

**GRAMMATICAL COHESION IN THE ENGLISH TO ARABIC TRANSLATION
OF POLITICAL TEXTS**

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**GRAMMATICAL COHESION IN THE ENGLISH TO ARABIC
TRANSLATION OF POLITICAL TEXTS**

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**ORIGINAL LITERARY WORK
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GRAMMATICAL COHESION IN THE ENGLISH TO ARABIC TRANSLATION OF POLITICAL
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ABSTRACT

Cohesive markers help to relate words and sentences together in the text. Also, it makes the whole text united and meaningful resulting from their functions in linking the sentences. While translating from the SL to the TL, the translator may not translate the whole cohesive markers or translate them incorrectly which affect the communicative meaning of the SL. Thus, many studies have analyzed different texts at different languages by using one of the translation theories to find the better strategy of translating such cohesive markers. In this study, the researcher will make use of Halliday and Hasan (1976) model of cohesion to find the frequency of cohesive markers used in both texts, Arabic and English texts, the source texts are taken from The New York Times and The Washington Post online articles, their translated Arabic versions are taken from the online Arabic newspaper, namely, Asharq Al-Awsat. Also, the study will adopt Nida's translation techniques (1964) to identify the translation techniques used to translate English grammatical cohesive markers into Arabic text. The results showed that, Arabic texts used more grammatical cohesive devices than English text. The incidences of references and conjunctions are greater in Arabic text than in English text. However, the incidences of ellipsis and substitution are more in English text than in Arabic. Moreover, the three techniques of Nida are appeared in analysis, besides, two new techniques are appeared in this study. By identifying the translation techniques used in translating the cohesive markers, the translators or the linguists will be aware of these techniques.

Keywords:

Translation, Cohesion, texture, technique, References, Substitution, Ellipsis, Conjunction

ABSTRAK

Penanda Wacana membantu untuk mengaitkan perkataan dengan ayat di dalam teks. Ia juga menjadikan keseluruhan teks bersatu, berkesinambungan dan memberi makna, hasil daripada fungsi mereka dalam menghubungkan ayat. Ketika menterjemahkan daripada SL kepada TL, penterjemah mungkin tidak menterjemahkan keseluruhan penanda wacana atau salah menterjemah yang boleh menjejaskan makna komunikatif SL tersebut. Oleh itu, banyak kajian telah menganalisa teks yang berbeza dalam pelbagai bahasa dengan menggunakan salah satu teori penterjemahan untuk mencari strategi yang lebih baik untuk menterjemah penanda wacana tersebut. Dalam kajian ini, penyelidik akan menggunakan model wacana Halliday dan Hasan (1976) untuk mencari kekerapan penanda wacana yang digunakan dalam kedua-dua teks, Arab dan Inggeris, teks-teks sumber diambil daripada artikel dalam talian The New York Times dan The Washington Post, versi Arab yang diterjemahkan adalah diambil daripada akhbar dalam talian Arab, iaitu, Asharq Al-Awsat. Selain itu, kajian akan mengamalkan teknik-teknik terjemahan Nida (1964) untuk mengenal pasti teknik-teknik terjemahan yang digunakan untuk menterjemahkan penanda wacana tatabahasa teks Bahasa Inggeris ke dalam teks Bahasa Arab. Hasil kajian menunjukkan bahawa, teks Bahasa Arab lebih menggunakan penanda wacana tatabahasa berbanding teks Bahasa Inggeris. Kejadian rujukan dan kata hubung adalah lebih besar dalam teks Bahasa Arab berbanding dalam teks Bahasa Inggeris. Walau bagaimanapun, insiden elipsis dan penggantian adalah lebih banyak dalam teks Bahasa Inggeris berbanding dalam Bahasa Arab. Tambahan pula, ketiga-tiga teknik Nida muncul dalam analisis, selain daripada dua teknik baru muncul dalam kajian ini. Dengan mengenal pasti teknik-teknik penterjemahan yang digunakan dalam menterjemahkan penanda wacana, para penterjemah atau pakar linguistic akan lebih mengetahui teknik teknik ini.

Petunjuk: Terjemahan, perpaduan, tekstur, teknik, Rujukan, Penggantian, Elipsis, Kata Hubung

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

SL: Source Language

TL: Target Language

ST: Source Text

TT: Target Text

BT: Back Translation

NSs: Native Speakers

NNSs: Non-native Speakers

CHAPTER ONE

1.0 Introduction

Languages are tools to express meanings. They are rich in linguistic items that convey different meanings. Cohesive markers are one aspect of the semantics which can be expressed and used differently in different languages. Cohesion is the set of linguistics means which are available for creating a texture. The texture is the basic units in a text that makes it more meaningful by creating relationship between sentences and paragraphs besides the semantic relations. Without these units the sentences and paragraphs would be isolated and not organized. Furthermore, cohesion occurs where the interpretation of some elements in the text depends on that of another. Therefore, texture of the text makes a text distinguishes from a non-text (Halliday & Hasan, 1976, p. 2, in Chaalal, 2009, p.10).

In other words, cohesion makes any text more meaningful as showing the relationship between sentences and parts of the text allows the reader to easily identify the exact meaning of the text. Thus, cohesive markers unify the whole text, and hence, the more cohesive markers, the more the text is powerful. The text considered as powerful because cohesive markers hold and linking the content of the text together to be as one piece of information. Consequently, many studies have conducted to identify the cohesive markers in different languages at different texts. The purpose of these studies is to show how these cohesive markers operate in a text and to show their functions in a text. Moreover, these cohesive markers are differently distributed according to the type and the language of text. In the present study, only Arabic and English language will be examined through political texts.

Translation is important in all fields of life especially in politics since it is considered as an essential issue for each country through shaping the way of people life, therefore, people

are interested in watching, reading, or listening to what happen around them by different means of media not only in their own language but also in other languages through different translated texts which are available on online websites. Yet, translating a source text into a target one in different language is not an easy process, since in translation translators change the structure of the source language to adopt the one in the target language. Therefore, translators must be aware about conveying the communicative meaning of the SL, that is, while translating from the SL to the TL, sometimes the meaning of the SL becomes awkward, for example, translators fail to translate the cohesive markers into TL correctly. Thus, writers or translators must understand some strategies and techniques which are used to translate the cohesive markers from the SL to the TL. Hence, this study will tackle the translation techniques used for translating the cohesive markers from the SL into the TL.

1.1 Problem statement

Nowadays, news affection on the audience is an essential issue as news seeks to convey certain communicative message in different issues: political, cultural, religious and others. The political written text is one of the main issues the audience interested in since writers and critics view their opinions about events occur in certain countries. This study deals with political text related to Middle East issues since Arab people are interested to read what other writers' opinions about the political issues taken place in their countries as those writers are biased in their perspectives. Besides, as a result of globalization and world of technology, some people tend to use the internet as means of communication with outside world more than other means of communication. Online newspapers are one source of information about the world. They are commercial as they cost a lot of money and time. Therefore, they need to convey only the important news and political opinions to laymen

and only news and political types which are of interest to the public. Moreover, the translators of such texts must be aware about evoking the communicative meaning of the SL by using cohesive ties.

When translating from English text into Arabic text, the translators translate all the cohesive markers which mean shifting the cohesive markers or make replacement. However, some translators don't translate all cohesive markers in English text which make the text seems awkward or meaningless and lead to the loss of information. In other words, they don't follow certain translation techniques which affect the communicative meaning of the English text. Thus, they should be aware about these techniques used to translate English cohesive markers into Arabic in order to respect the output meaning of the ST which means he/she needs to convey the same or original message.

1.2 Objectives of the study

This study aims to examine the phenomena of translating English political texts into Arabic using a cohesive analysis proposed by Halliday and Hasan (1976) model. Besides, it identifies the translation techniques which are used by translators by make use of Nida's (1964) translation techniques. Briefly, it aims to achieve two main objectives: (i) to identify the frequency of cohesive markers in both Arabic and English political texts. (ii) To identify the translation techniques used in translating the cohesive markers from English into Arabic language.

1.3 Research questions

The present study is an attempt to answer the following questions:

1. What are the frequencies of different cohesive markers in both Arabic and English texts?
2. What are the main techniques used in translating these cohesive markers into Arabic?

1.4 Significance of the study

This study is important due to the function of cohesion in creating a united text through the different types of cohesive markers in a text that make it more meaningful by creating relationship between sentences and paragraphs besides the semantic relations. Moreover, without these cohesive markers the sentences and paragraphs would be isolated and not organized in a proper way. Furthermore, (Baker, 1991, p. 6, in Silveira, n.d., p. 441) clarifies that cohesion enables us to connect different items in the text by means of lexical, grammatical or other devices in the text.

Mistranslation of the cohesive markers may change the communicative meaning of the SL and may lose the main important information of the SL text. Therefore, some translation techniques could help to convey the same message of the original text.

1.5 Scope and limitation of the study

This study covers the English-Arabic political texts taken from the online political texts from the year 2012. The selected articles which represent the source language are in English language and their equivalent translated versions are in Arabic language representing the target language. These articles are sourced from the following online

newspapers: “The New York Times’ and “The Washington Post” for the source text while their translated version taken from “Asharq Al-Awsat”.

The study will analyze only seven texts of the SL and the TL by make use of Halliday and Hasan (1976) model for cohesive analysis and Nida (1964) for the translation techniques.

1.6 Definitions of terms

Translation: Nida & Taber (1982, p. 12) cited in Chan (2003) state that “*translating consists in reproducing in the receptor language the closest natural equivalent of the source language message, first in terms of meaning and second in terms of style*”.

Translation strategies: Krings (1986, p. 18) defines them as translators’ plans to solve translation problems while translating to a target text, while Loescher (1991, p. 8) refers to the strategies of translation as “*a potentially conscious procedure for solving a problem faced in translating a text, or any segment of it*”, cited in Ordudari (2007). Also, Venuti (1998) cited in Baker (2005, p. 240) ensures that translation strategy involves “*the basic tasks of choosing the foreign text to be translated and developing a method to translate it*”, and strategies used are depend on different types of texts such as political, cultural and economic.

Cohesion: Halliday & Hasan (1976) cited in Crane (2006, pp. 132-133) refer to this concept as “*non-structural text-forming relations*” and the relation refers to the semantic ties which reflect the meaning within the text, and hence, without these semantic ties, the sentences will lack the relationship between them.

Cohesion in translation: The use of cohesive devices in the text shows how the text becomes more textual, and how translation can be affected by textual cohesion. According

to Halliday and Hasan (1976, pp. 1-2), text defines as “*a unit of language in use.*” And “*It refers to any passage spoken or written of whatever length, that does form a unified whole... It is not a grammatical unit like a clause or sentence. regarded as a semantic unit: a unit not of form but of meaning*”, cited in Chaalal (2009: 7). Thus, translators should consider the features of cohesive ties in both the SL and the TL while they are interpreting the certain meaning. Furthermore, Baker (1992, *ibid*, p. 19) emphasizes that a good translator should read the whole text one time at least before he starts the translation of the text, because this way helps him or her to convey the communicative meaning of the ST.

Texture: Halliday & Hasan (1976: 2) define texture as a “*Property of being a text*”, that is, every text has an organization of sentences by means of cohesive markers or ties which make relationship between sentences and paragraphs to convey certain meaning. Besides, Halliday and Hasan ensure that texture of the text makes a text distinguishes from a non-text, cited in Chaalal (2009, p. 10).

Political discourse and translation: Political discourse is defined as “*a complex form of human activity*” (Chilton & Schäffner 1997, p. 207) cited in Schäffner (2004, p. 117). Translation contributes to the development of political discourse and through translation information could be transmitted beyond national borders and the reactions in a country to statements made in another country are in fact reactions to the translated information, (*ibid*, p. 120). Moreover, translators need to take into consideration, the socio-cultural background of people of a target language since a little mistake in translation may lead to “*an accusation of a politician*”, (*ibid*, pp. 120-121). Therefore, media has a vital role in the transmission of political ideas and information about other countries as people can form their opinions and develop their thinking on the basis of political reports especially those which are reliable, (*ibid*, pp. 126-127).

Arabic language: It is one of Semitic languages such as Hebrew, Amharic, and Aramaic. It has a great literary heritage before Islamic era and it has expanded during the Islamic empire, 7th to 12th centuries. Nowadays, it is a language of more than 200 million people as it considered the official language of twenty countries and the liturgical language of more than a billion Muslims in different parts of the world, (Ryding, 2005, p. 1).

Modern Standard Arabic (MSA): It is the standard form of writing for Arab countries and the main medium for communication means such as broadcasting and public speaking as academic conferences. In addition, it is a language for communication between Arabs from different geographical parts of the Arab world since each Arab country has its own dialect/s. To be more precise, education in the Arab countries focuses on teaching the MSA to reinforce the understanding of literary and historical heritage and to unify between Arab countries by creating a shared present and past, (Ryding 2005, 7).

Asharq Al-Awsat Newspapers: As mentioned in its website, the online Asharq Al-Awsat is an Arab daily newspaper that is founded and published in London in 1978, not only its publication focus on pan-Arab and international affairs but also on analysis of worldly events especially what being happened in Middle East. The staff of working group contains skilled journalists and editors besides talent translators. Moreover, it is the only Arabic newspaper owing the Arabic copyright of renowned international syndicates as USA Today.

The New York Times or (NYT): referring to its website, it is an American daily [newspaper](#) that launched in [New York City](#) since 1851, and, it is considered as the most popular American online newspaper website.

The Washington Post (WP): as cited in its website, it is one of the leading American daily newspapers and the most widely newspaper published in Washington. It is founded in 1877 and known for its international reporting of events taken place in the world. What differentiate this newspaper from others is through political reporting which focus on the workings of the U.S government such as White House and Congress.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This chapter consists of three main sections. The first section reviews a theoretical background for cohesion in Arabic language and English language in order to help identifying grammatical cohesive ties in the present study, besides, the significance of cohesion and coherence in text. The second section deals with previous studies related to cohesive ties differences in both English and Arabic language, importance of using such cohesion, difficulties in translating these cohesive markers and the ways to overcome these problems. The third section sheds light on some strategies proposed by scholars used for cohesive ties' translation.

2.1 Theoretical Background

2.1.1 Cohesion and coherence significance

Dooley & Levinsohn (2000, p. 13) indicated that each language has its own system for using cohesive devices, however, some general type of cohesion are common, which means some of them '*will be found cross-linguistically*'. Moreover, they added that the signals of cohesion which link parts of sentences in the text are known as cohesive ties. It can be stated that almost scholars such as (Grimes 1975:112ff; Halliday & Hasan 1976; de Beaugrande & Dressler 1981:3; Brown & Yule 1983:191ff) agreed that cohesion is achieved by making use of linguistic means in order to signal coherence, cited in Dooley and Levinsohn (2000, p. 13).

Halliday and Hasan (1976, pp. 31-33) ensure that grammatical and lexical elements make cohesion only when they are used to express or interpret internal relations in the text, that is, single elements cannot be cohesive ties by itself. Moreover, when two ties are related in the text, this relation will help to provide unity to the text. Also, Halliday and Hasan (1976,

p. 288) claim that the grammatical markers or ties are easier to be identified than the lexical ones, therefore, their effects are clearer than that of lexical cohesion since they presuppose another item clearly for the interpretation unlike lexical ones which carry no clear reference for their potential cohesive function. Halliday and Hasan (1976) believe that the denser the cohesive ties are, the more coherent is the text. However, Tanskanen (2006, p. 7) argues that, there is difference between cohesion and coherence as cohesion refers to elements exist throughout the text to form connections and relationships between sentences and paragraphs whereas coherence doesn't exist in the text, but it is rather "*the outcome of a dialogue between the text and its listener or reader*", (ibid, p. 7). In other word, cohesion is one of the ways to achieve coherence in a text. Furthermore, Hasan (1984) says that coherence is measured by the reader or the listener and it depends on "cohesive harmony" which means the interaction of cohesive devices in the text. He adds, the denser of the "cohesive harmony" used in the text, the more coherent the text will be, (ibid, p. 20). Other researchers, such as (de Beaugrande & Dressler 1981: 3; Brown & Yule 1983: 195; Ellis 1992: 148; Enkvist 1978; Hellman 1995; Lundquist 1985; Sanford & Moxey 1995) claim that unity in the text emerged from coherence between units in the text rather than overt markers of cohesion contribute to form a text regardless the number of cohesive ties between the sentences, cited in Tanskanen (2006, p. 16).

2.1.2 Cohesion in Arabic

In Arabic, the following words or terms are used to refer to cohesion: at-tamasuk an-nasi, as-sabk, and al-itisaaq, Dendenne (2009, p. 13). The cohesive devices in Arabic are summarized as follow:

1) References: The three major types of references are: personal, demonstrative and comparative, they are summarized as the following:

Personal References: In Arabic, it refers to names or entities in the sentence and its function or role in the sentence refer to the following groups: (i) a subject that takes a form of independent words, (ii) an object and possessive pronouns that take the form of suffixes. The personal pronouns in Arabic are outnumbered those in English language, they are eight in English while twelve in Arabic because in Arabic language they identify the gender, number and person. Moreover, unlike English, it is possible to identify the dual person in Arabic pronouns, besides; the masculine and the feminine forms of second and third person are included. It is worth noting that, in Arabic there are two types of personal pronouns which briefly discussed below, (Ryding 2005:, pp. 298-321).

First, the independent personal pronouns: they are clarified as shown in table (2.1) below; they are used as separated forms for some functions: (i) to emphasize the doer of the verb. (ii) To be used as the subject of verbless or ‘equational’ sentences, for example,

Arabic sentence: “*anti Sadiiqat-ii*” English Translation: *You are my friend*”

BT: You my friend

(iii) To be used as predicate of ‘verbless’ sentence, e.g

Arabic sentence: “*haadhaa huwa*” English translation: “*this is he*”.

BT: this he

(iv): to be used as a copula to replace the verb ‘to be’ e.g

Arabic sentence: “*al-muhimm-u huwa l awdat-u*”.

English translation: “*The important [thing] is to return*”

BT: the important is return

Table (2.1) the independent personal pronouns in Arabic adopting from Ryding (2005: 298-299)

	Singular	Dual	Plural
First person	‘I’ <i>anaa</i>		نحن ‘we’ <i>nahn-u</i>
Second person Masculine	أَنْتَ ‘you’ <i>anta</i>	أَنْتُمَا ‘you two’ <i>antumaa</i>	أَنْتُمْ ‘you’ <i>antum</i>
Feminine	أَنْتِ ‘you’ <i>anti</i>		أَنْتُنَّ ‘you’ <i>antunna</i>
Third person Masculine	هُوَ ‘he’ <i>huwa</i>	هُمَا ‘they two’ <i>humaa</i>	هُمْ ‘they’ <i>hum</i>
Feminine	هِيَ ‘she’ <i>hiya</i>		هُنَّ ‘they’ <i>hunna</i>

However, it is not impossible to omit independent pronouns, because the subject of the verb could be implied via the verb itself in the form of suffixes. According to Saeed (2011), the suffixes of verbs help to identify, number, gender and tense.

Second: Suffix personal pronouns, /Damaair muttaSila/ which is either attached to the noun to indicate (possessive pronouns) or attached to object of a verb or a preposition (object pronouns). The Possessive pronoun suffixes attached to nouns are shown in table (2.2) below.

Table (2.2) possessive pronoun suffixes in Arabic adopting from Ryding (2005: 301)

	singular	dual	Plural
First person	ي 'my' -ii		نا 'our' -naa
Second person Masculine	كَ 'your' -ka	كُما 'your' -kumaa	كُم you' -kum
Feminine	كِ 'your' -ki		كُن 'your' -kunna
Third person Masculine	هُ/هُ 'his' -hu / -hi	هُما/هُما 'their' -humaa/himaa	هُم/هُم 'their' -hum _ -him
Feminine	هَا 'her' -haa		هُن/هُن 'their' -hunna/-hinna

Not only the above suffixes of personal pronouns are attached to nouns but also they are attached to the verbs to express tense, gender, mood, number and person. Also, they can be used as object of the prepositions, see table (2.3) below:

Table (2.3) the object pronoun suffixes in Arabic adopting from Ryding (2005: 305-306)

	singular	dual	Plural
First person	ني/ني 'me' -nii / -ii		نا 'us' -naa
Second person Masculine	كَ 'you' -ka	كُما 'you two' -kumaa	كُم you' -kum
Feminine	كِ 'you' -ki		كُن 'you' -kunna
Third person Masculine	هُ/هُ 'him' -hu / -hi	هُما/هُما '[the two of] them' humaa/himaa	هُم/هُم 'them' -hum _ -him
Feminine	هَا 'her' -haa		هُن/هُن 'them' -hunna/-hinna

Demonstrative pronouns: As cited in Ryding (2005, pp. 315), they are namely, in Arabic, (asmaa al-ishaara), and they are used to show distance or 'proximity to the speaker'. These pronouns are more varied in Arabic language comparing to those found in English language. In terms of distance, (that and those), they are used in Arabic to determine gender and number: for singular (*dhaalika*) is used for masculine whereas (*tilka*) is used for feminine, for plural, (*uulaa'ika*) is used for masculine and feminine. In terms of proximity (this and

these) *haadhaa*, these pronouns also express gender and number as shown in the table (2.4) below:

Table (2.4) Demonstrative pronouns in Arabic adopting from Ryding (2005: 315)

	Masculine	Feminine
Singular	هذا haadhaa	هذه haadhihi
Dual		
• Nominative	هذان haadh-aani	هاتان haat-aani
• Genitive/accusative	هذين haadh-ayni	هاتين haat-ayni
Plural	هؤلاء haaulaai	هؤلاء haaulaai

According to Ryding (2005, pp. 298-321), some of the demonstrative pronouns used in Arabic language are: ‘*dhaaka*’ (that), ‘*dhaat*’, ‘*ha*’ (this), ‘*hunaa*’ (here), ‘*hunaaka*’ (there), ‘*hunaalika*’ (over) there.

Comparative References: they are used to show similarity or differently adjectives. The adjective comparative and superlative in Arabic, namely, (ism al-tafdiil) and they have certain form where in Arabic, the prefix /a-/, namely ‘initial hamza’ is used for the comparative form of the adjective, (ibid, pp. 244-245). While the prefix /-al/ is used for the superlative forms, Saeed (2011, pp. 85).

2) Substitution and Ellipsis: they are used to avoid repetition and there are three terms used for Ellipsis which are: “*hadhf*, *idmar* and *taqdir*”, as cited in Al-Liheibi (1999, pp. 168). Yet, the parts of the sentence which is omitted can be recovered or understandable from the previous elements, (ibid, pp. 170-172).

3) Conjunction: in Arabic, namely, /huru:f alatif/ e.g ‘wa’ , ‘fa’ , ‘tumma’ , ‘aw’ , , ‘bal’ and ‘laki:n’ respectively mean as follow: ‘and’, ‘then’, ‘then and’, ‘or’, ‘but’ and ‘however’ . These conjunction are not used alone in the sentences, their function is to join the words together, (Chaalal, 2009, pp. 29-31). Conjunction has four types: First, Additives: e.g. ‘wa’ and ‘fa’ , in English translated as (and , then). Also, ‘aw’ means (or) in English considered

as an additive tie which express alternative purposes. Second, Adversatives: e.g. ‘bal’ and ‘la:kin’ translated as ‘and’ and ‘however’ in English, ‘bal’ has two meanings, one is an ‘additive’ which means ‘and’ and the other is an adversative which means ‘however’. Third, Causal: e.g ‘fla budda ?an’ in English translated as ‘therefore’. In addition to that , the casual ties can be prefix that attach the beginning of the sentences e.g. ‘liza’, ‘li’, ‘mimma’ and ‘mimma ja’ala’ translated in English as ‘for this reason’. Fourth, Temporal: e.g ‘Binama’, ‘tumma’ and, ‘izama’ equal to (when, then and, and if) in English, (Othman, 2004, in Chaalal, 2009, p. 29).

2.1.3 Cohesion in English

Reference: Scollon (2001, pp. 63-64) claim that perhaps it is not possible to find a sentence without a reference and these references make discourse cohesion. Not only pronouns but also the definite article ‘the’ helps to provide such cohesion.

Comparative: It is one type of reference that is used to compare person, entity, event or action with another person, entity, etc. It can be adverb such as ‘more’ and ‘less’. Also, it is possible to use double comparatives such as ‘more and more’, which suggest ideas such as ‘more than average’ and ‘relatively’. Another form is ‘the...the’, e.g “the elder I get, the happier I am”, Swan (1996, pp. 122-123). According to Halliday and Hasan (1976, p. 77), comparative can also be adjectives like (same, equal, identical, additional, similar, different, better, etc) and can be adverbs such as (likewise, differently, such, etc).

Conjunctions: they are words provide strong relationships between two clauses since they are placed between those clauses, Scollon (2001, p. 65). Also, Swan (1996, p. 129) defines them as words that connect clauses into meaningful sentences, he adds, normally one conjunction is enough to be used to join two clauses. However, it is not impossible to use

two conjunctions in some cases when a co-ordinating conjunction connects two subordinate clauses e.g ‘and so’, ‘and yet’, ‘and because’, etc, (ibid, p. 131).

Ellipsis: Semantically, they are defined as leaving words because the exact meaning can be clearly understood without them, (ibid, p. 172). In other words, the writer avoids repetition of words.

Substitution: It is used to avoid repeating a word used before by using “a general-purpose substitute word or pro-form’ such as ‘one’, ‘do’ and ‘so’, besides, substitution can be with auxiliaries e.g ‘I will’, (ibid, pp. 542-543).

2.1.3.1 Common types of cohesion

Dooley & Levinsohn (2000, pp. 13-17) design the main common six types of cohesion which may be found ‘cross-linguistically’. These types are adopted from Halliday and Hasan (1976), and Brown and Yule (1983) as follow:

1. **Descriptive expressions alluding to entities mentioned earlier:** the cohesion is achieved here through introducing new expression which is connected to an expression previously mentioned. These expressions such as: ‘the following day’ and ‘in the next room’. Here, the earlier expressions could be ‘the preceding day’, and ‘a certain room’.

2. **Identity:** the cohesion is achieved by the use of “*identical forms, identical meaning, and identical reference or denotation*”. There are six subcategories under this type as follows:

1. **Repetition:** (whole or partial) of an expression

2. **Lexical replacement:** to refer to a referent point by using a different lexical form.

3. **Pronouns:** to refer to an object, person, entity, etc.

4. **Other pro-forms:** they are one type such as do ... it (Halliday & Hasan 1976, p. 126), they are used beside pronouns

5. **Substitution:** to refer to one thing by using same type in different case, or it is “*a kind of partial identity of denotation*”, Halliday and Hasan (1976, p. 88)

6. **Ellipsis:** “*substitution by zero*” (Halliday & Hasan 1976, p. 143).

3. **Lexical relations:** they include Hyponymy, Part-Whole, and Collocation. Hyponymy defined as one word which considered as a subtype of another and it can form whole relationship or part relationship. For example, ‘*Flowers*’ and ‘*Daffodils*’ have a whole relationship whereas ‘*the human body*’ and ‘*the arm*’ form a part relationship. On the other side, **Collocations**, is defined as “*the habitual co-occurrence of individual lexical items*” (Crystal 1997, p. 69), e.g ‘*Sunday*’, ‘*Monday*’.

4. **Morphosyntactic patterns:** there are three subcategories under this type. First, Consistency of inflectional categories: such as consistency in (tense, aspect, etc.), for instance, a sequence of sentences can show tense marking, as in ‘*landed* and ‘*snapped*’. Second, Echoic utterances, used to evoke attention back to the previous utterance to make a comment. Third, Discourse-pragmatic structuring, one example pattern is “*point of departure and prediction*” which links the next prediction to something the listeners are assumed to have in their mental representations, e.g ‘*Long ago*’, and ‘*in one*’.

5. **Signals of relations between propositions:** they help to easily interpret the exact meaning of the speech, e.g the use of (*For example,*) to interpret previous sentence.

6. **Intonation patterns:** to place an utterance within the overall scheme (e.g., near the end) of the discourse. They are important since they can tell when speakers are “*winding down*” their talks

2.2 Previous studies

Many previous studies applied Halliday and Hasan cohesion analysis model (1976); they all have shown how cohesion creates one kind of texture, which is, the basic units that

create semantic relation in the text. Crane (2006) analyzed an article entitled (Ruins with a view from Newsweek) by applying Hasan and Halliday cohesion analysis model (1976). He shows that cohesion markers join both ideas and experiences. Also, by cohesion the readers become more proficient in understanding the exact meaning of English text. Crane recommends understanding cohesive markers in language classroom to help decode meaning.

The problem of cohesion is not only in applying the cohesive markers on the TL, but also in identifying the cohesive markers rule in the SL. Thus, unawareness of cohesive rules could be the reason for misunderstanding the text. A study of Al-Jarf (2001) shows how Arabian students have difficulties in identifying the cohesive marker rules of English language. Out of 59 female students aged 20-21 years old who study English-Arabic translation at the college of translation in Saudi Arabia are the sample of the study. They completed the four skills of English language and are at fifth semester at the time of the study. Before the study being conducted, the students received instructions about cohesive ties of Halliday and Hasan (1976), each cohesive was analyzed and exemplified, the students practiced on three texts by identifying the cohesive ties and analyzing each one by connecting it with its reference. After a week, they took cohesion test, the researcher asked them to read the text and identify the cohesive ties and their relevance in the text. The incorrect answers were analyzed also in this study in order to explore the strategies used in identifying the cohesive ties. The findings reveal that degree of cohesive ties' difficulty arranged as following: substitutions, reference and ellipsis, then conjunction. Thus, conjunctions device considered the easiest one comparing with other cohesive markers. An example of incorrect identified reference of anaphor, pronoun: While resolving the

referential of anaphor, students associated it with the closest noun. The researcher implies that the incorrect references caused by unawareness of cohesion rules.

Many studies have been conducted to show the differences and similarities between Arabic and English cohesive ties. Sometimes, the cohesive markers are different in the way they act according to the language used. Some languages like Arabic and Persian are used high frequency of cohesive marker to strengthen the meaning of the text. Thus, the frequency of the cohesive markers is different from language to another. According to Mohamed & Majzoub (2000), Arabic cohesive markers have what equivalence in English language. However, the two languages in some cases differ in the uses of cohesive markers in the text. For example, Arabic language considered as an additive language due to the using of many conjunctions in the text, while English language considered as a non-additive language, cited in Chaalal (2009, p. 32).

Hinkel (2001) in his paper, (Matter of Cohesion in L2 Academic text), analyzes the cohesive markers and their frequency rates. The study data focus on essays written by 895 NSs (native speakers) and NNSs (non-native speakers). The native languages for NNSs are: Arabic, English, Korean, Indonesian and Japanese. The students choose one of five topics to write an essay. The cohesive markers were counted by hand to show the frequency of their using and to show how students employ the cohesive markers in the essay. The study shows that Arabian texts include more frequently cohesive markers than in NSs texts unlike Indonesian students who include fewer cohesive markers which make the text very short. The most interesting finding in this paper is that NNSs highly used demonstrative pronouns, one type of cohesive markers e.g. (that, these, the...) and they used demonstrative pronouns at more frequency rates than NSs do. Their purpose is to unify the text and to make relationship between the sentences in the text so that they can convey the

message of the meaning of the text. These findings of Hinkel (2001) explore also how students translate the cohesive markers incorrectly, as Hinkel (2001, p. 111) mentions that even students who complete ESL and TOEFL attempt to unify the text by using high frequency of cohesive markers. The students unaware or maybe don't know about the translation strategies which are used while translation from the SL to TL.

Both references and ellipsis, two types of cohesive elements, are operated in the same way in Arabic and English language and they considered as basic function in both English and Arabic languages. A study of (Hanan, 1988) investigates how references and ellipsis are operated in the same way in Arabic and English languages. The study analyzes two genre texts, four short stories and four essays. The study shows how the three types of cohesion are used and how they make the text meaningful and it compares cohesive markers in Arabic with those in English language. The analysis of Hanan (1988) based on Halliday and Hasan cohesion analysis (1976). The findings of her paper reveal that both references and ellipsis are operated in the same way in both Arabic and English language. Also, in Arabic language, verbal substitution type may occur, nominal substitution rarely occur and clausal substitution may not occur comparing with English language in which this type highly occur. This study used a good method as the researcher analyses two genres to show that frequencies of cohesive markers are varied in different genres.

Another study by (Mohamed & Omer, 2009), they analyze three Arabic short stories texts and their equivalent translated texts in English. The translation to the English was produced by professional native English speakers. Also, they analyzed other three Arabic short stories and their contextually equivalent stories in English, they are not translated texts. The study aims to investigate the relationship between both the cohesive ties and the cultural contexts in the two languages. The findings reveal that there are differences in the use of

cohesion in the two languages and these differences are not linguistically but social culture, for example, Arabic and English language use different type of conjunction in different way where Arabic cohesion is mainly additive unlike English cohesion which is mainly non-additive includes causative, temporal and adversative.

When we translate, we transfer the SL texts to TL text by transfer what equivalent to the TL texts. The translator sometimes misunderstands or misuses the strategies of translating the cohesive devices from the SL into the SL, which may lead to loss of the information of the ST. The answer to this problem is to find a good strategy of translation to solve the problem while translating to the target texts. The study of Silveira (n.d.) only focuses on these cohesive devices: conjunctions, substitutions and references. She only follows these cohesive devices of Halliday and Hasan because these cohesive markers are the most problematic devices in the corpus that are investigated in this study. The corpus consists of a short English text taken from the book of management. The postgraduate students of the “Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina” are required to translate 30 lines of the text into Portuguese language in a two hour test and it is possible to use the dictionary. The study aims to investigate how postgraduate students use cohesive devices and how they translate them. The study reveals that students fail to keep the message of the content of the ST because they are unaware about the translation strategies of cohesive devices. In case of substitution, in translating to Portuguese, most of the students omit the verb which makes the idea unclear and ambiguous. In case of references, the students translate the equivalent references which used in ST. In addition, they use the strategy of omissions for some references which leads to the loss of information and the difficulty to keep track with the previous information in the text. While in case of translating the conjunctions, the translators tend to use literal translation which changes the meaning of the text and makes

the text awkward. Here, the researcher just give the students two hour to perform translation, if the duration is more than 2 hour, the results maybe more valid. Also, the postgraduate students are majors in management, if the sample chosen from language or linguistics faculty, the results maybe more valid to rely on. In case of the sample, one text is not enough to show the output of translation, that is, this text maybe easy to some students while difficult to others. However, the findings achieve the aim of this study. Furthermore, Silveira suggests that a translator must have enough knowledge relating to textual Cohesion (p. 441).

The difficulties of translating such cohesive ties can be ascribed to the differences between languages linguistically. For instance, the study of Chaalal (2009) entitled "*Foreign Learners' Difficulties in Translating the Arabic Discourse Marker 'Fa' into English*" makes use of a questionnaire and a test for a group of third year students chosen from translation faculty at the University of Constantine in Algeria. The study aims to examine if those students are aware of the strategies used to translate the cohesive marker 'Fa', means 'and', from Arabic into English Language and to show the importance of using conjunction as cohesive markers in both English and Arabic language. The cohesive marker 'Fa', which considered as a conjunction device, in Arabic, has multifunctional nature because it semantically has different meanings. The findings show that the translation of the students lack both the coherent and cohesion because they are unaware about the multifunctional conjunction of the cohesive device 'Fa'. The conjunction 'Fa' has five functions in Arabic language which are: Sequential, Resultative, Causal, Explanatory and Adversative which translated into English as in sequence: (then, and so, because, for example, and but). The researcher suggested to teach the cohesive markers in the two languages, Arabic and English language, focusing on their functions and categories.

Another study by Dendenne (2009) also aims to investigate how students can translate the Arabic cohesive markers, only conjunctions, into the English text. These conjunctions are: ‘Wa’, ‘Fa’ and ‘Thumma’, each one has multiple meanings that depend on the relation between sentences and paragraphs. The sample is twenty first year Algerian master students at the faculty of English language and the researcher conducts a test consisted of twenty two Arabic sentences where there are two instances for each function of Arabic connectors chosen from various text types. The findings of the study reveal that, the lack of awareness of conjunction as cohesive device among students which leads to inaccurate translation affects the communicative meaning of the ST. In addition, the students are unaware about the punctuation marks of English text at textual level; they just use the comma and the full stop.

The cohesive markers of Halliday & Hasan (1976) include grammatical and non-grammatical cohesion. ‘Reference’, ‘substitution’, ‘ellipsis’, and conjunction are considered as grammatical cohesion, while the lexical cohesion refers to non-grammatical cohesion. However, both of them create one kind of texture in the text and the translator should be aware about their role and function in the text which differs from language to another. In her study, Djamila (2010) aims to explore the frequency of shifting lexical cohesive ties while translating from the SL, Arabic, to the TL, English. The ‘shift’ is defined as *“departures from formal correspondence in the process of going from SL to TL”*, (Catford, 1965, p. 27, in *ibid*, p. 2). Also, her study aims to explore the semantic and textual of the text after being translated to TL. The study adopts Halliday and Hasan (1976) model of “cohesion in English” in which five types of cohesive markers are classified. The researcher only investigates (reiteration and collocation) as lexical cohesion. Reiteration, which means repetition, includes: “word repetition, synonym, superordinate and general

word”, whereas collocation means that two words occur together regularly, for example, “orange and peel”. First year master 30 students at department of English, at Mentouri University of Constantine, are randomly chosen for a test of translation, they asked to translate the Arabic text into its English version. The Study adopts both quantitative and qualitative research; quantitative focused on the frequency of shifting Arabic ties into English; whereas the qualitative focused on finding whether these shifts create equivalent target text. In the samples of each data, shifts classified into main categories which are: semantic, grammatical, addition and omission shifts. The findings of the study reveal that the students maintain only few lexical cohesion while alerting most of the ST ties. Also, the students used different types of shifts. The grammatical shifts are the most used shifts in their translation. And hence, the study implies that both Arabic and English language have different grammatical structure. In addition, the study reveals that new lexical cohesions are used by the students which results from the semantic shifts while the process of translating. However, this shift affects the communicative meaning of the TT. Besides, adding and omitting shift create non cohesive text and poor language.

Baker (1992, p. 206) shows that using different grammatical structures in both the SL and the TL may change the communicative message the translator want to convey. Therefore, to convey the message by translating the exact or equivalent meaning of the SL, the translator should take in his or her consideration some types of shifts, for example, ‘adding’, ‘omitting’, or ‘altering’ the ties meaning of the TT, , cited in Djamila (2010).

Another study by Mokrani (2009) aims to analyze the references in English literary text as a device of grammatical cohesion and its equivalent translation in Arabic text. Also, it aims to compare the translation strategies used to transfer the referential cohesion from English to Arabic text. The English literary text consists of two paragraphs which are translated into

Arabic language by an experienced translator. After comparing the SL and its translation in the TL, the findings reveal the problematic of translation referential cohesion from English to Arabic because each language has its different nature. Arabic is more flexible than English, that is, sometimes Arabic doesn't require the subject in the sentence unlike English language. The solutions which are adopted as strategies in the translation of the sample are: 'omission', 'compensation' and 'transposition'. Omission strategy means to omit part of the ST, but the referential cohesion can be understood from the text. Compensation strategy means that some part of the text cannot be translated but their lost meaning is expressed within the text, in other parts. Finally, transposition strategy means "*the process where parts of speech change their sequence; when they are translated, it is in a sense a shift of word class*", (Mokrani, 2009, p. 29).

It is worth noting that, the type of register, (closed, limited, or free), could determine the frequency of cohesion devices in the text. In other word, the more open the register, the denser use of cohesive devices. In her study, "Variability of Cohesive Devices Across Registers", Buitkienė (2005) examines three texts belonging to different registers to explore frequency and distribution of cohesive markers across each genre. These three texts are as follows: a legal text belongs to a restricted register, a short story as an open-ended register and a newspaper text that could be placed as middle of the two samples. The study investigates the two kinds of cohesion, the grammatical and the lexical cohesive ties. The results reveal that lexical cohesive ties predominate throughout the three texts, both legal and newspaper texts have higher frequency than story text, 82% for newspaper, 91% for legal text, and 52% for story. On the other hand, low percentage of references are used in legal and newspaper texts as 4% in the legal text and 12% in the newspaper, comparing a percentage of 41% in the story text, since both genres seek to convey clear information to

avoid ambiguity. Also, story text contains more substitution and ellipsis than legal and newspaper one to ensure that story rely on conversation and fiction unlike other realistic genres. Furthermore, for the distribution of lexical cohesive devices, it is noted that simple repetitions constitute the majority in all texts; the frequency appears in legal and newspaper denser than in story for clarity purpose. All the followings, ‘synonyms’, ‘hyponyms’, ‘meronyms’, and ‘antonyms’ are rarely used since they are more related to fiction and they express ambiguity. Another example appears in the study of Ambiyó, (2007), as the researcher conducted a comparative analysis of cohesion, three road traffic accidents reports taken from both newspaper articles and three of academic texts by make use of Halliday and Hasan (1978) model in order to categorize the type of cohesive markers in both texts, besides comparing the coherence of both texts. The results reveal that both type use different types of cohesive markers such as ‘conjunction’, ‘references’, ‘ellipsis’ and ‘substitution’ to show connection in texts. Also, it is common to use lexical cohesion unlike substitution and ellipsis which are rarely used. Moreover, academic texts used more cohesive ties as lexical repetitions, demonstrative reference and conjunctions since it is a formal genre seeking to convince the reader to trace its opinion through presenting the views clearly and carefully stating opinions in logical ways. However, the newspaper texts are used more lexical synonyms, pronoun and definite references, and nominal ellipsis since they aim to convey certain current news to people as they are commercial expressing main information and avoiding repetitions.

