الدقن انها حكومة <mark>احسن من الشرف مفيش.</mark>

Al-Ahram, Nov. 1st 2011, p10

2- أما أنا فدائماً أسرح فى <mark>"بنت السلطان"</mark>أغنية الرائع عدوية، فهى من أكثر الأغانى التى تستهوينى وخاصة كوبليه <mark>"سعيدة يا حلوة سعيدة. ومواصلاتك بعيدة .. وأمرى وأنا اجيلك ماشى لما لمصر الجديدة"</mark>

Al-Ahram, November 17th 2012, p42

3- أغنية تقول في مقطع منها: <mark>"والخضرة ف جلبي، وجلبي دايما على طرف لساني يا بوي، ولساني حصاني رماني يا بوي، وتعبيني كتير وأذاني يا بوي، ياما جابني وياما وداني يا بوي، من جوله ف الحكايات ....",</mark>

Al-Ahram, Nov, 25th 2011, p41

Type 2: Proverbs

4- فمن كثرة حبي له وخوفي عليه فإنني لا أتوقف عن نقده وايلامه.. عملا بالمثل الشعبي الذي يقول: <mark>يابخت من بكاني وأبكي الناس علي.. ولا أضحكني وأضحك الناس علي!</mark>

Al-Ahram, Nov, 9th 2011, p24

5- <mark>على رأى المثل. لا بنت عاقلة ولا أم تهديها.</mark>

Al-Ahram, Nov, 25th 2011, p17

Type3: Reported speech

6- اتجهت إلي الدكتور جابر وتحدثت معه بشأن البطاقة التي لم تصل بعد. وهو سألني:

<mark>هو عايش فين؟</mark>

قلت: <mark>في استراليا</mark>

قال: <mark>لأ يا شيخ, أنا فاهم إنه عايش في لبنان. تذكرة استراليا غالية جدا. يعني ممكن بثمنها نوجه الدعوة إلي أربعة أو خمسة شعراء ممن يعيشون في أي بلد عربي. واعتذر.انتهي اللقاء وقد شعرت بقدر هائل من الحرج والاستياء.</mark>

Al-Ahram, Nov. 1st 2011, p21

Type4: Slogans

7ـ كان فيه إعلان زمان أيام الطفولة البريئة عن علبة سجائر يقول بنغمات حماسية :

<mark>- تنتخبوا مين؟</mark>

<mark>- الباكبورت!</mark>

<mark>- وحبيبكم مين؟</mark>

<mark>-الباكبورت!</mark>

وطبعاً كلمة «الباكبورت» هذه <mark>من عند العبدة لله الغلبانة الطهقانة</mark> من إعلانات وأحداث وأيام وزمان الكهولة.

Al-Ahram, November 25th 2011, p41

Type 5: Loan-words

8 ـ وما حدث فى ماسبيرو وسط مظاهرة الأقباط منذ أسابيع كان <mark>متكتكا</mark> (بضم الميم) ومعروفا ويرتبط بنفس تلك المجموعة .

(Derived from the English word "Tactics")

Al-Ahram, Nov. 1st 2011, p10

9ـ أما أنا فدائماً أسرح فى "بنت السلطان" أغنية الرائع عدوية، فهى من أكثر الأغانى التى تستهوينى وخاصة <mark>كوبليه</mark> "سعيدة يا حلوة سعيدة.

(Derived from the French word "Couplet" meaning part or syllable)

Al-Ahram, November 25th 2011, p41

Type 6: Common expressions

10- <mark>دلوني</mark> علي بلد واحد في العالم المتقدم أو المتخلف أو النامي, يوقف دوري الدرجة الأولي للمحترفين لمدة شهر من أجل تصفيات المنتخب الأوليمبي تحت 23 سنة!!

.. حاجة تقرف!!

Al-Ahram, Nov, 9th 2011, p16

11- في ظل تزايد إصرار المجتمع الدولي علي إسقاط حكم الرئيس بشار, وزيادة حجم العقوبات الاقتصادية الغربية <mark>التي تمسك بخناقه</mark>، ويأس كثير من أنظمة الحكم العربية من فرص إصلاحه .

Al-Ahram, Nov. 17th 2011, p2

12- شكل مخروط مثل الذي يقام فوق حفارات البترول أو أبراج الكهرباء, ولهذا ليس <mark>له بوز رفيع</mark> يشد العلم فوقه.

Al-Ahram, Nov. 17th 2011, p10

13- <mark>وعليه العوض</mark> في الفلوس التي أنفقت علي مشروع بلا أي لمحة جمال أو فائدة!

Al-Ahram, Nov. 17th 2011, p11

14- , من الآخر <mark>وبدون لف ودوران</mark> يجب أن تتحمل كل من القوات المسلحة ووزارة الداخلية المسئولية كاملة عن كل ما جرى

Al-Ahram, Dec. 19th 2011, p2

15- أصبحت الآن ـ <mark>وبقدرة قادرـ</mark> تمطر مهرجانات سينمائية.

Al-Ahram, Nov. 17th 2011, p17

16- ولم يتوقف الأمر عند أنشطة اليوم الواحد فحسب بل امتد <mark>الي تلك الهوجة من المهرجانات</mark> السينمائية الجديدة.

Al-Ahram, Nov. 17th 2011, 28

17- هكذا يتأكد أن العبرة فى مسألة "مدنية" الدولة، هى فى جوهرية حضور المبدأ <mark>الجوانى</mark> المؤسس لها.

Al-Ahram, Nov, 25th 2011, p17

18- نلاحظ استمرارا لطريقة المقاربة <mark>"البرانية"</mark> للمفاهيم، مع إهمال المكونات <mark>"الجوانية"</mark> التى تؤسس لها.

Al-Ahram, Nov, 25th 2011, p17

19- وهو يقول لمواطن مُروّع: <mark>"نتكلم بالعقل. إنت ليه إرهابي وأفكارك متطرفة؟ إخرس ولا كلمة!"</mark>؛

Al-Ahram, November 25th2011, p41

20- ، رسمه لسيدتين تجلسان إلى طبلية تنقشان كحك العيد وواحدة تقول للأخرى: <mark>" بقى هم في فيتنام يعرفوا ينقشوا كحك زيّنا؟"!</mark>

Al-Ahram, November 25th2011, p41

21- <mark>إحنا بتوع حزب الكنبة</mark> .

Al-Ahram, November 25th2011, p41

22- <mark>موش أى أى ولا زى زى.</mark>

Al-Ahram, November 25th2011, p41

23- رغم ان الجميع يعلم انه بعد أيام <mark>من (لبس الجلابية)</mark> والمكوث في بيته .

Al-Ahram, November 25th2011, p41

23- <mark>عايزين محاكمات عادلة. بس بشرط تكون اعدام</mark>

<mark>عايزين نرجع الفلوس اللى اتسرقت. بس بشرط نسجن بطرس غالى قبل ما يقولنا على سكتها</mark>

<mark>عايزين دولة قانون. بس بشرط نولع في الداخلية</mark>

<mark>عايزين حرية الرأى. بس اللى يقول كلمة على الثورة أوميدان التحرير، يبقى خائن وعميل وسافل ومنحط وعديم الانسانية</mark>

<mark>ومعادى للسامية .</mark>

<mark>علياء المهدى قلعت على الفيس بوك، وكتبت تحت صورتها (الحياة المتعة الحرية).</mark>

Al-Ahram, November 25th2011, p41

24- ،والسيدة المنتقبة رمز (الوردة والعدالة والحرية) تريد دخول البرلمان وحل مشاكل مصر، بشرط الا تنطق كلمة لا سؤالا

ولا استجوابا، واهم تصريحاتها في الشأن السياسى: <mark>اللى عايزنى يكلم جوزى</mark>

Al-Ahram, November 25th2011, p41

25- <mark>من يوم ما عصام شرف قال الشعب مجروح، والبلد بيخر دم، ومن يوم ما الشيخ حسان بقى بطل قومى، وصبحى صالح</mark>

<mark>بقى فقيه دستورى والبلد رايحه في سكة اسلامية اسلامية، تحيا ايران والسعودية.</mark>

<mark>بتوع الدقون في موقف الاتوبيسات ومصر في موقف لا تحسد عليه .</mark>

Al-Ahram, November 25th2011, p41

26- <mark>اجدع تحيه لبتوع الخلافة، يعنى بتوع (خللى مصر تنفعك) يعنى سلم لى على رئيس الوزراء، وسمعنى سلام (جرحونى</mark>

<mark>وقفلوا الاجزخانات)، ونحن نناشد المواطنين، واللى يحبنا ما يضربش نار !</mark>

Al-Ahram, November 25th2011, p41

List of AL-Masry Al-Youm Examples

Type1: Part of a song or a movie

1- هل تتذكرون «كارلوس» <mark>مستر «إكس»</mark> الذى دوخ أجهزة الاستخبارات الأمريكية والأوروبية على مدى عشرين عاما؟!

AL-Masry Al-Youm, November 9th 2011, p 13

2- .. لذلك <mark>ماتقولش إيه إدتنا مصر لأنها كلمة «عيب»</mark>..