The present study only focuses in the grammatical cohesion since they are used to convince and attract the listener or the audience, especially in political texts. Ramamoorthy & Al Khalidy (2011) study the grammatical cohesion of six political speeches of the king of Jordan; two speeches are taken from each following category: local, national, and

international. This study aims to investigate the frequency of grammatical cohesive devices used in the six selected speeches and how they are differently used in the three categories. The findings reveal that substitution, reference and conjunctions are used in all the six speeches while ellipsis is not used in all of them. Also, all categories of reference were used and personal pronouns references are highly used in international speeches since they are important ones followed by national and local speeches. Moreover, the king uses a lot of conjunctions especially the conjunction (and) that constitutes the highest frequency among other conjunctions in all speeches.

Unlike Halliday and Hasan's idea that the denser cohesive devices used, the more coherent the text, other scholars as Carrell (1982) and Brown and Yule (1983) believe that the content rather than cohesion ties throughout the text brings coherence to the text. Brown and Yule (1983) add that some genres such as (advertisement and brochures) seem to lack cohesive devices but they are considered coherent texts since different genres employ different criteria of coherence, cited in Shahriar & Pathan (2012, pp. 378-379).

Coherence is always achieved in text when it is meaningful and connected logically. However, Shahriar & Pathan (2012) claim that coherence in text is not impossible without using cohesion. In their study, two English texts have been analyzed, one is a poem and the other is an advertisement taken from a UK website. The paper based on textual analysis to investigate whether cohesion is required for coherence in the two genres or only other factors such as context, schema exophoric reference are enough for that. The findings imply that lexical cohesion forms powerful cohesive ties in both texts and have an impact to make coherence to texts, especially 'repetitions' highly used to confirm the most prominent word in the text. The two genres have clear schema but in different styles of writing. For the grammatical cohesive devices, comparative cohesive ties are common in the poem and non-

exist in advertisement. Both demonstrative cohesion and substitution are rarely appeared in both texts whereas Ellipsis is common in both texts. Moreover, conjunctions are common in both texts especially the conjunction ‘and’ which has the massive concurrencies. Thus, not only cohesion devices bring coherence in the text but also other devices of coherence such as content. Also, occurrence of these devices could be determined by the type of genre discourse used.

2.3 Cohesion shifts in Translation

Here, the researcher attempts to provide some literature related to cohesion translation as discussed by some scholars as follow:

Blum-Kulka (1986)

Blum-Kulka (1986, p. 17) defines cohesion as an ‘*overt relationship holding between parts of the text*’ and it is identified by ‘*language specific markers*’. She postulates two directions of shifts used in translating cohesive markers as follows:

- a. *Shifts in levels of explicitness, i.e. the general level of the target texts textual explicitness is higher than or lower than that of the source text.*
- b. *Shifts in text meaning(s):i.e. the explicit and implicit meaning potential of the source text changes through translation (ibid, p. 18).*

Kulka postulates that the grammatical differences between languages affect the cohesive devices that are used in both source and target text by means of ‘*transformations*’ such as (addition). Also, the differences in ‘*stylistic preferences*’ between languages, in translation, are expressed by shifts in levels of explicitness. Furthermore, she claims that the translator might produce a TL text which is more redundant than that in the SL text, resulting from ‘*a rise in the level of cohesive explicitness in the TL text*’, (ibid, p. 19). In her main hypothesis,

namely, “*the explication hypothesis*”, Blum-Kulka (1986, p. 19) claims that, there is “*an observed cohesive explicitness from the SL to the TL texts regardless of the cohesive differences between the two languages*”. She refers to ‘Explication’ as “*an inherent feature in the process of translation*”, (ibid). In addition, she asserts that through translation, the translator must pay attention to the cohesive ties as they provide semantic unity of the text and any fault through transfer them in translation may change the target meaning of the text, (P. 21).

Explicitation

Vinary & Darbelnet (1958) in (Baker, 2005, p. 80) refer to ‘Explicitation’ and ‘Implication’ as ‘addition’ and ‘omission’ strategies. The term was first used by them and later developed by Nida (1964). Furthermore, Vinary and Dabelnet (1958, p. 8) define ‘Explicitation’ technique as the process where implicit information of the source text is introduced in the target text whereas ‘Implication’ is the process where certain explicit details in the source language are defined in the target language (ibid, p. 10). Scholars discuss that in terms of ‘gains and losses’, e.g, in Hungarian pronouns, it is not possible to identify the gender, thus, part of the meaning is lost when translating the personal pronoun (she) from English to Hungarian, (Baker, 2005, p. 80)

Other scholars never used the terms ‘Explicitation’ and ‘Implication’ and they refer to other terms or expressions such as Barkhudarov (1975) and Vaseva (1980) where both use the term ‘*grammatical transformations*’ as cited in (Baker, 2005, p. 81). Moreover, Barkhudarov (1975, p. 223) lists four types of grammatical transformations in translation, which are: ‘addition’, ‘omission’, ‘substitution’, and ‘transposition’. He claims that ‘addition’ is necessary to clarify elliptical expressions or information in the target text,

later, Vaseva (1980) in his study on Bulgarian Russian and Russian Bulgarian translation, asserts that a translator use ‘addition’ to produce explicit information in the target text which is implicit in the source text, for example, articles are available in Bulgarian and unavailable in Russian and the possessive pronoun can be omitted in Russian while it is not possible to do that in Bulgarian.

According to Toury (1980a, pp. 11-18) in (Baker, 2005, p. 227) Shift defined as changes which may occur through the process of translation to the target language and it belongs to ‘linguistic performance’ resulting from linguistic and systemic differences between the source and the target language. In his view, translation involves ‘*invariant under transformation*’ like other transfer process, (ibid). In other words, transformation is defined by changes, namely, ‘shift’.

Proshina (2008)

There are some techniques used while translating from the SL to TL aiming to achieve equivalence by following some transformations or a ‘shift of translation’. Three categories types of Transformations which are: “*grammatical, lexical (semantic) transformations, and complex (lexical and grammatical) transformations*”, (p. 35). She defined ‘transformations’ as the syntactical or morphological changes in the original translated unit (p. 41). Types of Grammatical transformation are summarized as follows, (pp. 35-46):

1). Grammar substitution: it occurs as a result of the structural differences between languages. That is, while translating to TL, the translator may change a grammar category of the translated unit. For examples: the substitution of active voice to passive voice and vice versa, the substitution of the noun number category (plural by singular or singular by

plural), the substitution of the noun by the verb and the substitution of the adjective by the adverb or vice versa.

2). Word order change: it occurs when the sentences of languages have different information structures.

3). Sentence partitioning or (replacement): it occurs as a result of semantic and structural reasons where a simple sentence in the source text is replaced with a complex one in the target text.

4). Sentence integration: it occurs when the translator translated complex sentences of the source language to simple one in the target language.

5). Grammar compensation: it occurs when the translator uses other grammar means because a grammar form of the SL text is not available in the TL text. For example, (p. 42) to compensate the translated mistaken pronoun in English sentence by a mistaken preposition in Russian because an equivalent mistake in the use of pronoun doesn't exist in Russian, e.g, "*Out of who?*" asked Barbara", here she should say '*whom*'. The purpose of this transformation is to show "*the character's illiteracy*" through translation.

6). Other Lexical and grammatical transformations

Explicatory translation or '*explicitation*': to make the implicit information in the source language as explicit in the target language due to the differences between languages in terms of structure and background knowledge. This technique is often accompanied with the 'addition' of new words, namely, transformation by 'addition'. Another kind of transformation know as, 'reduction' or 'omission' that is used to avoid translating irrelevant

words, it may occur when there is one word in the target language that expresses a phrase in the source text.

Newmark (1988)

According to Newmark (1988, p. 59), there are some of the cohesive devices in some languages which have more than one function or, '*polysemous*', as Newmark described, this may be considered as a problem to translator/s.

Newmark (1988) Shifts/Transpositions: A 'shift (Catford's term) or 'transposition' (Vinay and Darbelnet) is a procedure where the grammar of SL changed when translated to TL. Types of the shifts summarized as follows: (pp. 85-87).

1. A change in number, from singular to plural, or a change in the position of the adjective. It is considered as an obligatory type of shift.
2. A shift occurs when the grammatical structure of the SL is not available in the TL, this shift is an optional one e.g. to translate verb-noun instead of gerund.
3. A shift occurs when it is not grammatically impossible to use a literal translation, but if do so; it will not be a natural usage in the TL. Therefore, a verb in the SL may be translated as a noun or an adverb in the TL.
4. A shift occurs by the replacement of a virtual lexical gap, in a SL, by a grammatical structure in a TL.

Newmark asserts that a shift or a transposition is the only translation procedure focuses on grammar. Besides, it occurs as a result of both: the linguistic differences between languages and for stylistic considerations. He adds that, "*most translators make transpositions intuitively*", (p. 88).

Darwish (2010)

He claims that techniques used to translate cohesive devices are different from language to another (p. 228). These techniques are: ‘*Retaining*’, ‘*Omission*’, ‘*Addition*’ and ‘*Replacement*’. ‘*Retaining*’ is used to achieve faithful translation; however, if retaining a cohesive device may not make the sentence sound natural another technique used which is ‘*omission*’ whereas if the meaning becomes awkward, ‘*addition*’ technique could be used. Another technique is ‘*replacement*’, for example, to replace a pronoun by a noun or vice versa, (pp. 226-232).

Catford (1965:20) defines translation as “*the replacement of textual material in one language (SL) by equivalent textual material in another language (TL)*”, the textual materials refers to both the grammar and the lexical items of the source language text, he claims that when there is no replacement of textual materials, translator can use simple transference to convey the same meaning, (p. 21). Catford (pp. 73-79) proposes two main types of shift, namely, (i) Level shifts: where there is a shift of the SL item at one linguistic level such as grammar into a TL equivalent at different levels such as lexis level or vice versa, and, (ii) Category shifts: which has four types as the followings:

Structure-shifts: where there is a change in the order of the SL elements when translated to the TL or a change in the grammatical structure of the SL. Moreover, these changes occur at all ranks, for example related to grammatical change, zero article in the ST is shifted to a definite article in the TT, another example related to order in structure, the *subject + verb + direct* in English structure in ST is translated by an *object + verb + subject* structure in Arabic (TT).

Class-shifts: where an item is shifted from one part of speech to another one, for example, a verb in the ST translated to a noun and vice versa.

Unit shifts: where there is change in a rank when an equivalent in the TL is at different rank, for example, a word in English language may be translated as a phrase in Arabic language.

Intra-system shifts: where two languages are differing in their system, for example, when plural in the SL shifted to dual form in the TL as in Arabic language which has this system unlike other languages as English. Another example is the case of gender, in Arabic it is not impossible to identify the gender of names unlike English language, thus, feminine may shifted into masculine in Arabic.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

In this chapter, the researcher presents the followings: the data, the instruments which are: Halliday and Hasan (1976) Model for cohesion and Nida (1964) for translation techniques. Also, procedures of data analysis are presented besides framework of the study.

3.1 Data collection

The data for this study are the English political texts and their Arabic version. The source texts are written in English language while the target texts are written in Arabic language. These texts are classified as (political opinion texts) since these kinds of text provide space of presenting ideas unlike other types of political texts such as news where the writer only states the main idea/s. Besides, Arab readers seek to read the opinion and the analysis of western writers because they are bias in their points of view. These texts have been sourced online from the current year 2012 because many events have been taking place in this year specifically in the Middle East. Moreover, seven texts are collected to be analyzed (three of them are collected from ‘The Washington Post’ newspaper and four of them are collected from ‘The New York Times’ newspaper). The study will analyze “The New York Times” online newspaper, because it is the most popular American online newspaper website. Also, it will analyze ‘The Washington Post’ online newspaper because it is one of the leading American daily newspapers and the most widely newspaper published in Washington. The translated versions of English texts taken from “Asharq Al-Awsat”, the only Arabic newspaper owing the Arabic copyright of renowned international syndicates, and its staff are professional translators. Consequently, this study will make use of Halliday and Hasan

(1976) model, only focused on the grammatical cohesion since the grammatical markers or ties are easier to identify than the lexical ones. Also, their effects are clearer than that of lexical cohesion since they presuppose another item clearly for the interpretation unlike lexical ones which carry no clear reference for their potential cohesive function, Halliday & Hasan (1976, p. 288). In addition, Nida's (1964) will be used to identify translation techniques which are used while translating the English grammatical cohesive markers.

3.2 Theories Used

3.2.1 Halliday and Hasan (1976) Model

They refer to these cohesive items which show relations among text as 'a tie', (p. 3). Cohesive markers are clearly classified in Halliday and Hasan (1976) and summarized as follow:

1) References: (pp. 31-39) they are used to introduce the participants and to keep track of them throughout the text. *"It provides a link with a preceding portion of the text"*, (Halliday & Hasan, 1976, p. 51, in Crane, 2006). Reference can be 'Personal', 'Demonstrative', or 'Comparative'. **Personal:** to use noun pronoun e.g. (I, me, you, we, us, they, them, he, him, she, her, it, one etc.) or to use possessive determiners e.g. (mine, yours, ours, his, her, theirs, its one's, etc.). See table (3.1) below:

Table (3.1): Personal references in English (Halliday and Hassan 1976:38)

<i>Semantic category</i>	Existential		Possessive	
	Head		Modifier	
	noun (pronoun)		determiner	
<i>Person:</i>	I	me	mine	my
speaker (only)				
addressee(s), with/without	you		yours	your
other person(s)				
speaker and other person(s)	we	us	ours	our
other person, male	he	him	his	his
other person, female	she	her	hers	her
other person; objects	they	them	theirs	their
object; passage of text	it		[its]	its
generalized person	one			one's

Demonstrative: to use locative references e.g. determiner as (this, these, that, those, the), and adverb as (here {now }, here then). See table (3.2) below:

Table (3.2): Demonstrative references (Halliday and Hasan 1976:38)

<i>Semantic category</i>	Selective		Non-selective
	Modifier/Head	Adjunct	Modifier
	determiner	adverb	determiner
<i>Proximity:</i>			
near	this these	here [now]	
far	that those	there then	
neutral			the

Comparative: to use similarity or differently adjectives or adverbs to show whether two things two things are similar or different. Adjectives like (same, equal, identical, additional, similar, different, better, more, other, else...) adverbs like (identically, likewise, differently, otherwise, equally, less, so, such, more, similarly, etc.), Halliday & Hasan (1976, p. 77).

See table (3.3) below:

Table (3.3): Comparative reference in English (Halliday and Hasan 1976:39)

<i>Grammatical function</i>	Modifier: Deictic/Epithet (see below)	Submodifier/Adjunct
<i>Class</i>	adjective	adverb
<i>General comparison:</i> identity general similarity	same identical equal similar additional	identically similarly likewise so such
difference (ie non-identity or similarity)	other different else	differently otherwise
<i>Particular comparison:</i>	better, more etc [comparative adjectives and quantifiers]	so more less equally

2) **Substitution:** they are used to avoid repetition by replacing one item by another. They are related to grammatical function and can be ‘nominal’, that is, it functions as “head of the nominal group” (p. 91). e.g. (one and ones), also can be ‘verbal’, it functions as the “head of a verbal group” and it always posited final of the group e.g. (do) and (do so/be/say) (p. 112), or clausal e.g. (so, not), (p. 141). See table (3.4) below:

Table (3.4): Substitution forms in English (Halliday and Hasan 1976:141)

		Non-prominent	Prominent
		(given)	(new)
Nominal	Thing (count noun)	one(s)	the SAME
	Process (nominalized) Attribute Fact	so	do be } the SAME say
	Verbal	Process(+...)	do Do so
Clausal (β): report, condition, modality	positive	so	SO
	negative	not	NOT

3) Ellipsis: occurs when some information in the text are ‘unsaid’ but still ‘understood’ as it can be implied or presupposed in the text easily. Halliday and Hasan (1976, pp. 142-143) refer to Ellipsis as ‘substitution by zero’. It can be nominal, verbal or clausal.

4) Conjunction: cohesive markers that join sentences and paragraphs together in order to make semantic relationship between them. It can be additive, adversative, causal or temporal. ‘**Additive**’, by adding or completing what previously came e.g. (and, also, too, or, furthermore, in addition, and...not, nor, neither, either), ‘**adversative**’ by opposing the idea presented in the preceding sentence e.g. (but, however, on the other hand, nevertheless, yet, only), ‘**causal**’, by showing that the second clause is a logical cause or a result of the preceding clause e.g. (so, then, for, because, consequently, for this reason, it follows from this), or ‘**temporal**’ that relates two clauses in time e.g. (next, after that, until then, then, finally, at last, an hour later).

5) Lexical cohesion: this type of cohesion differs from the previous elements because it is considered as non-grammatical cohesion. It refers to the selection of the vocabulary as it has two types which are: (i) **Reiteration:** the repetition of a lexical item directly or by using of synonyms or a general related word, and, (ii) **Collocation:** the occurrence of two lexical words together within the same lexical environment.

3.2.2 Nida’s (1964) translation techniques

When translating to the target language, a translator should pay attention to produce an equivalence target text. However, as the differences between languages, equivalence sometimes does not exist in the target language, Nida (1964) proposed adjustment techniques to be used for this case, cited in in (Baker, 2005, p. 81). These techniques or procedures as follows: ‘additions’, ‘subtractions’ and ‘alterations’. These techniques are

used 'to adjust the form of the message to the characteristics of the structure of the target language', to produce semantically equivalent structures, equivalent communicative effect and stylistic equivalences (Molina & Albir, 2002, p. 502). The three 'adjustment of techniques', (additions, subtractions and alterations) are summarized as follows, (Molina & Albir 2002, p. 502):

Additions: Nida (1964) proposed different reasons which oblige a translator to use this technique, some of these reasons summarized as follows: to make an elliptical expression in the source language clear in the target language, to adjust grammatical structure of the target language, to amplify implicit element to explicit one, to connect using connectors, and to avoid ambiguity.

Subtractions: Nida (1964) stated the following reasons for using this technique in the target language as follows: to avoid unnecessary repetition and to specify conjunctions, adverbs and references. For instance, Nida suggests to use pronouns instead of God or to omit it because it appears 32 times in 'the thirty-one verses of Genesis', (ibid, p. 502).

Alterations: It occurs as a result of differences between languages and it takes three types:

First: changes occur as a result of transliteration, that is, a new word is introduced from the source language because it doesn't exist in the target language.

Second: changes occur due to grammatical differences between languages, such as changes in grammatical categories.

Third: changes occur due to 'semantic misfits', that is, there is no standard equivalent to the term exists in the source text. Hence, translator tends to use other techniques such as using a descriptive equivalent to solve this problem.

3.3 Data analysis and procedures

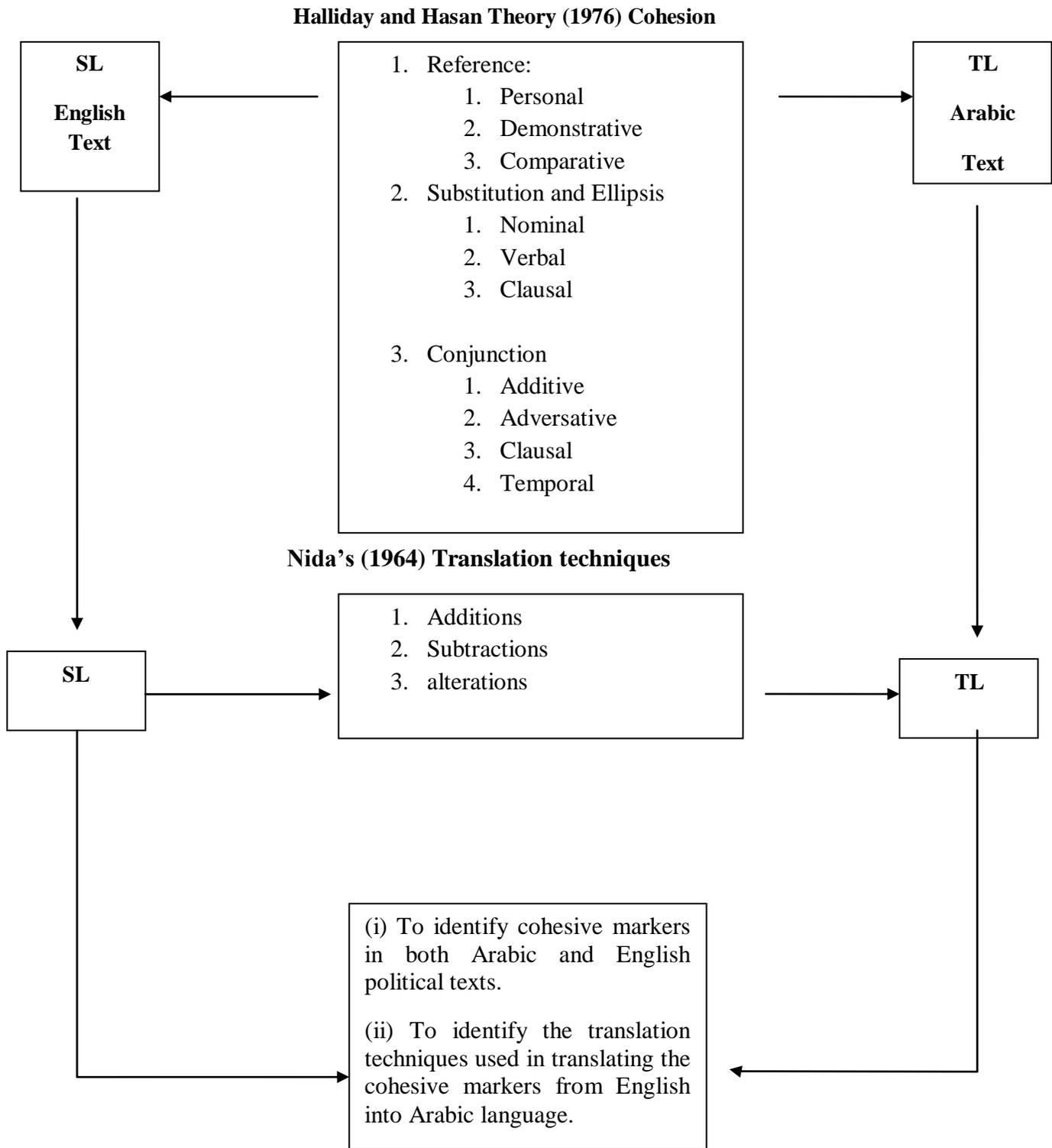
This study will use the quantitative and the qualitative analysis. The analysis of the data will adopt a comparative methodology of the SL with its equivalent translation in the TL.

To achieve the first objective of this study, the study will make use of Halliday and Hasan (1976) model of cohesion, the focus will only be on the grammatical cohesive elements which are: ‘References’ which include (personal, demonstrative and comparative), ‘Substitution’ and ‘Ellipsis’ which include (nominal, clausal and verbal), and ‘Conjunction’ (additive, adversative, causal and temporal).

Moreover, each line of Arabic and English texts is numbered in order to tabulate the reference line for each cohesive device as shown in Appendix A (1) for English texts and Appendix A (2) for Arabic texts. Then, each text in the SL and the TL will be analyzed according to this model by finding the frequency of using cohesive markers in both texts and whether these cohesive markers are operated differently in both texts. The cohesive markers of English texts are tabulated in Appendix B (1) whereas those of Arabic texts are tabulated in Appendix B (2).

To achieve the second objective of the study, the study will make use of Nida’s techniques of translation (1964). The study will discuss how the cohesive markers translated from the SL into the TL and find the common techniques used in translating the cohesive markers from English to Arabic language. Furthermore, each grammatical cohesive device in the English texts will be tabulated in appendix C in order to find its translation in the Arabic texts. Then, the study will look for the technique used for translation these cohesive markers.

3.4 Framework:



CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter consists of two sections; the first section deals with the frequency of each grammatical cohesive device in each political text by make use of Halliday & Hasan's (1976) model of cohesion. Furthermore, the cohesive markers of English and Arabic texts are categorized under their relevant classification of Halliday & Hasan's (1976) model, as shown in Appendix B (1) for English texts and B (2) for Arabic texts. Then, number of occurrence is calculated for each classification to find out the frequency or the distribution of each grammatical cohesive device in political Analyst texts.

The second section explores the main translation techniques used to translate these cohesive grammatical devices from English language into Arabic language using Nida's (1964) translation techniques and how the difference in the technique might affect the meaning of the text.

4.1 Frequencies of grammatical cohesive devices

As shown in Appendix B (1) for English texts & Appendix B (2) for Arabic texts, each text is analyzed in order to have the frequency of each cohesive grammatical device in Arabic and English texts. The findings of frequency for each text in both languages are briefly discussed in the following sub sections below.

4.1.1 Text One

English text: ‘War, War and More War for Sudan’

Arabic text: مزيد من الحروب بانتظار السودان

Table 4.1 The frequency of grammatical cohesive devices in text (1)

Cohesive device		English				Arabic			
		No.		%		No.		%	
Reference	Personal	30	45	44.1%	66.2 %	36	51	43.9 %	62.2 %
	Demonstrative	13		19.1%		15		18.3 %	
	Comparative	2		2.9 %		0		0%	
Substitution		2		2.5 %		2		2.4%	
Ellipsis		9		13.2 %		3		3.7%	
Conjunction		12		17.6 %		26		31.7%	
Total		68		100%		82		100%	

It is noticed in the table (4.1) that, both texts make use of the four types of the grammatical cohesive devices, which are: (Reference, Substitution, Ellipsis and Conjunction). However, they are used at different rates throughout the two texts. Also, it is noticed that Arabic text has more grammatical cohesive devices than English text where Arabic text uses a total number of 82 cohesive devices whereas English text uses a total number of 68 cohesive devices. Similarly, in both texts, the order of cohesive devices according to their frequency is arranged as follow: ‘References’, ‘Conjunction’, ‘Ellipsis’ and ‘Substitution’. The frequency of each cohesive device is illustrated in the following sub sections below.

4.1.1.1 Reference

In English text, there are 45 incidences of reference constitute the majority of grammatical cohesive devices and have a percentage of 66.2 % of all the cohesive devices. It is noted that, the three types of references: (personal references, demonstrative references and comparative references) are used and their percentage are respectively distributed as follows: 44.1% for personal references, 19.1% for Demonstrative references and 2.9 % for comparative references. Consequently, the highest percentage of references is extensively distributed under personal reference.

Regarding the use of reference in Arabic text, the results reveal that reference constitutes the majority of all the grammatical cohesive devices used overall the text. There are 51 incidences of reference out of 82 cohesive devices comprising a percentage of 62.2 % of all the grammatical cohesive ties and distributing as follows: 43.9 % for personal references and 18.3 % for demonstrative references, while, there is no incident for comparative reference used in the text. Additionally, the results reveal that Arabic text makes more use of references than English text does.

For the 30 personal references in English text, they are noted through the use of both noun pronouns and possessive determiners throughout the text and they are used as ties to presupposed participants or entities as shown in the Appendix B (1). For example, a noun pronoun such as (they) in line 9 refers to (Groups of conflict) which is in line (8), and, a possessive determiner such as: (his party) in line (8) which refers back to (Omar al-Bashir) in line (1).

On the other hand, the 36 personal references in Arabic text are used in the form of independent personal pronouns and suffix personal pronouns as shown in Appendix B (2).

For example, the independent personal pronouns such as: هو /huwa/, /humma/ هما ,and /hum/ هم respectively mean as follows: ('he', 'they two', 'they'), and, the suffix personal pronouns which either attached to the noun (possessive pronouns) or to the object of a verb or a preposition (object pronoun) such as: حكومته /hkomatu-hu/ in line (3) which means (his government), the suffix /-hu/ means (his) attaches to the noun /hkomatu/ means (government) to have (a possessive pronoun) refers back to the noun عمر حسن البشير (Omar Hassan al-Bashir) which is in line (1). Another example, in line (7) له /la-hu/ means (to him), the suffix /-hu/ means (him) attaches the preposition /la-/ means (to) to have (an object pronoun) refers back to the noun البشير (al-Bashir) which is in line (6). Also, in line (56) تراودهم /turawido-hum/ means (surrounded them), the suffix /-hum/ means (them) attaches to the verb تراود /turawido-/ equal to (surround) to have (an object pronoun) refers back to the noun المتمردون /al-motamaridoon/ means (the rebels) which is in line (55). For the purpose of clearness in Arabic, the suffix personal pronoun which is attached to a verb, an object or a preposition easily identifies gender, number and person. Hence, Arabic language uses higher frequency of personal references comparing with English language in this analysis.

For the 13 demonstrative references in English text, they are used through different types of demonstrative references, and it is noted in Appendix B (1) that almost the demonstrative references used in the text are used through (the definite article 'the'). Other demonstrative references used are (that, these), for example, (these groups) in line (33) refers back to (Turabi radical Islamist groups) which is in line (29).

Similarly, Arabic text makes use of demonstrative references to trace the information using locative references. The results reveal that, there are only 15 incidences of demonstrative references out of 51 references. For example as shown in Appendix B (2), the use of the

prefix ال /al-/ which has the same function of the definite article (the) in English, e.g. in line (6) المجموعات /al-majmoa:t/ means (the groups), the definite article /al-/ attaches to the noun /-majmoa:t/ to refer back to جيوش متمردة /joyosh motamarida/ means (rebel armies) which is in line (3). Other demonstrative references used such as /dhaalika/ means (that) and /haadhihi/ means 'this' or 'these', for example, in line (26) هذه المجموعات /haadhihi al-majmoa:t/ means (these groups) refers back to مجموعات الترابي /majmoa:t al-Turabi/ means (Turabi groups) which is in line (22). The most important point is that in Arabic language, a singular feminine demonstrative reference /haadhihi/ is used to determine non-human noun (plural or singular) and the plural demonstrative reference is only used to refer to a human noun according to Ryding (2005, p. 315).

For the 2 comparative reference which are used in English text, for example, the cohesive tie (other) in line (29) refers back to (Osama bin Laden groups) which is in line (27).

4.1.1.2 Substitution

There are only 2 incidences of substitution devices used in both texts. In English text, they comprise a percentage of 2.5 % of all the grammatical cohesive devices, whereas, in Arabic text they comprise a percentage of 2.4% of all the grammatical cohesive devices. Consequently, both texts tend to use a considerably smaller part of this device. For example in English text Appendix B (1), the use of the nominal substitution (one) in line (10) to replace the noun (group) which is in line (8). Another example in Arabic text Appendix B (2), in line (32) يزالان كذلك /yazala:ni kadalika/ means (they still so), the use of clausal substitution (so) كذلك to replace the clause خلاف مريير عام حول سلطات الرئيس /khilaf mareer aam hawla soltat al-raees/ means (dispute over the power of the presidency) which is in line (29).

4.1.1.3 Ellipsis

There are 9 incidences of ellipsis used in English text constituting a percentage of 13.2 % of all the cohesive devices, whereas, only 3 incidences of this cohesive device are used in Arabic text constituting a percentage of 3.7% of all the cohesive devices. Therefore, these results reveal that Ellipsis is more used in English language than in Arabic language. Yet, this device is not widely used since the writer, as a ‘political analyst’, aims to convey the message which means that he or she tends to explicitly express the idea in order to avoid ambiguity and confusion in the text. Even though, ellipsis here is functionally used for avoiding repetition and for stylistic reason. For example in English text in line (36), as shown in Appendix B (1), as follows:

(Bashir eventually agreed because he realized these policies ... Arab world)

Here, the verb (agreed) needs an object to complete the meaning of the sentence, that is, there is elliptical information which is presupposed in the previous paragraph in lines (33-34). Then, the original sentence will be as follows:

(Bashir eventually agreed (for the explosion of Islamist groups from the country), because he realized these policies ... Arab world)

The same example, also used in Arabic text in line (28) which is وافق البشير and its elliptical information is presupposed in line (26) which is لطرد هذه المجموعات من السودان as shown in Appendix B (2). It is clear then, that the presupposed information is understood from the preceding sentences or paragraphs, therefore, the message of the text is clearly conveyed without any ambiguity.

4.1.1.4 Conjunction

In English text, there are 12 incidents of conjunction devices used out of 68 cohesive devices constituting a percentage of 17.6 % of all the cohesive devices. Furthermore, the results reveal that the four types of conjunctions are used, which are: ‘temporal’ such as (currently), ‘adversative’ such as (yet) and (but), ‘additive’ such as (as well as) and (also) and ‘causal’ such as (so). On the other hand, there are 26 incidences of conjunction devices used out of 82 cohesive devices in Arabic text that constitute a percentage of 31.7% of all the cohesive devices,. Moreover, like English text, it makes use of the four types of conjunctions, which are: ‘additive’ such as /wa/ means (and), ‘adversative’ such as /la:kin/ means (but/however), ‘temporal’ such as /tumma/ means (then), and ‘causal’ such as /fa/ means, (so).

An important point to be noticed here is that, Arabic text has more conjunctions than English text since ‘additive conjunction’ is highly used in Arabic text comparing to the other three types of conjunctions. In addition to that, it is noted that some conjunction devices in Arabic text are multifunction, for example, /fa/ can be an ‘additive’ which means (and) as in line (6), and it can be ‘causal’ which means (and so) as in line (14), and ‘adversative’ which means (but) as in line (34), see Appendix B (2).

4.1.2 Text Two

English text: In Egypt and Libya, radicals are jockeying for power

Arabic text: المتشددون في مصر وليبيا يتحايون للوصول إلى السلطة

Table 4.2 The frequency of grammatical cohesive devices in text (2)

Cohesive device		English				Arabic			
		No.		%		No.		%	
Reference	Personal	16	32	35.6%	71.1%	33	51	46.5%	71.8%
	Demonstrative	10		22.2%		13		18.3%	
	Comparative	6		13.3%		5		7%	
Substitution		2		4.4%		0		0%	
Ellipsis		3		6.7%		2		2.8%	
Conjunction		8		17.8%		18		25.4%	
Total		45		100%		71		100%	

As shown in the table (4.2), Arabic uses more grammatical cohesive devices than English does; the Arabic text has a number of 71 cohesive devices whereas English has a number of 45 cohesive devices. The frequency of each cohesive device is illustrated in the following subsections below:

4.1.2.1 Reference

In both texts, reference has the highest frequency comparing to the other three devices. In English text, there are 32 incidences of reference used out of 45 grammatical cohesive devices that constitute a percentage of 71.1% of all the cohesive devices. Whereas, 51 incidences of references out of 71 cohesive grammatical devices are used in Arabic text constitute a percentage of 71.8% of all the cohesive devices. Thus, Arabic text uses more references than English does. Furthermore, the majority of references in both texts are categorized under ‘personal references’ followed by ‘demonstrative references’ and ‘comparative references. The distribution of references in English text is as follows: 16 for

personal reference, 10 for demonstrative reference and 6 for comparative reference. On the other hand, the distribution of references in Arabic text is as follows: 33 for personal reference, 13 for demonstrative and 5 for comparative reference.

It is noted that, the personal references in both texts make use of noun pronouns and possessive determiners to trace participants or entities throughout the text. For instance, in English text as shown in Appendix B (1), the noun pronouns used such as (he) in line (17) refers back to the noun 'an analyst' which is in line (17), and the possessive determiners used such as (their anger) in line (31) which refers back to (extremists) in line (30). For Arabic text as shown in Appendix B (2), the noun pronoun used such as /hum/ in line (24) which means (they) and refers back to the noun /mutatarifiin/ means (extremists) which is in line (23), and, the possessive pronouns that take the form of suffix such as *غضبهم*/ghadabu-hum/ in line (24) means (their anger) where the suffix /-hum/ means (their) attached the noun /ghadabu/ to refer back to the noun /mutatarifiin/ means (extremists) which is in line (23).

Besides, the results revealed that Arabic text uses more demonstrative reference than English text. The demonstrative references used in English text, as shown in Appendix B (1), are: (this), (that) and (these). For example, the cohesive tie (that crowd) in line (17) refers to (the protesters moving toward the U.S. Embassy) which is in line (11-12). Another example, (these countries) in line (34) refers back to (Egypt and Libya) which mentioned in the previous paragraph. On the other hand, the demonstrative references used in Arabic text, as shown in Appendix B (2), are: /haadhaa/ means (this) for masculine singular, /haadhihi/ means (this) for feminine singular, /haaulaai/ means (these), /haadhayni/ means (these two), /tilka/ means (that) for feminine singular and /dhaalika/ means (that) for masculine singular. For example, تلك الكارثة /tilka al-karitha/ in line (33) means (that disaster) and it

refers to الاستيلاء على السفارة الأمريكية /al-isteela ala al-safara al-amreekia/ means (the seizure of the U.S. Embassy) which is in line (31). Another example, in line (4) البلدين /al-baladain/ means (the two countries) where the prefix /al-/ that represent the definite article in Arabic which equal to (the) in English refers to مصر وليبيا (Egypt and Libya) in line (3).

However, it is noted in table (4.2) that English text uses more comparative references than Arabic text. The comparative devices used in English are: (more), (less), (similar) and (same) and those devices used in Arabic are أقل (a-kal) means (less) and أكثر (a-kther) means (more), here, the prefix /a-/ used to form the comparative form of the adjective in Arabic. The most important point to be noticed here is that, there are some words in Arabic text that semantically used to show comparability between things even though they are not categorized under comparative structure in Arabic. That is, these are not have the structure of the prefix /a-/, for example, نفس /nafs/ in line (46) equal to (same) in English language since this word semantically has the same function as in English.

4.1.2.2 Substitution

The results in Appendix B (1) revealed that, there is only 2 incidences of substitution used in English text constitute a percentage of 4.4% of all the cohesive devices; they are used for stylistic reason to avoid repetition. In contrast, there is no incidence of this device in Arabic text. For example, the use of verbal substitution (does) in line (35) to replace the verb clause (has an interest) which is in line (34). Hence, complete statements appear in both texts as a writer of this type of genre (political opinion text) tends to present his or her opinion freely since there is no need to make redundancy that appeared in other types of political texts such as political news.

4.1.2.3 Ellipsis

Only 3 incidences of ellipsis out of 45 grammatical cohesive devices are used in the English text. They constitute a percentage of 6.7% of all the cohesive devices. On the other hand, only 2 incidences of Ellipsis out grammatical cohesive devices are used in the Arabic text and they constitute a percentage of 2.8% of all the cohesive devices. It is clear then that, both texts use fewer ellipsis devices and tend to completely express the ideas. For example, in English text (they can't or won't) in line (42) where the verbal elliptical information is (restore order) which is in line (42), likewise, this example used in Arabic text too in line (34) لم تستطع أو لم تفعل / lam tastati aw lam tafal/ means (can't or won't) where the elliptical information is أن تعيد النظام /an toeda al-nizam/ means (restore order) which is in line (34).

4.1.2.4 Conjunction

As noticed in table (4.2), only 8 incidences of conjunction devices are used in the English text constituting a percentage of 17.8% of all the cohesive devices, whereas 18 incidences of this device are used in the Arabic text constituting a percentage of 25.4% of all the cohesive devices. Consequently, it could be stated that Arabic text has more conjunction devices than English text which is ascribed to the highly used of 'additive conjunction' /wa/ means (and) in Arabic text which provides new ideas between sentences and paragraphs. Also, it is noted that 'adversative conjunction' is the most common type used in English text through the use of (but), while in Arabic text, both 'adversative' and 'additive' are the most common types that intensively used in the text, the 'additive conjunction' such as the use of /wa/ means (and), and the 'adversative' such as the use of لكن /la:kin/ means (but). In addition, two conjunctions device are used together in Arabic text, such as ولكن /wa la:kin/ translated as (and but).

4.1.3 Text Three

English text: Next Up: Turkey vs. Iran

Arabic text: المواجهة المقبلة تركيا ضد إيران

Table (4.3) The frequency of grammatical cohesive devices in text (3)

Cohesive device		English			Arabic					
		No.		%	No.		%			
Reference	Personal	16	21	45.7%	60%	27	41	38%	57.6%	
	Demonstrative	3		8.6%				12		16.9%
	Comparative	2		5.7%				2		2.8%
Substitution		0		0%		0		0%		
Ellipsis		4		11.4%		0		0%		
Conjunction		10		28.6%		30		42.3%		
Total		35		100%		71		100%		

As shown in table (4.3), Arabic text has more grammatical cohesive devices than English text. The Arabic text has a total of 71 cohesive devices while the English text has a total of 35 cohesive devices. It worth noting that, there is no incidence of substitution in both texts since the writer aims to convey complete and clear ideas. The distribution of these grammatical cohesive devices in both texts is clarified in the following sub sections below:

4.1.3.1 Reference

The results revealed that reference has the highest frequency in all the grammatical cohesive devices used in both texts. This cohesive device has a percentage of 60% of all the cohesive devices in English text and 57.6% of all the cohesive devices in Arabic text. Furthermore, Arabic text has more references than English text since Arabic text has a total of 41 reference devices used out of 71 cohesive devices whereas English text has a total of 21 reference devices used out of 35 cohesive devices. Moreover, it is noted that the three types of references are covered in both texts and similarly distributed according to their frequency, in order, (personal, demonstrative and comparative).

In term of personal references, In English text, there are 16 incidences of personal references used out of 24 references constituting a percentage of 45.7% of all the cohesive devices. On the other hand, 27 incidences of personal references are used in Arabic text out of 41 references and they comprise a percentage of 38% of all the cohesive devices. As noticed, both texts make use of noun pronouns and possessive determiners to introduce participants throughout the text. For instance, in English the noun pronoun (it) in line (6) refers to (Turkish-Iranian rivalry) which is in line (5), and, the possessive determiner (its) in (its own people) in line (4) refers to (Turkey) which is in line (2), see Appendix B (1). The examples used in Arabic text: the noun independent pronoun هو /huwa/ in line (8) means (it) refers to /hizb al-adalah wa al-tanmiya/ حزب العدالة والتنمية means (the Justice and Development Party) which is in line (8). Another example to show possessive determiner, شعبها /shaabi-haa/ in line (4) means (its own people) as the suffix /-haa/ attached the noun to refer back to تركيا (Turkey) which is in line (2), see Appendix B (2).