AL-Masry Al-Youm, November 17th 2011, p 12

3- والذى يفعله الكبار مع الثوار هو أنهم يضعون لهم «الحصى» فى «الحلة» فوق النار ويغنون لهم «<mark>ماما زمانها جاية!</mark>» حتى يناموا

AL-Masry Al-Youm, November 17th 2011, p 12

4- لا خير فى عمل يلهى عن الصلاة»<mark>.. كلام جميل.. كلام معقول.. ما أقدرش أقول حاجة عنه</mark>.. لكن يفتى أحدهم بذلك ويرددها عن كرة القدم..

AL-Masry Al-Youm, November 17th 2011, p 13

5- <mark>بلد أجندات صحيح</mark>

AL-Masry Al-Youm, November 25th 2011, p 2

Type 2: Proverbs

6-يرون فى الأعماق أن السياسة لعنة وألاعيب وبهدلة و«ديرتى جيم».. يبقى الحل هو إبعد عن الشر وغنى له.. ولكنهم فى الوقت نفسه قلقون على المستقبل ويريدون حلولاً آمنة بأقل قدر من الخسائر.. كيف؟

AL-Masry Al-Youm, November 1st 2011, p 2

7- لأن مصر تمرض ولا تموت.. وياما دقت على الراس طبول.. وهذه رسالة إلى المصريين..

AL-Masry Al-Youm, November 17th 2011, p 8

8- صحيح هناك مثلى من يقلل من قيمة التوغل السلفى والإخوانى فى القرى والريف.. ويقول: لا تخف نشفت البركة وبانت قراميطها.

AL-Masry Al-Youm, November 17th 2011, p 8

9- ولا يترددون فى ضرب كرسى فى الكلوب.. مما يؤدى فى النهاية إلى ظلام وظلم ووجع فى القلب!!

AL-Masry Al-Youm, November 17th 2011, p 13

10- كنا نقول قديماً «العين عليها حارس»، والآن نقول «العين فقأها حارس»، من هو منوط به حماية المواطنين

AL-Masry Al-Youm, November 17th 2011, p 4

Type3: Reported speech

11- رجل ١: يا أخى أنا ساعات بأحس إنى عايش كابوس. كله كوم ومرشحين الرئاسة كوم. أنت شفت مناظر الناس اللى عاوزين الرئاسة؟! هى رئاسة مصر دى لعبة يا اولاد الإيه أنتم؟! كل من هب ودب عاوز يبقى رئيس

-رجل ٢: خليهم يرشحوا نفسهم براحتهم يافندم

AL-Masry Al-Youm, November 1st 2011, p 20

12- .. وإليكم هذا الحوار:

-<mark>بسلامتك جاى وجايب الجمرات دى، وفاكر إنها تحل مشكلتك معايا</mark>؟!

-<mark>أيوه..وكل الناس دى معايا</mark>.. ولا سلطان لك علينا من الآن!

AL-Masry Al-Youm, November 9th 2011, p 5

Type4: Slogans

13- وبات هتاف المغرضين من أصحاب الحركات «المدفوعة»: «<mark>كلمة فى ودنك يا حربية إحنا اللى ضربنا الداخلية</mark>»، و«<mark>إحنا اللى ضربنا الداخلية والدور عليك يا حربية</mark>». لا تسأل من هؤلاء، ولكن اسأل ماذا يريدون!

AL-Masry Al-Youm, November 9th 2011, p 14

14- ولذلك تزايدت فى مصر خلال الأشهر الماضية حالات الفزع الهستيرى على الدين! فمن فتن الكنائس إلى جمعة قندهار إلى «<mark>إسلامية إسلامية</mark>» إلى مأساة ماسبيرو إلى الفزع من السلفيين

AL-Masry Al-Youm, November 9th 2011, p 10

15- وكانت بعض جماهير الأهلى قد رفعت قبل انطلاق المباراة وأثناءها لافتات غاضبة ضد اتحاد الكرة.. «<mark>الثورة من أجل التغيير وزاهر لسه بيدير</mark>»..

16- «<mark>مافيش قيود على العقول يا اتحاد الفلول</mark>»..

17- «<mark>معلش رافضين جنابك ومش هنمشى على مزاجك</mark>»..

AL-Masry Al-Youm, November 9th 2011, p 8

Type 5: Loan-words

18- الناس طيبين يافندم. إنما المشكلة فى العيال بتوع <mark>فيس بوك</mark> هم اللى فضلوا يهيجوا فى الناس

AL-Masry Al-Youm, November 1st 2011, p 17

19 - من أجل التلميع والتدليل، وعودوا إلى برامج «<mark>التوك شو</mark>» التى تناولته لتكتشفوا الغواية والخطيئة

AL-Masry Al-Youm, November 9th 2011, p 2

20- هذه المبادئ هى: الشعب مصدر السلطات، والفصل بين السلطات الثلاث التشريعية والقضائية والتنفيذية، وتوازن القوى

(<mark>تشكس آند بالنسيس</mark>) أى أن لكل سلطة صلاحيات تجعلها قادرة على كبح جماح السلطين الأخريين

AL-Masry Al-Youm, November 9th 2011, p 16

21- <mark>من «النت</mark>» د. طارق حجى يلخص لنا بالإنجليزية ثلاثة عشر أثراً سيئاً سوف تتحقق عندما يسيطر الإخوان على السلطة.

AL-Masry Al-Youm, November 9th 2011, p 13

22- النخبة العلمانية التى لا تهتم إلا بيزنسها

AL-Masry Al-Youm, November 17th 2011, p 13

23- بل لا قيمة لكل أفكاره المليئة بالفتنة والخبث، ومعروف أنه لا يتحرك إلا «<mark>بريموت كنترول</mark>» خارجى يوجهه لدمار مصر

AL-Masry Al-Youm, November 17th 2011, p 4

24- المهم خلفهم يافطة كبيرة بتقول (إعرف دائرتك الانتخابية) وعلى الترابيزة <mark>واللاب توب</mark>

AL-Masry Al-Youm, November 25th 2011, p 4

25- الدوم يبطح والممبوزيا تبقع <mark>اليونيفورم</mark>.. واللى تملا بقها ميه وتبوخ على شعر أى واحدة مسببساه عشان <mark>البوكلة</mark> تبوظ..

AL-Masry Al-Youm, November 25th 2011, p 16

Type 6: Common expressions

26- وعندما وجد الممرضة تنظر إليه فى دهشة وذهول سألها.. <mark>هوه الراجل اللى بيضرب العيال مشى ولا لسه؟</mark>

AL-Masry Al-Youm, November 1st 2011, p 2

27- حاول الدكتور ثانية وثالثة وعاشرة.. <mark>مفيش فايدة</mark>.. أصابه الإنهاك والإعياء فذهب يستريح

AL-Masry Al-Youm, November 1st 2011, p 2

28- <mark>قناة الحقيقة كلاكيت تاني مرة</mark>   (عنوان مقال)

AL-Masry Al-Youm, November 1st 2011, p 4

29-ويكفى أن يؤجر أى شخص قناة من تلك القنوات المتواجدة على الأقمار التى تقع فى نفس الموقع المدارى للنايل سات (بثمن بخس)، وعن طريق جهاز SNG يقوم بالبث من أى مكان، ونشاهد تلك القنوات على موقع النايل سات نفسه، <mark>ويولع فى مصر براحته</mark>، ويكون بعيدا عن رقابة وزارة الإعلام أو الدولة المصرية بصفة عامة، <mark>وربنا يستر.</mark>

AL-Masry Al-Youm, November 1st 2011, p 4

30- النظام السابق والنظام الحالى <mark>طبق كشرى وكمالة.</mark>

AL-Masry Al-Youm, November 1st 2011, p 17

31- صديقى نفسه عفريت، يكشف فى ثوان الغيب الذى ننظّر لسيناريوهاته فى أيام.. <mark>لا سحر ولا شعوذة</mark>، تراءى له، بعد أن اطلع على ما يجرى فى المصالح والوزارات

AL-Masry Al-Youm, November 1st 2011, p 17

32- وصل الأمر إلى الخلط بين الإحصائيات والتقييم الفنى، مما دعانى إلى تكرار المقولة الجماهيرية المشهورة <mark>قاعدين ليه ما</mark>

<mark>تقوموا تروحوا</mark>

AL-Masry Al-Youm, November 1st 2011, p 12

33- كتقليد سنوىّ.. ليحلو العتب والقفشات وتوزيع (<mark>العيدية</mark>) وقبولها على استحياء

AL-Masry Al-Youm, November 9th 2011, p 2

34- شيخٌ شامخٌ هو الأشهر يتمتم باندهاش فاخر «كأنه يوم عرفات»، عقدُ قرانٍ هو الأول من نوعه لأحمد وعلا التى تردد فى

حياء :«<mark>مش هلاقى أغلى منكم يشاركنى فرحة جوازى</mark>». <mark>كان حلم ده ولا علم، ولّا فيلم؟ يمكن فيلم، بس عارفين</mark>، مخرجه بارع

حقاً، <mark>لدرجة إنه حسّسنا إن أحداثه حقيقية كأنك تتقمصها، لحد ما تسلّم بالدّم لوطنك حريته، ولشعبك حريته، ولسجّانك برضه</mark>

<mark>حريته، فاكرين ولا نسيتوا؟ على العموم آفة حارتنا النسيان</mark>!..