With regards to demonstrative reference, there are only 3 incidences of this cohesive device used in the English text out of 21 references constituting a percentage of 8.6% of all the grammatical cohesive devices. For example, the definite article (the) in (the two governments) in line (15) refers to (Iran and Turkey) which in lines (14-15), as shown in Appendix B (1). On the other hand, 12 incidences of this cohesive device out of 41 references are used in the Arabic text constituting a percentage of 16.9% of all the grammatical cohesive devices. For example, the use of the prefix definite article /al-/ means (the) in الحكومتين /al-hokomatayni/ means (the two governments) in line (14) to refer back to ايران و تركيا (Iran and Turkey) which is in line (13), see Appendix B (2).

Regarding the use of comparative reference, only 2 comparative references are used in both texts where they comprise a percentage of 5.7% of all the cohesive devices in English text and a percentage of 2.8% of all the cohesive devices in Arabic text. For example, as shown in Appendix B (1): (more aggressive) in line (52) in the English text is compared with (Turkey) which is in line (50). Similarly, this example used in the Arabic text in line (41) أكثر عدوانية /a-kther odwaniya/ means (more aggressive) compared with تركيا (Turkey) which is in line (39) , here, the prefix /a-/ used to form an adjective comparative form, see Appendix B (2).

4.1.3.2 Ellipsis

Only 4 incidences of ellipsis device out of 35 grammatical cohesive devices are used in the English text and they constitute a percentage of 11.4% of all the cohesive devices. On the contrary, there is no existence of this device in the Arabic text since the Arabic text tends to completely express information by using long sentences. For example, as shown in Appendix B (1), there is an omission of the doer (it) or (Turkey) in line (4) and instead the

sentence begins with the verb (face), even though, the message is still understandable from the context of the text and the missing information is in line (2).

4.1.3.3 Conjunction

Conjunction devices highly used in Arabic text than in English text since Arabic text has a total of 30 conjunction devices that constitute a percentage of 42.3% of all the cohesive devices, whereas, English text has a total of 10 conjunction devices constituting a percentage of 28.6% of all the cohesive devices. Moreover, different types of conjunction devices are used in both texts. For example, as shown in Appendix B (1), conjunctions used in English text such as: ‘additive’ (also), ‘adversative’ (while), ‘causal’ (Hence), and ‘temporal’ (then). And as shown in Appendix B (2), conjunctions used in Arabic text such as: ‘additive’ /wa/ means (and), ‘adversative’ /la:kin/ means (but), ‘causal’ /mimma ada/ means (leads to), and ‘temporal’ /tumma/ means (then). Yet, it is noted that in Arabic text, the ‘additive’ conjunction /wa/ means (and) is the most obvious conjunction which is used throughout the text.

4.1.4 Text Four

English text: Watching Elephants Fly

Arabic text: مشاهدة الفيلة تطير

Table 4.4 The frequency of grammatical cohesive devices in text (4)

Cohesive device		English			Arabic				
		No.		%	No.		%		
Reference	Personal	47	70	52.8%	78.7%	62	83	54.4%	72.8%
	Demonstrative	22		24.7%		20		17.5%	
	Comparative	1		1.1%		1		0.9%	
Substitution		2		2.2%		1		0.9%	
Ellipsis		9		10.1%		2		1.8%	
Conjunction		8		9%		28		24.6%	
Total		89		100%		114		100%	

As shown in the table (4.4), the grammatical cohesive devices used in English text are distributed in order depending on their frequency, as follow: (Reference, Ellipsis, Conjunction and Substitution), whereas the order of these grammatical cohesive devices used in Arabic text is distributed as follows: (Reference, Conjunction, Ellipsis and Substitution). It is observed that Arabic text uses more grammatical cohesive devices than English text: 114 cohesive devices used in Arabic text and 89 cohesive devices used in English text. The following sub sections will illustrate the frequency of using these cohesive devices in both texts.

4.1.4.1 Reference

It is noticed that reference device has the greatest number of incidences in both texts, and, it has more incidences in Arabic text than those in English text. Similarly, the personal

references in both texts have more occurrences than other types of references, followed by demonstrative while few incidences fall under comparative reference in both texts.

In English text, there are 70 reference cohesive devices used out of 89 grammatical cohesive devices constituting a percentage of 78.7% of all the grammatical cohesive devices. The 70 references devices are distributed under the following: 47 usages of personal references constituting a percentage of 52.8% of all the cohesive devices, 22 usages of demonstrative references comprising a percentage of 24.7% of all the cohesive devices and only one incidence of comparative reference with a percentage of 1.1% of all the cohesive devices used.

On the other hand, 83 cohesive devices in Arabic text out of the 114 grammatical cohesive devices are categorized under references constituting a percentage of 72.8% of all the grammatical cohesive devices. These references are classified as follows: 62 of them are personal references, 20 of them are demonstrative references and only 1 of them is a comparative reference, and their percentages are respectively calculated as follows: 54.4%, 17.5%, and 0.9% of all the grammatical cohesive devices.

As observed in appendix B (1), the 47 personal references in English text are noticed through the use of possessive determiners and through the use of noun pronouns. Besides, all of the tabulated examples in the appendix B (1), are personal references which refer back to either persons or entities. For example, the noun pronoun (they) in line (21) refers to the plural noun (the women) which is in line (20). Another example, the possessive determiner pronoun (their kids) in line (26) refers to (Some illiterate elderly women) which is in line (25). On the other hand, the 62 personal references in Arabic text are noticed in appendix B (2) through the usage of independent personal pronouns and suffix personal

pronouns that refer to either persons or non-person. For example, the independent noun pronoun هم /hum/ in line (7) means (they) refers back to الأحزاب الإسلامية /al-ahzab al-islamiya/ means (the Islamist parties) which is in line (6). Another example, the suffix personal pronoun /-hunna/ (a possessive pronoun means (their)) attached the noun جيران /jeerana / means (neighbors) in line (21) and it refers back to الكثيرات من النساء /al-katherat mina al-nisaa/ means (many women) which is in line (21).

It is also noticed in Appendix B (1) that, the 22 occurrences of demonstrative references in English text are observed through the use of definite article (the), the determiners (this), (these), (that) and (those) and the adverbs (here) and (then). For example as shown in appendix B (1), (these Islamist parties) in line (11) which refers back to (the Muslim Brotherhood and the Salafist Al Nour Party) which is in lines (7-8). On the other hand, the 20 occurrences of demonstrative references in Arabic text are observed through the use of the definite article /al-/ means (the), the determiner /haadhihi/ means (this) if it used for singular and means (these) if it used for a non-human noun, the determiner /dhaalika/ means (that) and /tilka/ means (that) if used for a singular human noun and (those) if refer to a non-human plural noun, and the adverbs /hunaa/ means (here) and /dhaalika alheen/ means (then). For instance as shown in appendix B (2), هذا المراقب /haadhaa al-morakib/ means (this observer) in line (46) refers back to أحد المراقبين الدوليين /ahad al-morakibeen al-dawlyeen/ means (an international observer) which is in line (45). Another example in line (10) هذه الأحزاب الإسلامية /hadhihi al-ahzab al-islamiya/ means (these Islamist parties) refers back to الإخوان المسلمين وحزب النور السلفي /al-ikhwan al-moslimeen wa hizb al-noor al-salafi/ means (the Muslim Brotherhood and the Salafist Al Nour Party) which is in line (6-7).

Regarding the use of comparative reference, the same example of comparative reference is similarly used in both texts. In English text as shown in appendix B (1), the comparative

references (better, more honest) in line (28) are used together as one comparative device to show dissimilarities between two movements mentioned in the text and it refers to (the secular liberal candidates) which is in line (25). On the other hand, as shown in appendix B (2) in Arabic text, أفضل وأكثر /a-fdal wa a-kther/ means (better and more) in line (25) compared to line (22) المرشحين العلمانيين /al-morashaheen al-ilmanyeen/ means (secular liberal candidates).

4.1.4.2 Substitution

It is observed that only two substitution devices are used in English text representing a percentage of 2.2% out of the 89 grammatical cohesive devices. These devices shown in appendix B (1) are: (do) in line (7) which replaces the verbal phrase (take notes) which is in line (6) and (ones) in line (31) which replaces the noun (The Muslim Brotherhood) which is in line (31). On the other hand, there is only one incidence of substitution device used in Arabic text representing a percentage of 0.9% out of the 114 grammatical cohesive devices. This device is used in line (23) يفعلن /yafaalna/ means (to do) which replaces the verb صوتن /sawatnaa/ means (to vote) which is in line (23) as shown in appendix B (2). Thus, substitution device in the previous examples in both texts is used for stylistic reason to avoid repetition.

4.1.4.3 Ellipsis

Ellipsis is used in English text more than in Arabic text since there are 9 incidences of this device in English text representing a percentage of 10.1% of the 89 grammatical cohesive devices. While, only two incidences of this device are used in Arabic text representing a percentage of 1.8% out of the 114 grammatical cohesive devices. For example used in English text as shown in appendix B (1): (told them to) in line (26) where the elliptical

information is the verb (vote) which is in line (26). That is, the completed sentence is (told them to vote) and the omitted verb is previously mentioned. Therefore, a reader easily understands the complement of a sentence. Another example from Arabic text as shown in appendix B (2), in line (51) ليس كافيا بمفرده /laysa kafiyan bimofradihi/ means (it is not sufficient alone) needs a complement for the elliptical information which is لتحقيق بداية جديدة /litahkeek bidaya jadida/ means (to achieve a new beginning) which is in line (51).

4.1.4.4 Conjunction

Arabic text contains a greater number of conjunction devices than English text. There are 28 incidences of this device in Arabic text constituting a percentage of 24.6% out of the 114 grammatical cohesive devices. On the other hand, 8 incidences of this device are used in English text constituting a percentage of 9% out of the 89 grammatical cohesive devices. It is apparent that, half of conjunctions used in English text are categorized under the ‘adversative’ conjunction (but) as shown in appendix B (1), while, over half of these conjunctions in Arabic text are categorized under the ‘additive’ conjunction /wa/ means (and) as shown in appendix B (2).

4.1.5 Text Five

English text: Morsi's Wrong Turn

Arabic text: توجه مرسي الخاطئ

Table 4.5 The frequency of grammatical cohesive devices in text (5)

Cohesive device		English				Arabic			
		No.		%		No.		%	
Reference	Personal	32	43	46.4%	62.3%	35	45	50%	64.3%
	Demonstrative	10		14.5%		9		12.9%	
	Comparative	1		1.4%		1		1.4%	
Substitution		2		2.9%		1		1.4%	
Ellipsis		15		21.7%		7		10%	
Conjunction		9		13%		17		24.3%	
Total		69		100%		70		100%	

As shown in table (4.5), Arabic text contains more grammatical cohesive devices than English text: Arabic has a number of 70 cohesive devices, whereas English has a number of 69 cohesive devices. Also, all the four grammatical cohesive devices are used in both texts. Besides, the reference device is a prevailing device in both texts since over half of the total number of devices is categorized under this device. Furthermore, the order of Arabic cohesive devices according to their frequency is as follows: (Reference, Conjunction, Ellipsis and Substitution). While, the order of these cohesive devices in English text is as follows: (Reference, Ellipsis, Conjunction and Substitution). The following sub sections show the frequency of using each cohesive device in both texts.

4.1.5.1 Reference

The results revealed that there are 45 incidences of references used in Arabic text representing a percentage of 64.3% out of the 70 grammatical cohesive devices. On the other hand, 43 incidences of this device are used in English text representing a percentage of 62.3% out of the 69 grammatical cohesive devices. Consequently, Arabic text has a greater number of reference devices than those used in English text. However, in both texts, the occurrences of this device extensively fall under personal references, then demonstrative, while, a considerably smaller incidence categorized under comparative reference.

The 43 reference in English text are distributed as follows: 32 of them are personal references constituting a percentage of 46.4% out of the 69 grammatical cohesive devices, 10 of them are demonstrative references representing a percentage of 14.5% out of the 69 grammatical cohesive devices, and only one incidence of comparative reference representing a percentage of 1.4% out of the 69 grammatical cohesive devices. On the other hand, the 45 references in Arabic text are distributed as follows: 35 of them are personal references, 9 of them are demonstrative references and only one of them is a comparative reference. And their percentages are calculated as follows, respectively: 50%, 12.9%, and 1.4% out of the 70 grammatical cohesive devices.

Regards the use of personal references in English text, pronouns and possessive determiner pronouns are used in the text to trace persons and entities. An example as shown in appendix B (1), the noun pronoun (they) in line (6) refers back to (Iran's people) which is in line (5). Another example, the possessive determiner (their) in line (51) refers back to (3 million peaceful demonstrators) which is in lines (49-50). On the other hand, independent

personal pronouns and suffix personal pronouns are used in Arabic text. For example as shown in appendix B (2), the independent personal pronoun هو /huwa/ in line (8) refers to مرسي (Morsi) which is in line (7). Another example is the suffix personal pronoun /-him/ means (their) in أصواتهم /aswati-him/ means (their votes) which is in line (7) where the possessive determiner represented by the plural suffix /-him/ that refers to الإيرانيين /al-iranyeen/ means (the Iranians) which is in line (6).

It is noticed in appendix B (1) that demonstrative references used in English text are: the determiners (this), (these) and (that), besides, the adverb (then). For example, the demonstrative reference (these two blocs) in line (29) refers to (Western democratic capitalists and Eastern Communists) which are in line (28). While, the demonstrative references used in Arabic text as shown in appendix B (2) are: (/al-/ means (the), /haadhihi/ means (this) for feminine singular, /haadhaa/ means (this) for masculine singular, /dhaalika/ means (that), /tilka alfatra/ means (then), /haatayni/ means (these two)). For example, the demonstrative reference هاتين /haathayni/ means (these two) in line (19) refers to معسكري الديمقراطية الغربية الرأسمالية والشيوعية الشرقية /muaskaray al-deemoqratiya al-gharbiya al-raasmaliya wa al-shoyoiya al-sharkiya/ means (Western democratic capitalists and Eastern Communists) which is in line (18).

It is observed in appendix B (1) that, the comparative reference used in English text is the adjective (same) in line (7) that refers to (a democracy movement) which is in line (7). Similarly, as shown in appendix B (2) Arabic text used the same comparative reference of English which is نفس /nafs/ means (same) in line (4) refers to حركة الديمقراطية /haraka deemoqratiya/ means (a democracy movement) which is in line (4). Here, /nafs/ is a word that semantically provides a meaning of similarity that equal to (same) in English language even

though the form of comparative reference which is the prefix /al-/ is not existed in this word.

4.1.5.2 Substitution

There are only 2 incidences of this device in English text constituting a percentage of 2.9% out of the 69 grammatical cohesive devices. Also, only one incidence of this device is used in Arabic text representing a percentage of 1.4% out of the 70 grammatical cohesive devices. Therefore, it can be stated that few substitution devices are used in this kind of text, which is, (political opinion text). The 2 examples in English text, as shown in appendix B (1), are: the substitution device (one) in line (48) replaced the noun (a primer) which is in line (46), and, the substitution device (done that) in lines (22-23) replaces the clausal (hand over the presidency of the Nonaligned Movement) which is in lines (21-22). On the other hand, the example used in Arabic text, as shown in appendix B (2) is the verb يفعل /yafaal/ means (do) in line (15) that replaces بيسلم رئاسة حركة عدم الانحياز / yosalim riasat harakat adam al-inhiyaz/ means (hand over the presidency of the Nonaligned Movement) which is in line (14).

4.1.5.3 Ellipsis

It is apparent that English text has more ellipsis devices than in Arabic text. There are 15 incidences of this device in English text representing a percentage of 21.7% out of the 69 grammatical cohesive devices. While, there are only 7 incidences of this device used in Arabic text representing a percentage of 10% out of the 70 grammatical cohesive devices. Moreover, an important point to be noted here is that English text used more ellipsis devices than Arabic because Arabic text tend to use more personal references than those in English text and as a result English text has more occurrences of ellipsis devices than

Arabic by omitting the personal references in some cases. For example in English text, as shown in appendix B (1), is the verb (followed) in line (13) that needs a complement which is (a courageous democracy revolution) which is in line (12). Another example used in Arabic text as shown in appendix B (2) is أن تشمل /an tashmala/ in line (28), means (to include), where the subject الزيارة /al-ziyara/ which is in line (27) is omitted to avoid repetition.

4.1.5.4 Conjunction

The results revealed that Arabic text has a greater number of conjunction devices than English text. In Arabic text, there are 17 incidences of this device constituting a percentage of 24.3% out of the 70 grammatical cohesive devices used throughout the text. On the other hand, there are only 9 incidences of this device used in English text representing a percentage of 13% out of the 69 grammatical cohesive devices. Furthermore, the four types of the conjunction devices are used in both texts. Besides, ‘Adversative’ and ‘additive’ conjunction are the most common types of conjunction used in Arabic text as shown in appendix B (2). The ‘additive conjunction’ is noticed through the use of the conjunction device /wa/ means (and). While, the ‘adversative’ conjunction is noticed through the use of the conjunction device /la:kin/ means (but). On the other hand, the ‘adversative’ conjunction (but) is the most obvious conjunction device appeared in English text as shown in appendix B (1).

4.1.6 Text Six

English text: The United States' chance for a do-over with Egypt

Arabic text: فرصة الولايات المتحدة لبدء صفحة جديدة مع مصر

Table 4.6 The frequency of grammatical cohesive devices in text (6)

Cohesive device		English			Arabic			
		No.		%	No.		%	
Reference	Personal	17	27	35.4%	56.3%	30	42	41%
	Demonstrative	9		18.8%		12		16.4%
	Comparative	1		2%		0		0%
Substitution		0		0%	0		0%	
Ellipsis		11		23%	4		5.5%	
Conjunction		10		20.8%	27		37%	
Total		48		100%	73		100%	

As the results revealed in the table (4.6), it can be stated that Arabic text has more grammatical cohesive devices than English text: Arabic text has a total number of 73 grammatical cohesive devices whereas English text has a total number of 48 grammatical cohesive devices. Besides, the distribution of these cohesive devices in Arabic text according to their frequency, in order, is as follow: (Reference, Conjunction and Ellipsis). While, the order of these cohesive devices in English text is as follow: (Reference, Ellipsis, and Conjunction). It is also noticed that there is no incidence of substitution device in both texts. The following sub sections show the percentage of using those grammatical cohesive devices in both texts.

4.1.6.1 Reference

References constitute the majority of grammatical cohesive devices that are extensively used in both texts. In Arabic text, this cohesive device has a percentage of 57.5% out of the 73 grammatical cohesive devices, whereas English text has a percentage of 56.3% out of the 48 grammatical cohesive devices. Further, Arabic text has a greater number of references than English text since there are 42 of this device in Arabic text whereas only 27 references are used in English text. Similarly, personal reference is considered as the prevailing type of references in both texts followed by demonstrative reference whereas comparative reference is only used in English text.

Regarding the use of references in English text, 17 incidences of them are personal references constituting a percentage of 35.4% out of the 48 grammatical cohesive devices, 9 incidences of them are demonstrative references constituting a percentage of 18.8% out of the 48 grammatical cohesive devices, and only 1 incidence of them is a comparative reference constituting a percentage of 2% out of the 48 grammatical cohesive devices. On the other hand, 30 references in Arabic text are personal references constituting a percentage of 41% out of the 73 grammatical cohesive devices, and 12 references are demonstrative references comprising a percentage of 16.4% out of the 73 grammatical cohesive devices.

It is noted that, noun pronouns and possessive determiners are two types of personal references used in English text to point out for the participants or entities throughout the text. For example, as shown in appendix B (1), is the noun pronoun (it) in line (29) which refers to the noun (the Obama administration) which is in line (28). Another example, is the possessive determiner (its) in line (5) which refers to (Washington) in line (5). On the other

hand, independent personal pronouns and suffix personal pronouns are used in Arabic text as shown in appendix B (2). For example, the independent personal pronoun /huwa/ means (he) in line (32) is considered as a noun pronoun that refers back to مرشحه المفضل /morashahih al-mofadal/ means (its favored candidate) which is in line (32). Another example to show suffix personal pronoun is, صلاتهم /silati-him/ in line (18) means (its lifelines) that refer to العسكر /al-askar/ means (military) which is in line (17) where /-him/ (its) represents a suffix of the noun /silati/ (lifelines).

With regards to the use of demonstrative references, it is noted that Arabic text used more demonstrative references than English text. Also, both texts used different types of demonstrative reference. The demonstrative references used in English text, as shown in appendix B (1), are: (this, that, those, the). While, the demonstrative references used in Arabic text as shown in Appendix B (2), are: /haadhihi/ (this) for feminine, /haadhaa/ (this) for masculine, /haadhayni/ (these two), /dhaalika/ (that), /al-/ (the), /tilka/ (those) for non-human plural). For example in English text as shown in appendix B (1) is the demonstrative reference ('those' pressures) in line (36) that points out to (Egyptian or domestic pressure) which is in line (60-61). Another example in Arabic text as shown in appendix B (2) is هذين الدورين /haadhayni al-dawraini/ means ('these two' roles) in line (22) where the demonstrative reference /haadhayni/ represents duality means (these two) and refers back to (the two mentioned roles) in lines 21-22, which are, 'حليفة أساسية للولايات المتحدة وجارة مسالمة' /halifah asasiya lilwilayat al-motahida wa jara mosalima li-israel/ means (a core U.S. ally and peaceful neighbor of Israel).

It is noted in table (4.6) that there is only one incidence of comparative reference used in English text while there is no incidence of this device appeared in Arabic text. This could be ascribed to the type of genre (political opinion text) where it is considered as an 'open

register' text in which the writers only state their opinions through reporting facts or events. The example used in English text as shown in appendix B (1) is, the comparative reference (other) in line (60) that refers back to (the challenge) which is in line (54).

4.1.6.2 Ellipsis

It is noticed in table (4.6) that, only 4 incidences of ellipsis device are used in Arabic text comprising a percentage of 5.5% out of the 73 grammatical cohesive devices. In contrast, 11 incidences of this device are used in English text constituting a percentage of 23% out of the 48 grammatical cohesive devices. Thus, this result reinforces the idea that English text tends to use more ellipsis devices than Arabic does. However, both texts have a shared notion that they avoid using elliptical information to allow the audience understands the idea in an adequate way since this type of genre introduces sensitive information dealing with politics. For example, in English text as shown in appendix B (1), is (the remake) in line (9-10) where the elliptical information (the remake of rebuild-connections with Egypt) is existed in line (5). Another example in Arabic text, as shown in appendix B (2), is أن يلتزم /an yaltazima/ means (respects) in line (39) where the elliptical information أن يلتزم النظام /an yaltazima al-nizam/ (the regime respects) is found in line (38).

4.1.6.3 Conjunction

The conjunction devices used in Arabic text are more than those used in English text. There are 27 incidences of this cohesive device in Arabic text comprising a percentage of 37% out of the 73 grammatical cohesive devices. On the other hand, only 10 incidences of this cohesive device are used in English text comprising a percentage of 20.8% out of the 48 grammatical cohesive devices. Also, it is noted that the four types of conjunctions are used in both texts. As shown in appendix B (1), the 'adversative' conjunction (but) is the

obvious conjunctions used in English text. While, both the ‘additive’ /wa/ (means ‘and’) and the ‘adversative’ /la:kin/ (means ‘but’) are the obvious conjunctions used in Arabic text, as shown in appendix B (2).

4.1.7 Text Seven

English text: Egypt’s new leaders must accept reality

Arabic text: على قادة مصر الجدد الاعتراف بالواقع

Table 4.7 The frequency of grammatical cohesive devices in text (7)

Cohesive device		English			Arabic				
		No.		%	No.		%		
Reference	Personal	22	35	41.5%	66%	23	34	39%	57.6%
	Demonstrative	10		18.9%		11		18.6%	
	Comparative	3		5.7%		0		0%	
Substitution		3		5.7%		3		5%	
Ellipsis		6		11.3%		3		5%	
Conjunction		9		17%		19		32.2%	
Total		53		100%		59		100%	

It is apparent in table (4.7) above that Arabic text contains more grammatical cohesive devices than English text. The Arabic text has 59 grammatical cohesive devices whereas English text has 53 grammatical cohesive devices. The frequency of these cohesive devices in both texts is shown in the following sub sections.

4.1.7.1 Reference

Unlike other texts, English text has more number of references than Arabic text since English text used comparative reference whereas Arabic text has no incidence of this device: There are 35 references in English text representing a percentage of 66% out of the

53 grammatical cohesive devices, and, there are 34 references in Arabic text representing a percentage of 57.6% of the 59 grammatical cohesive.

Out of the 35 references used in English text, 22 of them are personal references, 10 of them are demonstrative references and 3 of them are comparative references. Their percentages are calculated, respectively: 41.5%, 18.9%, and 5.7% out of the 53 grammatical cohesive devices. On the other hand, out of the 34 references in Arabic text, 23 of them are personal references and 11 of them are demonstrative references. Respectively, they constitute a percentage of 39% and 18.6% out of the 59 grammatical cohesive devices used overall the text.

Consequently, it can be found that Arabic text has more personal references than English text. Also, the personal references in English text make use of possessive determiner and noun pronoun as shown in appendix B (1). For example, the noun pronoun (He) in line (5) refers back to (Morsi) which is in line (2). Another example, the possessive determiner (his) in line (6) refers to (Morsi) which is in line (2). On the other hand, the personal references in Arabic text make use of independent personal pronouns and suffix personal pronouns as shown in appendix B (2). For example, the independent personal pronoun (noun pronoun) هو /huwa/ means (he) in line (16) refers to الرئيس /al-raees/ means (the president) which is in line (15). Another example, التزاماتهم /iltizamati-him/ means (their obligations) in line (36) where the suffix personal pronoun /-him/ (their) attached to the noun /iltizamati/ refers back to الرئيس والشعب المصري (Egypt's president and people) which is in line (33).

Regarding the use demonstrative references, the demonstrative references used in English text are: the definite article (the), and the determiner (this), see appendix B (1). For example, the definite article ('the' IMF) in line (31) refers to (an International Monetary

Fund) which is in line (29). While, the demonstrative references used in Arabic text are: /al- / (the), /haadhaa/ (this) for singular masculine, /haadhihi/ for feminine singular, see appendix B (2). For example, /haadhihi al-mozakarah/ هذه المذكرة means (this note) in line (24) refers to مذكرة أرسلها الرئيس الإسرائيلي /mozakarah arsalaha al-raees al-israeli (a note sending by Israeli President) which is in line (23).

Regarding the comparative references used in English text, they are: (more) and (similarly) and (other) as shown in appendix B (1). For instance, the comparative reference ‘Similarly’ in line (39) refers to (Consider that Morsi denied sending Israeli President Shimon Peres a response to a note) which is in line (33).

4.1.7.2 Substitution

There are 3 incidences of this device in both texts. They constitute a percentage of 5.7% out of the 53 grammatical cohesive devices in English text and a percentage of 5% out of the 59 grammatical cohesive devices in Arabic text. For example in English text as shown in appendix B (1), the cohesive tie (do so) in line (38) replaced the verbal group (release Morsi’s letter publicly) which is in line (37). An example in Arabic text, /nafaal dhaalika/ means (do so) in line (34) substituted the verbal group لحشد المجتمع الدولي والمؤسسات المالية العالمية لمساعدة مصر /li-hashd al-mojtamaa al-dawli wa al-moasasat al-maliya al-alamiya li-mosaadit misra/ (mobilize the international community, and global financial institutions, to help Egypt) which is in line (33-34), see appendix B (2).

4.1.7.3 Ellipsis

This device is highly used in English text than in Arabic text: there are 6 incidences of this device used in English text comprising a percentage of 11.3% out of the 53 grammatical cohesive devices, whereas, only 3 incidences of this device are used in Arabic text

comprising a percentage of 5% out of the 59 grammatical cohesive devices. For example, in English text as shown in appendix B (1): (The record) in line (56) needs a complement to show the elliptical information, which is, (The record of Egyptian government) which is found in line (51-52). Another example in Arabic text, as shown in appendix B (2): the verb انفرد /infarada/ in line (4) means (amended) used without the subject مرسي (Morsi), even though, this subject can be found in line (2).

4.1.7.4 Conjunction

More conjunction devices are used in Arabic text than those in English text. In Arabic text, there are 19 conjunction devices constituting a percentage of 32.2% out of the 59 grammatical cohesive devices, whereas, only 9 conjunction devices are used in English text constituting a percentage of 17% out of the 53 grammatical cohesive devices. It is also noted that both ‘additive’ and ‘adversative’ are the common type of conjunctions used in both texts.

4.2 Translation techniques used to translate grammatical cohesive devices

It is noted in Appendix C that the three translation techniques of Nida (1964) are used while translating English grammatical cohesive devices into Arabic. These techniques are: (I) Alteration: to make a replacement of one item in a source text by another one in a target text. It occurs due to grammatical differences between languages. (II) Subtraction: to omit one item while translating into a target text in order to avoid unnecessary repetition. (III) Addition: to make an elliptical expression in a source language clear in a target language in order to avoid ambiguity. Moreover, two new techniques are appeared in the analysis, which are: (I) Sustaining: to translate the grammatical cohesive tie of the SL by its equivalence in the TT in terms of meaning and function. (II) Mix technique: to use two

different translation techniques together while translating the SL into the TT. The following sections show examples of Nida's (1964) translation techniques used to translate English grammatical cohesive devices into Arabic ones.

4.2.1 Alteration

The results have revealed that there are incidences of this technique appeared in all the grammatical cohesive devices when translated them into Arabic text, see appendix C. Yet, it is noted that almost incidences of this technique are used in reference device. The following sub sections provide some examples of this translation technique.

4.2.1.1 Personal reference

Regarding the use of 'alteration' technique while translating English personal references into Arabic language, there are seven types of this technique, as appeared in Appendix C, classifying in the following sub sections:

4.2.1.1.1 Alteration of a subject noun pronoun by an object noun pronoun

As noted in Appendix C, this translation technique means that there is a replacement of a subject noun pronoun in the ST by an object noun pronoun in the TT or vice versa. It occurs due to the grammatical differences between both languages. For example, in text 5, as follows:

English text: line (4-7)

"...and that is to signal to Iran's people that the world approves of their country's clerical leadership and therefore they should never, ever, ever again think about launching a democracy movement"

Arabic text: line (3-4)

"ألا وهو إرسال إشارة إلى الشعب الإيراني بأن العالم يوافق على القيادة الدينية، ومن ثم لا ينبغي عليهم ألا يفكروا على الإطلاق في تدشين حركة ديمقراطية"

Back translation:

“...And it is to send a signal to the Iranian people that the world approves the clerical leadership, and therefore, it is an obligation to them to never ever think about launching a democracy movement”

As noted in English text, the cohesive tie (they) that falls under personal reference considered as a subject noun pronoun which refers back to the plural noun (Iran’s people).

On the other hand, it is noted that while translating into Arabic text, the subject noun pronoun (they) is replaced by the object noun pronoun which is the suffix /-him/ (them) that attached the preposition على /ala/ in عليهم /alay-him/. Therefore, there is a translation technique of Nida (1964) used in this example, namely, ‘Alteration’ technique. The reason of this alteration refers to the grammatical differences between Arabic and English. In English language, the auxiliary verb (should) follows the subject pronoun (they) in the sentence unlike Arabic language where the verb ينبغي /yanbaghi/ which is equal to (should) in verbal statement precedes the pronoun which is attached with a preposition to form (object pronoun). Consequently, in the example ينبغي عليهم / yanbaghi alay-him/ the object pronoun /-him/ is a suffix that attached with the preposition على /ala/ (to) to form an object pronoun /-him/ which means (them). With regard to meaning, the communicative meaning of the source text is already conveyed since the translator is aware of the grammatical differences between Arabic and English language.

4.2.1.1.2 Alteration of a noun pronoun by a possessive pronoun

It is noted in Appendix C that, this translation technique occurs when there is a replacement of a noun pronoun in the ST by a possessive pronoun in the TT. For example, in text 6, as follows:

English text: line (49-53)

“Burns didn’t publicly mention military aid...The consensus is it should be continued for now, but some officials believe it should eventually be restructured, reduced and focused on missions ... American hardware.”

Arabic text: line (41-45)

"ولم يشر بيرنز في تصريحاته إلى المعونة العسكرية... وهناك إجماع على ضرورة استمرارها في الوقت الراهن، وإن كان بعض المسؤولين يرون أنه لا بد في النهاية من إعادة هيكلتها وتخفيضها وتركيزها على مهام... باهظة الثمن"

Back translation:

“But Burns didn’t mention the military aid in his declaration...Also there is a consensus on the importance of its continuity in the current time, but some officials believe that, ultimately, its restructure, and its reduction and its focus on missions ...too expensive, is an important issue”.

Here, the personal pronoun (it) classified under a noun pronoun which refers back to (military aid). Yet, it is noted that while translated into Arabic text, it is replaced by the suffix possessive determiner ها /-haa/ means (its) which functioned as a modifier for the noun استمرار /istimrar/ (continuity). Similarly, another noun pronoun (it) appears in the above sample, it is followed by three verbs which are: (restructured), (reduced) and (focused) and it refers to the same entity (military aid). It is also noted that this noun pronoun is altered by a possessive determiner ها /-haa/ (its) in Arabic text, functioned as a modifier of the three noun هيكلتها /haykalati-haa/, /takhfeedi-haa/ and /tarkeezi-haa/ meaning as follow (its restructure, its reduction and its focus). The reason for this alteration can be implied from the English modal auxiliary verb (should) which must be preceded by a noun pronoun and followed by a verb unlike Arabic text in this example where the modal auxiliary verb (should) is translated as the noun ضرورة /darourah/ means

(importance). Hence, as a result of this alteration, the noun ضرورة followed by a noun استمرار /istimrar/ with a modifier ها (its). In other word, the noun and its suffix pronoun together is considered as genitive in Arabic language. Besides, the second noun pronoun (it) has the same reason of alteration where إعادة /iadat/ (remaking) is a noun which is considered as a genitive that must be followed by nouns, which are: هيكلية /haykalati/, تخفيض /takhfeedi/ and تركيز /tarkeezi/. These nouns are attached with the suffix /-haa/ which is considered as a possessive pronoun.

Therefore, it can be found in this example that the translator is aware of the grammatical differences between English and Arabic language. Then, the ‘alteration’ technique used does not change the communicative message of the ST which is clearly transmitted into the Arabic text.

4.2.1.1.3 Alteration of a possessive pronoun by a noun

It can be found in Appendix C that the translator replaced a possessive pronoun in the ST by a noun in the TT in order to trace an important object or name. For example, in text 1, as follows:

English text: line (6-7)

“Bashir’s days may be numbered. Yet his removal would not end the conflict; it could even trigger a new civil war”.

Arabic text: line (5-6)

"ما يؤشر على أن أيام البشير باتت معدودة. لكن إسقاط البشير لن ينهي الصراع، وقد يؤدي إلى اندلاع حرب أهلية جديدة." "

Back translation:

“That may mean Bashir’s days are numbered. But the removal of Al- Bashir would not end the conflict, and may lead to trigger a new civil war.”

Here, in the English text, the cohesive tie (his) is a possessive pronoun that falls under a personal reference refers back to the name (Bashir). However, when translated into Arabic text, the possessive pronoun (his) is replaced by the noun البشير /al-bashir/ (Al- Bashir). In other words, the phrase in Arabic becomes إسقاط البشير /isqat al-bashir/ means (the removal of Al- Bashir) instead of (his removal). Thus, it can be stated that, the translator uses ‘alteration’ technique in order to make focus on the name, which is, (Al-Bashir). The purpose of using name is to attract readers’ attention about an important event, which is, (the removal of Al-Bashir). Also, this text was written in the current year (2012) where many events, namely ‘the Arab Spring’, have been taking place in some Arabian countries. The Sudan is one of these countries where people have protested against their president (Al-Bashir). Therefore, the translator uses the noun (Al-Bashir) to evoke Arab readers’ attention. In other word, by make use of ‘alteration’ technique, the communicative meaning of the ST is completely transmitted in the TT.

4.2.1.1.4 Alteration of a noun pronoun by a noun

As shown in Appendix C, this translation technique occurs by altering a noun pronoun in the ST by a noun in the TT. For example, in text 5, as follows:

English text: line (15-16)

“This does not augur well for Morsi’s presidency. In fact, he should be ashamed of himself.”

Arabic text: line 10

"إن هذا لا يعتبر بداية جيدة لرئاسة مرسي. الحقيقة أنه ينبغي على مرسي أن يخجل من نفسه"

Back translation:

"This is not considered a good start for Morsi’s presidency. The fact is that Morsi should be ashamed of himself."

Here, the cohesive tie (he) is a noun pronoun that falls under a personal reference refers back to the noun (Morsi). Yet, while translating into Arabic text, the noun pronoun (he) is replaced by the noun (Morsi). Therefore, an ‘alteration’ technique appeared in this example. This ‘alteration’ is ascribed to the fact that (Morsi) is a new president of Egypt; therefore, the translator keeps track of the participant using the noun (Morsi) instead of the personal reference (he). Besides, the target readers are Arab who cares about new political opinion issues and such this story (Morsi’s presidency) is an attractive event to follow. Besides, as noted in Appendix C, although Arabic text has a greater number of references than English text has, Arabic prefers the use of (nouns) rather than (pronouns) to present important participants or entities. In doing so, the aim is to evoke readers’ attention to an important idea.

4.2.1.1.5 Alteration of a noun pronoun by a demonstrative reference

It is observed in Appendix C that there is a replacement of a noun pronoun in the ST by a demonstrative reference in the TT. In other word, there is an ‘alteration’ in terms of reference device’s type. For example, in text 3

English text: line (5-6)

“Turkish-Iranian rivalry goes back centuries, to the Ottoman sultans and the Safavid shahs. It briefly subsided in the 20th century...”

Arabic text: line (5-6)

"حيث يعود الصراع التركي - الإيراني إلى عدة قرون، وبالتحديد إلى أيام السلاطين العثمانيين والشاهات الصفويين. وقد تراجع هذا التنافس لفترة وجيزة في القرن العشرين ... "

Back translation:

“As the Turkish-Iranian rivalry goes back to several centuries, and specifically to the Ottoman sultans and the Safavid shahs. However, this rivalry briefly subsided in the twentieth century.”

Here, the personal reference (it) in English text which is classified as a noun pronoun refers back to (Turkish-Iranian rivalry). Yet, when translated into Arabic text, the pronoun (it) is replaced by another cohesive tie to alter its function. That is, the pronoun (it) is altered by the demonstrative reference هذا /haadhaa/ means (this) which modifies the noun التنافس /al-tanafos/ means (the rivalry). Therefore, the demonstrative reference /hadhaa/ refers back to الصراع التركي - الإيراني / al-siraa al-turki al-irani/ (the Turkish-Iranian rivalry). Accordingly, an ‘alteration’ technique is used here by altering a personal reference by a demonstrative reference. However, both cohesive ties have the same function to trace an entity, which is, (the Turkish-Iranian). In other word, the translator used the demonstrative reference (this) to point out to a particular noun, which is, (the Turkish-Iranian rivalry). Besides, he or she emphasizes the noun (the Turkish-Iranian rivalry) that can be inferred from the use of the conjunction /wa/ means (and then) to provide a temporal relation between the two sentences. According to Ryding (2005, p. 450) in order to assert and to confirm that an action has indeed happened, the particle قد /qad/ is used and is translated as ‘already’ or ‘indeed’ when used with the past tense. Ryding adds that, قد /qad/ may provide a ‘temporal relation’ when used as a ‘prefix’ with the particle /wa/ means (and) or /fa/ means (then). Therefore, in this example, it is noted that the translator connected the two sentences by the use of the conjunction /wa/ which provides a temporal sequence and the use of the particle /qad/ means (already). Consequently, both particles supply a confirmation of the communicative meaning of the past tense تراجع /tarajaa/ means (subsided) in English text by asserting that the action did indeed happen. Thus, the translator uses the noun التنافس /al-tanafos/ (the rivalry) with the demonstrative reference /haadhaa/ (this) instead of the noun pronoun (it) to emphasize the action. Since the translator is aware of the grammatical

differences between English and Arabic, the output message of the ST is completely transmitted in the TT.

4.2.1.1.6 Alteration of a number

As shown in Appendix C, 'alternation' technique appears in replacing (a plural pronoun) in English text by a (dual pronoun) in Arabic text. For example, the plural noun (they) in text 1 line (42) is translated as هما /humaa/ means (they two) in Arabic language, which is in line (32), since Arabic language shows a duality of pronouns unlike English language. Also, another example in text 1 appeared by the altering of the possessive plural pronoun (their) in English text in line (57) by the suffix /-humma/ means (their two) in Arabic text in line (44). In other word, the suffix /-humma/ is used to show the duality of the possessive pronoun where the suffix attached the noun حركتهما /harakata-humma/ means ('their two' movement). In addition, an 'alteration' technique appears in replacing a plural noun pronoun by a singular noun pronoun, see Appendix C. For instance, in text 4:

English text: line (61-64)

"The country needs a leader ... who can take all those votes, all those hopes, and meld them into a strategy ... clearly crave."

Arabic text: line (51-53)

"إذ نحتاج البلاد إلى زعيم ... يستطيع أخذ كل تلك الأصوات، وكل تلك الآمال، و**صهرها** معا في استراتيجية تعمل ... بشكل واضح."

Back translation:

"The country needs a leader...who can take all those votes, and all those hopes, and (meld it) together into a strategy...clearly way."

Here, in English text, the cohesive tie (them) falls under a personal reference and categorized as an object plural noun pronoun which refers back to (votes) and (hopes). On the other hand, in Arabic text, the cohesive tie /-haa/ in صهرها /sahri-haa/ attached the verb صهر /sahr/ means (meld) and it refers back to الآمال و الأصوات /al-aswat/ and /al-amaal/ mean

(votes) and (hopes). The suffix tie /-haa/ falls under a personal pronoun categorizing as an object singular pronoun that equal to (it) in English language. Consequently, it can be stated that an ‘alteration’ technique appeared by replacing an object plural noun pronoun by an object singular noun pronoun. The main reason for this alteration in Arabic text is that, the feminine singular pronoun /-haa/ is used to refer to non-human plural nouns. Therefore, each language has its own rules govern its structure and the translator is aware of these rules as a native speaker of Arabic language.

4.2.1.1.7 Alteration of a pronoun type

This alteration occurs when one type of personal pronoun in the ST is replaced by another type in the TT. For example, as cited in Appendix C, in text 4, as follows:

English text: line (55-57)

“My favorite election story was told to me by an international observer...His voting station had just closed and as the polling workers...counting station.”

Arabic text: line (45-48)

"وقد حكى لي أحد المراقبين الدوليين ... حيث كان مركز الاقتراع الذي كان هذا المراقب مكلفا بمراقبته قد أغلق أبوابه للتو، ولكن بينما كان الموظفون ... لمحطة الفرز المركزي."

Back translation:

“And one of the international observers told me...where the voting station that this observer is responsible to monitor it had just closed, but while the polling workers...counting station.”

Here, the cohesive tie (his) in English text is a personal reference that falls under a possessive determiner and it refers to the noun (an international observer). On the other hand, it is noted that, this device is altered in Arabic text by another type of personal reference. That is, instead of translating (His voting station), the translator adds more details which is ‘مركز الاقتراع الذي كان هذا المراقب مكلفا بمراقبته’ /markaz al-iktiraa alazi kan haadhaa al-morakib mokalafan bimorakabati-hi/ means (the vote center that this observer is

responsible to monitor it). Therefore, the translator uses the suffix /-hi/ that attached the genitive noun مراقبة /murakabati-hi/ representing an object noun pronoun (it). Also, it is noted that the demonstrative reference هذا /haadha/ is used to refer back to أحد المراقبين الدوليين (an international observer). Thus an ‘alteration’ technique is used in this example resulting from the addition of more details in Arabic text than in the ST.

4.2.1.2 Demonstrative reference

It is noted in Appendix C that ‘alternation’ technique of Nida’s (1964) is the main translation technique used to translate English demonstrative references into Arabic text. Additionally, the analysis reveals that there are 5 types of ‘alteration’ technique used while translating these demonstrative references into Arabic. These types are summarized in the following sub sections:

4.2.1.2.1 Alteration by changing ‘a scale of proximity’

This translation technique occurs when a demonstrative reference that shows near proximity is replaced by another one that shows far proximity, or vice versa. Moreover, it is noted in Appendix C that Arabic language tends to use near proximity when presenting the idea unlike English language that tends to use far proximity. The reason for this ‘alteration’ refers to the type of political text (opinion text) where the analyst of such text aims to state his or her points of view by reporting events indeed occurred. Also, this ‘alteration’ is ascribed to the duration of the written political texts which is (year 2012) where many political issues are still taken place in the Middle East. Therefore, using near proximity, (this) and (these), supports the idea that these events are current and important ones. For example, in text 1 as shown in Appendix C: the English demonstrative reference (that decision) in line (37) refers to (agreement to expel Islamist groups from Sudan) which is in

line (36), see appendix B (1). Yet, this demonstrative reference is translated into Arabic text as هذا /haadhaa/ (this) which is in line (29), see Appendix B (2). Consequently, there is an ‘alteration’ technique in this example occurred by replacing the demonstrative (that) which denotes a far proximity by /haadhaa/ (this) to denote a near proximity in Arabic.

4.2.1.2.2 Alteration by a noun

It is observed in Appendix C that this type of ‘alteration’ occurs when a translator replaced a demonstrative reference in the ST by a noun in the TT. For example, in text 4, it is noted that the adverb demonstrative reference (here) in English text is replaced by the noun مصر /misra/ (Egypt) in Arabic text. This reference cited in lines (9), (13), (35) and (52) and it is replaced by (Egypt) in Arabic text, respectively, in line (8), (11), (30), and (43). Another example, in text 1 appeared in the replacement of the definite article ((the) country) in line (33) which refers to (Sudan) in line (33) by the name السودان /al-sudan/ (Al-Sudan) which is in line (26). Therefore, it can be found in the previous examples that translators prefer the using of noun to trace the name of Arab countries. Hence, an ‘alteration’ technique is used to evoke readers’ attention of events taking place in Arab countries.

4.2.1.2.3 Alteration of a demonstrative reference’s type

As shown in Appendix C, this technique used when one demonstrative reference in English text is altered by another type of demonstrative reference in Arabic text. The results have revealed that this kind of ‘alteration’ rarely happened since only one example is used, which is, the replacement of the adverb demonstrative reference (here) by the determiner demonstrative reference (this). The example appeared in text 4 where (here) in line (20), refers to (Omar Abdel Aziz School) which is in line (16), is translated into Arabic text as هذه الزيارة /haadhihi al-ziyara/ means (this visit) which is in line (18). In other word, the

translator used another demonstrative reference /haadhihi/ (this) refers back to the visit of the place مدرسة عمر بن عبد العزيز ,which is, (Omar Abdel Aziz School) in line (14). However, this ‘alteration’ technique used is conveyed the same communicative meaning the writer aims to transmit.

4.2.1.2.4 Alteration by a pronoun

It can be found in Appendix C that, this type of ‘alteration’ occurs when a demonstrative reference in English text is replaced by a pronoun while translating into Arabic text. For example, in text 4, as follows:

English text: line (58-59)

“...an Egyptian woman... shouted: “Please, never leave that box alone. This is our future. Go and make sure they put it in the right place.”

Arabic text: line (48-49)

"ركضت امرأة مصرية...صاحت بهم: «من فضلكم لا تدعوا أعينكم تغيب عن هذا الصندوق، فهو مستقبلنا، ولذلك اذهبوا وتأكدوا من أنهم سيبضعونه في المكان المناسب."

Back translation:

“An Egyptian woman ran...shouted over them: “please, don’t leave your eyes away of this box, it is our future, and for this reason go and make sure that they put it in the right place”

In this example, in English text, the cohesive tie (this) falls under a demonstrative reference and it refers back to (box). On the other hand, it is noted that when translated into Arabic text, the translator replaced the demonstrative reference (this) by a personal reference هو /huwa/ means (it) which is used to refer back to الصندوق /al-sondoq/ (the box). In other words, ‘alternation’ techniques in used in this example by make use of replacement in the reference type. However, this kind of alteration doesn’t change the communicative meaning since the altered word /huwa/ (it) has the same function of tracing the object, which is, (the box). Besides, it is observed that Arabic language tends to refer to participant/s or object/s by means of personal references rather than demonstrative references.

Another Example, as shown in Appendix C in text 5, as follows:

English: line (32) Is Morsi nonaligned in that choice?

Arabic: line (21) هل مرسي غير منحاز في اختياره؟

Back translation: Is Morsi nonaligned in his choice?

Here, in English text, the cohesive tie (that) classified as a demonstrative reference refers back to (attending the Nonaligned Movement's summit meeting in Tehran) which is in line (2), see Appendix B (1). Yet, it is noted in Arabic text that the translator used a personal reference /-hi/ which is considered as a suffix that represents a possessive determiner of the noun اختيار /ikhtiyar/ (choice) and it refers back to (Morsi). That is, an 'alteration' technique is used in this example by replacing the demonstrative reference in English text by a personal reference in Arabic text. However, this replacement doesn't affect the output meaning of the sentence. Besides, the whole text is about (Morsi's choice) which is (attending the Nonaligned Movement's summit meeting in Tehran) and there is not any other choices mentioned in the text, see Appendix A (1) & A (2). Thus, the translator is aware about conveying the same idea of the ST without any ambiguity.

4.2.1.2.5 Alteration of a number

This translation technique occurs when a singular demonstrative reference is altered by a plural one and vice versa. For example, in text 2, as follows:

English: line (34-35)

"Does America have an interest in the internal fights taking place in these countries still quaking from the Arab uprisings?"

Arabic: (line 27)

"فهل أميركا لها مصلحة في الاقتتال الداخلي الجاري في هذين البلدين اللذين ما زالوا يهتزان بفعل الثورات العربية؟"

Back translation:

"Then, does America have an interest in the internal fighting occurring in 'these two' countries that are still quaking from the Arab revolutions?"

Here, the English cohesive tie (these) falls under a demonstrative reference and it refers back to (Egypt and Libya) which is in the previous paragraph. It is noted that, while translated into Arabic, the plural demonstrative reference (these) is altered by the Arabic demonstrative reference هذين /haadh-ayni/ which means (they two). In other words, هذين /haadh-ayni/ represents a dual demonstrative reference and it is a genitive followed by the dual noun /al-balad-ayni/ means (two countries). Therefore, an 'alteration' technique occurs in this example by replacing a plural demonstrative reference in the ST by a dual one in the TT. Then, it can be held true that, this 'alteration' is used for grammatical reasons since there are structural differences between Arabic and English language. Another example appeared in the same text, as shown in Appendix C, is, as follows:

English: Line (52)

"Let's return to the main trigger for these events."

Arabic: line (42)

"فلنعد إلى الحافز الرئيسي لهذه الأحداث"

Back translation:

"Let us return to the main trigger for 'this' events."

It is noted in English text in Appendix B (1) that the demonstrative reference (these) refers back to (Egypt and Libya events). Yet, while translated into Arabic text, the translator makes a replacement by altering a plural demonstrative reference (these) by a singular demonstrative reference هذه /haadhihi/ (this) which is in line (42). Then, it can be stated that there is an 'alteration' technique by number in this example. Moreover, this 'alteration' is ascribed to the structural differences between both languages. Ryding (2005, p. 315) states that it is possible to identify number and gender in Arabic demonstrative and the plural

demonstrative is only used when it refers to human beings. He adds that, if the writer refers to non-human plurals, then the feminine demonstrative /haadhihi/ is used. Consequently, in this example, the singular feminine demonstrative is used in Arabic text because the demonstrative reference refers back to non-human (Egypt and Libya events).

4.2.1.3 Comparative reference

It is noticed in Appendix C that two types of ‘alteration’ technique are used while translating English comparative reference into Arabic text. These two types are classified in the following sub sections:

4.2.1.3.1 Alteration by superlative

It is noticed in Appendix C that this technique is used when a comparative form in English text is altered by the superlative one in Arabic text. For example, as shown in Appendix C in text 2: the English comparative reference (more) in line (20) which refers to (the first message) in same line, see Appendix B (1), is translated as الأكثر /al a-kther/ means (the most) in Arabic text which is in line (14). Here, the prefix /al-/ is used in Arabic language for superlative form. In consequence, an ‘alteration’ technique is used where the comparative form (more) is altered by the superlative one الأكثر /al a-kther/ (the most). Yet, it is noted that this alteration does not affect the meaning of the ST since the translator aims to assert the importance and the superiority of (the second message).

4.2.1.3.2 Alteration by synonym

It is observed in Appendix C that this technique is appeared when a comparative reference in English text is translated into Arabic text by its relevant synonym. In other words, the translated word in Arabic is not considered as a comparative reference in Arabic language

since the comparative reference has a definite structure in Arabic language which is formed by the prefix /a-/. For example, as shown in Appendix C (text 2) where the comparative reference (similar) in line (26) is translated into Arabic text by the word *مماثلة* /momathila/ which is in line (20). In Arabic, the translated word /momathila/ serves as an adjective which is equal to (similar) in English, nonetheless, it doesn't have a comparative form of Arabic language which is the prefix /al-/. Therefore, the translation technique used is 'alteration' by a relevant synonym that semantically conveying the same meaning of the ST, even though, the translated word does not have a comparative form in the TT.

4.2.1.4 Substitution

It is noted in Appendix C that, 'alteration' technique is used while translating English substitution device into Arabic text. The following sub sections provide some examples of this alteration.

4.2.1.4.1 Alteration by a noun or a pronoun

It is noticed in Appendix C that 'alteration' technique appeared by replacing an English substitution device with a noun or a pronoun. For example, the nominal substitution (one) in line (29) refers back to (attack) in the same line, as shown in appendix B (2) text 2. Yet, when translated into Arabic text, it is replaced by a noun *الهجوم* /al-hojoum/ means (the attack) which is in line (22). Another example, the nominal substitution (one) in line (10) refers back to (the groups) which is in line 8, as shown in appendix B (2). However, when translated into Arabic text, it is altered by a pronoun /-hum/ means (them) to refer back to (the groups) too. The reason for this 'alteration' is that nominal substitution is rarely occurred in Arabic text, as shown in Appendix B (2), and the translator uses a noun or a pronoun to make the idea of the ST clearly transmitted in the TT.

4.2.1.4.2 Alteration by Ellipsis

It is noticed in Appendix C that the translator altered the substitution device in English text with ellipsis device in Arabic text. For example, in text 2, as follows:

English: (line 34-35)

“Does America have an interest in the internal fights taking place in these countries still quaking from the Arab uprisings? Of course it does”

Arabic: (line 27-28)

"فهل أميركا لها مصلحة في الاقتتال الداخلي الجاري في هذين البلدين اللذين ما زالوا يهتزان بفعل الثورات العربية؟ بالطبع لها مصلحة."

Back translation:

“Then, does America have an interest in the internal fighting occurring in these two countries that are still quaking from the Arab revolutions? Of course, it has an interest.”

The verbal substitution (does) substituted the verbal clause (‘has’ an interest in the internal fights taking place in these countries), and this device cohesively connects the two sentences together. Then, the reader can easily understand the elliptical information. However, the translator successfully translated this device (does) by altering it with the clause لها مصلحة /la-ha maslaha/ means (‘has’ an interest) in Arabic text. Yet, the sentence in Arabic text is not completely provided in the translation. In other word, another device is used while translating into Arabic, which is, ‘Ellipsis’ since the elliptical information is: في الاقتتال الداخلي الجاري في هذين البلدين means (in the internal fights taking place in these countries). Semantically, the translator used ellipsis as a cohesive device in Arabic sentence in order to avoid repetition since the elliptical information is already comprehensible from the context. Moreover, if the translator translated only لها /la-haa/ means (has) without the alteration of the noun /maslaha/ (interest) instead of (does), the meaning would be /la-haa/ لها(it has) and this style is only used in spoken Arabic. Therefore, the translator is aware

about conveying the communicative meaning of the SL as a result of the knowledge of the grammatical differences between the two languages.

4.2.1.4.3 Alteration by clarification

This type of ‘alteration’ appeared when a substitution device in English is replaced by a clausal for the purpose of clarification. For example, in appendix C (text 5):

English: (line 46-48)

“If Morsi needs a primer on the democracy movement in Iran ... he can read the one offered by Stanford’s Iran expert”

Arabic: (line 31-33)

"إذا كان مرسي بحاجة إلى الإلمام بفكرة أولية عن حركة الديمقراطية في إيران ... فبإمكانه قراءة ما كتبه الخبير الإيراني بجامعة ستانفورد"

Back translation:

“If Morsi needs to know an initial idea about the democracy movement in Iran... then, he can read what was written by an Iranian expert in Stanford University.”

In English text, the cohesive tie (the one) that falls under a nominal substitution device replaced the noun ‘a primer’ and grammatically functioned as an object. Yet, the translator makes use of ‘alteration’ technique by altering the object (the one) with the clause ‘قراءة ما كتبه’ means (reading what was written). According to Oxford dictionary ‘a primer’ means, ‘a book that contains basic instructions’, then, the tie ‘the one’ substitute the noun (a primer). While in Arabic, the translator translated ‘a primer’ as *فكرة أولية /fikra awaliya/* means ‘an initial idea’, therefore, it is not possible to use nominal substitution device in Arabic text and instead he or she altered this device with a clause ‘قراءة ما كتبه’ means (reading what was written). Also, the translator may use this type of ‘alteration’ for the purpose of clarification for the word ‘a primer’. Regardless the type of translation used to, the intended meaning of the sentences is totally conveyed.

4.2.1.5 Ellipsis

It is noted that few examples are appeared in Appendix C for the using of ‘alteration’ technique while translating ellipsis device from English text into Arabic text. The following sub section illustrates an example of this alteration as shown in Appendix C.

4.2.1.5.1 Alteration by substitution

This technique used when an ellipsis device in English language is replaced by a substitution device in Arabic text. For example, in Appendix C (text 4), as follows:

English: Line (25-26)

“Some illiterate elderly women confided that they could not read the ballot and just voted where their kids told them to.”

Arabic: (line 22-23)

"وقد أسرت إلينا بعض النساء المسنات الأميات بأنهن لم يستطعن قراءة ورقة الاقتراع، وأنهن قد صوتن حسبما قال لهن أبناؤهن أن يفعلن."

Back translation:

“Some illiterate elderly women told us that they could not read the ballot, and they voted where their kids told them to do.”

In English text, the writer uses ellipsis device by omitting the verb after the infinitive (to) as means of avoiding repetition since the missing verb (vote) is previously mentioned. While, in Arabic text the translator replaced the ellipsis device in English text with a substitution device in Arabic text. In other words, the translator adds a substitution verb يفعلن /yafal-na/ means (do) to substitute the verb صوتن /sawat-na/ means (voted). Therefore, an ‘alteration’ technique is used in this example resulting from the altering of the ellipsis device in English text by the substitution device in Arabic text. Moreover, the translator adopts this technique

because it is not possible to only leave the Arabic particle أن /ann/ _which equal to (to) in English text_ without any verb. Consequently, the translator adds the substitution verb يفعلن (do) rather than the original verb صوتن (vote) in order to avoid repetition. It worth noting that, the intended meaning of the ST is completely conveyed in the TT.

4.2.1.6 Conjunction

It is noted in Appendix C that few incidences of ‘alteration’ technique are appeared when translated English conjunction devices into Arabic text. For example, (in text 3), it is noted that the English ‘additive’ conjunction (likewise) in line (27), is replaced by the Arabic ‘temporal’ conjunction ثم /tumma/ means (then) which is in line (23). However, this ‘alteration’ does not affect the target meaning of the English text.

4.2.2 Subtraction

It can be found in Appendix C that some of English cohesive devices are omitted when translated into Arabic text. The following subsections illustrate this technique which is appeared while translating the three types of reference device and the conjunction device.

4.2.2.1 Personal Reference

It is noticed that a ‘subtraction’ technique occurs when a personal reference in the English text is omitted while translating into Arabic text. For example, (in text 3), as follows:

English text: line (42-45)

“The Kurds, who have until recently despised the Sunni Arabs for their persecution of the Kurds under Saddam Hussein, are now making amends. They are also closely aligning with Turkey to balance Iranian influence inside Iraq”.

Arabic text: line (34-36)

"يعمل الأكراد، الذين كانوا يكرهون العرب السنة بسبب اضطهادهم لهم في عهد صدام حسين، على إصلاح جسور العلاقات مع السنة، كما يؤيدون المواقف التركية لمواجهة النفوذ الإيراني داخل العراق."

Back translation:

"The Kurds, who have despised the Sunni Arabs because of their persecution to them under Saddam Hussein's era, are now making to improve relations with the Sunni. Also, aligning with Turkey's to Iranian influence inside Iraq."

Here, the cohesive tie (they) in English text falls under a personal reference and it refers back to the noun (the Kurds). Yet, when translated into Arabic text, this noun pronoun is omitted and the sentence translated without a subject. However, semantically the meaning is still understandable in Arabic sentence since it is possible to determine the doer of the action or the subject from the Arabic verb يؤيدون /yoayidoon/ which means (aligning) identifies the number (plural), the gender (male) and the tense (present). Therefore, the 'subtraction' technique used does not affect the communicative meaning of the TL since the translator is aware of the grammatical differences between Arabic and English language.

4.2.2.2 Demonstrative Reference

This translation technique is rarely used since there are few occurrences appear in the analysis, see Appendix C. For example, in text 7, in line (40) the definite article 'the' in (the Egyptian soldiers) which is classified under a demonstrative reference, refers back to '16 Egyptian soldiers' in line (3), see Appendix B (2). Yet, when translated into Arabic text, as shown in Appendix C, this demonstrative reference is omitted as this information is previously mentioned and there is no need to repeat it. Therefore, 'subtraction' technique does not change the communicative meaning of the output message in Arabic text.

4.2.2.3 Comparative References

This 'alteration' technique occurs when the comparative reference in the ST is omitted in the TT. For example, (in text 7), as follows:

English: line (9-14)

“Many see Morsi’s move to control the SCAF ... as finally giving Egypt’s revolution the chance to remove key remnants of the Mubarak regime and fulfill its promise. Others, particularly non-Islamists, are more prone to see recent actions as the Muslim Brotherhood removing any checks on its power.”

Arabic: line (6-9)

"وينظر كثيرون إلى خطوة مرسي باتجاه السيطرة على المجلس الأعلى للقوات المسلحة... باعتبارها أخيرا فرصة للثورة للتخلص من فلول نظام مبارك وتحقيق مطالبها. ويرى البعض الآخر، خاصة غير الإسلاميين، الخطوات الأخيرة باعتبارها دليلا على تخلص جماعة الإخوان المسلمين من أي رقابة على سلطتها."

Back translation:

“Many see Morsi’s move to control the SCAF... as finally giving Egypt’s uprising the chance to get rid of the Mubarak regime’s remnants and to achieve its demands. But others, particularly non-Islamists, see the recent actions as the Muslim Brotherhood get rid of any control on its power.”

Here, in English text, the cohesive device (more) in line (13), falls under a comparative reference (presupposed that non-Islamists are more prone than ‘Many’) which is in line (9), see Appendix B (2). However, while translating into Arabic text, the translator omits this reference, which means there is a ‘subtraction’ technique. Yet, it is noted that, the meaning in Arabic text does not change when omitting the comparative reference and the message of the ST, which is, (there are two points of view by two different groups) is conveyed. Besides, the translator adds the adversative conjunction /wa/ which means (but) in this example, followed the first opinion to assert that there is another different opinion. Therefore, Arabs’ readers could easily identify the idea since the translator adopts a ‘subtraction’ technique where the English comparative reference does not have essential function if translated into Arabic sentence. However, by means of compensation in the sentence such as the use of adversative conjunction /wa/, the communicative meaning is properly transmitted.

4.2.2.4 Conjunction

There are few examples appear in Appendix C where the conjunction device of the English text is omitted while translating into the Arabic text. For example, (in text 5), as follows:

English: line (27-30)

“The world was divided between Western democratic capitalists and Eastern Communists, and developing states like Egypt, Yugoslavia and Indonesia declared themselves “nonaligned” with these two blocs. But “there is no Communist bloc today,” said Mandelbaum.”

Arabic: line (17-19)

"فقد كان العالم منقسما بين معسكري الديمقراطية الغربية الرأسمالية والشيوعية الشرقية. واختارت دول نامية مثل مصر ويوغوسلافيا وإندونيسيا أن تعلن نفسها «غير منحازة»، لأي من هاتين الكتلتين."

Back translation:

“Since the world was divided between Western democratic capitalists and Eastern Communists. And, developing states such as Egypt and Yugoslavia and Indonesia adopted to declare themselves ‘nonaligned’, with these two blocs.”

In English text, the conjunction device (But) in line (30) is categorized as an ‘adversative conjunction’ which is used to oppose the idea presented in the previous sentence. While translating into Arabic text, it is observed that the translator not only omits this conjunction but also omits the whole statement which is (But “there is no Communist bloc today”), which is ascribed to two reasons: (ii) the translator finds it is not important to translate this statement as it is a known fact, for Arabs readers, (ii) he or she finds that this statement has no relation with the core of the topic since it focuses on (the Egyptian president Morsi and his visit to Iran), then, Arab readers would only pay attention to the essence of the topic. However, the ‘subtraction’ technique used does not affect the communicative meaning of the paragraph since the purpose of translation is only to transmit the important ideas.

4.2.3 Addition

It is observed in Appendix C that ‘addition’ technique is the most obvious technique the translator used while translating English ellipsis devices into Arabic text. This technique is shown in the following sub section.

4.2.3.1 Ellipsis

It is apparent in Appendix C that ‘addition’ technique is used for ellipsis when the translator translates implicit information in the ST by an explicit one in the TT. In other words, the translator makes an elliptical expression in a source text clear in a target text by adding this elliptical information in the TT. For example, (in text 7), as follows:

English: line 56 “The record to date is not good”

Arabic: line 37 "وسجلهم حتى هذه اللحظة غير جيد"

Back translation: “Moreover, so far their record is not good”

In English sentence, there is unsaid information after the noun (the record), which is, (the record of the Egypt’s president and people), that can be found in line (49), see Appendix B (1). Since the information is understandable from the context of the text and it refers to line (49), it is left unsaid by the writer to avoid repetition. However, when translated it into Arabic text as shown in line (37), the translator translated it as /sijila-hum/ which means (their record). That is, the translator uses an ‘addition’ technique in which he or she adds the third person plural suffix pronoun /-hum/ to the noun /sijil/. In Arabic, the suffix /-hum/ means (their) in English and it refers back to (Egypt’s president and people) which is in line (33), see Appendix B (2). The reason for this ‘addition’ refers to the structure of the word in Arabic, which means, if the word translated without a personal reference /-hum/ the meaning would be confused to the reader since sentences in Arabic language are cohesively

linked to each other by means of personal references that considered as the predominated type of grammatical cohesive devices in the text. Therefore, the translator used an 'addition' technique to adapt the structure of the target language besides avoiding the ambiguity of the meaning.

Another example to show the use of 'addition technique', (in text 4), as follows:

English: Line (25-26)

"Some illiterate elderly women confided that they could not read the ballot and just voted where their kids told them to."

Arabic: (line 22-23)

"وقد أسرت إلينا بعض النساء المسنات الأميات بأنهن لم يستطعن قراءة ورقة الاقتراع، وأنهن قد صوتن حسبما قال لهن أبناؤهن أن يفعلن."

Back translation:

"Some illiterate elderly women told us that they could not read the ballot, and they voted where their kids told them to do."

In English text, the writer uses Ellipsis device in (just voted) by omitting the noun pronoun (they) that refers back to (Some illiterate elderly women). While in Arabic text, the translator used an 'addition' technique in this example by adding a noun pronoun هن /hunna/ which means (they). Furthermore, the noun pronoun /hunna/ (they) serves as doer for the verb صوتن /sawat-na/ which means (voted). Here, the important notice is that the translator used the particle أن /anna/ means (that) which semantically used in Arabic "to report factual information in a subordinate clause", Ryding (2005, p. 425). Then, it is necessary to use the verb after /anna/ to report the event. In other words, if the sentence is translated the same way in English (without pronoun), the structure of Arabic sentence would be inappropriate which affects the communicative meaning of the ST.

4.2.4 Sustaining

There is a new technique appeared while translating English grammatical cohesive devices into Arabic text, which is, ‘sustaining’. This technique means that there is an equivalent meaning and function of the ST grammatical cohesive markers when translated into the TT. Moreover, it is noted that this technique appear while translating all the English grammatical cohesive devices into Arabic text, see Appendix C. The following sub sections illustrate some examples in which the translator makes use of this technique.

4.2.4.1 Personal Reference

The analysis in Appendix C have revealed that great number of personal references are translated into Arabic text by their equivalent meaning in Arabic text. In other words, the English personal references are translated into Arabic by make use of the same grammatical category. For example, (i) the English noun pronouns are translated by the noun pronouns in Arabic text e.g. the personal reference (they) in text 1 in line (69) and (74) is translated into Arabic as هم /hum/ (a plural noun pronoun in Arabic which means (they) in English) in line (52) and (56). (ii) The English possessive determiner (their) in line (31) text 2, is translated into Arabic as /-hum/ (a suffix that attached the noun غضب representing a plural possessive determiner) which is in line (24).

4.2.4.2 Demonstrative Reference

It is noticed in Appendix C that, some demonstrative references have what is equal to them in Arabic text in terms of number and proximity. For example, in text 2, the English demonstrative reference /that/ translated into Arabic as تلك /tilka/ which is in line (33). Both devices (/tilka/ and (that)) are singular and represent a far proximity. Also, in the same text in line (51), the English demonstrative reference (this) is translated as هذه /haadhihi/ which

in line (41). Both devices (/haadhihi/ and (this)) are singular and represent a near proximity. Another example shown in the use of definite article (the) where it is translated as the prefix /al-/ in Arabic text e.g. in text 3 (the two governments in line (15) is translated in Arabic as الحكومتين /al-hokoumatayni/ which is in line (14)), see Appendix C.

4.2.4.3 Comparative Reference

An observation of appendix C will reveal that some of the English comparative references are translated into Arabic text by their comparative reference's structure in Arabic language. For example, in text 4: the cohesive devices (better and more) in line (28), which falls under comparative reference, are translated into Arabic text by make use of the comparative reference أفضل وأكثر /a-fdal wa a-kther/ means (better and more) which is in line (25). In other words, the prefix /a-/ is used to form an adjective comparative device in Arabic language, which means, the translated words agree with the source words in terms of structure. Therefore, the translator conveys the original message of the ST.

4.2.4.4 Substitution

It can be found that some English substitution devices are similarly translated into Arabic text by retaining their grammatical function as 'cohesive ties'. The purpose of adopting this technique is to avoid repetition of unnecessary words. For example, (in text 7), as follows:

English: line (36-38)

"What makes this particularly noteworthy is that Peres's office did not release Morsi's letter publicly until after checking with the Egyptians to make sure it was okay to do so."

Arabic: (24-26)

"مما يجعل هذا أمرا جديرا بالذكر هو أن مكتب بيريس لم ينشر خطاب مرسي إلا بعد أن تواصل مع الجانب المصري للتأكد من إمكانية القيام بذلك."

Back translation:

“What makes this matter noteworthy is that Peres’s office didn’t release Morsi’s letter until after contacting with the Egyptian side to make sure of doing so.”

Here, the English cohesive tie (do so) that falls under a verbal substitution device, replaces the verb phrase (release Morsi’s letter publicly). Similarly, this device has the same function of cohesion when translated into Arabic text. It is translated into Arabic as القيام بذلك /al-kiyam bi-dhaalika/ which means (doing so) and it substitutes ينشر خطاب مرسي /yanshor khitaba morsi/ which means (release Morsi’s letter). The translator used this technique in order to avoid repetition since the substitution device used cohesively ties sentences together in Arabic too; besides, the communicative meaning is clearly transmitted.

4.2.4.5 Ellipsis

As shown in Appendix C, the translator adopts ‘sustaining’ technique while translating some of English ellipsis devices into Arabic text. That is, the implicit expressions in English text remain elliptical in Arabic text. For example, in text 1, as follows:

English: (line 33-37)

“They began pressing Bashir for the expulsion of these groups from the country... Bashir eventually agreed because he realized ... Arab world”

Arabic: (line 26-28)

"وبدأوا بالضغط على البشير لطرد هذه المجموعات من السودان،... ووافق البشير في نهاية المطاف لأنه أدرك ... العالم العربي"

Back translation:

“And they began pressing Al-Bashir to expel these groups from the Sudan... Al-Bashir ultimately agreed because he realized The Arab world”

As noted in the example above, the verb (agreed) can be interpreted as an elliptical reference since it needs a complement to clearly express a full idea. Yet, the reader can supply the elliptical information from the preceding paragraph, which is, (for the expulsion

of these groups from the country). Similarly, in Arabic text, the ellipsis device /wafaka al-bashir/ وافق البشير (Al-Bashir agreed) needs the same English complement, which is لطرده هذه المجموعات من السودان /li-tard haadhihi al-majmouaat mina al-sudan/ means (to expel these groups from the Sudan). Hence, it can be noted that while translating into Arabic text, the translator infers that the missing information is not necessary to be compensated in Arabic text because the topic is specified to one issue which is (conflict of power in Sudan). Besides, the elliptical information is understandable from the context and there is no need to repeat the same idea. In doing so, the translator conserves the output message of the ST besides conserving the cohesion in the text.

4.2.4.6 Conjunction

It is observed in Appendix C that almost English conjunction devices are translated into Arabic text by their equivalent meanings and types. For example, the ‘adversative’ conjunction (but) is translated as /la:kin/ which have the same meaning (but) and same type (adversative).

4.2.5 Mix technique

It is observed in Appendix C that a new technique appeared while translating a conjunction device, which is, ‘a mix technique’. This technique means that two different techniques are used together while translating conjunction device of the ST. The following sub sections will illustrate examples where the translator makes use of this technique.

4.2.5.1 Alteration and Addition

Conjunctions devices are translated by make use of ‘addition’ technique achieved by adding another conjunction device besides the one existed in English text. Also, the

translator makes use of ‘alteration’ technique where he or she replaced the English conjunction type with another type in Arabic text. The following example will clarify this technique, as shown in Appendix C (text 4):

English: line (38)

“Meanwhile, when I asked our young guide Hassan...”

Arabic: line (32)

"ولكن عندما سألت مرشدنا الشاب الثوري..."

Back translation:

And but, when I asked our young guide Hassan.

In English text, the writer connects the paragraph with the preceding one through a conjunction ‘Meanwhile’ that initiates the paragraph. This English conjunction falls under a ‘temporal conjunction’ that relates the two paragraphs ‘in time’ where it exactly shows what happens (during the writer’s visit to Omar Abdel Aziz School). Yet, in Arabic text, the translator used another two conjunctions instead of using one conjunction. These two conjunctions used are: ‘additive’ and ‘contrastive’ conjunction. Therefore, there is ‘a mix technique’ used in this example, which are, ‘addition’ technique and ‘alteration’ technique. The ‘addition technique’ is achieved by make use of two conjunctions together, which are, ولكن /wa la:kin/ which mean (and but), (/wa/ means ‘and’) and (/la:kin/ means ‘but’). In addition, it can be found that the source conjunction falls under a ‘temporal conjunction’; in contrast, the translator uses other types of conjunction which are ‘additive’ and ‘adversative’. Therefore an ‘alteration’ technique appeared in this example by the altering of conjunction type.

Regarding the meaning of the ST, the ‘temporal conjunction’ in English text supply new information agreed with the previous paragraph ‘in time’. However, in Arabic text, the translator used the additive conjunction /wa/ ‘and’ as a means of reporting new information

that introduced by other participants. And since the reported information will contrary the one introduced in the preceding paragraph, he or she makes use of ‘adversative’ conjunction to show this contradiction. Also, since the topic is an important and it belongs to an Arab country, which is (Egypt), the translator seeks to invoke the attention of Arab readers to such an important point. In addition to that, it is apparent from the seven text that Arabic text tends to extensively used ‘additive’ conjunction /wa/ (and) to introduce ideas and ‘adversative’ conjunction /la:kin/ (but) to present important facts.

4.2.5.2 Addition and Sustaining

This technique is used when the English conjunction device is translated into its equivalent meaning in Arabic text, besides, adding another conjunction device. For example, as shown in Appendix C (text 2), as follows:

English: line (6-10)

“We’re still in what I like to call the “fog of revolution” in both countries, where it’s hard to know for sure what’s happening and who benefits, so my reporting comes with a basic caveat. But based on conversations with sources ... some basic analysis”

Arabic: line (3-7)

"ونحن ما زلنا فيما أحب أن أسميه «ضباب الثورة» في كلا البلدين، حيث يصعب أن نعرف على وجه اليقين ماذا يحدث ومن المستفيد، لذا فإن ما أقوله يحتاج إلى استيضاح. ولكن بناء على الأحاديث التي أجريتها مع مصادر ... بعض التحليلات المبدئية."

Back translation:

“And we are still in what I like to call it “fog of the revolution” in both countries, where it is hard to know for certain what is happening and who is the benefit, for this reason, what I say needs to be clarified. However, based on conversations I interviewed with sources...some basic analysis.”

In English text, the cohesive tie ‘But’ categorized under ‘adversative’ conjunction and it makes link with the preceding sentence by means of contrary. It can be found that, in Arabic text, the translator preserves the function of the English conjunction by translated it with its equivalent meaning in Arabic, which is, لكن /la:kin/ (but). Yet, another conjunction

device appears in Arabic text, which is, و /wa/ (means ‘but’ in this example). In other words, both of the two conjunctions ولكن /wa/ and /la:kin/ are classified under ‘adversative’ conjunction’ in Arabic text. Therefore, the translator adopts mix technique, by translating the English source conjunction with its equivalent meaning in Arabic, besides, adding another conjunction. Hence, two techniques appeared in this example, namely, (Addition and Sustaining). Furthermore, it seems that the translator used this ‘mix technique’ to assert the contrary relation between the two sentences, besides, an observation of Arabic texts will reveal that Arabic language is an additive language since there are two conjunctions appeared together in the texts unlike English text that seems to be vacant of this type of conjunction. Since the relation between sentences is clear in the target text and corresponds with that in source text, then the translator thrived on conveying the exact communicative meaning.

CHAPTER FIVE

FINDINGS & CONCLUSION

5.0 Introduction

This chapter presents summary for the results of this study according to the main two research questions, it discusses the findings, it provides contribution, it presents conclusion, and finally suggests some recommendations for future researchers.

Summary of Results According to Research Questions

Research Question 1:

What are the frequencies of different cohesive markers in both of Arabic and English texts? And if these cohesive markers are used in the TL differently from the way they used in the SL?

According to this question the results revealed the following finding: First, out of the seven texts, the Arabic texts have a greater number of grammatical cohesive devices than English texts. Second, the majority of grammatical cohesive devices in both texts are categorized under 'reference device'. Third, the personal reference predominate other types of reference devices in both texts. Fourth, out of the seven texts, six Arabic texts have more occurrences of personal references than those in English text. Fifth, the English texts include more incidences of ellipsis devices than those in Arabic text. However, ellipsis devices are not widely used throughout both texts because these political texts are classified under a 'political opinions' in which the writer aims to convey clear message to the audience for the purpose of avoiding ambiguity and confusion. Sixth, few occurrences of substitution devices are used in both texts. Moreover, there are three Arabic texts out of the seven texts

where there is no incidence of substitution device, whereas, only two English texts out of the seven texts are out of this device. In other words, English texts have more incidences of substitution device than Arabic text. The reason for the less usage of this device refers to the political opinion texts where the writers have unlimited space to write their opinions. Seventh, all Arabic texts have greater number of conjunction devices than those in English texts. Furthermore, the study found that Arabic is an additive language due to the using of many conjunctions especially the ‘additive conjunction’ /wa/ which means (and).

Research Question 2: What are the main techniques used in translating these cohesive markers into Arabic?

In this study the results showed the following findings: First, the three translation techniques of Nida (1964) are used while translating English grammatical cohesive devices into Arabic text. These techniques are (i) Alteration: examples of this technique appeared in all grammatical cohesive devices and they are extensively used while translating reference devices. (ii) Subtraction: examples of this technique can be found in reference and conjunction devices where the devices are omitted in Arabic text. (iii) Addition: the results of the study revealed that ‘addition’ is the most obvious technique the translator used while translating English ellipsis devices into Arabic text. Second, there are two new translation techniques are found in this study, these new techniques are (i) Sustaining: this technique means that the grammatical cohesive device of the ST is translated into the TT by what is equal in the target text in terms of meaning and function. Furthermore, the study revealed that examples of this technique are found while translating all the English grammatical cohesive devices into Arabic text. (ii) Mix technique: the study showed that a mix technique appeared while translated English conjunction devices into Arabic text. This technique means that two different techniques are used together while translating the

conjunction device into Arabic text, for example, the use of (alteration and addition) and the use of (addition and sustaining).

5.2 Discussion

The findings of the first objective that were found in this study considered to be similar to those findings in different reviewed literatures in chapter two where researchers find the following: (i) Arabic uses more cohesive devices than English language such as the study of Hinkel (2001), (ii) Arabic is an additive language due to the using of many conjunctions in the text, such as the study of Chaalal (2009) and Mohamed & Omer (2000), (iii) English texts include more ellipsis and substitution than Arabic texts, such as the study of Hanan (1988). Moreover, the findings of the second objective that were found in the study align with some researchers' findings in chapter two. For example, Baker (1992, p. 190) confirms that, *“every language has its own devices for establishing cohesive links. Language and Text-type preferences must be taken into consideration in the process of translation”*. Moreover, some of the translation techniques observed in this study meet other researchers' techniques such as Darwish (2010) Proshina (2008) and Baker (1992). However, this study presented five translation techniques which make a focus only on grammatical cohesive devices rather than lexical cohesion. Besides, this study tackled political 'opinion' text unlike previous studies which only focus on newspaper and political texts in general. Therefore, this study contributes to English-Arabic translation of the grammatical cohesive devices with reference to political 'opinion' text.