AL-Masry Al-Youm, November 1st 2011, p 17

35- هتافٌ زلزالىٌ مهيب لا يكاد يُسمع من فورته، طيور «الهليكوبتر» الطوافة ذات أزيز <mark>الـ(ترررررر)</mark> المعروف

AL-Masry Al-Youm, November 1st 2011, p 17

36- وحين أبديت دهشتى أخبرنى أن الطريق «<mark>معجنة</mark>» و<mark>المشاوير</mark> تستهلك وقتاً مضاعفاً.

AL-Masry Al-Youm, November 9th 2011, p 13

37- ٣- ٤ شاب ملتحين <mark>يستلقطوا</mark> الزبون من الشارع، والخدعة <mark>تحصل</mark> بسحب البطاقة الشخصية <mark>علشان</mark> يعرفوه الدائرة

الانتخابية و .....يصوروا البطاقة <mark>ويقوم</mark> الزبون ويقولوا له (<mark>نعيما</mark>) وبالسلامة <mark>كده</mark> الزبون <mark>بقى</mark> عضو فى حزبهم.. <mark>وتانى</mark> يوم

<mark>يلاقى</mark> الزيارة <mark>المتينة</mark> وصلت له <mark>لحد</mark> باب شقته (أنا تابعت الموضوع ده بنفسى)، ليه تصوير البطاقة؟ <mark>علشانيتعمل</mark> للزبون

عضوية فى الحزب، أو <mark>علشانلوفنية</mark> التزوير <mark>يبقى</mark> صور بطاقات <mark>الزباين</mark> جاهزة.»!

AL-Masry Al-Youm, November 17th 2011, p 4

38-<mark>وأنا عيلة</mark>.. وفى المدرسة.. كان عندى داء لعين..

AL-Masry Al-Youm, November 17th 2011, p 16

39- نتيجة أحداث الأسبوع الحزين من وجهة نظر البعض.. تولع الناس وتولع البلد ويتخنقوا العيال ويموتوا ويروحوا ف ستين داهية.. بس الانتخابات <mark>ما تتأجلش..</mark>

AL-Masry Al-Youm, November, 25th 2011, p 16

List of Al-Tahreer Examples

Type1: Part of a song or a movie

1- <mark>«أنا بريء يا سعادة البيه.. إدبح يا زكى قدرة.. يدبح زكى قدرة.. إسلخ يا زكى قدرة.. يسلخ زكى قدرة.. هى المعلمة وإحنا صبيانها»</mark>..

Al-Tahreer, November 1st 2011 p, 12

2- مثل الحب لا منطق له أحيانا نقع فى حب عمل فنى أو أغنية تخاصم المنطق «<mark>ساعات ساعات أحب عمرى واعشق الحاجات</mark>»، أصبحت هذه الأغنية عنوانا لصباح

Al-Tahreer, November 17th 2011 p, 13

3- وكأنه يذكّرنى بالأغنية الشهيرة ذائعة الصيت فى السبعينيات التى كانت تقول «<mark>ماتفتكروش يا بنات إن الجواز راحة</mark>»! هذه الأغنية غنتها فرقة المصريين

Al-Tahreer, November 17th 2011 p, 15

<mark>4- الصراحة راحة</mark>   (إسم عامود)

Al-Tahreer, November 17th 2011 p, 15

5- ولا يستطيع أى مدرب أن يعارضه أو يخالفه الرأى خوفا من انقطاع المياه والمكافآت الخاصة والحرمان من فنجان الشاى بالياسمين

Al-Tahreer, November 25th 2011 p, 11

6- لم يستطع المجلس العسكرى أن يأمر الشرطة بالتراجع. وعلى خلاف الوضع مع مبارك، تصرف قادة الشرطة هذه المرة بمنطق «لا تراجع ولا استسلام».

Al-Tahreer, November 25th 2011 p, 13

7ـ طلعت السادات مات.. وصباح لسه عايشة هى ومبارك.. حكمتك يا رب.

Al-Tahreer, November 25th 2011 p, 13

Type 2: Proverbs

8- لو أن المخرجة اللبنانية تحررت من الإطار الشكلى الذى تقيدت به لاستطاعت أن تقدم لنا سعاد بعيون سعاد، ولكن كما يقولون فى مصر ولبنان «الحلو مايكملش»!!

Al-Tahreer, November 1st 2011 p, 13

9- وسوف يعرضه بإذن الله فى رمضان القادم مع تليفزيون إسرائيل حسب توقعاتى.. وزغرطى يا اللى مانتيش فاهمة حاجة.