5.3 Contribution

This study is important since it tackles the grammatical cohesive devices in Arabic and English language by make use of Halliday and Hasan (1976) model. Besides, it tackles the translation of the English grammatical cohesive devices into English text by make use of Nida's (1964) translation techniques. This study contributes to the field of English-Arabic translation since the data used are related to (Political Opinion Texts) which is not tackled in previous studies. Furthermore, there are some classifications under each translation technique of Nida (1964) as shown in chapter 4. Besides, this study is important since Nida's (1964) translation techniques are extended to be five translation techniques. Hence, the suggested model for translating grammatical cohesive devices from English into Arabic language is shown in table (5.1)

Table (5.1) the suggested model for translating grammatical cohesive devices from English into Arabic language

<p>Translation techniques</p> <p>Alteration:</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">Personal references</p> <p>Alteration of a subject noun pronoun by an object noun pronoun and vice versa Alteration of a noun pronoun by a possessive pronoun Alteration of a possessive pronoun by a noun Alteration of a noun pronoun by a noun Alteration of a noun pronoun by a demonstrative reference Alteration of number (singular pronoun to plural and vice versa) Alteration of a pronoun type</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">Demonstrative references</p> <p>Alteration by changing ‘a scale of proximity’ Alteration by noun Alteration of demonstrative reference’s type Alteration by a pronoun Alteration of number</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">comparative references</p> <p style="padding-left: 80px;">1. Alteration by synonym</p> <p>Alteration by superlative</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">Substitution</p> <p>Alteration by ellipsis Alteration by a noun or a pronoun Alteration by clarification</p> <p>Ellipsis : Alteration by a substitution</p> <p>Conjunctions Alteration by type</p>
<p>Subtraction:</p> <p>omitting of personal references omitting of demonstrative references omitting of comparative references omitting of conjunctions</p>
<p>Addition: Ellipsis</p>
<p>Sustaining: all grammatical cohesive devices</p>
<p>mix technique: Alteration and Addition Addition and Sustaining</p>

5.4 Conclusion

This study deals with ‘political opinion texts’ where it aims to identify the translation techniques used to translate English grammatical cohesive markers into Arabic texts. The study identified these grammatical cohesive markers in both languages by make use of Halliday and Hasan (1976) model. Then, the study identified the translation techniques used by translators adopting Nida’s (1964) translation techniques. It was found that different grammatical cohesive devices are used in both texts, however, their frequency differently distributed in both texts. In short, Arabic texts have more grammatical cohesive devices than those in English text, besides, conjunction and references have more incidences in Arabic text unlike ellipsis and substitution which are more in English text. Furthermore, this study showed that the three translation techniques of Nida (1964), which are, ‘Alteration’, ‘Addition’ and ‘Subtraction’ are used in translating the grammatical cohesive devices in order to adjust the meaning in the Arabic text. This study is important since it extended another new two techniques which are: ‘Sustaining’ and ‘Mix technique’.

5.5 Recommendations

Since the findings of this study focus on political opinion text, future’s researchers may investigate the following:

First, the new study might investigate other political text types such as (documentary and daily report news)

Second, the new study might use another model of cohesion to analyze the grammatical cohesion such as the model of Dooley and Levinsohn (2000) and Brown & Yule (1983).

Third, the new study might analyze the lexical cohesion which is not covered in this study.

Fourth, the new study might focus on one type of grammatical cohesion, such as (Reference), and (Conjunction), to get variety of data on different text-types.

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Appendix A (1)

Text One

War, War and More War for Sudan

By ANDREW NATSIOS (The New York Times)

Published: August 24, 2012

- 1 President Omar al-Bashir's 23-year rule in Sudan has known almost ceaseless civil war,
2 the recent secession of South Sudan and an indictment for genocide by the International
3 Criminal Court against Bashir himself. Currently, his government is under attack by
4 various rebel armies with an estimated combined strength of 60,000, as well as protests
5 sparked by the withdrawal of gas subsidies, massive budget deficits, failed harvests and
6 steep increases in food prices. Bashir's days may be numbered.
- 7 Yet his removal would not end the conflict; it could even trigger a new civil war. The
8 groups challenging Bashir are united by their common hatred of him and his party rather
9 than by a shared vision for Sudan's future. But were they to topple him, they would soon
10 be at odds with one another over a longstanding, unresolved debate that has haunted
11 Sudan from its founding: the proper relationship between Islam and the Sudanese state.
- 12 Bashir took power in 1989 in a coup masterminded by Hassan al-Turabi, the leading
13 Islamist theologian who in the 1960s founded the Islamic Charter Front, Sudan's version
14 of the Muslim Brotherhood. Turabi's basic political theory was, and remains, that the
15 Koran contains all the guidance needed to govern a modern state.
- 16 Under Turabi's influence (he served as minister of justice in the late 1980s before Bashir
17 took power), political Islam came to dominate Sudan's domestic affairs. Thousands of
18 women in professional jobs were removed because their jobs were thought improper for
19 Muslim women. Shariah law replaced the country's secular civil code, and a separate
20 Islamic court system was established under the Special Courts Act that applied to all
21 citizens, Muslim or not.
- 22 An Islamic banking system was established, meaning that banks could no longer charge
23 interest on loans — a practice that soon hampered the creation of new businesses,
24 particularly by non-Islamists who already had limited access to the Islamic banks. Arabic
25 replaced English as the language of instruction in the University of Khartoum, and the
26 appointment of professors became politicized.
- 27 It was also Turabi who in 1991 invited Osama bin Laden to establish Al Qaeda's
28 headquarters in Sudan. While he lived in Khartoum, Bin Laden reportedly married one of
29 Turabi's nieces. Turabi also invited other radical Islamist groups — such as Hamas,
30 Hezbollah and Jamaat al-Islamiyya — with a view to turning Sudan into the operational
31 base for the radical Islamization of sub-Saharan Africa.
- 32 By the mid-1990s, the U.S. government and its Arab allies had grown alarmed at the
33 radical Islamization of Sudan. They began pressing Bashir for the expulsion of these

34 groups from the country. (Turabi was reportedly behind the attempted assassination of
35 President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt in 1995.)

36 Bashir eventually agreed because he realized these policies were isolating Sudan in the
37 Arab world, but expelling these radical groups put him at odds with Turabi. With that
38 decision, as well as an acrimonious public dispute over the power of the presidency the
39 two men became bitter enemies. (Turabi wanted governors elected, and for Parliament to
40 be able to impeach the president as an attempt to strip Bashir of power after his expulsion
41 of Islamist groups.)

42 They still are, despite repeated efforts by Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood to heal the breach.
43 Turabi is now in his late 70s and is believed to be in Khartoum. Although his public
44 statements often incur official harassment and land him in jail, he retains a large Islamic
45 following and is considered too influential to be seriously mistreated.

46 After oil revenues began pouring into the treasury of the central government after 1998,
47 the central mission of Bashir's party gradually evolved away from spreading radical
48 Islam to Africa and toward self-preservation, even if Islamist ideology and institutions
49 continued.

50 The rebel coalition that is now at war with Khartoum includes pro-democracy groups that
51 advocate a secular state, respect for fundamental freedoms and human rights, a multiparty
52 political system and a secular civil code — principles that are included in the coalition's
53 manifesto.

54 Abdul Azziz al-Hilu, the former deputy governor of South Kordofan Province, and Malak
55 Agar, the former governor of Blue Nile Province — both former commanders in the
56 Sudanese People's Liberation Army, which fought a protracted civil war against Bashir's
57 forces — demand that the provisions of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement their
58 movement reached with the Sudan government in 2005 be fully implemented.

59 The agreement included a provision that allowed their provinces to bring the public into a
60 democratic participatory process for deciding how to govern themselves in the future.
61 Bashir abruptly ended the process and unsuccessfully attempted to assassinate both Agar
62 and Hilu.

63 But the anti-Bashir coalition also counts several Islamist groups, including the Justice and
64 Equality Movement from Darfur, a rebel group inspired by Turabi's vision of Islamism.

65 The Sudanese Air Force killed the founder and leader of Justice and Equality in a night
66 raid last December, so the movement has a more immediate motivation to depose
67 Bashir's government: revenge.

68 But when it signed the manifesto with other secular groups, the leaders of Justice and
69 Equality publicly disagreed with its central principal of a secular state. They are not
70 alone: Two historic parties of Sudan, the Umma Party and the Democratic Unionist Party,
71 believe in a democratic state, but support Shariah law and the defining notion of Sudan as
72 an Islamic state.

73 It is not certain that the rebels can topple the Bashir government. But even if they do,
74 they might only be setting the stage for a new civil war. If they, and their allies in the
75 West, want Bashir out, they should have no illusions about prospects for a democratic,
76 peaceful future for Sudan.

Andrew Natsios, the U.S. special envoy to Sudan in 2006-07, is executive professor at the George H.W. Bush School of Government at Texas A&M University and the author of "Sudan, South Sudan, and Darfur: What Everyone Needs to Know."

Text Two

David Ignatius (Opinion Writer) September 12 (The Washington Post)

In Egypt and Libya, radicals are jockeying for power

1 What's happening in Cairo and Benghazi appears to be a case of political opportunism —
2 no, not by Mitt Romney, though there was some of that Wednesday — but by Salafist
3 Islamic extremists who are unhappy with the success that more moderate Islamist and
4 secularist parties in Egypt and Libya have had in building political support.

5
6 We're still in what I like to call the "fog of revolution" in both countries, where it's hard
7 to know for sure what's happening and who benefits, so my reporting comes with a basic
8 caveat. But based on conversations with sources who were on the streets Tuesday in the
9 midst of the Cairo demonstration and who have been following events in Libya closely,
10 it's possible to pierce the fog a bit and offer some basic analysis:

11 First, the situation in Cairo: The Arabic banners of the protesters moving toward the U.S.
12 Embassy identified them as members of the Nour Party and the al-Asala Party, the two

13 leading Salafist groups that have competed in the Egyptian elections. The Salafists,
14 whose name connotes respect for the Islamic "ancestors" of the prophet Mohammed's
15 time, are more conservative and less pragmatic than the Muslim Brotherhood, now ruling
16 Egypt.

17 An analyst who was in the midst of that crowd Tuesday told me that he thinks the Salafist
18 demonstrators were using the pretext of a supposedly anti-Islamic American film to send
19 two messages: The first was obviously anti-Americanism, which is potent in today's
20 Egypt; the second and more interesting message was a challenge by the Salafists to their
21 rivals in the Muslim Brotherhood government of President Mohamed Morsi.

22 As is so often the case in revolutions, the Cairo uproar appears to be partly a case of
23 radicals wanting to undermine a more moderate governing party. The Salafist
24 demonstrators' threat was augmented by violent hooligans, who are often described as
25 soccer fans but increasingly are inflammatory anarchists.

26 A similar process of post-revolutionary jockeying is going on in Libya, and it tragically
27 led to the death Tuesday of Ambassador Christopher J. Stevens and three other
28 Americans. The Salafists' assault on the U.S. consulate in Benghazi at first appeared to
29 be a "copycat" attack like the one in Cairo, but U.S. officials said it may have been
30 planned by extremists linked to al-Qaeda. They were augmented by a well-armed Islamic
31 militia. Their anger, again, is mixed between a baseline anti-Americanism (sadly, always
32 a draw in the region) and a challenge to Prime Minister Abdurraheem el-Keib and the
33 secularist parties that are the backbone of the new Libyan government.

34 Does America have an interest in the internal fights taking place in these countries still
35 quaking from the Arab uprisings? Of course it does, especially when U.S. embassies are
36 targets of protesters and U.S. diplomats get killed in the crossfire. But this isn't really
37 about America: It's about factions battling for power in a fluid political situation.

38 Unfortunately, the seizure of the U.S. Embassy in Tehran in 1979 is an apt parallel. That
39 was the work of a group of extremist Iranian "students" who were unhappy that the post-
40 revolutionary government of Ayatollah Khomeini wasn't proving radical enough. They
41 captured the revolution when they seized the embassy. The lesson of that disaster is that
42 local security authorities must quickly restore order — and if they can't or won't, then
43 Americans must move out of harm's way.

44 Also worrisome is the link between Salafists (whose posters worryingly appear in Cairo
45 neighborhoods near Heliopolis that are populated by members of the military) and the
46 more violent "takfiri" wing, which believes it's permissible to kill apostate Muslims and
47 has links with al-Qaeda. The takfiris hate the ruling Muslim Brotherhood, if that's any
48 consolation.

49 The delicate political balance in Egypt and Libya makes the blunderbuss campaign
50 rhetoric of Romney, the Republican presidential candidate, especially unfortunate. His
51 comments make this crisis more "about America" than it needs to be.

52 Let's return to the main trigger for these events: It's the success of the tolerably non-
53 extremist (I won't say "moderate") governments in Egypt and Libya in consolidating
54 power, and the anger of the more radical Salafists at this success. Morsi, for example, has

55 just won pledges of billions in financial support from Saudi Arabia and Qatar. The Gulf
56 Arabs are making a bet that over the next year, Morsi can stabilize Egypt and get the
57 economy moving again. Despite Tuesday's tragic events, the United States should make
58 the same bet.

Text Three

Next Up: Turkey vs. Iran

By SONER CAGAPTAY (The New York Times)

Published: February 14, 2012

Soner Cagaptay is a senior fellow at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy.

1 Hardly a day goes by that an Iranian official doesn't threaten Turkey. Take for instance
2 Maj. Gen. Yahya Rahim Safavi's recent warning to Ankara: "Turkey must radically
3 rethink its policies on Syria, the NATO missile shield and promoting Muslim secularism
4 in the Arab world, or face trouble from its own people and neighbors."
5 This is no surprise. Turkish-Iranian rivalry goes back centuries, to the Ottoman sultans
6 and the Safavid shahs. It briefly subsided in the 20th century, when Turkey became an
7 inward-looking nation-state, leaving a vacuum in the Middle East. In the past decade,
8 though, Turkey's economic growth and emergence as a regional giant under the Justice
9 and Development Party, or A.K.P., have revived its standing. From the Syrian uprising to
10 Iraq's sectarian convulsions to Iran's push for nuclear power, Ankara is the main
11 challenger to Tehran's desire to dominate the region.
12 Following the A.K.P.'s ascent to power in 2002, the Turks were, initially, not interested
13 in competition with the Iranians and relations between Ankara and Tehran seemed quite
14 warm. Both countries defended the Palestinian cause. Ankara did not appear threatened
15 by Iran's nuclear project. High-level visits between the two governments became routine
16 and trade boomed.

17 **Meanwhile**, shared objections to the Iraq War appeared to bind the Turks and the
18 Iranians. Iran even stopped harboring rebels of the Kurdistan Workers' Party, or P.K.K.,
19 which **it** had encouraged to attack Turkey because of Ankara's pro-Western stance. **After**
20 **the Iraq War**, Tehran began bombing the very P.K.K. camps **it** had earlier permitted on **its**
21 territory, winning points with the Turks.

22 **Then** **came** the Arab Spring. The uprising in Syria put Ankara and Tehran at polar
23 opposite ends of the regional and political spectrum. Given **its** democratic traditions,
24 Turkey supported **the revolution** and sided with the protesters; authoritarian Iran
25 continued **its** support for the Assad regime and backed **his** brutal crackdown on civilians.

26 The Syrian uprising has become a zero-sum game: **Either** Bashar al-Assad will win, **or**
27 the demonstrators will triumph. **Likewise**, **it** has become a proxy war between Tehran and
28 Ankara, in which there will be only one winner.

29 **Hence**, all is fair game now between Ankara and Tehran. Encouraged by Iran, Assad
30 ignored Turkish advice to **reform**. Turkey is now supporting, hosting, and reportedly
31 arming the Syrian opposition. Iran's response has been to strike at Turkey by once again
32 supporting the P.K.K., which has launched dozens of deadly attacks, killing more than
33 150 Turks since the summer of 2011.

34 Competition over Syria has also mobilized fault lines in Iraq, where Turkey and Iran have
35 been supporting opposing camps. **Since** Iraq's first democratic elections in 2005, Iran has
36 supported the Shiite-backed **Dawa** party of **Nuri** Kamal al-Maliki, **while** Turkey has
37 backed the secular pan-Iraqi movement of **Avad Allawi**. Following months of contention
38 after the 2010 elections, Maliki formed a government in Baghdad, scoring a victory for
39 Tehran.

40 Maliki has cracked down on Ankara-backed factions, issuing an arrest warrant for Tariq
41 al-Hashimi, Iraq's vice president and leader of the country's Sunni community. Hashimi
42 has taken refuge in the Kurdish-controlled part of Iraq. The Kurds, who have until
43 recently despised the Sunni Arabs for their persecution of the Kurds under Saddam
44 Hussein, are now making amends. They are also closely aligning with Turkey to balance
45 Iranian influence inside Iraq.

46 Turkish-Iranian rivalry in the Fertile Crescent has opened up a can of worms: Iranian
47 leaders attack Turkey's "secular Islam" and threaten to "strike Turkey" should Ankara act
48 on its commitment to support NATO's missile defense project by placing radars on its
49 territory.

50 Turkey, anchored in NATO and oriented toward the Middle East, is a greater threat to
51 Iranian interests than the merely pro-Western Turkey of a decade ago. There is a chance
52 that Iran might become even more aggressive: Some analysts suggest that the Iranian
53 Quds Force, the special-operations unit of the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps, might
54 be connecting with the P.K.K. in northern Iraq to target both Turkey and the Iraqi Kurds.

55 Both countries are slowly showing their hands in the region's oldest power game. In the
56 Middle East, there is room for one shah or one sultan, but not both a shah and a sultan.

Text Four

Watching Elephants Fly

By [THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN \(New York Times\)](#)

Published: January 7, 2012

1 SOMEDAY I'd love to create a journalism course based on covering the uprising in
2 Egypt, now approaching its first anniversary. Lesson No. 1 would be the following:
3 Whenever you see elephants flying, shut up and take notes. The Egyptian uprising is the
4 equivalent of elephants flying. No one predicted it, and no one had seen this before. If
5 you didn't see it coming, what makes you think you know where it's going? That's why
6 the smartest thing now is to just shut up and take notes.

7 If you **do**, the first thing you'll write is that the Islamist parties — the Muslim
8 Brotherhood and the Salafist Al Nour Party — just crushed the secular liberals, who
9 actually sparked the rebellion **here**, in the free Egyptian parliamentary elections, winning
10 some 65 percent of the seats. To not be worried about the theocratic, antipluralistic, anti-
11 women's-rights, xenophobic strands in **these** Islamist parties is to be recklessly naïve. **But**
12 to assume that the Islamists will not be impacted, or moderated, by the responsibilities of
13 power, by the contending new power centers **here** and by the priority of the public for
14 jobs and clean government is to miss the dynamism of Egyptian politics today.

15 **Come with me** to Cairo's dirt-poor Shubra el-Khema neighborhood and the dilapidated
16 Omar Abdel Aziz School, where I watched the last round of voting on Wednesday at a
17 women-only voting center. We were guided by Amr Hassan, a 22-year-old commerce
18 student from the 'hood — a secular youth, who fought to topple the Hosni Mubarak
19 regime in Tahrir Square last year.

20 **Here** is what was so striking: virtually all the women we interviewed after the voting —
21 all of whom were veiled, some with only slits for their eyes — said that they had voted
22 for either the Muslim Brotherhood or the Salafists. **But** almost **none** said they had voted
23 **that** way for religious reasons.

24 Many said they voted for Islamists **because** they were neighbors, people they knew, while
25 secular liberal candidates had never once visited. Some illiterate elderly women confided

26 that they could not read the ballot **and** just voted where their kids told them **to**. **But**
27 **practically** all of them said they had voted for the Muslim Brotherhood or Salafist
28 candidates **because** they expected them to deliver **better**, **more honest** government — **not**
29 more mosques or liquor bans.

30 Here are some quotes from Egyptian women on why they voted Islamist: “I love the
31 Muslim Brotherhood; they are the only honest **ones**. ... I want good education and clean
32 air to breathe. ... We need proper medical care. ... I want my kids to be properly educated.
33 They can't find any jobs. ... The Muslim Brotherhood is not just an Islamist party. It
34 is going to help solve all the problems of **the country**. ... We have to get the youth working
35 **and** to raise salaries. Education **here** is only getting worse. ... My biggest fear is lack of
36 security. We sit in our homes — afraid. You are afraid your son won't be able to go back
37 and forth to school without being kidnapped.”

38 **Meanwhile**, when I asked our young guide Hassan, the revolutionary, whom he had voted
39 for, he said that he wrote on his ballot “Down with the SCAF” — the acronym for the
40 Egyptian military council now running **the country**. He spat out his disgust with the fact
41 that while secular youth like him toppled Mubarak, the Islamist parties were winning the
42 elections and the army generals — who abandoned Mubarak to save themselves — were
43 still in power!

44 **And** there you have Egypt today — a four-way power struggle between the army, the
45 rising Islamist parties, the smaller liberal parties and the secular youth of Tahrir Square.
46 *All of them* will have a say in how **this** story plays out. “We want to see a new Egyptian
47 government with new thoughts,” said Hassan. “I am ready to go back into Tahrir Square
48 if I have **to**.”

49 Indeed, everyone feels **more empowered** now. The army has its guns and now runs **the**
50 **country**; both the Islamists and the liberals have won electoral mandates; and the secular
51 youth from Tahrir feel empowered by the street — by their now proven ability to
52 mobilize and to fight whenever they see things going awry. Even the silent majority **here**,
53 called “The Party of the Couch,” feels more empowered, having just voted in high
54 numbers in an election where the votes actually got counted.

55 My favorite election story was told to me by an international observer, who asked not to
56 be identified. His voting station had just closed **and** as the polling workers were loading
57 up the box filled with votes onto a bus to be taken to a central counting station, an
58 Egyptian woman, who had just voted, ran over to them **and** shouted: “Please, never leave
59 **that** box alone. **This** is our future. Go and make sure they put it in the right place.”

60 **That** box and all the hopes stuffed into it by so many average Egyptians is surely
61 necessary for a new beginning **here**. **But** it is not **sufficient**. **The country** needs a leader —
62 there is still a huge vacuum at the top — who can take all **those** votes, all **those** hopes,
63 **and** meld them into a strategy to create the jobs, schooling, justice and security that all
64 Egyptians clearly crave. If **that** happens, **those** ballot boxes really will have delivered a
65 **different** future for Egypt. Until **then**, I am just taking notes.

Text Five

Morsi's Wrong Turn

By [THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN \(The New York Times\)](#)

Published: August 28, 2012

1 I find it very disturbing that one of the first trips by Egypt's newly elected president,
2 Mohamed Morsi, will be to attend the Nonaligned Movement's summit meeting in
3 Tehran this week. Excuse me, President Morsi, but there is only one reason the Iranian
4 regime wants to hold **the meeting** in Tehran and have heads of state like **you** attend, and
5 that is to signal to Iran's people that the world approves of **their** country's clerical
6 leadership **and therefore** **they** should never, ever, ever again think about launching a
7 democracy movement — the exact **same** kind of democracy movement that brought **you**,
8 Mr. Morsi, to power in Egypt.

9 In 2009, this Iranian regime literally killed the Green Revolution. **It** gunned down
10 hundreds and jailed thousands of Iranians who wanted the one thing that Egyptians got:
11 to have **their** votes counted honestly and **the results** respected. Morsi, who was brought to
12 power by a courageous democracy revolution that neither **he** nor **his** Muslim Brotherhood
13 party started — **but** who benefited from the free and fair election that followed — is
14 lending **his** legitimacy to an Iranian regime that brutally crushed just **such** a movement in
15 Tehran. **This** does not augur well for Morsi's presidency. In fact, **he** should be ashamed
16 of himself.

17 “The Iranian regime has offered Morsi a sanitized tour of **its** nuclear facilities” noted
18 Karim Sadjadpour, the Iran expert at the Carnegie Endowment. “As a former political
19 prisoner in Mubarak's Egypt, Morsi should also request a visit to Tehran's notorious Evin
20 prison. **It** will remind **him** of **his** own past, and offer **him** a glimpse of Iran's future.”

21 Egyptian officials say Morsi is only stopping in Tehran for a few hours to hand over the
22 presidency of the Nonaligned Movement to Iran from Egypt. Really? **He** could have **done**
23 **that** by mail. It would have sent a powerful democratic message. By the way, what is the
24 Nonaligned Movement anymore?

25 “Nonaligned against what and between whom?” asked Michael Mandelbaum, a foreign
26 policy specialist at Johns Hopkins. The Nonaligned Movement was conceived at the
27 Bandung summit in 1955, but there was a logic to it then. The world was divided between
28 Western democratic capitalists and Eastern Communists, and developing states like
29 Egypt, Yugoslavia and Indonesia declared themselves “nonaligned” with these two blocs.
30 But “there is no Communist bloc today,” said Mandelbaum. “The main division in the
31 world is between democratic and undemocratic countries.”

32 Is Morsi nonaligned in that choice? Is he nonaligned when it comes to choosing between
33 democracies and dictatorships — especially the Iranian one that is so complicit in
34 crushing the Syrian rebellion as well? And by the way, why is Ban Ki-moon, the United
35 Nations secretary general, lending his hand to this Iranian whitewashing festival? What a
36 betrayal of Iranian democrats.

37 This has nothing to do with Israel or Iran’s nukes. If Morsi wants to maintain a cold
38 peace with Israel, that is his business. As for Morsi himself, I’d like to see him succeed in
39 turning Egypt around. It would be a huge boost to democracy in the Arab world. But

40 what Egypt needs most will not be found in Tehran. Morsi’s first big trip shouldn’t have
41 been to just China and Iran. It should have been all across Europe and Asia to reassure
42 investors and tourists that Egypt is open for business again — and maybe on to Silicon
43 Valley and then Caltech to meet with Egypt’s Nobel Prize-winning chemist, Ahmed
44 Zewail, to signal a commitment to reviving education in Egypt, where half the women are
45 illiterate.

46 If Morsi needs a primer on the democracy movement in Iran (whose Islamic regime
47 broke relations with Egypt in 1979 to protest the peace treaty with Israel) he can read the
48 one offered by Stanford’s Iran expert, Abbas Milani, on the United States Institute of
49 Peace Web site: “The Green Movement reached its height when up to 3 million peaceful
50 demonstrators turned out on Tehran streets to protest official claims that Mahmoud
51 Ahmadinejad had won the 2009 presidential election in a landslide. Their simple slogan
52 was: ‘Where is my vote?’..... Over the next six months, the Green Movement evolved
53 from a mass group of angry voters to a nationwide force demanding the democratic rights
54 originally sought in the 1979 revolution, rights that were hijacked by radical clerics. ... As

55 momentum grew behind the Green Movement, **the government** response was increasingly
56 tough. In the fall of 2009, more than 100 of the Green Movement's most important
57 leaders, activists and theorists appeared in show trials reminiscent of Joseph Stalin's
58 infamous trials in the 1930s." By early 2010, **the regime** had quashed all public
59 opposition.

60 **That** is the regime that Morsi will be helping to sanitize. One at least hopes **he** read the
61 letter sent to **him** by an Iranian democracy group, Green Messengers of Hope, urging
62 Morsi to remind **his** Iranian hosts "of the fates of the leaders who kept turning **their**
63 on the votes of **their** people, and to urge **them** to govern **their** country relying on the
64 support of the Iranian people rather than military forces." Morsi might want to even
65 remind himself of **that**.

Text Six

The United States' chance for a do-over with Egypt

Deputy Editorial Page Editor

By [Jackson Diehl](#), Published: July 8 ([The Washington Post](#))

1 It's not often that the United States has the obligation, or the opportunity, to completely
2 remake **its** relationship with one of the world's major nations. Usually, for better or for
3 worse, ties are locked in by history, perpetuated by enduring elites, and defended by
4 powerful lobbies. Even bad policies are hard to change.

5 Now, **however**, Washington has no choice but to rebuild **its** connection with Egypt — the
6 most populous and historically most important Arab nation, the owner of the Suez Canal
7 and a prime U.S. ally for more than 40 years. **It** is a **daunting**, even scary prospect for the
8 State Department and Obama White House. **But it** is also offers a chance to correct some
9 of the mistakes America has made for decades in its dealings with Arab leaders. **The**
10 **remake** launches this week when Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton visits Cairo.

11 The need for a revamp has been obvious for some time, **but it** became imperative last
12 month when [Mohammed Morsi](#), the candidate of the Islamist Muslim Brotherhood, won
13 Egypt's first free election for president. **Up until then**, and despite Egypt's popular

14 revolution last year, U.S. policy had centered on the powerful military and the succession
15 of pharaoh-like leaders **it** backed. Year after year, strategic allegiance and peace with
16 Israel was purchased with [\\$1.5 billion in annual military and economic aid](#).

17 Now it gets complicated. **For** the foreseeable future, U.S. officials will have to navigate
18 between [Morsi](#) and **the Brotherhood**, with **their** nominally democratic but fundamentally
19 anti-Western agenda; the military, which is doing **its best** to block the creation of
20 democratic institutions while preserving **its** lifelines with the Pentagon and Israel; and the
21 secular democratic forces that led last year's revolution, which are broadly pro-Western
22 but are squeezed by both the generals and the clerics.

23 A successful walk along **this tightrope** could preserve Egypt as a core U.S. ally and
24 peaceful neighbor of Israel while transforming **it** into a functional democracy —
25 something that would make both **those roles** more stable. **Or**, Egypt could become the
26 world's next Pakistan, a country riven between incompetent and corrupt civilian
27 politicians and double-dealing military commanders.

28 The Obama administration's first two steps in **this acrobacy** managed to alienate and
29 confuse all sides. First, in March, **it** [waived congressional conditions](#) on this year's
30 military aid that required the generals to complete a democratic transition — something
31 that may have encouraged the military's subsequent [dismissal of the elected](#)
32 [Congress](#) and usurpation of **the new president's** powers. Egyptian democrats [felt](#)
33 [betrayed](#).

34 **But** then last month **the administration** leaned heavily on the ruling military council to
35 recognize [Morsi's](#) victory in a runoff election. Lobbying by [Clinton](#) and Defense
36 Secretary [Leon Panetta](#) may have prevented [the council](#) from handing the presidency to
37 its favored candidate, a former prime minister. **But** **it** infuriated the generals, Egyptian
38 Christians and some U.S. supporters of Israel, who fear **the Islamists** more than the old
39 regime.

40 Now what? Quite understandably there's been vigorous debate inside **the administration**
41 about the best way to approach [Morsi](#), and about how to use U.S. aid. What seems to be
42 emerging is a cautious, step-by-step approach in which [Morsi's](#) government would get
43 U.S. support in obtaining economic assistance from the International Monetary Fund as
44 well as a long-delayed [debt-swap](#) deal — provided that **it** follows through on promises to

45 preserve the rights of women and religious minorities, respects democratic norms and
46 preserves peace with Israel. In a visit to Cairo Sunday, Deputy Secretary of State William
47 Burns sketched those terms following a meeting with Morsi during which he delivered a
48 letter from Obama.

49 Burns didn't publicly mention military aid, but the administration has been thinking
50 about that, too. The consensus is it should be continued for now, but some officials
51 believe it should eventually be restructured, reduced and focused on missions like

52 counter-terrorism and border protection, rather than the purchase of expensive American
53 hardware.

54 In conception, that's not a bad plan. The challenge will be avoiding the classic pitfalls of
55 U.S. Middle East diplomacy. One is to shower too much attention and favor on those who
56 happen to be in power. Though the military and the Muslim Brotherhood hold the
57 strongest cards for now, neither can be a strong or reliable partner over time. America's
58 real friends are Egypt's secular democrats and its emerging middle class, who have been
59 shoved to the sidelines but are the country's best long-term hope.

60 The other big danger is that U.S. policy will be pushed back into the old ruts by Egyptian
61 or domestic pressure. The military will resist any alteration of the aid program, or
62 supplanting of its influence in Washington by civilian leaders. Some in Congress will
63 demand that the administration deny aid to an Islamist government. Giving into those
64 pressures would be the quickest way to blow this opportunity for diplomatic change —
65 and turn Egypt into a second Pakistan.

Text Seven

Egypt's new leaders must accept reality

By Dennis Ross, Published: August 19 (The Washington Post)

Dennis Ross, a counselor at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy, was a special assistant to President Obama on the Middle East and a senior director on the National Security Council staff from July 2009 to December 2011.

1 A new reality and an alternative reality are shaping up in Egypt. President Mohamed
2 Morsi and the Muslim Brotherhood appear firmly in control . Morsi seized on the killing
3 of 16 Egyptian soldiers in the Sinai early this month — an embarrassment for the military
4 and particularly the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces (SCAF) — **to** remove the
5 most senior military leaders from office. **He also** unilaterally amended the March 2011
6 constitution declaration and gave **his** office executive and legislative powers. In
7 short, with no hint of resistance from the military, Morsi has imposed civilian leadership
8 on Egypt. |

9 Many see Morsi's move to control the SCAF — **he** sacked Field Marshal Mohammed
10 Hussein Tantawi; military chief of staff Sami Anan; and the heads of Egypt's army, navy
11 and air force — as finally giving Egypt's revolution the chance to remove key remnants
12 of the Mubarak regime and fulfill **its** promise. Others, particularly non-Islamists, are
13 **more prone** to see recent actions as the Muslim Brotherhood removing any checks on its
14 power.

15 Given some of the other moves that Morsi and those around **him** have made, there is
16 reason to be concerned. Morsi has appointed a new minister of information, Salah Abdul
17 Maqsood; **he**, too, comes from the Muslim Brotherhood **and** actively supports the move to
18 replace 50 leading editors and journalists. Charges have been filed against the editor of
19 the independent opposition newspaper al-Dustour for insulting **the president**. It is
20 probably no accident that **the state media's** tone has changed markedly in the past week
21 — and is far more favorable toward Morsi.

22 None of **this** means that Egypt's path of change is foreordained. It does mean that **the**
23 **president**, who has largely surrounded himself with members of the Muslim Brotherhood
24 or sympathizers, dominates all of Egypt's institutions of power. **He** and the Brotherhood

25 will find it hard to escape responsibility for whatever happens in Egypt. **The country**
26 faces daunting economic challenges; **it** will need significant outside assistance and
27 private investment. Morsi and the Brotherhood are seeking outside support for **their**
28 “renaissance plan” to revitalize the economy; after **they** resisted the conditions for an
29 International Monetary Fund agreement when **they** were not in power, Morsi and the
30 Brotherhood now appear eager to not only gain the loan but also to borrow more than the
31 \$3.2 billion that the IMF was prepared to offer conditionally.

32 In this respect, Morsi and the Brotherhood seem to recognize reality. **But** in another
33 important regard, **they** appear determined to deny **it**. Consider that Morsi denied sending
34 Israeli President Shimon Peres a response to a note that Peres had written **him** after news
35 of the correspondence provoked a backlash in **the Brotherhood** over Morsi having any
36 such contact with Israel. What makes **this** particularly noteworthy is that Peres’s office
37 did not release Morsi’s letter publicly until after checking with the Egyptians to make
38 sure it was okay to **do so**. The outrage among the Brotherhood led Egypt’s president to
39 publicly deny a fact. **Similarly**, consider that the Brotherhood immediately blamed the
40 Mossad, Israel’s intelligence organization, for the Sinai attack that killed **the Egyptian**
41 **soldiers** — something that the Brotherhood knew to be untrue.

42 What conclusions should be drawn about an organization that cannot admit the truth?
43 That insists on living in **its** own reality? If nothing else, it’s clear that **the group the**
44 **Brotherhood** is wedded to **its ideology** and cannot admit anything that might call **its** basic
45 philosophy into question. **But** the United States and others should not accommodate **the**
46 **Brotherhood’s** alternative reality. This is not to say that we have to agree on everything.
47 Policy differences are understandable — **but** it is not acceptable to deny reality and foster
48 a narrative and policies based on untruths and fictions.

49 Morsi and the Muslim Brotherhood should know **this**. Egypt’s president and people
50 should **also** know that we are prepared to mobilize the international community, and
51 global financial institutions, to help Egypt — **but** that we will only **do so** if Egypt’s
52 government is prepared to play by a set of rules grounded in reality and key principles.
53 **They** must respect the rights of minorities and women; **they** must accept political

54 pluralism and the space for open political competition; and **they** must respect **their**
55 international obligations, including the terms of Egypt's peace treaty with Israel.

56 **The record** to date is not good: News reports suggest that more than 100,000 Coptic
57 Christians have left Egypt ; there have been new efforts to intimidate the media, and
58 Morsi has moved armored forces into the Sinai without first notifying the Israelis — a
59 requirement of the peace treaty. **The administration's** position needs to be clear: If **this**
60 **behavior** continues, U.S. support, which will be essential for gaining international
61 economic aid and fostering investment, will not be forthcoming. Softening or fuzzing our
62 response at this point might be good for the Muslim Brotherhood, but **it** won't be good
63 for Egypt.

Appendix A (2)

Text One

أندرو ناتسيوس

مزيد من الحروب بانتظار السودان

- 1 شهدت الأعوام الثلاثة والعشرون الماضية من حكم الرئيس السوداني عمر حسن البشير، حرباً أهلية لم تتوقف تقريباً،
- 2 تم مؤخراً انفصال جنوب السودان وصدور لائحة اتهام بارتكاب مذابح جماعية من قبل محكمة العدل الدولية بحق
- 3 البشير نفسه. **و**حالياً تتعرض **حكومته** لهجمة من جيوش متمردة تقدر قوتها **بـ**60.000 مقاتل، **ناهيك عن**
- 4 المظاهرات التي اندلعت بعد سحب دعم البنزين، وعجز الميزانية الضخم وقتل موسم الحصاد والارتفاع الكبير في
- 5 أسعار الغذاء، ما يؤشر على أن أيام البشير باتت معدودة.
- 6 **لكن** إسقاط البشير لن ينهي الصراع، **وقد** يؤدي إلى اندلاع حرب أهلية جديدة، **فالمجموعات** التي تعارض البشير
- 7 توحدتها **كراهيتها** المشتركة **له** **ولحزبه** **كثير من** **اتفاقها** على رؤية موحدة لمستقبل السودان. **وإذا ما أسقطوه** فسرعان
- 8 ما سيبد بينهم الخلاف بشأن النقاش طويل الأمد وغير المحسوم الذي خيم على السودان منذ نشأته حول العلاقة
- 9 الأنسب بين الإسلام والدولة السودانية.
- 10 تولى البشير السلطة في عام 1989 إثر انقلاب كان حسن الترابي، الذي أسس في الستينات جبهة الميثاق الإسلامي
- 11 النسخة السودانية من «الإخوان المسلمين»، العقل المدبر **له**. **وكانت** النظرية السياسية الأساسية للترابي، ولا تزال،
- 12 تقوم على أن القرآن يحتوي على كل الأسس المطلوبة لحكم دولة حديثة.
- 13 **وتحت** تأثير الترابي (الذي عمل وزيراً للعدل في أواخر الثمانينات قبل تولي البشير السلطة) هيمن الإسلام السياسي
- 14 على الشؤون الداخلية السودانية، فأبجحت الآلاف من النساء السودانيات من الوظائف المهنية لأن **عملهن** لا يتفق وما
- 15 ينبغي أن تكون عليه المرأة المسلمة، **و**حلت الشريعة الإسلامية محل القانون المدني العلماني، **وأقيمت** محاكم إسلامية
- 16 مستقلة بموجب قانون المحاكم الخاصة وطبقت الشريعة الإسلامية على كل المواطنين من مسلمين وغيرهم.
- 17 **أنشئ** **يحباً** نظام مصرفي إسلامي، ما يعني أن المصارف لن تتمكن من الحصول على فائدة على القروض، **ذلك**
- 18 الإجراء الذي أعاق في وقت لاحق إنشاء شركات جديدة وبخاصة من قبل غير المسلمين الذين يمتلكون بالفعل وصولاً
- 19 محدوداً إلى المصارف الإسلامية. **حلت** اللغة العربية محل الإنجليزية كلغة للتعليم في جامعة الخرطوم وأصبح تعيين
- 20 الأساتذة عملية سياسية.
- 21 كان الترابي ذاته **هو** من دعا أسامة بن لادن في عام 1991 لإنشاء مقر «القاعدة» في السودان. أثناء إقامته في
- 22 الخرطوم تزوج بن لادن إحدى بنات أخت الترابي، الذي دعا جماعات إسلامية راديكالية أخرى، مثل حماس، حزب
- 23 الله والجماعة الإسلامية، وفق رؤية تحويل السودان إلى قاعدة العمليات للأسلمة الراديكالية لدول جنوب الصحراء
- 24 الأفريقية.
- 25 بحلول منتصف التسعينات، رفعت حكومة الولايات المتحدة وحلفاؤها العرب درجة مؤشر الخطر لتصاعد الأسلمة
- 26 الراديكالية في السودان، **وبدأوا** بالضغط على البشير لطرد **هذه** المجموعات من السودان، (قيل بأن الترابي كان يقف
- 27 خلف محاولة اغتيال الرئيس المصري حسني مبارك في عام 1995).
- 28 **وافق** البشير في نهاية المطاف **لأنه** أدرك أن **هذه** السياسات تعزل السودان عن العالم العربي، **ولكن** طرد **هذه**
- 29 المجموعات **أدخله** في خلاف مع الترابي. **وبسبب** **هذا** القرار، فضلاً عن خلاف مرير عام حول سلطات الرئيس،
- 30 أصبح **الرجلان** عدوين لدودين، (أراد الترابي أن ينتخب حكام الولايات وأن يكون البرلمان قادراً على محاسبة
- 31 الرئيس كمحاولة لتجريد الرئيس من **صلاحياته** بعد **طرده** للجماعات الإسلامية.)
- 32 **وهما** لا يزالان **كذلك** على الرغم من الجهود المتكررة من قبل جماعة الإخوان المسلمين المصرية لرأب الصدع.
- 33 **يجيش** الترابي الآن في أواخر السبعينات من العمر **ويعتقد أنه** في الخرطوم. **وعلى** الرغم مما تجره **عليه** **تصريحاته**

- 34 من مضايقات رسمية وتنتهي به إلى السجن، فإنه لا يزال يحتفظ بقدر من المؤيدين من الإسلاميين ويعتبر من التأثير
- 35 بدرجة يصعب معها توجيه إساءة جديّة إليه.
- 36 بعد أن بدأت عائدات النفط تتدفق في خزينة الحكومة المركزية بعد 1998، حادت المهمة الأساسية لجماعة البشير
- 37 بعيدا عن هدفها بنشر الإسلام الراديكالي في أفريقيا باتجاه المحافظة على الذات، على الرغم من استمرار
- 38 الأيديولوجية والمؤسسات الإسلامية.
- 39 يضم تحالف المتمرد الذي يخوض حربا الآن مع الخرطوم مجموعات تنادي بالديمقراطية وتطالب بإنشاء دولة
- 40 علمانية، واحترام الحريات الأساسية وحقوق الإنسان، والتحدية الحزبية وقانون علماني مدني – المبادئ التي تضمنها
- 41 البيان الرسمي للتحالف.
- 42 ويطلب عبد العزيز الحلو النائب السابق لحاكم ولاية جنوب كردفان، ومالك عقار الحاكم السابق لولاية النيل الأزرق
- 43 - الإكتنان قياديان سابقان في الجيش الشعبي لتحرير السودان الذي خاض حربا أهلية طويلة ضد قوات البشير -
- 44 بالتطبيق الشامل لنصوص اتفاقية السلام الشاملة التي توصلت إليها حركتهما مع حكومة السودان عام 2005.
- 45 تتضمن الاتفاقية نصوصا تسمح لولايتيهما بإدخال مواطنيهما في عملية المشاركة الديمقراطية لتحديد كيفية حكم
- 46 أنفسهم في المستقبل. أوقف البشير العملية فجأة وحاول بطريقة فاشلة تصفية عقار والحلو معا، لكن التحالف المعادي
- 47 للبشير يضم أيضا عدة جماعات إسلامية، مثل حركة العدل والمساواة من دارفور، مجموعة متمردة تستلهم رؤية
- 48 الترابي الإسلامية.
- 49 وكانت القوات الجوية السودانية قد قتلت مؤسس وقائد حركة العدل والمساواة في هجوم ليلي في ديسمبر (كانون
- 50 الأول) الماضي، ومن ثم فلدى الحركة دافع إضافي لمباشر للتخلص من حكومة البشير، وهو التأثر.
- 51 لكن الحركة عندما وقعت على البيان المشترك مع مجموعات علمانية أخرى، رفض قادة العدل والمساواة علنيا مع
- 52 مبدئه المركزي الخاص بالدولة العلمانية. وهم ليسوا وحدهم، فإثنان من أحزاب السودان التاريخية، حزب الأمة
- 53 والحزب الاتحادي الديمقراطي، يؤمنان بدولة ديمقراطية، لكنهما يدعمان تطبيق الشريعة الإسلامية المفهوم المميز
- 54 للسودان كدولة إسلامية.
- 55 ليس مؤكدا ما إذا كان المتمردون قادرين على إسقاط حكومة البشير، لكن حتى وإن تمكنا من ذلك، فربما يهيئون
- 56 بذلك المسرح فقط لحرب أهلية جديدة. وإذا كانوا هم وحلفاؤهم في الغرب يريدون إسقاط البشير فيجب أن لا تراودهم
- 57 الأوهام حول حظوظ مستقبل ديمقراطي وسلمي للسودان.
- * أندرو ناتسيوس المبعوث الخاص للولايات المتحدة للسودان (2006 - 2007) والأستاذ في كلية جورج دبليو بوش للحكومة بجامعة تكساس إيه أند إم ومؤلف كتاب «السودان وجنوب السودان ودارفور: ما يتعين على أي واحد معرفته»

Text Two

المتشددون في مصر وليبيا يتحايلون للوصول إلى السلطة

بواسطة ديفيد إغناطيوس | الشرق الأوسط – الجمعة، 14 سبتمبر 2012

- 1 إن ما يحدث في القاهرة وبنغازي يبدو حالة انتهازية سياسية - لا، ليس من قبل ميث رومني، على الرغم من أن بعضا
- 2 من هذا قد صدر منه يوم الأربعاء الماضي - بل من المتطرفين السلفيين الإسلاميين الذين لم يسعدهم ما حققته
- 3 الأحزاب الإسلامية والعلمانية الأكثر اعتدالا في مصر وليبيا من نجاح في بناء دعم سياسي لها. ونحن ما زلنا فيما
- 4 أحب أن أسميه «ضباب الثورة» في كلا البلدين، حيث يصعب أن نعرف على وجه اليقين ماذا يحدث ومن المستفيد،
- 5 لذا فإن ما أقوله يحتاج إلى استيضاح. ولكن بناء على الأحاديث التي أجريتها مع مصادر كانت موجودة في الشوارع
- 6 يوم الثلاثاء الماضي وسط مظاهرات القاهرة وكانت تتابع الأحداث في ليبيا عن كثب، فإنه من الممكن اختراق حجب
- 7 الضباب قليلا وتقديم بعض التحليلات المبدئية.
- 8 أولاً، الوضع في القاهرة: لقد كشفت الرايات المكتوبة بالعربية التي رفعها المتظاهرون المتجهون نحو السفارة
- 9 الأميركية عن هويتهم وأنهم أعضاء في حزب النور وحزب الأصالة. وهما أكبر جماعتين سلفيتين كانتا تتنافسان في
- 10 الانتخابات المصرية. والسلفيون، الذين يحبر اسمهم عن احترام «السلف الصالح» من زمن النبي محمد، هم
- 11 أكثر محافظة وأقل براغماتية من جماعة الإخوان المسلمين التي تحكم مصر الآن.
- 12 وقد أخبرني محلل كان موجودا وسط تلك الحشود يوم الثلاثاء الماضي أنه يرى أن المتظاهرين السلفيين يستغلون
- 13 ذريعة صدور فيلم أميركي يزعمون أنه معاد للإسلام من أجل بعت رسالتين: الرسالة الأولى هي إظهار تيار العداء
- 14 لأميركا، الذي قويت شوكته في مصر اليوم، أما الرسالة الثانية والأكثر إثارة للاهتمام فهي إعلان التحدي من جانب
- 15 السلفيين لمنافسيهم في حكومة الإخوان المسلمين التي يقودها الرئيس محمد مرسي.
- 16 وكما هو الحال في الغالب مع الثورات، فإن الاضطرابات التي تشهدها القاهرة تبدو بصورة جزئية حالة متشددين
- 17 يرغبون في إضعاف حزب حاكم أكثر اعتدالا. وقد زاد من تهديد المتظاهرين السلفيين مجموعة من المخربين الميالين
- 18 إلى العنف، الذين كثيرا ما يوصفون بأنهم مشجعو كرة قدم لكنهم يتحولون بصورة متزايدة إلى فوضويين متيرين
- 19 للشغب.
- 20 وهناك عملية مماثلة من التحايل تجري وفائعا في ليبيا عقب الثورة، وقد أنت هذه العملية يوم الثلاثاء الماضي إلى
- 21 مأساة مقتل السفير كريستوفر ستيفنز و3 أميركيين آخرين. وفي البداية بدا أن هجوم السلفيين على القنصلية الأميركية
- 22 في بنغازي هو هجوم «مقلد» على غرار الهجوم الذي وقع في القاهرة، غير أن المسؤولين الأميركيين قالوا إنه ربما
- 23 يكون مخططا من قبل متطرفين على صلة بتنظيم القاعدة، حيث كانوا معززين بميليشيات إسلامية مسلحة تسليحا
- 24 جيدا، وكان غضبيهم هم أيضا مزيجا من العداء المتأصل لأميركا (الذي من المحزن أنه يكون دائما ورقة لعب يتم
- 25 الرهان عليها في المنطقة) وإظهار التحدي لرئيس الوزراء عبد الرحيم الكيب والأحزاب العلمانية التي تمثل العمود
- 26 الفقري للحكومة الليبية الجديدة.
- 27 فهل أميركا لها مصلحة في الاقتتال الداخلي الجاري في هذين البلدين اللذين ما زالا يهتران بفعل الثورات العربية؟
- 28 بالطبع لها مصلحة، وخاصة عندما تكون السفارات الأميركية أهدافا للمتظاهرين، وعندما يلقي الدبلوماسيون
- 29 الأميركيون حتفهم في تبادل إطلاق النار. إلا أن هذا لا يتعلق حقا بأميركا، بل بقصائل تتقاتل على السلطة في ظل
- 30 موقف سياسي مائع.
- 31 وللأسف، فإن الاستيلاء على السفارة الأميركية في طهران عام 1979 يعد مثالا مناسباً، حيث وقع ذلك العمل على يد
- 32 مجموعة من «الطلاب» الإيرانيين المتطرفين الذين لم يسعدهم أن حكومة ما بعد الثورة بقيادة آية الله الخميني لم تثبت
- 33 أنها متشددة بما يكفي، وقد انتزعوا الثورة في قبضتهم عندما استولوا على السفارة. والدرس المستفاد من تلك الكارثة
- 34 هو أن السلطات الأمنية المحلية يجب أن تعيد النظام والانضباط سريعا، وإذا لم تستطع أو لم تفعل، فإن الأميركيين
- 35 يجب أن يتعدوا عن طريق الأذى.

36 **ومن** المتبر للقلق أيضا الصلة الموجودة بين السلفيين (الذين تظهر **ملصقاتهم** بصورة تبحت على القلق في الأحياء
37 القاهرة القريبة من حي مصر الجديدة حيث يسكن أفراد الجيش) والجناح «التكفيرى» **الأكثر** ميلا للعنف، الذي يؤمن
38 أنه يجوز قتل المسلمين المرتدين **وله** صلات مع تنظيم القاعدة، فالتكفيريون يكرهون جماعة الإخوان المسلمين
39 الحاكمة، إذا كان في **ذلك** أي عزاء.

40 وهذا التوازن السياسي الهش في مصر وليبيا يجعل من الخطاب الأبله لحملة رومني المرشح الرئاسي الجمهوري
41 خطابا يرتى **له** إلى حد بعيد، حيث إن **تعليقاته** تجعل **هذه الأزمة** «متعلقة بالأميركيين» **أكثر** مما تحتاج.

42 فلنجد إلى الحافز الرئيسي **لهذه** الأحداث، وهو نجاح الحكومتين غير المتطرفتين بدرجة مقبولة (ولن أقول
43 «المحتلتين») في مصر وليبيا في تعزيز **سلطتيهما**، وغضب السلفيين **الأكثر تشددا** من **هذا** النجاح. على سبيل المثال،
44 فقد وفق مرسي لتوه في الحصول على تعهدات من السعودية وقطر بتقديم مساعدات مالية بالمليارات، حيث يراهن
45 عرب الخليج على أن يتمكن مرسي خلال العام المقبل من إعادة الاستقرار إلى مصر وتحريك عجلة الاقتصاد من
46 جديد. وعلى الرغم من أحداث التلاتاء الدامية، فإن الولايات المتحدة ينبغي أن تراهن على **نفس** الرهان.

واشنطن بوست

Text Three

المواجهة المقبلة تركيا ضد إيران

سونير تشاغبتاي

27/2/2012

1 لا يكاد يمر يوم واحد دون أن يقوم مسؤول إيراني بتهديد تركيا، **فعلى سبيل المثال**، قام **اللواء يحيى رحيم صفوي** في
2 الأونة الأخيرة بتوجيه تحذير لأنقرة يقول فيه: «يجب على تركيا أن تعيد النظر بشكل جذري في سياساتها تجاه سوريا،
3 والدرع الصاروخية لحلف شمال الأطلسي، والترويج للعلمانية الإسلامية في العالم العربي، **وإلا** ستواجه متاعب من
4 شعيها ومن جيرانها».

5 **ولا** يعد **هذا** شيئا جديدا، حيث يعود الصراع التركي - الإيراني إلى عدة قرون، وبالتحديد إلى أيام السلاطين العثمانيين
6 والشاهات الصفويين. **وقد** تراجع **هذا التنافس** لفترة وجيزة في القرن العشرين عندما أصبحت تركيا دولة منطوية على
7 ذاتها، **مما أدى إلى** وجود حالة من الفراغ في منطقة الشرق الأوسط. **ومع ذلك**، نما الاقتصاد التركي بشكل كبير
8 وبرزت تركيا بوصفها عملاقا إقليميا خلال العقد الماضي في ظل حكم حزب العدالة والتنمية، وهو ما أعاد إليها
9 مكانتها ودورها الإقليمي، وأصبحت أنقرة بمثابة العقبة الرئيسية في وجه الأطماع الإيرانية للسيطرة على المنطقة، من
10 خلال المواقف التركية في الأحداث التي تشهدها المنطقة، بدءا من الثورة السورية، ومرورا بالتوترات الطائفية في
11 العراق، حتى الطموحات الإيرانية لامتلاك أسلحة نووية.

12 وفي أعقاب وصول حزب العدالة والتنمية إلى سدة الحكم عام 2002، لم يكن الأتراك مهتمين بالتنافس مع الإيرانيين،
13 وبنيت العلاقات التركية - الإيرانية على ما يرام إلى حد كبير، حيث كان كل منهما يدافع عن القضية الفلسطينية، ولم
14 يكن يبدو **أنداك** أن أنقرة مهددة بالمشروع النووي الإيراني، **وبالت** الزيارات رفيعة المستوى بين **الحكومتين** أمرا
15 طبيعيا، **وازدهرت** العلاقات التجارية بين **البلدين**.

16 **وفي** **هذه الأثناء**، كان يبدو أن اعتراض **البلدين** على الحرب الأميركية على العراق قد ساعد على توحيد الأتراك
17 والإيرانيين، للدرجة التي جعلت طهران تتوقف عن إيواء متمردي حزب العمال الكردستاني التي كانت تحتها على
18 مهاجمة تركيا بسبب المواقف التركية المؤيدة للغرب. **وبدأت** طهران بعد الحرب العراقية في قصف معسكرات حزب
19 العمال الكردستاني التي كانت قد سمحت بوجودها على أراضيها، وهو ما ساعد على تحسين العلاقات التناحية.

- 20 **وبعد ذلك**، جاء الربيع العربي، ووضعت الثورة السورية **البلدين** على طرفي نقيض في المسرح الإقليمي والسياسي،
- 21 حيث أبدت أنقرة، بدافع من تقاليد الديمقراطية، الثورة السورية ودعمت المحتجين، **في حين** استمرت إيران، بدافع
- 22 من حكمها السلطوي، في دعمها نظام الأسد وقمعه الوحشي للمدنيين.
- 23 ووصلت الثورة السورية إلى معادلة صفرية؛ **فإما** أن ينتصر بشار الأسد، **وإما** أن ينتصر المتظاهرون، **ثم** تحولت
- 24 القضية إلى حرب بالوكالة بين طهران وأنقرة، **وسوقا** تسفر في النهاية عن منتصر واحد فقط.
- 25 **وعلى هذا** الأساس، أصبح كل شيء جائزا بين أنقرة وطهران، حيث تجاهل الأسد، بتسجيع من إيران، نصيحة الأتراك
- 26 **له** بإجراء إصلاحات **في البلاد**، **في حين** تقوم تركيا الآن بدعم واستضافة وتسليح المعارضة السورية. **وردا** على ذلك،
- 27 قامت إيران بتوجيه ضربات إلى تركيا من خلال تقديم الدعم مرة أخرى لحزب العمال الكردستاني الذي شن عشرات
- 28 الهجمات التي أدت إلى مقتل أكثر من 150 تركيا منذ صيف 2011.
- 29 **وقد أدى هذا** الانقسام بشأن سوريا إلى حدوث انقسام آخر في ما يتعلق بالوضع في العراق، حيث تدعم تركيا وإيران
- 30 معسكرين متعارضين تماما. ومنذ أول انتخابات ديمقراطية في العراق في عام 2005، قامت إيران بدعم حزب الدعوة
- 31 الشيعي برئاسة نوري المالكي، **في حين** قامت تركيا بدعم «القائمة العراقية» العلمانية بزعامة إياد علاوي. **وبعد أشهر**
- 32 من النزاع بعد انتخابات 2010، قام المالكي بتشكيل حكومة في بغداد، وهو ما كان بمثابة انتصار لطهران.
- 33 **وشن** المالكي حملات قمعية على الفصائل المدعومة من أنقرة، **وأصدر** مذكرة اعتقال بحق طارق الهاشمي نائب
- 34 الرئيس العراقي وزعيم الطائفة السنية، الذي لجأ إلى المنطقة التي يسيطر عليها الأكراد في العراق. وفي الوقت
- 35 الحالي، يحمل الأكراد، الذين كانوا يكرهون العرب السنة بسبب اضطهادهم لهم في عهد صدام حسين، على إصلاح
- 36 جسور العلاقات مع السنة، **كما** يؤيدون المواقف التركية لمواجهة النفوذ الإيراني داخل العراق.
- 37 وقد خلق الصراع التركي - الإيراني في الهلال الخصيب العديد من المشكلات، حيث يهاجم الزعماء الإيرانيون
- 38 «الإسلام العلماني» التركي ويهددون بـ«ضرب تركيا» **إنما** نفتت أنقرة التزامها بدعم مشروع الدرع الصاروخية
- 39 لحلف شمال الأطلسي عن طريق وضع أجهزة رادار على أراضيها. وتمثل تركيا، وهي عضو في حلف شمال
- 40 الأطلسي ولها توجهات كبيرة في الشرق الأوسط، تهديدا للمصالح الإيرانية الآن **كثيرا** من التهديد الذي كانت **تمتله** قبل
- 41 عقد من الزمان. **ويمكن** أن تصبح إيران **كثيرا** عدوانية، حيث يشير بعض المحللين إلى أن فيلق القدس الإيراني، وهو
- 42 وحدة العمليات الخاصة في الحرس الثوري الإيراني، قد يكون على علاقة بحزب العمال الكردستاني في شمال العراق
- 43 لاستهداف كل من تركيا والأكراد العراقيين.
- 44 يبدأ كلا **البلدين** يكتشف عن أوراقه ببطء في إطار أقدم صراع على النفوذ في المنطقة. **وفي** الحقيقة، هناك مجال لأن
- 45 يكون هناك شاه واحد أو سلطان واحد في الشرق الأوسط، **ولكن** ليس هناك مجال لوجود الشاه والسلطان معا.

* عن «نيويورك تايمز» كما نشرتها "الشرق الأوسط"

Text four

مشاهدة الفيلة تطير

بواسطة توماس فريدمان | الشرق الأوسط – الأربعاء، 11 يناير 2012

*خدمة «نيويورك تايمز»

- 1 أود أن أقوم يوما ما بعمل دورة تدريبية في مجال الصحافة مبنية على أساس طريقة تغطية الثورة في مصر، التي
- 2 يقترب الآن موعد الذكرى الأولى لها. وسيكون الدرس الأول على النحو التالي: إذا شاهدت الفيلة تطير، فلتصمت
- 3 وتقم بتدوين الملاحظات، حيث إن الثورة المصرية مساوية لطيران الفيلة. ولأن أحدا لم يكن يتوقع حدوثها، كما لم ير
- 4 أحد متيلا لها من قبل، فما الذي يجعل أحدا يعتقد أنه يعرف إلى أين هي ذاهبة، إذا لم يكن قد توقع حدوثها من قبل؟
- 5 وهذا هو السبب الذي يجعل الخيار الأنكى أمام أي صحافي الآن هو أن يخرس ويقوم بتدوين الملاحظات.
- 6 وإذا شرع المرء في ذلك، فإن أول شيء سينبغي عليه أن يكتبه هو أن الأحزاب الإسلامية - الإخوان المسلمين وحزب
- 7 النور السلفي - قد نجحوا للتو في سحق الليبراليين العلمانيين - الذين كانوا هم من قاموا بإتعال شرارة الثورة في
- 8 مصر - وذلك في الانتخابات البرلمانية المصرية الحرة، حيث فازوا بنحو 65 في المائة من المقاعد.
- 9 وعلى الرغم من أنه من السناجة البالغة أن لا نخشى من الاتجاهات الليبرالية المناهضة للتحديده وحقوق المرأة،
- 10 وكراهية الأجانب الموجودة لدى هذه الأحزاب الإسلامية، فإن افتراض عدم تأثر الإسلاميين، أو تحولهم للاعتدال،
- 11 نتيجة توليهم مسؤوليات السلطة، ونتيجة ضغط مراكز القوى المتنافسة الجديدة في مصر، ونتيجة الأولوية التي يضعها
- 12 الرأي العام بشأن ضرورة توفير فرص وتكوين حكومة نزيهة، هو افتراض يفتقد الرؤية الواضحة لدينامية السياسة
- 13 المصرية في الوقت الحالي.
- 14 وقد قمنا يوم الأربعاء، أثناء الجولة الأخيرة من التصويت، بزيارة مركز اقتراع مخصص للنساء فقط في مدرسة عمر
- 15 بن عبد العزيز المتهاكة، الواقعة في حي شبرا الخيمة المترب الفقير في مدينة القاهرة، حيث قام بإرشادنا شاب من
- 16 شباب الحي، يدعى عمرو حسن، وهو طالب في كلية التجارة، ويبلغ من العمر 22 عاما، وكان أحد الشباب العلمانيين
- 17 الذين حاربوا إسقاط نظام حسني مبارك في ميدان التحرير في العام الماضي.
- 18 والأمر المدهش للغاية في هذه الزيارة، أن جميع النساء تقريبا، من اللاتي قمنا بإجراء مقابلات معهن بعد التصويت -
- 19 واللاتي كن من المحجبات، كما كان بعضهن من المنتقبات اللاتي لا يظهر من وجوههن سوى أعينهن فقط - قلن إنهن
- 20 قد صوتن لصالح الإخوان المسلمين أو السلفيين. ولكن لم تقل أي واحدة منهن تقريبا إنها قد صوتت على هذا النحو
- 21 لأسباب دينية، حيث قالت الكثيرات منهن إنهن قد صوتن لصالح الإسلاميين لأنهم كانوا جيرانهن الذين يعرفهن جيدا،
- 22 في حين أن المرشحين العلمانيين الليبراليين لم يقوموا بزيارتهم ولو مرة واحدة. وقد أسررت إلينا بعض النساء
- 23 المسنات الأميات بأنهن لم يستطعن قراءة ورقة الاقتراع، وأنهن قد صوتن حسما قال لهن أبنائهن أن يفعلن. ولكن
- 24 من الناحية العملية، فقد قلن جميعا إنهن صوتن لصالح مرشحي الإخوان المسلمين أو السلفيين، لأنهن يتوقعن منهم
- 25 تشكيل حكومة أفضل وأكثر صدقا، وليس لكي يقوموا ببناء عدد أكبر من المساجد أو فرض حظر على الخمر.
- 26 وهذه هي بعض الاقتباسات من أقوال النساء المصريات توضح لماذا صوتن للإسلاميين: «أنا أحب الإخوان
- 27 المسلمين، فهم وحدهم الشرفاء. أريد تعليما جيدا وهواء نقيًا أنتفسه. نحن بحاجة إلى الرعاية الطبية المناسبة. أريد
- 28 أن يتعلم أطفالنا بشكل صحيح، فهم لا يستطيعون العثور على أي وظيفة. الإخوان المسلمون ليسوا مجرد حزب
- 29 إسلامي، فهم سيساعدوننا في حل جميع المشكلات التي تعاني منها البلاد. ينبغي أن توفر فرص عمل للشباب وأن
- 30 تعمل على زيادة الرواتب، فالتعليم في مصر يزداد سوءا.. إن خوفنا الكبير هو انعدام الأمن، حيث إننا نجلس خائفين
- 31 في بيوتنا، ونخشى أن لا نستطيع أبنائنا الانتقال ذهابا وإيابا من وإلى المدرسة من دون أن يتعرضوا للاختطاف.»
- 32 ولكن عندما سألت مرشدنا الشاب التوري، حسن، عن الذي صوت لصالحه في الانتخابات، قال لي إنه كتب على
- 33 ورقة الاقتراع الخاصة به عبارة: «فليسقط المجلس العسكري»، وهو المجلس الذي يدير البلاد الآن، معلنا اشمئزازه
- 34 من حقيقة أنه على الرغم من أن الشباب العلماني مثله هم من أطاحوا بمبارك، فإن الأحزاب الإسلامية هي من يحقق
- 35 الفوز في الانتخابات، وأن جنرالات الجيش - الذين تخلوا عن مبارك لإنتقاد أنفسهم - لا يزالون في السلطة!

- 36 **وهكذا** يتضح أن الوضع السياسي في مصر اليوم هو صراع رباعي على السلطة بين الجيش، والأحزاب الإسلامية
37 الصاعدة، والأحزاب الليبرالية الأصغر حجماً، وشباب ميدان التحرير العلماني، حيث لدى كل **منهم** رأي بشأن كيفية
38 جريان الأحداث في **هذه** القصة. **وقد** **أضاف** حسن قائلًا: «إننا نريد أن نرى حكومة مصرية جديدة بأفكار جديدة، **وأنا**
39 مستعد للذهاب مرة أخرى إلى ميدان التحرير إذا اقتضى الأمر.»
- 40 **ويشعر** الجميع في مصر بالفعل بأنهم قد أصبحوا **أكثر** تمكناً الآن، فالجيش لديه **أسلحته**، **وهو** من يدير **البلد** الآن، وكل
41 من الإسلاميين والليبراليين قد تم انتخابهم في البرلمان، وشباب ميدان التحرير العلمانيون يشعرون بالتمكّن، من خلال
42 قدرتهم، التي أصبحت واضحة الآن، على التعبئة والمحاربة كلما رأوا الأمور تسير بشكل منحرف. **وحتى** الأغلبية
43 الصامتة في مصر، والتي تسمى بـ«حزب الكتيبة» تشعر أيضاً بأنها قد أصبحت **أكثر** تمكناً، بعد أن صوتت للتو بأعداد
44 كبيرة في الانتخابات، **وبعد** أن أحدثت أصواتها فارقاً حقيقياً.
- 45 **وقد** حكى لي أحد المراقبين الدوليين، طلب عدم الكشف عن هويته، قصة من أفضل القصص التي سمعتها، في رأيي،
46 عن الانتخابات، حيث كان مركز الاقتراع الذي كان **هذا** المراقب مكلفاً **بمراقبته** قد أغلق أبوابه للتو، **ولكن** بينما كان
47 الموظفون يقومون بتحميل أحد الصناديق المليئة بأوراق التصويت على متن إحدى الحافلات لنقلها لمحطة الفرز
48 المركزي، ركضت امرأة مصرية نحوهم، من اللاتي كن قد صوتن للتو، **وصاحت** بهم: «من فضلكم لا تدعوا أعينكم
49 تخب عن **هذا** الصندوق، **فهو** مستقبلنا، **ولذلك** اذهبوا وتأكدوا من أنهم سيضعونه في المكان المناسب.»
- 50 **وعلى الرغم** من أنه من المؤكد أن مثل **هذا** الصندوق المحشو بأمال الكثير من المواطنين المصريين العاديين يعد
51 ضرورياً لتحقيق بداية جديدة **هنا**، **فإنه** ليس كافياً بمفرده، إذ تحتاج **البلاد** إلى زعيم - حيث لا يزال **هناك** فراغ كبير
52 في قمة **الدولة** - يستطيع أخذ كل **تلك** الأصوات، وكل **تلك** الآمال، **وصهرها** معاً في استراتيجية تعمل على خلق فرص
53 العمل والتعليم والعدل والأمن التي يتوق لها كل المصريين بشكل واضح. **وإذا** ما حدث **تلك**، فإن صناديق الاقتراع
54 **هذه** ستكون قد نجحت حقاً في تقديم مستقبل مختلف لمصر، **ولكن** حتى **تلك** الحين، **فسيأكتفي** فقط بتدوين الملاحظات.

Text five

توجه مرسي الخاطي

توماس فريدمان

30 أغسطس 2012م

- 1 أجد من المثير للانزعاج بشكل كبير أن تكون من أوائل رحلات الرئيس المصري المنتخب، محمد مرسي، الخارجية
2 حضور قمة عدم الانحياز في طهران الأسبوع الحالي. محذرة سيادة الرئيس، **لكن** هناك سبباً واحداً لرغبة النظام
3 الإيراني في عقد **اجتماع** في طهران وحضور قادة الدول، **ألا** **وهو** إرسال إشارة إلى الشعب الإيراني بأن العالم
4 يوافق على القيادة الدينية، **ومن ثم** لا ينبغي **عليهم** ألا يفكروا على الإطلاق في تدشين حركة ديمقراطية - **تقس** النوع
5 من الحركة الديمقراطية التي جاءت بمرسي إلى سدة الحكم في مصر .
- 6 في عام 2009 قتل النظام الإيراني الثورة الخضراء، عندما قتل المئات وسجن الآلاف من الإيرانيين الذين عبروا عن
7 **رغبتهم** في الحصول على الشيء الذي **ثأله** مصر وهو إحصاء **أصواتهم** بنزاهة واحترام نتائج الانتخابات. مرسي
8 الذي وصل إلى السلطة عبر ثورة ديمقراطية جريئة لم **يبدأها** **لا** **هو** ولا جماعة الإخوان المسلمين التي ينتمي إليها -
9 **كنهم** استفادوا من التصويت الحر والنزيه الذي **اعتبها** - يقرض **شرعيته** للنظام الإيراني الذي سحق بوحشية مثل **هذه**
10 **لحركة** في طهران. إن **هذا** لا يعتبر بداية جيدة لرئاسة مرسي. الحقيقة أنه ينبغي على مرسي أن يخجل من نفسه .
11 وقد أشار كريم صادقپور، الخبير في الشأن الإيراني في معهد كارنيغي: «النظام الإيراني عرض على مرسي جولة
12 في **منشأته** النووية، **وكسجين** سياسي سابق في عصر مبارك، ينبغي على مرسي أن يطلب زيارة سجن إيفين سيئ
13 السمعة في طهران **وسينكره** **بماضيه** ويظهر له **لمحة** من مستقبل إيران.»
14 يقول المسؤولون المصريون إن مرسي سيتوقف ليضع ساعات ليسلم رئاسة حركة عدم الانحياز. **أحقاً؟** كان **بمقدوره**
15 أن **يفعل** عبر البريد، **ليبحث** **بتلك** رسالة ديمقراطية قوية، وبالمناسبة: ما فائدة حركة عدم الانحياز الآن؟

- 16 تساءل مايكل ماندبايوم، محلل السياسة الخارجية في جامعة جون هوبكنز: «بين من تقف حركة عدم الانحياز؟».
- 17 تشكلت حركة عدم الانحياز في مؤتمر باندونغ عام 1955 لكن تأسيسها كان منطوقيا في تلك الفترة، فقد كان العالم
- 18 منقسما بين معسكري الديمقراطية الغربية الرأسمالية والشيوعية الشرقية. واختارت دول نامية مثل مصر
- 19 ويوغوسلافيا وإندونيسيا أن تعلن نفسها «غير منحازة»، لأي من هاتين الكتلتين. كان الانقسام الرئيسي في العالم بين
- 20 دول ديمقراطية وغير ديمقراطية .
- 21 هل مرسي غير منحاز في اختياره؟ هل هو غير منحاز عندما يتعلق الأمر بالاختيار بين الديمقراطية والديكتاتورية،
- 22 خاصة الإيرانية المتواطئة في سحق الثورة السورية أيضا؟ وبالمناسبة: لماذا يحضر بان كي مون، الأمين العام للأمم
- 23 المتحدة هذا المؤتمر الإيراني؟ يا لها من خيانة للباحثين عن الديمقراطية من الإيرانيين .
- 24 ليس لهذا علاقة بالأنشطة النووية الإسرائيلية أو الإيرانية، إذا كان مرسي يرغب في الحفاظ على سلام بارد مع
- 25 إسرائيل، فهذا شأنه. أما بالنسبة لمرسي نفسه فأتمنى أن ينجح في تحويل دفة مصر، فسوف يكون ذلك نجاحا كبيرا
- 26 للديمقراطية في العالم العربي .
- 27 لكن الشيء الذي تعتبر مصر في أمس الحاجة إليه، ولن يتم إيجادها في طهران. كان يجب أن لا تكون أول زيارة
- 28 كبرى لمرسي إلى الصين وإيران فقط، بل أن تشمل كافة أنحاء أوروبا وآسيا من أجل طمأنة المستثمرين والسائحين
- 29 إلى أن مصر مفتوحة للتجارة مجددا، وربما إلى وادي السليكون، تم إلى معهد «كالتيك» لمقابلة عالم الكيمياء
- 30 المصري، أحمد زويل، الحاصل على جائزة نوبل، لتوقيع اتفاق لإحياء التعليم في مصر، حيث نصف النساء أميات .
- 31 إذا كان مرسي بحاجة إلى الإلمام بفكرة أولية عن حركة الديمقراطية في إيران (التي قطع نظامها الإسلامي العلاقات
- 32 مع مصر في عام 1979 احتجاجا على معاهدة السلام مع إسرائيل)، فإمكانه قراءة ما كتبه الخبير الإيراني بجامعة
- 33 ستانفورد، عباس ميلاني، على موقع الإنترنت الخاص بمعهد السلام الأميركي: «وصلت الحركة الخضراء إلى
- 34 ذروتها عندما خرج 3 ملايين متظاهر سلمى إلى شوارع طهران احتجاجا على ادعاءات رسمية بأن محمود أحدي
- 35 نجاد قد فاز في الانتخابات الرئاسية لعام 2009 في انتصار ساحق. وكان شعارهم البسيط هو: «أين صوتي؟..»
- 36 على مدار ستة أشهر تالية، تحولت الحركة الخضراء من مجموعة ضخمة من الناخبين الغاضبين إلى قوة على
- 37 مستوى الدولة تطالب بالحقوق الديمقراطية التي تمت المطالبة بها في البداية في ثورة عام 1979، والتي اختطفها
- 38 رجال الدين المتشددون.. ومع تنامي الزخم وراء الحركة الخضراء، كان رد فعل الحكومة قاسيا جدا. ففي خريف عام
- 39 2009، ظهر أكثر من 100 من أهم قادة ونشطاء وباحثي الحركة الخضراء في محاكمة صورية تنكر بمحاكمة
- 40 جوزيف ستالين في ثلاثينات القرن العشرين. وفي مطلع عام 2010، كان الظلم قد قضى على المعارضة الشعبية
- 41 بأكملها .
- 42 هذا هو النظام الذي سيسهم مرسي في إصلاحه. المرء يأمل أن يقرأ على الأقل الخطاب الذي أرسلته له إحدى
- 43 الجماعات الإيرانية المؤيدة للديمقراطية، وهي «مبعوثو الأمل الأخضر»، والذي يحثه على تذكره مضيقيه الإيرانيين
- 44 «بمصائر القادة الذين استمروا في عدم الاكتراث بأصوات شعوبهم، وحثهم على حكم دولتهم اعتمادا على الدعم المقدم
- 45 من الشعب الإيراني لا على القوى العسكرية». ربما يرغب مرسي حتى في تذكر نفسه بذلك.

Text six

فرصة الولايات المتحدة لبدء صفحة جديدة مع مصر

بواسطة جاكسون ديل | الشرق الأوسط – الثلاثاء، 10 يوليو 2012

*خدمة «واشنطن بوست»

- 1 لا يحتم كثيرا أن يكون لدى الولايات المتحدة الالتزام، أو أن تتاح لها الفرصة، من أجل إعادة تشكيل **علاقتها** بالكامل مع واحدة من دول العالم الكبرى. فالروابط عادة، مهما كانت الظروف، تكون محكومة بالتاريخ، وتعمل النخب الدائمة على المحافظة على **استمراريتها**، كما تدافع عنها جماعات الضغط القوية. وبالتالي، فحتى السياسات السيئة من الصعب تغييرها.
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5 ولكن في اللحظة الراهنة، ليس أمام واشنطن أي خيار آخر سوى إعادة بناء **علاقتها** مع مصر، التي تعد البلد العربي الأهم تاريخيا والأكبر من حيث عدد السكان وصاحب قناة السويس وأحد أفضل حلفاء أميركا منذ أكثر من 40 عاما.
- 6 وتعد **هذه مهمة** ثقيلة، بل ومخيفة، أمام وزارة الخارجية الأميركية والبيت الأبيض، لكنها أيضا تتيح فرصة لتصحيح بعض الأخطاء التي وقعت فيها أميركا على مدار عقود في طريقة تعاملها مع الزعماء العرب. وتبدأ مهمة إعادة تشكيل العلاقات اليوم حينما تقوم وزيرة الخارجية الأميركية هيلاري رودهام كلينتون بزيارة إلى القاهرة.
- 7
- 8
- 9
- 10 وقد وضحت منذ فترة الحاجة إلى إجراء تجديد شامل للعلاقات، لكنها صارت حتمية الشهر الماضي حينما فاز محمد مرسي، مرشح جماعة الإخوان المسلمين، في أول انتخابات حرة تشهدها مصر لاختيار رئيس الجمهورية. فحتى تلك اللحظة، ورغم الثورة الشعبية التي انطلقت في مصر العام الماضي، كانت السياسة الأميركية تتركز على الجهاز العسكري القوي والسلسلة المتعاقبة من الحكام الشبهيين بالفراعنة الذين **دعمتهم**. وأما بعد عام، ظلت أميركا تستعري الولاء الاستراتيجي والسلام مع إسرائيل بالمعونة العسكرية والاقتصادية التي **تقدمها** لمصر سنويا بقيمة 1.5 مليار دولار.
- 11
- 12
- 13
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- 15
- 16 لكن الوضع الآن يتعدى، ففي المستقبل المنظور سوف يتعين على المسؤولين الأميركيين التنقل بين مرسي و«الإخوان» الذين يتبعون أجندة ديمقراطية بالاسم فقط ولكنها في الأساس مناهضة للغرب، والعسكر الذين يبذلون قصارى جهدهم للحيلولة دون إقامة مؤسسات ديمقراطية مع الحفاظ على صلاتهم الحيوية مع البنّاعون وإسرائيل، والقوى الديمقراطية العلمانية التي قادت الثورة العام الماضي والمؤيدة بشكل عام للغرب لكنها واقع ما بين مطرقة الجنرالات وسندان رجال الدين.
- 17
- 18
- 19
- 20
- 21 والنجاح في السير على **هذا الخيط الرفيع** من الممكن أن يحافظ على مصر حلقة أساسية للولايات المتحدة وجارة مسالمة لإسرائيل مع تحويلها إلى نظام ديمقراطي فعال، وهو أمر سيجعل كلا من **هذين الدورين أكثر استقرارا**.
- 22
- 23 والبدل **تلك** هو أن تصبح مصر باكستان أخرى، أي بلدا ممزقا ما بين ساسة مدنيين فاسدين وغير أكفاء وقادة عسكريين مخادعين.
- 24
- 25 وقد نجحت أول خطوتين اتخذتهما إدارة الرئيس أوباما في لعبة الأكرابات هذه في تنفير وإرباك جميع الأطراف. فقد قامت **الإدارة** أولا، في شهر مارس الماضي، بتجاهل الشروط التي وضعها الكونغرس لتقديم المساعدة العسكرية هذا العام، التي كانت تقضي بأن يستكمل الجنرالات عملية التحول الديمقراطي، وهو أمر كان من الممكن أن يدفع العسكر إلى حل البرلمان المنتخب واغتصاب سلطات **الرئيس الجديد**، لكن الديمقراطيين في مصر شعروا بأنه قد تم التخزين بهم.
- 26
- 27
- 28
- 29
- 30 ولكن بعدها، بدأت **الإدارة** الشهر الماضي في الضغط بشدة على المجلس العسكري الحاكم من أجل الاعتراف بفوز مرسي في انتخابات الإعادة، وقد كان من الممكن أن تؤدي الضغوط التي مارسها كلينتون، وكذلك وزير الدفاع بانيتا، إلى منع المجلس من تسليم الرئاسة إلى مرشحه المفضل، وهو أحد رؤساء الحكومة السابقين، إلا أنها أغضبت الجنرالات والمسحيين المصريين وبعض المؤيدين الأميركيين لإسرائيل، الذين يخشون **الإسلاميين أكثر** مما يخشون النظام السابق.
- 31
- 32
- 33
- 34
- 35 والآن ماذا؟ من المفهوم إلى حد كبير أن هناك جدلا محتما داخل الإدارة الأميركية حول أفضل طريقة للتعامل مع مرسي، وكذلك حول كيفية استغلال المعونة الأميركية. **والاتجاه** الذي يبدو أنه يختم في **أذهانهم** حاليا هو منهج الحذر
- 36

- 37 والسير خطوة خطوة، من خلال تقديم الدعم الأميركي لنظام مرسي في الحصول على مساعدات اقتصادية من
38 صندوق النقد الدولي، **وكذلك** الاتفاق على صفقة لتبادل الديون ظلت مؤجلة منذ وقت طويل، بشرط أن يفي **النظام**
39 بوعوده بمراعاة حقوق المرأة والأقليات الدينية، وأن يلتزم بالمعايير الديمقراطية، وأن يحافظ على السلام مع إسرائيل.
- 40 وأثناء زيارة قام بها إلى القاهرة يوم الأحد الماضي، تحدث نائب وزيرة الخارجية الأميركية، ويليام بيرنز، عن
41 الملامح العريضة **لهذه الشروط** عقب اجتماع **له** مع مرسي قام خلاله **بتسليمه** خطاباً من الرئيس أوباما. ولم يشر
42 بيرنز في تصريحاته إلى المعونة العسكرية، لكن الإدارة الأميركية تفكر ملياً في **هذه النقطة** أيضاً، وهناك إجماع على
43 ضرورة **استمرارها** في الوقت الراهن، وإن كان بعض المسؤولين يرون أنه لا بد في النهاية من إعادة **هيكلتها**
44 **وتخفيضها وتركيزها** على مهام مثل محاربة الإرهاب وحماية الحدود، بدلا من شراء الأسلحة والمعدات الأميركية
45 باهظة الثمن.
- 46 **وميدنيا، فإن هذه** ليست خطة سيئة، لكن التحدي سيكون في تجنب العثرات التقليدية التي تقع فيها الدبلوماسية
47 الأميركية في الشرق الأوسط، ومنها إغداق قدر أكبر من اللازم من الاهتمام والتأييد على من يتفق وجوده في السلطة.
48 ورغم أن العسكر والإخوان المسلمين يحتفظون بأقوى بطاقات اللعب في الوقت الحالي، فإن أيا **منهما** لا يمكن أن
49 يكون شريكا قويا أو يعتمد **عليه** بمرور الوقت. أما **أصدقاء أميركا** الحقيقيون في مصر **فهم** الديمقراطيون العلمانيون
50 وأبناء الطبقة الوسطى الناشئة، الذين تم إخراجهم **قسرا** من الصورة، **لكنهم** يظلون الأمل الأكبر **للبلاد** على المدى
51 البعيد.
- 52 والخطر الداهم **الأخر** هو أن تأتي ضغوط من جانب مصر أو من جانب الأميركيين أنفسهم تدفع السياسة الأميركية
53 إلى العودة إلى مسارها القديم، فالعسكر سيقاومون أي تغيير في برنامج المعونة أو أن يحل القادة المدنيين **محلهم** في
54 التمتع بالخطوة والنفوذ لدى واشنطن، **والبعض** داخل الكونغرس سيطالبون بأن تمتنع الإدارة الأميركية عن تقديم
55 المعونة لنظام إسلامي. وقد يكون **الاستسلام لتلك الضغوط** هو أسرع وسيلة لإهدار تلك الفرصة السانحة من أجل
56 إحداث تغيير ديمقراطي، ومن شأنه أن يحول مصر إلى باكستان ثانية.