Al-Tahreer, November 9th 2011 p, 12

10- حيث اللف والدوران المصاحب بدقات الرق وكأننا فى حفلة زار.. فعلا يوجد مولد ولكن صاحبه غايب لكثرة المصائب والكل يريد أن يكون هو الغالب

Al-Tahreer, November 17th 2011 p, 15

11- ولن يخرج هذا الخيال الجديد أبدا ممن عاش وعمل فى دولة مبارك ونظامه فتدرب على السمع والطاعة <mark>واربط الحمار</mark>

<mark>مطرح ما صاحبه عايزه</mark>

Al-Tahreer, November 25th 2011 p, 3

12- لم يتحضروا ولم يتقدموا ولم يتألموا.. <mark>وكأننا يا بدر لا رحنا ولا جينا</mark>. أريد أن أكتب عن السودان..

Al-Tahreer, November 25th 2011 p, 14

13- الزلنطحية والبيادات : <mark>مبروم علي مبروم ميركبش</mark>   (عنوان مقال)

Al-Tahreer, November 25th 2011 p, 14

Type3: Reported speech

14- ويواصل بجاحته، ويقول «<mark>إيه يعنى لما</mark> الحكم يغلط، <mark>هو أحسن من المدرب أو اللاعب، ما همّ كمان بيغلطوا</mark>»،

ولا يكتفى ويواصل «<mark>المشكلة مش فى الحكام، الأزمة فى الإعلام والصحفيين، همّ اللى بيهيّجوا الناس على الحكام</mark>»،

Al-Tahreer, November 1st 2011 p, 11

15- يحكى خالد: <mark>سألتها أتقدم لك وأجيب شبكة ورزقنا على الله فى الشقة،ولا نستنّى لما يبقى معانا مقدم شقة ونبقى جاهزين</mark>،

قالت: <mark>اتقدم ورزقنا على الله فى الشقة</mark>،

Al-Tahreer, November 9th 2011 p, 2

16- وتحاول أن ترسم ابتسامة على وجهها لتخفى قدرا من العذاب. فتوجعنى ابتسامتها أكثر من لو كانت تركت لدموعها العنان.
تقول: <mark>الحمد لله.. باحمد ربنا إن الزيارة النهارده كانت كويسة، الإجراءات كانت سريعة ومافيش حاجة اترمت فى الأرض من</mark>
<mark>الحاجات اللى وخداها له، الزيارات اللى قبل كده كانت شنيعة، فى مرة اترمى كل اللى قضيت طول الليل أعمله، إحنا طبعا</mark>
<mark>الأمهات بنحاول ناخد أكل يكفى مجموعة، لأن الأكل فى السجن سيئ ولا يمكن الاعتماد عليه، حتى لو من الكانتين</mark>

Al-Tahreer, November 17th 2011 p, 2

17- أمسكت رأسه بيدى ورفعت وجهه لأجبره على النظر إلىّ وسألته:

<mark>إنت عارف إن أحمد شهيد؟</mark>

قال موجها غضبه كله لى «<mark>أيوه طبعا شهيد.. بس ليه يعنى.. ليه مايبقاش معانا.. ليه يسيبنا يعنى.. ليه يعنى؟</mark>»

Al-Tahreer, December 11th 2011 p, 2

Type4: slogans

18- فى المرتين كان الهتاف واحدا «<mark>يا نجيب حقهم.. يا نموت زيهم</mark>»!

Al-Tahreer, November 1st 2011 p, 2

19- «<mark>ارحل بقى.. إيدى وجعتنى</mark>».. (شاب يرفع لافتة مكتوبة بخط اليد، ولا توجد صورة فوتوغرافية التقطت لهذا الشاب، إلا تجده ضاحكا مبتسما).

Al-Tahreer, November 1st 2011 p, 3

20- الشباب صرخ فى محمد محمود: <mark>نار نار نار نار.. بينا وبينكم دم وتار</mark>

Al-Tahreer, November 25th 2011 p, 7

Type 5: loan-words

21- فضلا عن أنها كذلك تعبر عن جيل شاب تهكمى، علمته رسائل المحمول الكثافة والاختصار والترميز والتشفير فى الكتابة، وتدرب فى حوارات <mark>الشات والإيميلات</mark>

Al-Tahreer, November 1st 2011 p, 3

22- قلم و<mark>كيبورد</mark>(Column Name)

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23- أى شبل تربى فى حظيرة مبارك، يثبت نجاحه أن فكرة التوريث ككل ممكنة. هو طبعة <mark>مودرن</mark> من منطق أهل الثقة الذى خطه النظام الناصرى

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24- ومن لم يكتب شهادته سجلها وحملها على <mark>«اليوتيوب»</mark>، وطلب المجلس القومى لحقوق الإنسان من كل من حضر ذلك اليو

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25- إنه العرض الجديد من المجلس العسكرى.. الخبر <mark>والإفيه</mark> منه فيه.. الإتنين بسعر واحد..