Text seven

على قادة مصر الجدد الاعتراف بالواقع

الشرق الأوسط بواسطة دينيس روس | الشرق الأوسط – الثلاثاء، 21 أغسطس 2012

- 1 واقع جديد وواقع بديل يتشكل في مصر، حيث تبدو سيطرة الرئيس محمد مرسي والإخوان المسلمين جلية واضحة.
2 لقد استغل مرسي الهجوم الذي أسفر عن مقتل 16 جنديا مصريا على الحدود في سيناء بداية الشهر الحالي، **وهو** ما
3 مثل إحراجا كبيرا للجيش بوجه عام والمجلس الأعلى للقوات المسلحة بوجه خاص، **ليطرح** بكبار القادة العسكريين.
4 **كذلك** انفراد بإجراء تعديل للإعلان الدستوري الصادر في مارس (آذار) 2011 مما **حوّل** له السلطة التنفيذية
5 والتشريعية. ويمكن القول باختصار إن مرسي فرض القيادة المدنية لمصر حيث لا تتبدى أي إشارة لمقاومة
6 الجيش. وينظر كثيرون إلى خطوة مرسي باتجاه السيطرة على المجلس الأعلى للقوات المسلحة، التي تمتلأت في إقالة
7 المشير محمد حسين طنطاوي، ورئيس الأركان الفريق سامي عنان، وقادة الجيش والبحرية والسلاح الجوي،
8 **باعتيارها** أخيرا فرصة للتورة للتخلص من فلول نظام مبارك وتحقيق **مطالبها**. **ويرى** البعض الآخر، خاصة غير
9 الإسلاميين، الخطوات الأخيرة باعتبارها دليلا على تخلص جماعة الإخوان المسلمين من أي رقابة على سلطتها.
- 10 وبالنظر إلى بعض الإجراءات التي اتخذها مرسي ومن حوله، لا يوجد ما يدعو إلى القلق، فقد عين مرسي وزيراً
11 جديداً للإعلام **وهو** صلاح عبد المقصود، **وهو** ينتمي إلى الإخوان المسلمين أيضاً، **ويدعم** بحماس الاتجاه إلى إقالة
12 50 رئيس تحرير وصحافيا بارزا من **مناصبهم**. **وتم** توجيه اتهامات ضد رئيس تحرير صحيفة «الدستور» المستقلة
13 المعارضة بسبب إهانة **الرئيس**. وربما لا يعد تغير نبرة إعلام **الدولة** خلال الأسبوع الماضي من قبيل المصادفة، حيث
14 اتخذت جانب مرسي إلى حد كبير. **ولا** يعني أي من **هذا** أن طريق مصر نحو التغيير حتمي. **ولا** يعني **هذا** أن
15 **الرئيس**، الذي يحيط نفسه بأفراد جماعة الإخوان المسلمين أو المتعاطفين معها، يهيمن على مؤسسات السلطة في
16 الدولة المصرية، حيث سيجد **هو** والإخوان المسلمون أنه من الصعب التملص من مسؤولية أي شيء يحدث في مصر.
17 **وتواجه الدولة** تحديات اقتصادية مخيفة، وستحتاج إلى مساعدة خارجية كبيرة واستثمارات من القطاع الخاص.

18 ويسعى كل من مرسى والإخوان المسلمين إلى الحصول على دعم خارجي لـ«مشروع النهضة» من أجل إنعاش
19 الاقتصاد، فيعد **مقاومتهم** لشروط اتفاق صندوق النقد الدولي قبل **توليتهم** السلطة، يبدو مرسى والإخوان المسلمون الآن
20 مثلهما ليس فقط على القرض، بل على الحصول من صندوق النقد الدولي على أكثر من الـ3.2 مليار دولار التي
21 يبدو **الصندوق** مستعداً لتقديمها بشروط.

22 من هذا الجانب، يبدو مرسى والإخوان المسلمون مقرّين بالواقع، **لكن** من جانب مهم آخر، يبدو أنهم عازمون على
23 إنكاره. انظر في إنكار مرسى إرسال رد على مذكرة أرسلها الرئيس الإسرائيلي شيمعون بيريس بعد أن أثارت أنباء
24 هذه **المذكرة** رد فعل من الإخوان المسلمين حول إجراء مرسى أي اتصال مع إسرائيل، مما يجعل **هذا** أمراً جديراً
25 بالذكر هو أن مكتب بيريس لم ينشر خطاب مرسى إلا بعد أن تواصل مع الجانب المصري للتأكد من إمكانية **القيام**
26 **بتلك** و**دفع** الغضب بين صفوف جماعة الإخوان المسلمين الرئيس المصري إلى إنكار الأمر علناً. **كذلك** انظر في
27 تحصيل جماعة الإخوان المسلمين الموساد الإسرائيلي مسؤولية هجوم سيناء فوراً وهو أمر تعرف الجماعة جيداً أنه
28 غير صحيح. ما الاستنتاجات التي يمكن الخروج بها عن جماعة لا تستطيع الاعتراف بالحقيقة وتصرّ على العيش في
29 واقعا الخاص؟ من الواضح أن الجماعة متمسكة بفكرها ولا تستطيع تقبل أي شيء من شأنه التشكيك في **فلسفتها**
30 و**عقيدتها**، هذا إن لم يكن هناك شيء آخر. مع ذلك لا ينبغي أن تعترف الولايات المتحدة والدول الأخرى بجماعة
31 الإخوان المسلمين كواقع بديل. **ولا** يعني هذا أن علينا الموافقة على كل شيء. يمكن تفهم الاختلافات في السياسة، **لكن**
32 من غير المقبول إنكار الحقيقة ودعم خطاب وسياسات قائمة على الأكاذيب والخيال. ينبغي أن يعرف كل من مرسى
33 والإخوان المسلمين **ذلك**. **وكذلك** ينبغي أن يعرف كل من الرئيس والشعب المصري أننا مستعدون لحشد المجتمع
34 الدولي والمؤسسات المالية العالمية لمساعدة مصر، **لكننا** لن **نفعل ذلك** إلا إذا كانت الحكومة المصرية على استعداد
35 للعب على أساس مجموعة من القواعد قائمة على الواقع والمبادئ الرئيسية. يجب أن يحترموا حقوق الأقليات والمرأة،
36 و**عليهم** تقبل التحدي السياسية والمنافسة السياسية واحترام **التزاماتهم** الدولية بما فيها معاهدة السلام مع إسرائيل.
37 **وسجلهم** حتى هذه اللحظة غير جيد، حيث تشير التقارير الإخبارية إلى نزوح أكثر من مائة ألف قبطي من مصر،
38 وهناك محاولات جديدة لإرهاب الصحافة، وأرسل مرسى تعزيزات أمنية إلى سيناء دون إخطار الجانب الإسرائيلي
39 بحسب مقتضيات معاهدة السلام. يجب أن يكون موقف **الإدارة** واضحاً، **فيجب** التأكيد على أنه إذا استمر الحال على

40 **هذا المنوال**، لن تحظ مصر بدعم أميركي، وهو أمر ضروري من أجل الحصول على المساعدات الاقتصادية الدولية
41 وتعزيز الاستثمار. ربما يكون تخفيف حدة ردنا أو جعله غامضاً في هذه المرحلة جيداً بالنسبة للإخوان المسلمين، **لكنه**
42 بالتأكيد لن يكون جيداً بالنسبة لمصر.

*مساعد خاص سابق للرئيس الأميركي باراك أوباما لشؤون الشرق الأوسط والمدير البارز في مجلس الأمن القومي
من يوليو (تموز) 2009 إلى ديسمبر (كانون الأول) 2011

*خمة «واشنطن بوست»

Appendix B (1)

Text (1) War, War and More War for Sudan

Personal references			
reference		Referenced item	
line	reference	lines	Item
3	his government	1	Omar al-Bashir
7	his removal	6	Omar al-Bashir
7	it	7	Removal of Omar
8	their common hatred	8	The groups
8	Him/ his party	1	Omar al-Bashir
9	they	8	Groups of conflict
9	him	1	Omar al-Bashir
9	they	8	groups
16	he	16	Turabi
18	their jobs	17-18	Thousands of women
28	he	27	Osama bin Laden
33	They	32	U.S. government and its Arab allies
36	he	36	Bashir
37	put him	36	Bashir
40	his expulsion	40	Bashir
42	They	41	Islamist groups
43	his public statements	43	Turabi
44	land him/he	43	Turabi
57	their movement	54-55	Abdul Azziz al-Hilu and Malak Agar
59	their provinces	55-54	Abdul Azziz al-Hilu and Malak Agar
68	it signed	66	the movement
69	its central principal	68	manifesto
69	They	68-69	the leaders of Justice and Equality
73	they	73	the rebels
74	They/they/their allies	73	the rebels
75	they	73	the rebels
Demonstrative reference			
Line	reference	Line	Item
7-8	The groups	4	rebel armies
19	the country	17	Sudan
33	these groups	29	Turabi radical Islamist groups
34	the country	33	Sudan
36	these policies	33-34	the expulsion of Islamist

			groups
37	these radical groups	29	radical Islamist groups
37-38	that decision	36	Agreement to expel Islamist groups from Sudan
39-38	the two men	36-37	Bashir and Turabi
40	the president	36	Bashir
50	The rebel	4	rebel armies
59	The agreement	57	the Comprehensive Peace Agreement
61	the process	59-60	provinces to bring ... the future
66	the movement	65	Justice and Equality Movement
Comparative references			
Comparative references		Referenced information	
line	reference	line	item
29	other	27	Other than Osama bin Laden
68	other	50	other group of (pro-democracy groups)
Substitution			
line	reference	line	Substituted information
10	one	8	group
73	do	73	..the rebels can topple the Bashir government
Ellipsis			
line	reference	line	Ellipsed information
21	not	21	not Moslem
36	agreed	(33-34)	for the expulsion of Islamist groups from the country
42	still are	38	dispute over the power of the presidency
43	and is believed	43	and he (Turabi) is believed
45	and is considered	43	and he (Turabi) is considered
49	continued	47-48	spreading radical Islam
67	:revenge	66	“it is revenge” the motivation
69-70	not alone	69	(in disagreement) with the manifesto central principal of a secular state
71	support	70	they support (two historic parties)
Conjunctions			
line	reference	line	Conjunction reference
3	Currently (temporal)	1	after Omar al-Bashir’s 23-year rule
4	as well as (additive)	3	his government is under attack ..
7	yet (adversative)	6	Bashir’s days may be numbered
9	But (adversative)	8-9	the groups challenging Bashir

27	also (additive)	16-26	Under Turabi's influence..
29	also (additive)	27	Turabi who in 1991 invited Osama bin Laden...
37	but (adversative)	36	Agree to expel the group from the country
63	But (adversative)	61	Bashir abruptly ended the process,,,,,etc
66	so (causal)	65	The Sudanese Air Force killed the founder...
68	But (adversative)	66-67	the movement has a more immediate motivation ...revenge
71	but (adversative)	70-71	Two historic parties...a democratic state
73	But (adversative)	73	It is not certain that the rebels can topple the Bashir government

Personal references			
reference		Referenced item	
line	reference	lines	Item
7	my reporting	6	I
12	them	11	the protesters
17	me	6	'I'
17	he	17	An analyst
20	their rivals	20	the Salafists
26	it	26	process
29	it	28	Benghazi attack
30	they were augmented	30	extremists
31	Their anger	30	extremists
35	it	34	America
37	it	34	the internal fights
40	They captured	39	a group of extremist Iranian "students"
41	they seized	39	a group of extremist Iranian "students"
42	they can't	42	local security authorities
50	His comments	50	Romney
51	it needs	51	crisis
Demonstrative reference			
Line	reference	Line	Item
2	that	1-2	What's happening, is, by Mitt Romney
17	that crowd	11-12	the protesters moving toward the U.S. Embassy
34	these countries	20/26	Egypt and Libya
36	this	34	the internal fights
38	That	38	the seizure of the U.S. Embassy
41	that disaster	38	the seizure of the U.S. Embassy
47	That's	47	The takfiris hate the ruling Muslim Brotherhood
51	this crisis	Previous	the seizure of the U.S. Embassy in Egypt & Libya
52	these events	Previous	Egypt and Libya events
54	this success	52-53	the success of the tolerably non-extremist governments in Egypt and Libya
Comparative references			
line	reference	line	item
15	more conservative	13	than the Salafists..
15	less pragmatic	13	The Salafists..
20	more interesting	19	than the first message
26	a similar process	22	the Cairo uproar

51	more	50	His comments
58	the same	56-75	over the next year, Morsi can
Substitution			
line	reference	line	Substituted information
29	the one	29	attack
35	does	34	has an interest
Ellipsis			
line	reference	line	Ellipsed information
19	The first	19	The first message
42	can't or won't	42	restore order
47	has link	46	<u>it</u> has link (takfiri wing)
Conjunctions			
line	reference	line	Conjunction reference
2	but (adversative)	1	What's happening in Cairo....
7	so (causal)	6-7	it's hard to know....
8	But (adversative)	6-7	it's hard to know...
25	but (adversative)	24	who are often described...
26	and (additive)	26	A similar process...
29	But (adversative)	28-29	The Salafists' assault on ...the one in Cairo
36	But this (adversative)	35-36	especially when U.S. embassies ...in the crossfire
44	Also (additive)	Previous paragraphs	the internal fights and demonstration occurs

Text 3: Next Up: Turkey vs. Iran

Personal references			
line	reference	lines	Item
3	its policies	2	Turkey
4	Its own people	2	Turkey
6	It	5	Turkish-Iranian rivalry
9	its standing	8	the Justice and Development Party
19	it	18	Iran
20	it	20	Tehran
20	its territory	20	Tehran
23	its	24	Turkey
25	its support	24	Iran
25	his	25	Assad
27	it	26	The Syrian uprising
43	their persecution	43	the Sunni Arabs
44	They	42	The Kurds
48	its commitment	47	Ankara
48	its territory	47	Ankara
55	their hands	55	Both countries (Turkey and Iran)
Demonstrative reference			
Line	reference	Line	Item
5	This	1	Iranian threats to Turkey
15	the two governments	14/15	Iran and Turkey
24	the revolution	22	The uprising in Syria
Comparative references			
line	reference	line	item
50	a greater threat	50	Turkey threat
52	more aggressive	50	Turkey
Ellipsis			
line	reference	line	Ellipsed information
2	: “Turkey....”	2	He (Yahya Rahim Safavi) says
4	or face	2	or it will face (Turkey)
30	reform	22	reform Syria
44	amends	43	to improve relations with Arab Sunni
Conjunctions			
line	reference	line	Conjunction reference
1	for instance (additive)	1	First line
4	or (adversative)	2-4	Turkey must radically...
8	though (adversative)	6-7	when Turkey became .. the Middle East
17	Meanwhile (temporal)	12	2002
22	Then (temporal)	19-20	After the Iraq War,...
26	Either...or (additive)	26	Previous sentence
27	Likewise (additive)	26	The Syrian uprising has become a zero-sum game
29	Hence (causal)	27-28	it has become a proxy war...one winner
36	While (adversative)	35-36	Since Iraq’s first democratic...al-Maliki
44	also (additive)	42-44	The Kurds, who have until, making amends

Text 4: Watching Elephants Fly

Personal references			
reference		Referenced item	
line	reference	lines	Item
2	its first anniversary	1	the uprising in Egypt
4	predicted it	3	the Egyptian uprising
5	see it	3	the Egyptian uprising
5	it's going	3	the Egyptian uprising
21	they	20	the women
24	they	24	Many women
24	they	24	Many women
26	their kids	25	Some illiterate elderly women
26	them	25	illiterate elderly women
27	them	20	the women
27	they	27	all the women
28	they	27	all the women
28	them	27	the Muslim Brotherhood or Salafist candidates
30	they	30	Egyptian women
30	I love	30	Egyptian women
31	they	31	Muslim Brotherhood
31	I want	30	Egyptian women
32	We need	30	Egyptian women
32	I want	30	Egyptian women
32	my kids	30	Egyptian women
33	they	32	the kids
33	It	33	The Muslim Brotherhood
34	We	30	Egyptian women
35	My biggest fear	30	Egyptian women
36	We sit	30	Egyptian women
36	our homes	30	Egyptian women
36	You	30	Egyptian women
36	Your	30	Egyptian women
38	he	38	Hassan
39	he said	38	Hassan
39	he wrote	38	Hassan
39	his ballot	38	Hassan
40	He spat out	38	Hassan
40	his disgust	38	Hassan
41	like him	38	Hassan
46	them	44	a four-way power
47	I	47	Hassan
48	I	47	Hassan
51	their now proven ability	50	the secular youth
52	they see	50	the secular youth
56	His voting station	55	an international observer
58	them	56	the polling workers
59	our future	59	The box

59	they put	56	the polling workers
59	put it	59	The box
61	it	60	The box
63	them	62	Votes and hopes
Demonstrative reference			
Demonstrative reference		Referenced item	
Line	reference	Line	Item
4	this	3	The Egyptian uprising
9	here	2	Egypt
11	these Islamist parties	7-8	the Muslim Brotherhood and the Salafist Al Nour Party
13	here	2	Egypt
20	Here	16	Omar Abdel Aziz School
23	that way	21	Voting
34	the country	2	Egypt
35	here	2	Egypt
40	the country	2	Egypt
46	this story	3	the uprising in Egypt
49	the country	44	Egypt
52	here	44	Egypt
59	that box	57	the box
59	This	59	box
60	That box	57	the box
61	here	44	Egypt
61	The country	44	Egypt
62	those votes	60	Egyptian votes
62	those hopes	60	the hopes
64	that	63	a strategy
64	those ballot boxes	entire paragraph	Egyptian election boxes
65	then	65	a different future
Comparative references			
Comparative references		Referenced information	
line	reference	line	item
28	better, more honest	25	than the secular liberal candidates
Substitution			
reference		Refers to	
line	reference	line	Substituted information
7	do	6	take notes
31	ones	31	The Muslim Brotherhood
Ellipsis			
reference		Refers to	
line	reference	line	Ellipsed information
22	none	20	none of the women
24	Many	20	Many women
25	visited	20	visited them (the women)

26	and just voted	25	and they (Some illiterate elderly women) just voted
26	told them to	26	to vote
28-29	not more	28	not to deliver more...
48	I have to	47	to go
49	and now runs	49	and now it (the army) runs
61	not sufficient	61	alone for a new beginning
Conjunctions			
line	reference	line	Conjunction reference
11	But (adversative)	10-11	To not be worried recklessly naïve
22	But (adversative)	20-22	virtually all the women.... the Salafists
24	because (causal)	24	Many said they voted for Islamists
26	But (adversative)	20-26	all the women.... where their kids told them to
28	because (causal)	27-28	practically all of them ... salafist candidates
38	Meanwhile (temporal)	previous paragraphs	During the visit
44	And (additive)	previous	-
61	But (adversative)	60-61	That box and all the hopes stuffed into ...a new beginning here

Text 5: Morsi's Wrong Turn

Personal references			
reference		Referenced item	
line	reference	lines	Item
4	you	3	President Morsi
5	their country	5	Iran's people
6	they	5	Iran's people
7	you	3	President Morsi
9	It	9	Iranian regime
11	their votes	10	Iranians
12	he	11	Morsi
12	his	11	Morsi
14	his legitimacy	11	Morsi
15	he	15	Morsi
17	its nuclear facilities	17	The Iranian regime
20	It	19	a visit Evin prison
20	Remind him	19	Morsi
20	his own past	19	Morsi
20	offer him	19	Morsi
22	He could	21	Morsi
27	it	26	The Nonaligned Movement
32	he	32	Morsi
35	his hand	34	Ban Ki-moon
38	his business	37	Morsi
38	see him	38	Morsi
39	It	39	the turning
41	It	40	Morsi's first big trip
47	he can	46	Morsi
51	Their simple slogan	49-50	3 million peaceful demonstrators
60	he read	60	Morsi
61	him	60	Morsi
62	his Iranian hosts	62	Morsi
62	their backs	62	the leaders
63	their people	62	the leaders
63	them	62	the leaders
63	their country	62	the leaders
Demonstrative reference			
Demonstrative reference		Referenced item	
Line	reference	Line	Item
4	the meeting	2	the Nonaligned Movement's summit meeting
5	that	3	reason
9	This Iranian regime	3	the Iranian regime
15	This	14	lending his legitimacy to an Iranian regime..
27	then	27	in 1955
29	these two blocs	28	Western democratic capitalists

			and Eastern Communists
32	that choice	2	attending the Nonaligned Movement's summit meeting in Tehran
35	this Iranian whitewashing festival	2	the Nonaligned Movement's summit meeting in Tehran
38	that	37	maintain a cold peace with Israel
60	That is the regime	58	The Iranian regime
Comparative references			
Comparative references		Referenced information	
line	reference	line	item
7	same kind	7	a democracy movement
Substitution			
line	reference	line	Substituted information
22-23	done that	21-22	to hand over the presidency of the Nonaligned Movement
48	the one	46	a primer
Ellipsis			
line	reference	line	Ellipsed information
4	and have	4	and to have
11	the results	11	the results of their votes
13	followed	12	Followed it (a courageous democracy revolution)
21	say		say that
22	Really?	21-22	Is that really? (Morsi is only stoppingfrom Egypt)
25	Nonaligned against what and between whom?	25	Whom is it Nonaligned?
27	a logic	26	a logic of establishing or (conceiving)
37	this	32	this choice
42	maybe on	41	It should maybe been on
42	Caltech		Caltech institution or academy
55	the government	entire paragraph	the Iranian government
58	the regime	entire paragraph	the Iranian regime
60	sanitize	60	sanitize it (the regime)
61	urging	61	who is urging (an Iranian democracy group)
65	that	61	that letter
Conjunctions			
line	reference	line	Conjunction reference
3	but (adversative)	1-3	one of the first trips by Egypt's ...this week
6	and therefore (causal)	5-6	to signal to Iran's people .. clerical leadership
13	but (adversative)	11-13	who was brought to power ... Muslim Brotherhood party started
28	and (additive)	27-28	The world was dividedCommunists

30	But (adversative)	28-29	developing states ..these two blocs
34	And by the way (additive)	32-34	Is Morsi nonaligned...as well?
38	As (adversative)	37-38	If Morsi wants to maintain a cold peace with Israel, that is his business
39	But (adversative)	38-39	As for Morsi himself, I'd like to seein the Arab world
52	Over the next six months (temporal)	51	of the 2009 presidential election

Text 6: The United States' chance for a do-over with Egypt

Personal references			
reference		Referenced item	
line	reference	lines	Item
2	its relationship	1	The United States
5	its connection	5	Washington
7	it	5	The choice (to rebuild connection with Egypt)
8	it	5	the choice
11	it	11	a revamp
15	it	14	U.S. policy
18	their nominally democratic	18	Morsi and the Brotherhood
19	its best	19	the military
20	its lifelines	19	the military
24	it	23	Egypt
29	it waived	28	The Obama administration
37	it infuriated	35	Lobbying
44	it follows	42	Morsi's government
47	he delivered	47	Deputy Secretary of State William Burns
50	it	49	military aid
51	it	49	military aid
62	its influence	61	The military
Demonstrative reference			
Demonstrative reference		Referenced item	
Line	reference	Line	Item
23	this tightrope	17-22	Previous paragraph
25	those roles	23-24	a core U.S. ally and peaceful neighbor of Israel
32	the new president	18	Morsi
38	the Islamists	12	the Muslim Brotherhood
47	those terms	45-46	to preserve the rights of women ...with Israel
50	that	49	military aid
54	that	44-47	the U.S. aid to Morsi regime with terms
59	the country	58	Egypt
63	those pressures	60-61	Egyptian or domestic pressure
Comparative references			
Comparative references		Referenced information	
line	reference	line	item
60	other	54	The challenge
Ellipsis			
line	reference	line	Ellipsed information
3	perpetuated by	3	they (ties) are perpetuated
3	and defended	3	and they (ties) are defended
7	a daunting	5	a daunting choice
9-10	the remake	5	The remake of rebuild-

			connections with Egypt
34	the administration	28	the Obama administration
40	the administration	28	the Obama administration
45	respects	44	It respects (Morsi's government)
46	preserves	44	It preserves (Morsi's government)
49	the administration	28	the Obama administration
59	are	58	they are
63	the administration	28	the Obama administration
Conjunctions			
line	reference	line	Conjunction reference
5	however (adversative)	1-2	It's not often that the United States has the obligation... nations.
8	But (adversative)	7	It is a daunting...
11	but (adversative)	11	The need for a revamp... some time
13	Up until then (temporal)	11-13	last month when Mohammedpresident
17	For (causal)	17	Now it gets complicated
25	Or (adversative)	23-24	this tightrope could preserve Egypt..... a functional democracy
34	But (adversative)	29-30	First, in March, it waived congressional... a democratic transition
37	But (adversative)	34-35	last month the administration leaned... in a runoff election
50	too (additive)	49	to mention military aid
59	but (adversative)	57-58	America's real friends ... who have been shoved to the sidelines

Text 7: Egypt's new leaders must accept reality

Personal references			
reference		Referenced item	
line	reference	lines	Item
5	he	2	Morsi
6	his office	2	Morsi
9	he	9	Morsi
12	its promise	11	Egypt's revolution
15	around him	15	Morsi
17	he	16	Salah Abdul Maqsud
24	He	23	the president
26	it	25	The country
27	their "renaissance plan"	27	Morsi and the Brotherhood
28	they resisted	27	Morsi and the Brotherhood
29	they	27	Morsi and the Brotherhood
33	they appear	32	Morsi and the Brotherhood
33	deny it	32	reality
34	him	33	Morsi
43	its own reality	42	an organization
44	its ideology	43	the group
44	its basic philosophy	43	the group
53	they	49	Egypt's president and people
53	they	49	Egypt's president and people
54	they	49	Egypt's president and people
54	their international obligations	49	M Egypt's president and people
62	it	62	our response
Demonstrative reference			
Demonstrative reference		Referenced item	
Line	reference	Line	Item
19	the president	16	Morsi
20	the state	8	Egypt
22	this	20	the state media's tone has changed
23	the president	21	Morsi
25	The country	25	Egypt
31	the IMF	29	an International Monetary Fund
36	this	33-34	Morsi denied sending Israeli President Shimon Peres
40	the Egyptian soldiers	3	16 Egyptian soldiers
43	the group	42	an organization
59	this behavior	58	Morsi's behavior (has moved armored forces.....the Israelis)
Comparative references			
line	reference	line	item
13	more prone	9	(Many see Morsi's move...)

15	the other moves	9	Morsi's move...
39	Similarly	33	Consider that Morsi <u>denied sending Israeli President Shimon Peres</u>
substitution			
line	reference	line	item
38	do so	37	to release Morsi's letter publicly
49	Know this	47-48	Policy differences are understandable....fictions
51	do so	50-51	to mobilize the international community, and global financial institutions, to help Egypt
Ellipsis			
line	reference	line	Ellipsed information
21	and is far	20	and <u>it</u> is far (the state media's tone)
24	sympathizers	23	with it (the Muslim Brotherhood)
34	written him	33	written to him (to Morsi)
43	If nothing else	43	If <u>there is</u> nothing else (an organization that insists on living in its own reality)
56	The record	49	The record of Egypt's president and people
59	The administration's position	45	The United States administration's position
Conjunctions			
line	reference	line	Conjunction reference
4	to (causal)	2-3	Morsi seized on the killing of 16 Egyptian soldiers in the Sinai early this month
5	also (additive)	2-3	Morsi seized on the killing of 16 Egyptian ... this month
17	and (additive)	17	comes from...
32	But (adversative)	32	Morsi and the Brotherhood seem to recognize reality
39	Similarly (additive)	33-36	Consider that Morsi denied . sendingwith Israel
45	But (adversative)	43-45	the group the Brotherhood is wedded to its ideology and cannot ...its basic philosophy into question
47	but (adversative)	47	Policy differences are understandable
50	also (additive)	49	Morsi and the Muslim Brotherhood should know this
51	but (adversative)	50-51	we are prepared to mobilize the international community, ... to help Egypt

Appendix B (2)

Text 1: مزيد من الحروب بانتظار السودان

Personal references					
reference			Referenced item		
line	reference	translation	lines	item	Translation
3	حكومتِه	/-hu/ His government	1	عمر حسن البشير	Omar Hassan al-Bashir
3	قوتِها	/-haa/ Its strength	3	جيوش متمردة	rebel armies
7	كراهيتها	/-haa/ Its hatred	6	المجموعات	the groups
7	لِه	/-hu/ of him	6	البشير	al-Bashir
7	لحزبِه	/-hi/ his party	6	البشير	al-Bashir
7	اتفاقها	/-haa/ Its agreement	6	المجموعات	groups
7	أسقطوه	/-hu/ topple him	6	البشير	al-Bashir
8	بينهم	/-hum/ between them	6	المجموعات	groups
11	لِه	/hu-/ to him	10	حسن الترابي	Hassan al-Turabi
14	عملين	/-hunna/ their jobs	14	النساء السودانيات	Sudanese women
21	هو	/huwa/ he	21	الترابي	Turabi
21	إقامته	/-hi/ his residence	21	أسامة بن لادن	Osama bin Laden
28	لأنه	/-hu/ because he	28	البشير	al-Bashir
29	أدخله	/-hu/ put him	28	البشير	al-Bashir
31	صلاحياته	/-hi/ his power	31	الرئيس	the president
31	طرده	/-hi/ his expulsion	31	الرئيس	the president
32	هما	/humma/ they two	31	الجماعات الإسلامية	Islamist groups

33	أَنه	/-hu/ He is	33	الترابي	Turabi
33	عليه	/-hi/ him	33	الترابي	Turabi
33	تصريحاته	/hi-/ his statements	33	الترابي	Turabi
34	به	/-hi/ with him	33	الترابي	Turabi
34	فإنه	/-hu/ He is	33	الترابي	Turabi
35	إليه	/-hi/ to him	33	الترابي	Turabi
37	هدفها	/-haa/ its aim	36	جماعة البشير	Bashir's party
44	إليها	/-haa/ to it	44	نصوص اتفاقية السلام الشاملة	the Comprehensive Peace Agreement
44	حركتهما	/humaa-/ their two movement	42	عبد العزيز الحلو ومالك عقار	Abdul Azziz al-Hilu and Malak Agar
45	ولايتيهما	/-humaa/ their two provinces	42	عبد العزيز الحلو ومالك عقار	Abdul Azziz al-Hilu and Malak Agar
45	مواطنيهما	/-himaa/ their citizens	42	عبد العزيز الحلو ومالك عقار	Abdul Azziz al-Hilu and Malak Agar
50	هو	/huwa/ it is	50	دافع إضافي	more motivation
52	مبدئه المركزي	/-hi/ its central principal	51	البيان المشترك	the manifesto
52	هم	/hum/ They are	51	قادة العدل والمساواة	the leaders of Justice and Equality
52	وحدهم	/-hum/ They are alone	51	قادة العدل والمساواة	the leaders of Justice and Equality
53	لكنهما	/humaa-/ But they	52-53	حزب الأمة والحزب الاتحادي الديمقراطي	the Umma Party and the Democratic Unionist Party
56	هم	/hum/ they	55	المتوردون	the rebels
56	حلفاؤهم	/-hum/ their allies	55	المتوردون	the rebels
56	تراودهم	/hum-/ surrounded them	55	المتوردون	the rebels
Demonstrative reference					

Demonstrative reference			Referenced		
Line	reference	translation	Line	Refers to	Translation
6	المجموعات	/-al/ the groups	3	جيوش متمردة	rebel armies
17	ذلك الإجراء	/dhaalika/ that practice	17	انشاء نظام مصرفي إسلامي	Establishing an Islamic banking system
26	هذه المجموعات	/haadhihi/ these groups	22	مجموعات الترابي	Turabi radical Islamist groups
28	هذه السياسات	/haadhihi/ these policies	26	طرد المجموعات الاسلامية من السودان	the expulsion of Islamist groups from Sudan
28	هذه المجموعات	/haadhihi/ these groups	26	المجموعات الاسلامية	the Islamist groups
29	هذا القرار	/haadhaa/ this decision	28	الموافقة على طرد المجموعات من السودان	Agreement to expel Islamist groups from Sudan
30	الرجلان	/-al/ the two men	28-29	البشير والترابي	Bashir and Turabi
31	الرئيس/الرئيس	/-al/ the president	28	البشير	al-Bashir
39	المتمرد	/-al/ the rebel	3	جيوش متمردة	rebel armies
43	الاثنان قياديان	/-al/ the two commanders	42	عبد العزيز الحلو ومالك عقار	Abdul Azziz al- Hilu, and Malak Agar
45	الاتفاقية	/-al/ the agreement	44	اتفاقية السلام الشاملة	the Comprehensive Peace Agreement
46	العملية	/-al/ the process	45	إدخال مواظنيهما في عملية المشاركة الديمقراطية	to bring the public into a democratic participatory process
50	الحركة	/-al/ the movement	49	حركة العدل والمساواة	The Justice and Equality movement
56	بذلك المسرح	/dhaalika/ with that stage	55	إسقاط حكومة البشير	topple the Bashir government
Substitution					
Line	Reference	Translation	Line	substituted information	Translation
55	تمكنوا من ذلك	do that	55	إسقاط حكومة	to topple the

				البشير	Bashir government
32	يزالان كذلك	they still so	29	خلاف مريير عام حول سلطات الرئيس	dispute over the power of the presidency
ellipsis					
Reference			Refer to		
Line	Reference	Translation	Line	Ellipsed information	Translation
28	وافق البشير	Al-Bashir agreed	26	على طرد المجموعات الاسلامية من السودان	for the expulsion of Islamist groups from the country
37	استمرار..	Continue	37	بنشر الاسلام الراديكالي	Spreading radical Islam
52	وحدهم	alone	51	في الرفض	in disagreement
Conjunctions					
Line	Reference	Translation	Line	Conjunction reference	Translation
2	ثم	/tumma/ then (temporal)	1	شهدت الأعوام الثلاثة والعشرون الماضية من حكم الرئيس السوداني....	President Omar al-Bashir's 23- year rule....
3	وحاليا	/wa/ And currently (additive + temporal)	1	شهدت الأعوام الثلاثة والعشرون الماضية من حكم الرئيس السوداني... البشير نفسه	President Omar al-Bashir's 23- year rule... Bashir himself
3	ناهيك عن	Also (additive)	3	تعرض حكومته لهجمة من جيوش متمردة	the attack to the government by rebels
6	لكن	/la:kin/ However (adversative)	5	أيام البشير باتت معدودة	Bashir's days may be numbered
6	وقد	/wa/ and it could (additive)	6	لكن إسقاط البشير لن ينهي الصراع	Yet his removal would not end the conflict
6	فالمجموعات	/fa/ Moreover (additive)	6	لكن إسقاط البشير ... حرب أهلية جديدة	Yet his removal... a new civil war
7	وإذا ما	/wa izama/ but/And if (adversative),(temporal)	6	المجموعات التي تعارض البشير..	groups challenging Bashir..
11	وكانت	/wa/ And it was (additive)	10	حسن الترابي...	Hassan al- Turabi..

13	وتحت	/wa/ And under (additive)	11-12	وكانت النظرية ... لحكم دولة حديثة	Turabi's basic political theory was...to govern a .modern state
14	فأبعدت	/fa/ and So, (causal)	13	تحت تأثير الترابي ..	Under Turabi's influence
15	وحلت	/wa/ And replaced (additive)	14-15	فأبعدت الألاف ... المرأة المسلمة	Thousands of women for Muslim women
15	وأقيمت	/wa/ And established (additive)	15	وحلت الشريعة الإسلامية محل القانون المدني العلماني	Shariah law replaced the country's secular civil code.
17	أيضا	/ayddan/ Also (additive)	15	وأقيمت محاكم إسلامية....	and a separate Islamic court system..
26	وبدأوا	/wa/ And began (additive)	25	رفعت حكومة الولايات المتحدة وحلفاؤها العرب درجة مؤشر الخطر...	The U.S. government and its Arab allies had grown alarmed at the radical Islamization of Sudan
28	ولكن	/wa la:kin/ And however (additive + adversative)	28	وافق البشير في نهاية المطاف ... عن العالم العربي	Bashir eventually agreed....in the Arab world
29	وبسبب	/wa bisabab/ And because (additive + causal)	26-28	الموافقة على طرد البشير للمجموعات	Al-Bashir's agreement to expel the groups
32	وهما	/wa/ And (additive)	30	أصبح الرجلان عدوين لدودين	the two men became bitter enemies
34	فإنه	/fa/ but (adversative)	33	وعلى الرغم مما .. إلى السجن	Although his public....in jail
42	ويطالب	/wa/ And additive)	39-40	يضم تحالف المتنرد ... علماني مدني	The rebel coalition ...a secular civil code
46	لكن	/la:kin/ However (adversative)	46	أوقف البشير العملية.. والحلو معا	Bashir abruptly ended the process.... both Agar and Hilu
50	ومن ثم	/wa/ And so (additive + causal)	49	وكانت القوات الجوية السودانية قد قتلت مؤسس وقائد حركة العدل	The Sudanese Air Force killed the founder and

				والمساواة	leader of Justice and Equality
51	لكن	/la:kin/ but (adversative)	50	فledى الحركة دافع إضافي ... حكومة البشير	the movement has a more immediate motivation...government
52	وهم	/wa/ but (adversative)	51-52	رفض قادة العدل والمساواة ... بالدولة العلمانية	the leaders of Justice and Equality ... of a secular state
53	لكن	/la:kin/ However adversative)	52-53	فائتان من أحزاب السودان ... بدولة ديمقراطية	Two historic parties of Sudan... in a democratic state
55	لكن	/la:kin/ but (adversative)	55	ليس مؤكدا ...إسقاط حكومة البشير	It is not certain....can topple the Bashir government
56	وإذا	/wa/ And (additive)		لكن حتى ...لحرب أهلية جديدة	But even if ...a new civil war

Text 2: المتشددون في مصر وليبيا يتحايلون للوصول إلى السلطة:

Personal references					
reference			Referenced item		
line	reference	translation	lines	item	Translation
3	<u>لها</u>	/-haa/ to it	3	الأحزاب الإسلامية والعلمانية	Islamist and secularist parties
5	<u>أقوله</u>	/-hu/ I report it	3	نحن	I 'the writer'
5	<u>أجريتها</u>	/-haa/ did it	3	نحن	I 'the writer'
8	<u>رفعها</u>	/-haa/ lifted it	8	الرايات	the banners
9	<u>هويتهم</u>	/-him/ their identification	8	المتظاهرون	the protesters
9	<u>أنهم</u>	/-hum/ they are	8	المتظاهرون	the protesters
9	<u>هما</u>	/-humaa/ they two	9	حزب النور وحزب الأصالة	the Nour Party and the al-Asala Party
10	<u>اسمهم</u>	/-hum/ their name	10	السلفيون	the Salafists
10	<u>هم</u>	/hum/ they	10	السلفيون	the Salafists
12	<u>أخبرني</u>	/-nii/ told me	3	نحن	I 'the writer'
12	<u>أنه</u>	/-hu/ he	12	محلل	an analyst
13	<u>هي</u>	/hiya/ it	13	الرسالة الأولى	the first message
14	<u>شوكته</u>	/-hu/ his strength	13	تيار العداة	anti-Americanism
14	<u>فهي</u>	/-hiya/ it	14	الرسالة الثانية	the second message
15	<u>لمنافسيهم</u>	/-him/ their rivals	15	السلفيين	the Salafists
18	<u>بأنهم</u>	/-hum/ they	17	مجموعة من المخربين	a group of violent hooligans
18	<u>لكنهم</u>	/-hum/ but they	17	مجموعة من المخربين	a group of violent hooligans
20	<u>وقائعها</u>	/-haa/ its events	20	عملية	process
22	<u>إنه</u>	/-hu/ it is	21	هجوم السلفيين	The Salafists' attack
24	<u>غضبهم</u>	/-hum/ their anger	23	متطرفين	extremists
24	<u>هم</u>	/hum/ they	23	متطرفين	extremists
28	<u>لها</u>	/-haa/ it has	27	أميركا	America

29	<u>حقتهم</u>	/-hum/ their death	28	الدبلوماسيون الأميركيون	U.S. diplomats
32	<u>لم يسعدهم</u>	/-hum/ they were unhappy	32	مجموعة من «الطلاب» الإيرانيين المتطرفين	a group of extremist Iranian “students”
33	<u>أنها</u>	/-haa/ it	32	حكومة	government
33	<u>قبضتهم</u>	/-him/ their capture	32	مجموعة من «الطلاب» الإيرانيين المتطرفين	a group of extremist Iranian “students”
34	<u>هو</u>	/huwa/ it	33	الدرس	the lesson
36	<u>ملصقاتهم</u>	/-hum/ their posters	36	السلفيين	the Salafists
38	<u>له</u>	/-hu/ he has	37	الجناح «التكفيري»	“takfiri” wing
41	<u>له</u>	/-hu/ to it	40	الخطاب	the rhetoric
41	<u>تعليقاته</u>	/-hi/ his comments	40	رومني	Romney
42	<u>هو</u>	/huwa/ it	42	الحافز	the motivation
43	<u>سلطتيهما</u>	/-hima/	42	الحكومتين غير المتطرفتين	the non-extremist governments
Demonstrative reference					
Demonstrative reference			Referenced		
Line	reference	translation	Line	Refers to	Translation
2	هذا	/haadhaa/ this	1	أن ما يحدث هو من قبل ميت رومني	What’s happening, is, by Mitt Romney
4	البلدين	/al-/ the two countries	3	مصر وليبيا	Egypt and Libya
10	هؤلاء السلفيون	/haaulaai/ these Salafists	9	جماعتين سلفيتين	the two Salafist groups
12	تلك الحشود	/tilka/ those crowds	8	المتظاهرون المتجهون نحو السفارة الأميركية	the protesters moving toward the U.S. Embassy
20	هذه العملية	/haadhihi/ this process	20	عملية في ليبيا	the process in Libya
27	هذين البلدين	/haadhayni/ these two countries	14/20	مصر وليبيا	Egypt and Libya
29	هذا	/haadhaa/ this	27	الاقتتال الداخلي	the internal fights
31	ذلك العمل	/dhaalika/ That work	31	الاستيلاء على السفارة الأميركية	the seizure of the U.S. Embassy
33	تلك الكارثة	/tilka/ that disaster	31	الاستيلاء على السفارة الأميركية	the seizure of the U.S. Embassy
39	ذلك	/dhaalika/ that	38	التكفيريون يكرهون جماعة الإخوان المسلمين الحاكمة	The takfiris hate the ruling Muslim Brotherhood

41	هذه الأزمة	/haadhihi/ this crisis	-	الاستيلاء على السفارة الأميركية	the seizure of the U.S. Embassy in Egypt & Libya
42	لهذه الأحداث	/haadhihi/ these events	previous	أحداث مصر وليبيا	Egypt and Libya events
43	هذا النجاح	/haadhaa/ this success	42	نجاح الحكومتين غير المتطرفتين في مصر وليبيا	the success of the non-extremist governments in Egypt and Libya
Comparative References					
Comparative reference			Referenced information		
Line	reference	translation	Line	Refers to	translation
11	أكثر محافظة	more conservative	10	السلفيون	The Salafists
11	أقل براغماتية	less pragmatic	10	السلفيون	The Salafists
14	الأكثر إثارة	The most interesting	13	من الرسالة الأولى	than the first message
41	أكثر	more	41	إن تعليقاته...	his comments
46	نفس	same	45	يتمكن مرسي خلال العام المقبل من إعادة الاستقرار....	Morsi can stabilize Egypt and get the economy moving again
Ellipsis					
Reference			Refer to		
Line	Reference	Translation	Line	Ellipsed information	Translation
28	لها مصلحة	has an interest	27	في الاقتتال الداخلي الجاري في هذين البلدين	in the internal fights taking place in these two countries
34	لم تستطع أو لم تفعل	they can't or won't	34	أن تعيد النظام	restore order
Conjunctions					
Line	Reference	Translation	Line	Conjunction reference	Translation
2	بل	/bal/ But (adversative)	1	ما يحدث في القاهرة...	What's happening in Cairo...
5	لذا	/li-/ for this reason (causal)	4	يصعب أن نعرف...	it's hard to know..
5	ولكن	/wa la:kin/ but (adversative)	4	يصعب أن نعرف..	it's hard to know..
9	وأنهم/ وهما	/wa/ and (additive)	8	المتظاهرون المتجهون نحو السفارة الأميركية	the protesters moving toward the U.S. Embassy
9	وهؤلاء	/wa/ and (additive)	8	المتظاهرون المتجهون نحو السفارة الأميركية	the protesters moving toward the U.S. Embassy
12	وقد أخبرني	/wa/ In addition (additive)	5-6	الأحاديث التي أجريتها مع مصادر...	the conversations with sources...