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26- فالمدرب «الكحيان» فى الدورى الممتاز يحصل على ٥٠ ألف جنيه، و<mark>«اللوكس»</mark> مثل جوزيه مليون جنيه، و<mark>«السوبر»</mark> مثل شحاتة ٢٥٠ ألف جنيه،

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27- تعانى من غياب للإضاءة، أما نقاط الدوران للخلف <mark>(اليو تيرن)</mark> فحدث بلا حرج من المبالغة

Al-Tahreer, November 9th 2011 p, 12

28- وتعالوا نتجرد من مشاعر الولاء والانتماء والحب والعشق ونحسبها بالورقة والقلم لنعلم ما إذا كان <mark>البلدوزر</mark> زكى لديه الحق فى شكواه

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29- أم اكتفى برصيد قديم من تصريحات ونضال لا يكتمل إلا بالتفاف الناس، لا بعدد <mark>الفولورز</mark>.

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30- كساندوتشات <mark>التيك أواى</mark> وشيكولاتة المرح وعلب الكبسولات الإيطالية التى تضاعف من طاقة الجسم

Al-Tahreer, November 17th 2011 p, 15

31- وحاورٍ أحيانا ولاعب فى سيرك عند اللزوم وفهلوى يستطيع بمصريته التى اخترعت وصلة الدش والإريال من غطا الحلة والأستيك على بطارية الترانزستور ورسالة «كلمنى شكرا» والرنة على صاحبك علشان كارت الشحن خلص ويركّب للتوك توك فوانيس «بيجو» وتربط البنت إيشارب على بنطلون جينز قال يعنى محجبة ويعمل الكسرونة خوذة فى المظاهرات ويبيع غزل البنات وحمص الشام بينما قنابل الغاز بتضرب الميدان، أن يحل ويربط بهذه الروح المصرية العجيبة مشكلات كثيرة ويمنع بلاوى أكثر

Al-Tahreer, November 25th 2011 p, 3

32- جائزة أفضل مونتير: د.السيد البدوى رئيس حزب الوفد، «وذلك بعدما استطاع بمفرده أن «يمنتج» تاريخ حزبه الذى يقترب من مئة عام

Al-Tahreer, December 3rd 2011 p, 15

Type 6: common expressions

34- مالوش كبير (Column Name)

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35- وغير مبالين بما كان يدعيه النظام وعصابته وموالسوه ومنافقوه وكتابه ومنظروه -وهم كثر- من أن «مصر مش تونس».. وأن «مبارك مش زين العابدين بن على».. كما يقول الآن الطاغية والجزار بشار الأسد من أن «سوريا مش ليبيا»..

Al-Tahreer, November 1st 2011 p, 7

36- في العضل (Column Name)

Al-Tahreer, November 1st 2011 p, 7

37- وأنا مش عارفة هو بيرتعش ليه اسم الله على مقامه إن كانت هى على كوبرى أكتوبر، والمشكلة أمام ماسبيرو

Al-Tahreer, November 1st 2011 p, 14

38- لأن المملكة السعودية دولة بها مستشفيات وأطباء وليست <mark>كيس جوافة!</mark>

Al-Tahreer, November 1st 2011 p, 16

39- كذلك بعثة وزارة الداخلية التى تحمل الضباط وزوجاتهم إلى الحج المجانى مع صرف بدل السفر المعتبر من أجل توفير الأمن للحاج المصرى خارج الحدود (وهنا يحق لفتحية <mark>لموناتة</mark> أن تطلق <mark>واحدة إسكندرانى</mark>) هذا غير البعثة الرسمية للدولة التى يرأسها أحد الوزراء المحظوظين

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40 فالمدرب «<mark>الكحيان</mark>» فى الدورى الممتاز يحصل على ٥٠ ألف جنيه

Al-Tahreer, November 9th 2011 p, 11

<mark>41- بلبوص</mark>   (عنوان مقال)

Al-Tahreer, November 9th 2011 p, 12

42- يظهر العارى مستثمرا جسده فى اجتذاب قدر هائل من الهيبة، <mark>يهرب</mark> الخصوم وتنفذ أوامره

Al-Tahreer, November 9th 2011 p, 12

43- ثم... أستيقظ فجأة وأنا أصرخ».. لأ<mark>ااااااا</mark>».

Al-Tahreer, November 9th 2011 p, 14

44- ليس لنا إلا أن نختار النائب الكفء. سيقفز السؤال: وهل لا يجتمع التدين مع الكفاءة؟ <mark>يجتمع ونص</mark>، لكن الأهم فى مجلس الشعب وفى مناصب ومسؤوليات الدولة هو الأكفأ، المتدين أرشحه زوجا لابنة أختى، لكن الأكفأ أرشحه فى البرلمان.

Al-Tahreer, November 17th 2011 p, 3

45- ولكن بالمقارنة بلاعبين كبار لهم اسم <mark>وشنة ورنة</mark> فى الأهلى

Al-Tahreer, November 17th 2011 p, 11

46- هل ينبغى على الشاعر أن يصدر مذكرة تفسيرية بالمعانى المستترة لكلماته <mark>وحاجاته ومحتاجاته</mark>؟!

Al-Tahreer, November 17th 2011 p, 13

47- وإنما كانت الطبقة الوسطى من الموظفين تسكن معنا ويزاحمنا أفرادها فى طابور <mark>الكنيف</mark> الصباحى!

Al-Tahreer, November 17th 2011 p, 14

48- ثم إنه ومنذ متى يتم التعليق على الأحكام؟ إذا تم التعليق فهذه هى الفوضى وهذه هى المصيبة <mark>والخيبة بالوبية</mark>! ولا أدرى

عن سر الفوضى الضاربة الآن حتى فى استعراض الرؤى والأفكار

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<mark>49- الأشية معدن وزى الفل</mark>، وليس هناك مبرر للطمع والجشع

Al-Tahreer, November 9th 2011 p, 11

50- يتعرى المصريون أيضا احتجاجا، وهنا توثقها الأمثال والتعبيرات الشعبية، فتعبير «<mark>أكشف راسى وادعى عليه</mark>» واحدة من بين الجمل الكاشفة

Al-Tahreer, November 9th 2011 p, 12

51- لو اختار المجلس العسكرى -بطريقته فى التفكير- حكومة مثله، ولو جاءت حكومة على طريقة «إنهم ناس محترمة

ووطنية ومتخصصة» <mark>يبقى كلام فاضى</mark> ولن يتغير شىء ولن نتقدم، كما أننا لن نتأخر <mark>لكننا ساعتها حننشلّ</mark>!

Al-Tahreer, November 25th 2011 p, 3

52- لا يمكن أن توافق وتقبل بالحلول <mark>النص نص</mark>، ولا بالتحايل والمحاولة

Al-Tahreer, November 25th 2011 p, 3

53- وحاورٍ أحيانا ولاعب فى سيرك عند اللزوم و<mark>فهلوى</mark> يستطيع بمصريته التى اخترعت وصلة الدش والإريال من <mark>غطا الحلة</mark> <mark>والأستيك</mark> على بطارية الترانزستور ورسالة «كلمنى شكرا» والرنة على صاحبك <mark>علشان</mark> كارت الشحن <mark>خلص</mark> ويركّب للتوك توك <mark>فوانيس «بيجو»</mark> وتربط البنت إيشارب على بنطلون جينز <mark>قال يعنى</mark> محجبة ويعمل <mark>الكسرونة</mark> خوذة فى المظاهرات ويبيع غزل البنات وحمص الشام بينما قنابل الغاز بتضرب الميدان، أن يحل ويربط بهذه الروح المصرية العجيبة مشكلات كثيرة <mark>ويمنع بلاوى أكثر</mark>

Al-Tahreer, November 25th 2011 p, 3

54- إلا أن الشباب فى محمد محمود أطاعوا «عم الشيخ» وقبلوا الهدنة، فما كان من قوات الأمن إلا أن غدرت بهم وألقت عليهم القنابل المسيلة للدموع وهم يصلون المغرب.. <mark>بلا ذات البين بلاغراب البين</mark>، توقفوا... توقفووووووووواااااااااااااااااا.

Al-Tahreer, November 25th 2011 p, 7

55- كان ممدوح عباس يعطيه ضعف ما خصم، إضافة إلى رواتب شهرية للاعبين المرْضىّ عنهم و<mark>العصافير</mark> منهم التى تنقل إليه كل كبيرة وصغيرة داخل الفريق

Al-Tahreer, November 25th 2011 p, 11

56- الصمم سمة الحكام العرب ومجالسهم.. وهو من الأعراض التى تسبق النفى أو الحرق أو القتل أو <mark>اللعب فى المناخير.</mark>

Al-Tahreer, November 25th 2011 p, 13

57- كان من الصعب جدا «كرْوَتة» الموضوع، وانتهاء الأمر <mark>بشالوا ألضو حطوا شاهين.</mark>

Al-Tahreer, November 25th 2011 p, 14