14	أما	/amma/ However (adversative)	13	الرسالة الأولى...	The first message...
17	وقد	/wa/ and (additive)	16	الاضطرابات التي تشهدها القاهرة....	the Cairo uproar appears....
18	لكنهم	/la:kin/ but (adversative)	18	يوصفون بأنهم	who are often described....
20	وقد	/wa/ And (additive)	20	هناك عملية مماثلة	A similar process of post- revolutionary...
22	غير	/ghayra/ But (adversative)	21	وفي البداية بدأ أن هجوم السلفيين على القنصلية الأميركية ...	The Salafists' assault on the U.S. consulate appeared to be a "copycat" attack
24	وكان	/wa/ And (additive)	23	كانوا معززين بمليشيات.....	They were augmented by a well-armed Islamic militia....
27	فهل	/fa-/ thus (causal)	20-26	هجوم السلفيين على القنصلية الأميركية والعداء لأميركا	The Salafists' assault on the U.S. consulate and the hatred of America
29	إلا أن	/illa ana/ But this (adversative)	28-29	لها مصلحة، وخاصة عندما تكون السفارات .. تبادل إطلاق النار	it has an interest , especially when U.S. embassies are .. in the crossfire
33	وقد	/wa/ and (additive)	32	لم يسعدهم أن حكومة ما بعد....	they were unhappy...
36	ومن ... أيضا	/wa ayddan/ and (additive)	Previous paragra phs		
38	وله	/wa/ and (additive)	37-38	الذي يؤمن أنه يجوز.....	which believes ...

Text 3: المواجهة المقبلة تركيا ضد إيران

Personal references					
Reference			Referenced item		
line	reference	translation	lines	item	Translation
2	فيه	/-hi/ it	2	تحذير	warning
2	سياساتها	/-haa/ its policies	2	تركيا	Turkey
3	ستواجهه	/-hu/ it faces	2	تركيا	Turkey
4	شعبها	/-haa/ its own people	2	تركيا	Turkey
4	جيرانها	/-haa/ its neighbors	2	تركيا	Turkey
8	هو	/huwa/ it	8	حزب العدالة والتنمية	the Justice and Development Party
8	إليها/مكانتها/ دورها	/-haa/ to it/its standing/ its role	8	تركيا	Turkey
13	منهما	/-humaa/ them	13	تركيا - إيران	Turkey, Iran
17	تحثه	/-hu/ encouraged it	17	حزب العمال الكرديستاني	the Kurdistan Workers' Party
19	بوجودها	/-haa/ its existence	18	معسكرات حزب العمال الكرديستاني	Camps of the Kurdistan Workers' Party
19	أراضيها	/-haa/ its territory	18	طهران	Tehran
21	تقاليدها	/-haa/ its traditions	21	أنقرة	Ankara
22	حكمتها	/-haa/ its authority	21	إيران	Iran
22	دعمها	/-haa/ its support	21	إيران	Iran
22	قمعه	/-hi/ his crackdown	22	الأسد	the Assad
26	له	/-hu/ to him	25	الأسد	the Assad
35	اضطهادهم	/-him/ their persecution	35	العرب السنة	the Sunni Arabs
35	لهم	/-hum/ to them	35	الأكراد	The Kurds
38	التزامها	/-haa/ its commitment	38	أنقرة	Ankara
39	أراضيها	/-haa/ its territory	38	أنقرة	Ankara
39	هي	/hiya/ it	39	تركيا	Turkey

40	لها	/-haa/ it has	39	تركيا	Turkey
40	تمثله	/-hu/ it represented	39	تركيا	Turkey
41	هو	/huwa/ it represented	41	فيلق القدس الإيراني	the Iranian Quds Force
44	أوراقه	/-hi/ their hands	44	تركيا وايران	Turkey and Iran
Demonstrative reference					
Demonstrative reference			Referenced		
Line	reference	translation	Line	Refers to	Translation
1	اللواء يحيى رحيم صفوي	/al-/ the (Maj. Gen. Yahya Rahim Safavi)	1	مسؤول إيراني	an Iranian official
5	هذا	/haadhaa/ this	1	التهديدات الإيرانية لتركيا	Iranian threats to Turkey
6	هذا التنافس	/haadhaa/ this rivalry	5	الصراع التركي - الإيراني	Turkish-Iranian rivalry
14	الحكومتين	/al-/ the two governments	13	تركيا وايران	Turkey and Iran
15	البلدين	/al-/ the two countries	13	تركيا وايران	Turkey and Iran
16	البلدين	/al-/ the two countries	13	تركيا وايران	Turkey and Iran
20	ذلك	/dhaalika/ that	16	اعتراض البلدين على الحرب الأميركية على العراق...	The two countries' objections to the Iraq War..
20	البلدين	/al-/ the two countries	13	تركيا وايران	Turkey and Iran
26	البلاد	/al-/ the country	23	سوريا	Syria
26	ذلك	/dhaalika/ that	26	تقوم تركيا الآن المعارضة السورية	Turkey is now supporting... the Syrian opposition
29	هذا الانقسام	/haadhaa/ this competition	21-22	تركيا وايران	Turkey and Iran
44	البلدين	/al-/ the two countries	-	تركيا وايران	Turkey and Iran
Comparative References					
Comparative reference			Referenced information		
Line	reference	translation	Line	Refers to	translation
40	أكثر من	more than	39	تهديد تركيا	Turkey threat
41	أكثر عدوانية	more aggressive	39	تركيا	Turkey
Conjunctions					
Line	Reference	Translation	Line	Conjunction reference	Translation

1	فعلى سبيل المثال	/fa/ for instance (additive)	1	لا يكاد يمر....	Hardly a day...
3	وإلا	/wa illa/ If not (adversative)	2-3	يجب على تركيا أن تعيد النظر ... في العالم العربي	Turkey must radically rethink ... in the Arab world
5	ولا يعد	/wa/ but (adversative)	1	تهديد ايران لتركيا	Iranian threat to Turkey
6	وقد	/wa/ and then (temporal)	5-6	حيث يعود الصراع التركي - الإيراني ...والشاهات الصفويين	Turkish-Iranian rivalry..... the Safavid shahs.
7	مما أدى إلى	/mimma ada/ Which leads to (causal)	6	أصبحت تركيا دولة منطوية على ذاتها	Turkey became an inward-looking nation-state
7	ومع ذلك	/wa ma' dhaalika/ however (adversative)	6	أصبحت تركيا دولة منطوية على ذاتها	Turkey became an inward-looking nation-state
9	وأصبحت	/wa/ and became (additive)	7	نما الاقتصاد التركي...	Turkey's economic grew..
13 14 15	/ وبانت/ولم وازدهرت	/wa/ and (additive)	13	وبدت العلاقات التركية – الإيرانية....	Relations between Turkey and Iran seemed...
16	وفي هذه الآناء	/wa fi: haadhihi al- athnaa/ and meanwhile (additive +temporal)	12	في أعقاب وصول حزب العدالة والتنمية إلى سدة الحكم عام 2002	Following the A.K.P.'s ascent to power in 2002
18	وبدأت	/wa/ and it began (additive)	17-18	لدرجة التي جعلت طهران تتوقف ...التركية المؤيدة للغرب	Iran even stopped harboring rebels of the Kurdistan because of Ankara's pro-Western stance
19	وهو	/wa/ In this way (causal)	18-19	بدأت طهران بعد الحرب العراقية في قصفعلى أراضيها	Tehran began bombing ... its territory
20	وبعد ذلك	/wa baada/ and then (additive +temporal)	18	بعد الحرب العراقية..	After the Iraq War...
20	ووضعت	/wa/ and put (additive)	20	جاء الربيع العربي	came the Arab Spring
21	في حين	while (adversative)	21	أيدت أنقرة..	Ankara supported..
23	وإما..فإما	/fa-imma...wa imma/ either...or (additive)	23	ووصلت الثورة السورية إلى معادلة صفيرية	The Syrian uprising has become a zero- sum game
23	ثم	/tumma/ then (temporal)	23	وصلت الثورة السورية إلى معادلة صفيرية	The Syrian uprising has become a zero- sum game
24	وسوف	/wa/ and will (additive)	23-24	تحولت القضية..	it has become..

25	وعلى هذا	/wa alaa haadhaa/ and hence (additive + causal)	24-23	تحولت القضية إلى حرب بالوكالة...منتصر واحد فقط	it has become a proxy war between ...one winner
26	في حين	/fi: heen/ While (adversative)	25	تجاهل الأسد...	The Assad ignored
26	وردا	/wa raddan/ and as a result (additive + adversative)	26	تقوم تركيا الآن بدعم...المعارضة السورية	Turkey is now supportingthe Syrian opposition
29	وقد أدى	/wa gad adda/ and this leads to (additive + causal)	20-28	الانقسام الإيراني التركي بسبب سوريا	The Competition of Iran and Turkey due to their attitude toward Syria
31	في حين	/fii heen/ while (adversative)	30-31	قامت إيران بدعم حزب الدعوة الشيعة....	Iran has supported the Shiite-backed Dawa.....
33 33	وأصدر /وشن	/wa/ and (additive)	32	قام المالكي بتشكيل حكومة في بغداد	Maliki formed a government in Baghdad
36	كما	/kama/ also (additive)	34-36	يعمل الأكراد...على إصلاح جسور العلاقات مع السنة	The Kurds.. now making amends
38	إذا ما	/izama/ and if (temporal)	38	ويهددون بـ«ضرب تركيا	and threaten to...
41	ويمكن	/wa/ but (adversative)	39-40	تمثل تركيا تهديدا للمصالح الإيرانية.....	Turkey resemble a threat to Iranian interests..
45	ولكن	/wa la:kin/ and but (additive + adversative)	44-45	هناك مجال لأن يكون هناك...	there is a chance to...

Text 4: مشاهدة الفيلة تطير

Personal references					
reference			Referenced item		
line	reference	translation	lines	item	Translation
2	لها	/-haa/ to it	1	الثورة في مصر	the uprising in Egypt
3	حدوثها	/-haa/ its incidence	3	الثورة المصرية	The Egyptian uprising
4	لها	/-haa/ to it	3	الثورة المصرية	The Egyptian uprising
4	هي	/hiya/ it	3	الثورة المصرية	The Egyptian uprising
4	حدوثها	/-haa/ Its incidence	3	الثورة المصرية	The Egyptian uprising
7	هم	/hum/ they	6	الأحزاب الإسلامية	the Islamist parties
10	تحولهم	/-him/ Their change	10	الإسلاميين	the Islamists
11	توليهم	/-him/ Their control	10	الإسلاميين	the Islamists
16	هو	/huwa/ he	16	عمرو حسن	Amr Hassan
18	معهن	/-hunna/ with them	18	النساء	the women
19	بعضهن	/-hunna/ some of them	18	النساء	the women
19	إنهن	/-hunna/ they are	19	المنتقيات	veiled women
20	منهن	/-hunna/ from them	18	النساء	the women
21	منهن	/-hunna/ From them	18	النساء	the women
21	لأنهم	/-hum/ because they	21	الإسلاميين	the Islamists
21	جيرانهن	/-hunna/ their neighbors	21	الكثيرات من النساء	many women
21	يعرفنهم	/na-hum/ they know them	21	الإسلاميين	the Islamists
22	بزيارتهم	/-hinna/ to visit them	21	الكثيرات من النساء	many women
23	وأنهن	/-hunna/ they	22-23	النساء المسنات الأميات	illiterate elderly women
23	قال لهن	/-hunna/ told them	22-23	النساء المسنات الأميات	illiterate elderly women
23	أبناؤهن	/-hunna/ their kids	22-23	النساء المسنات الأميات	illiterate elderly women
24	إنهن صوتن	/-hunna/ they voted	24	جميع النساء	all women
24	لأنهن يتوقعن	/-hunna/ they expected	24	جميع النساء	all women

24	منهم	/-hum/ from them	24	مرشحي الإخوان المسلمين أو السلفيين	the Muslim Brotherhood or Salafist candidates
26	أنا	/anaa/	26	النساء المصريات	the Egyptian women
27	فهم	/hum/ they	26	الإخوان المسلمين	the Muslim Brotherhood
27	أتنفسه	/-hu/ breathe it	27	هواء	air
27	نحن	/nahn-u/ we	26	النساء المصريات	the Egyptian women
28	أطفالي	/-ii/ my kids	26	النساء المصريات	the Egyptian women
28	فهم	/-hum/ they	28	أطفالي	my kids
29	فهم	/-hum/ they	28	الإخوان المسلمون	The Muslim Brotherhood
29	سيساعدوننا	/-naa/ will help us	entire paragraph	المصريون	the Egyptian
30	خوفي	/-ii/ my fear	26	النساء المصريات	the Egyptian women
30	إننا	/-naa/ we	26	النساء المصريات	the Egyptian women
30	بيوتنا	/-naa/ our homes	26	النساء المصريات	the Egyptian women
30	أبنائنا	/-naa/ our kids	26	النساء المصريات	the Egyptian women
32	قال لي	/-ii/ told me	-	الكاتب	the writer
32	إنه	/-hu/ he	32	حسن	Hassan
33	الخاصة به	/-hi/ belong to him	32	حسن	Hassan
33	اشمئزازه	/-hu/ his disgust	32	حسن	Hassan
34	مثله	/-hu/ like him	32	حسن	Hassan
37	منهم	/-hum/ them	36	الأربع تنظيمات	The four parties
38	إننا	/-naa/ we	38	حسن والتنظيمات	Hassan and his party
38	أنا	/anaa/ I	38	حسن	Hassan
40	هو	/huwa/ he	40	الجيش	The army
42	قدرتهم	/-him/ their ability	41	شباب ميدان التحرير العلمانيون	the secular youth from Tahrir
44	أصواتها	/-haa/ its votes	43	حزب الكنبه	The Party of the Couch
45	هويته	/-hi/ his identity	45	أحد المراقبين الدوليين	An international observer

46	أبوابه	/-hi/ its gates	46	مركز الاقتراع	voting station
47	لنقلها	/-haa/ to take it	47	أحد الصناديق	One of the boxes
48	نحوهم	/-hum/ toward them	47	الموظفون	the workers
48	صاحت بهم	/-him/ shouted over them	47	الموظفون	the workers
48	فضلكم /أعينكم	/-kum/ Your excuse/ your eyes	47	الموظفون	the workers
49	فهو	/huwa/ it	49	الصندوق	the box
49	مستقبلنا	/-naa/ our future	49	الصندوق	the box
49	أنهم	/-hum/ they	47	الموظفون	the polling workers
49	سيضعونه	/-hu/ put it	49	الصندوق	the box
51	فإنه	/-hu/ it	50	الصندوق	the box
51	بمفرده	/-hi/ it	50	الصندوق	the box
52	صهرها	/-haa/ meld it	52	الأصوات و الآمال	Votes and hopes
53	لها	/-haa/ it	52	فرص	opportunities
Demonstrative reference					
Demonstrative reference			Referenced		
Line	reference	translation	Line	Refers to	Translation
6	ذلك	/dhaalika/ do that	5	تدوين الملاحظات	Taking notes
8	ذلك	/dhaalika/ that	7	إشعال شرارة الثورة	spark the rebellion
10	هذه الأحزاب الإسلامية	/haadhihi/ these Islamist parties	6-7	الإخوان المسلمين وحزب النور السلفي	the Muslim Brotherhood and the Salafist Al Nour Party
18	هذه الزيارة	/haadhihi/ this visit	14	مدرسة عمر بن عبد العزيز	Omar Abdel Aziz School
20	هذا النحو	/haadhaa/ this way	20	التصويت لصالح الإخوان المسلمين أو السلفيين	Voting for either the Muslim Brotherhood or the Salafists
29	البلاد	/al-/ the countries	11	مصر	Egypt
33	البلاد	/al-/ the country	30	مصر	Egypt
38	هذه القصة	/haadhihi/ this story	3	الثورة في مصر	the uprising in Egypt
40	البلاد	/al-/ the country	40	مصر	Egypt

46	هذا المراقب	/haadhaa/ this observer	45	أحد المراقبين الدوليين	an international observer
49	هذا الصندوق	/haadhaa/ this box	47	أحد الصناديق المملئة بأوراق التصويت	a box filled with votes
50	هذا الصندوق	/haadhaa/ this box	47	أحد الصناديق المملئة بأوراق التصويت	a box filled with votes
51	هنا	/hunaa/ here	43	مصر	Egypt
51	البلاد	/al-/ the country	43	مصر	Egypt
52	الدولة	/al-/ the country	43	مصر	Egypt
52	تلك الأصوات	/tilka/ those votes	entire paragraph	أصوات المصريين	Egyptian votes
52	تلك الآمال	/tilka/ those hopes	50	آمال	hopes
53	ذلك	/dhaalika/ that	52	خلق فرص	a strategy (creating opportunities)
54	هذه	/haadhihi/ these	entire paragraph	صناديق الاقتراع	ballot boxes
54	ذلك الحين	/dhaalika/ then	54	مستقبل مختلف	a different future
Comparative References					
Comparative reference			Referenced information		
Line	reference	translation	Line	Refers to	translation
25	أفضل وأكثر	better and more	22	من المرشحين العلمانيين الليبراليين	than secular liberal candidates
substitution					
Line	reference	translation	Line	Refers to	translation
23	يفعلن	to do	23	صوتن	to vote
Ellipsis					
Line	reference	translation	Line	Refers to	translation
27	أريد	want	26	أنا	I want
27	أريد				
51	ليس كافيا بمفرده	It is not sufficient alone	51	لتحقيق بداية جديدة	to achieve a new beginning
Conjunctions					
Line	Reference	Translation	Line	Conjunction reference	Translation
2	وسيكون	/wa/ and (additive)	1	أود أن أقوم يوما ما بعمل دورة في مصر	I'd love to create a journalism course...
3	ولأن	/wa li-/ and because (additive + causal)	2-3	إذا شاهدت الفيلة تطير... لطيران الفيلة	Whenever you see elephants flyingelephants flying
4	فما	/fa/ so (causal)	3-4	لأن أحدا لم يكن يتوقع حدوثها، كما لم ير أحد	No one predicted it, and no one had seen this before

				مثيلا لها من قبل	
5	وهذا	/wa/ And this (additive)	3-4	ولأن أحدا لم ... حدوثها من قبل؟	No one predicted it where it's going?
6	وإذا	/wa/ and (additive)	5	الخيار الأذكى أمام أي صحافي الآن هو أن يخرس ويقوم بتدوين الملاحظات	the smartest thing now is to just shut up and take notes
8	وذلك	/wa/ and that (additive)	7	الذين كانوا هم من قاموا بإشعال شرارة الثورة في مصر	the secular liberals, who actually sparked the rebellion in Egypt
10	فإن	/fa/ but (adversative)	9-10	وعلى الرغم من أنه من السذاجة ... هذه الأحزاب الإسلامية	To not be worried Islamist parties is to be recklessly naïve
16	وهو/ ويبلغ/ وكان	/wa/ and (additive)	15-16	حيث قام بارشادنا شاب من شباب الحي، يدعى عمرو حسن	We were guided by Amr Hassan
18	والأمر	/wa/ and (additive)	17-14	ما سبق	Previous paragraph
20	ولكن	/wa la:kin/ but (adversative)	20-18	أن جميع النساء المسلمين أو السلفيين	virtually all the women the Salafists
21	لأنهم	/li-/ because (causal)	21	حيث قالت الكثيرات منهن إنهن قد صوتن لصالح الإسلاميين	Many said they voted for Islamists
22	وقد	/wa/ and (additive)	18-22	ماسبق	preceding lines
23	ولكن	/wa la:kin/ and + but	22-23	وقد أسرت إلينا بعض النساء أن يفعلن	Some illiterate elderly women kids told them to
24	لأنهن	/li-/ because (causal)	24	فقد قلن جميعا إنهن صوتن لصالح مرشحي الإخوان المسلمين أو السلفيين	they had voted for the Muslim Brotherhood or Salafist candidates
25	وليس لكي	/wa li-/ and not to (additive + causal)	24-25	لأنهن يتوقعن منهم تشكيل حكومة أفضل وأكثر صدقا	because they expected them to deliver better, more honest government
26	وهذه	/wa/ and (additive)	23-25	ولكن من الناحية العملية حظر على	But practically all of them or liquor bans.

				الخمور.	
32	ولكن	/wa la:kin/ and + but	26-31	ما سبق	Previous paragraph
36	وهكذا	/wa/ and (additive)	32-35	ماسبق	preceding paragraph
38	وقد أضاف	/wa adafa/ and adding	32-35	قال لي..... لا يزالون في السلطة!	he said..... still in power!
38	وأنا	/wa/ and (additive)	38	إننا نريد أن نرى حكومة مصرية جديدة بأفكار جديدة	We want to see a new Egyptian government with new thoughts
42	وحتى	/wa/ and (additive)	40	ويشعر الجميع في مصر بالفعل بأنهم قد أصبحوا أكثر تمكنا الآن	everyone feels more empowered now
46	ولكن	/wa la:kin/ but	46	حيث كان مركز الاقتراع الذي كان هذا المراقب مكلفا بمراقبته قد أغلق أبوابه للتو	His voting station had just closed
49	ولذلك	/wa li-/ And for this reason (additive + causal)	49	فهو مستقبلنا	It is our future
51	فإنه	/fa/ but (adversative)	50-51	على الرغم من أنه من المؤكد أن مثل... بداية جديدة هنا	That box ... a new beginning here
53	وإذا	/wa/ and if (additive)	51-53	إذ تحتاج البلاد إلى زعيم المصريين بشكل واضح	The country needs a leader Egyptians clearly crave.
54	ولكن	/wa la:kin/ And + but	53-54	فإن صناديق الاقتراع هذه ستكون قد نجحت حقا في تقديم مستقبل مختلف لمصر	those ballot boxes really will have delivered a different future for Egypt.

توجه مرسي الخاطي: Text 5

Personal references					
reference			Referenced item		
line	reference	translation	lines	item	Translation
3	هو	/huwa/ it	2	سببا	reason
4	عليهم	/-him/ them	3	الشعب الإيراني	Iran's people
7	رغبتهم	/-him/ their desire	6	الإيرانيين	Iranians
7	نالته	/-hu/ got it	7	الشيء	thing
7	أصواتهم	/-him/ their votes	6	الإيرانيين	Iranians
8	بيدأها	/-haa/ started it	8	ثورة ديمقراطية	democracy revolution
8	هو	/huwa/ he	7	مرسي	Morsi
8	إليها	/-haa/ to it	7	جماعة الإخوان المسلمين	Muslim Brotherhood party
9	لكنهم	/-hum/ but they	7/8	مرسي و جماعة الإخوان المسلمين	Mursi and his Muslim Brotherhood party
9	أعقبها	/-haa/ followed it	8	ثورة ديمقراطية	democracy revolution
9	شرعيته	/-hu/ his legitimacy	7	مرسي	Morsi
12	منشآته النووية	/-hi/ its nuclear facilities	11	النظام الإيراني	The Iranian regime
13	سيذكره	/-hu/ remind him	12	مرسي	Morsi
13	بماضيه	/-hi/ his own past	12	مرسي	Morsi
13	يظهر له	/-hu/ offer him	12	مرسي	Morsi
14	بمقدوره	/-hi/ his ability	14	مرسي	Morsi
17	تأسيسها	/-haa/ its establishing	17	حركة عدم الانحياز	The Nonaligned Movement
21	هو	/huwa/ he	21	مرسي	Morsi
25	شأنه	/-hu/ his business	24	مرسي	Morsi
27	إليه	/-hi/ to it	27	الشيء	the thing
27	إيجاده	/-hu/ find it	27	الشيء	the thing

31	نظامها	/-haa/ its regime	31	حركة الديمقراطية	the democracy movement
32	بإمكانه	/-hi/ he has the ability	31	مرسي	Morsi
35	شعارهم	/-hum/ their slogan	34	3 ملايين متظاهر سلمي	3 million peaceful demonstrators
37	بها	/-haa/ his ability	37	الحقوق الديمقراطية	the democratic rights
37	اختطفها	/-haa/ hijacked it	37	الحقوق الديمقراطية	the democratic rights
42	إصلاحه	/-hi/ sanitize it	42	النظام	the regime
42	أرسلته	/-hu/ sent it	42	الخطاب	the letter
42	له	/-hu/ to him	42	مرسي	Morsi
43	هي	/hiya/ it	43	الجماعات الإيرانية	The Iranian groups
43	يحثه	/-hu/ urges him	42	مرسي	Morsi
43	مضيفيه	/-hi/ his Iranian hosts	42	مرسي	Morsi
44	شعوبهم	/-him/ their people	44	القادة	the leaders
44	حثهم	/-him/ urge them	44	القادة	the leaders
44	دولتهم	/-him/ their country	44	القادة	the leaders
Demonstrative reference					
Demonstrative reference			Referenced		
Line	reference	translation	Line	Refers to	Translation
3	الاجتماع	/al-/ the meeting	2	قمة عدم الانحياز	the Nonaligned Movement's summit meeting
9	هذه الحركة	/haadhihi/ this movement	8	حركة الاخوان المسلمين	The Muslim Brotherhood party
10	هذا	/haadhaa/ this	9	مرسي يقرض شرعيته للنظام الإيراني..	Morsi is lending his legitimacy to the Iranian regime..
15	بذلك	/dhaalika/ that	15	الارسال عبر البريد	the sending by mail
17	تلك الفترة	/tilka/ then	17	عام 1955	in 1955
19	هاتين الكتلتين	/haatayni/ these two blocs	18	معسكري الديمقراطية الغربية الرأسمالية والشيوعية الشرقية	Western democratic capitalists and Eastern Communists
23	هذا المؤتمر	/haadhaa/	2	قمة عدم الانحياز في	the Nonaligned

	الإيراني	this Iranian conference		طهران	Movement's summit meeting in Tehran
25	فهذا	/haadhaa/ this	24	الحفاظ على سلام يارد مع إسرائيل	to maintain a cold peace with Israel
42	هذا هو النظام	/haadhaa/ this is the regime	40	النظام الايراني	The Iranian regime
Comparative References					
Comparative reference			Referenced information		
Line	reference	translation	Line	Refers to	translation
4	نفس النوع	The same kind	4	حركة ديمقراطية	a democracy movement
Substitution					
Line	Reference	Translation	Line	Substituted information	Translation
15	يفعل	do	14	يسلم رئاسة حركة عدم الانحياز	to hand over the presidency of the Nonaligned Movement
Ellipsis					
Line	Reference	Translation	Line	Ellipsed information	Translation
24	لهذا	this	21	لهذا الاختيار	this choice
38	الحكومة	the government	-	الحكومة الايرانية	the Iranian government
25	ذلك	that	25	ذلك التحويل	that turning
28	أن تشمل	to include	27	أن تشمل الزيارة	the visit should include
29	وربما إلى	and maybe to	27	وربما الذهاب/زيارة إلى	and maybe going to
40	النظام	the regime	-	النظام الايراني	the Iranian government
45	بذلك	that	42	بذلك الخطاب	That letter
Conjunctions					
Line	Reference	Translation	Line	Conjunction reference	Translation
2	لكن	/la:kin/ but	1-2	أن تكون من أوائل رحلات الرئيس .. الأسبوع الحالي	that one of the first trips by Egypt's ..this week
4	ومن ثم	/wa/ /thamma/ And therefore (causal)	3-4	إرسال إشارة إلى الشعب الإيراني .. القيادة الدينية	is to signal to Iran's people ... clerical leadership
9	لكنهم	/la:kin/ but (adversative)	7-8	مرسي الذي وصل إلى السلطة .. ينتمي إليها	Morsi, who was brought ...party started
12	وكسجين	/wa/ and (additive)	11-12	النظام الإيراني عرض على مرسي جولة في منشآته النووية	The Iranian regime.... its nuclear facilities
13	وسيدكره	/wa/ and (additive)	12-13	ينبغي على مرسي أن يطلب زيارة سجن إيفين سيئ السمعة في طهران	Morsi should also request a visit to Tehran's notorious Evin prison

15	ليبعث	/li-/ to send to (causal)	14	يسلم رئاسة حركة عدم الانحياز عبر البريد	to hand over the presidency of the Nonaligned Movement by mail.
17	فقد	/fa-/ because (causal)	17	تأسيسها كان منطقيا	Its establishing was a logic
18	واختارت	/wa/ and (additive)	17-18	فقد كان العالم منقسما بين معسكري الديمقراطية الغربية الرأسمالية والشيوعية الشرقية	The world was divided....Communists
22	وبالمناسبة	/wa/ And by the way (additive)	21-22	هل مرسي غير منحاز... أيضا؟	Is Morsi nonaligned... as well?
25	أما	/amma/ while (adversative)	24-25	إذا كان مرسي يرغب في الحفاظ على سلام بارد مع إسرائيل، فهذا شأنه	If Morsi wants to maintain a cold peace with Israel, that is his business
27	لكن	/la:kin/ but (adversative)	25-26	أما بالنسبة لمرسي .. العالم العربي	As for Morsi...in the Arab world
28	بل	/bal/ but(adversative)	27-28	كان يجب أن لا تكون أول زيارة كبرى لمرسي إلى الصين وإيران فقط	Morsi's first big trip shouldn't have been to just China and Iran
35	وكان شعارهم	/wa/ and their slogan (additive)	35-34	خرج 3 ملايين متظاهر سلمي إلى... انتصار ساحق	3 million peaceful demonstrators turned outa landslide
36	على مدار ستة أشهر تالية	Over the next six months (temporal)	35	في الانتخابات الرئاسية لعام 2009	of the 2009 presidential election
38	ومع	/wa/ and (additive)	36-38	تحولت الحركة الخضراء من ... رجال الدين المتشددون.	the Green Movement evolved from...by radical clerics
38	ففي خريف	/fa/ moreover, in the fall (additive)	38	كان رد فعل الحكومة قاسيا جدا	the government response was increasingly tough
40	وفي	/wa/ and (additive)	38-39	ففي خريف عام 2009	and In the fall of 2009

فرصة الولايات المتحدة لبدء صفحة جديدة مع مصر: **Text 6**

Personal references					
reference			Referenced item		
line	reference	translation	lines	item	Translation
1	لها	/-haa/ it	1	الولايات المتحدة	The United States
1	علاقتها	/-haa/ its relationship	1	الولايات المتحدة	The United States
3	استمراريتها	/-haa/ its perpetuation	2	الروابط	ties
3	تدافع عنها	/-haa/ defend for it	2	الروابط	ties
5	علاقتها	/-haa/ its connection	5	واشنطن	Washington
7	لكنها	/-haa/ but it	7	مهمة	task
10	لكنها	/-haa/ but it	10	إجراء تجديد	a revamp
13	دعمتهم	/-hum/ backed or supported them	13	الحكام	the leaders
14	تقدمها	/-haa/ it offers	13	أميركا	America
17	لكنها	/-haa/ but it	17	أجندة ديمقراطية	democratic agenda
18	جهدهم	/-him/ its best	17	العسكر	the military
18	صلاتهم	/-him/ its lifelines	17	العسكر	the military
19	لكنها	/-haa/ but it	19	القوى الديمقراطية العلمانية	the secular democratic forces
22	تحويلها	/-haa/ transforming it	21	مصر	Egypt
29	التغريب بهم	/-him/ betrayal them	28	الديمقراطيين في مصر	Egyptian democrats
32	هو	/huwa/ he	32	مرشحه المفضل	its favored candidate
32	أنها أغضبت	/-haa/ it infuriated	31	الضغوط	the lobbying
36	أذهانهم	/-him/ their minds	35	الإدارة الأميركية	the American administration
41	اجتماع له	/-hu/ a meeting to him	40	ويليام بيرنز	William Burns
41	بتسليمه	/-hi/ delivered to him	41	مرسي	Morsi
43	استمرارها	/-haa/ its continuation	42	المعونة العسكرية	the military aid ¹⁸⁷
43	هيكلتها	/-haa/ its restructuration	42	المعونة العسكرية	the military aid
44	تخفيضها	/-haa/ its reduction	42	المعونة العسكرية	the military aid

		its reduction			
44	تركيزها	/-haa/ its focus	42	المعونة العسكرية	the military aid
47	منها	/-haa/ one of it	46	العثرات التقليدية	the classic pitfalls
48	منهما	/-huma/ them 'two'	48	العسكر والإخوان المسلمين	the military and the Muslim Brotherhood
49	عليه	/-hi/ him	48	العسكر والإخوان المسلمين	the military and the Muslim Brotherhood
50	إخراجهم	/-hum/ exclude them	49-50	الديمقراطيون العلمانيون وأبناء الطبقة الوسطى الناشئة	Egypt's secular democrats and its emerging middle class
50	لكنهم	/-hum/ but they	49-50	الديمقراطيون العلمانيون وأبناء الطبقة الوسطى الناشئة	Egypt's secular democrats and its emerging middle class
53	محلهم	/-hum/ their place	53	العسكر	the military
Demonstrative reference					
Demonstrative reference			Referenced		
Line	reference	translation	Line	Refers to	Translation
7	هذه مهمة	/haadhihi/ this task	5	إعادة بناء علاقة واشنطن مع مصر	Washington has to rebuild its connection with Egypt
21	هذا الخيط الرفيع	/haadhaa/ this tightrope	16-20	الأوضاع في مصر	conditions in Egypt
22	هذين الدورين	/haadhayni/ these two roles	21-22	حليفة أساسية للولايات المتحدة وجارة مسالمة لإسرائيل	a core U.S. ally and peaceful neighbor of Israel
32	لذلك	/dhaalika/ to that	22	نظام ديمقراطي	a democratic regime
28	الرئيس الجديد	/al-/ the new president	16	مرسي	Morsi
33	الإسلاميين	/al-/ the Islamists	17	الإخوان المسلمين	the Muslim Brotherhood
38	النظام	/al-/ the regime	37	نظام مرسي	Morsi's government
41	هذه الشروط	/haadhihi/ these terms	38-39	يفي النظام بوعوده بمراعاة حقوق المرأة... مع إسرائيل	the regime preserves the rights of women...with Israel
42	هذه النقطة	/haadhihi/ this point	42	المعونة العسكرية	the military aid
46	هذه	/haadhihi/ this	42-43	الدعم الأميركي لنظام مرسي مقابل شروط مصر	the U.S. aid to Morsi regime with terms Egypt
50	للبلاد	to the country	49	مصر	Egypt
55	تلك الضغوط	/tilka/ those pressures	52	ضغوط من جانب مصر أو من جانب	Pressures by Egypt or Americans

الأميركيين					
Ellipsis					
Line	Reference	Translation	Line	Ellipsed information	Translation
26	الإدارة	the administration	25	إدارة الرئيس أوباما	the Obama administration
30	الإدارة	the administration	25	إدارة الرئيس أوباما	the Obama administration
39	أن يلتزم	respects	38	أن يلتزم النظام	the regime respects
39	أن يحافظ	preserves	38	أن يحافظ النظام	the regime preserves
Conjunctions					
Line	Reference	Translation	Line	Conjunction reference	Translation
2	فالروابط	/fa/ 'for' the ties (causal)	1	لا يحدث كثيرا....	It's not often that....
3	كما	/kama/ also (additive)	2	تكون محكومة بالتاريخ ، وتعمل النخب على... استمراريتها	are locked in by history, perpetuated by enduring elites
3	وبالتالي	/wa bitali/ and thus (additive+causal)	2	فالروابط عادة،... جماعات الضغط القوية	ties are.... by powerful lobbies
5	ولكن	/wa la:kin/ however (adversative)	1-2	لا يحدث..... من دول العالم الكبرى	It's not often that..... the world's major nations
7	وتعد	/wa/ but (adversative)	5	ليس أمام واشنطن أي خيار آخر سوى إعادة بناء علاقتها مع مصر	. Washington has no choice but to rebuild its connection with Egypt
7	لكنها	/la:kin/ however (adversative)	7	تعد هذه مهمة ثقيلة.. والبيت الأبيض	It is a daunting... and White House
10	لكنها	/la:kin/ but (adversative)	10	وقد وضحت منذ فترة الحاجة إلى إجراء تجديد شامل للعلاقات	the need for a revamp
11	فحتى تلك اللحظة	/fa hatta tilka/ until then (temporal)	10-11	حتمية الشهر الماضي .. رئيس الجمهورية	last month when Mohammed Morsi.....president
13	وعاما بعد عام	and year after year (additive)	12-13	كانت السياسة الأميركية... بالفراعنة الذين دعمتهم	U.S. policy had... leaders it backed
16	لكن	/la:kin/ However (adversative)	12-13	كانت السياسة الأميركية... بالفراعنة الذين دعمتهم	U.S. policy had... leaders it backed
16	ففي	/fa/ for (causal)	16	لكن الوضع الآن يتعقد	Now, the situation gets complicated
22	وهو أمر	/wa/ and something (additive)	21	النجاح في السير على هذا الخيط الرفيع	A successful walk along this tightrope
23	والبديل	/wa/ But, the alternative	21-22	أن يحافظ على مصر .. ديمقراطي فعال	could preserve Egypt... democracy

		(adversative)			
25	فقد	/fa/ and (additive)	25	وقد نجحت أول خطوتين ... جميع الأطراف	The Obama administration's first two steps ... all sides
27	وهو	/wa/ and (additive)	26-27	قامت الإدارة أولاً ... الديمقراطي	First, the administration ...democratic
28	لكن	/la:kin/ but (adversative)	27-28	أمر كان من الممكن أن يدفع العسكر.... الرئيس الجديد	something that may have encouraged the military.... the new president
30	ولكن	/ wa la:kin/ however (adversative)	26-27	قامت الإدارة أولاً، في شهر مارس الماضي ...التحول الديمقراطي	First, in March, the administration... a democratic transition
32	إلا	But (adversative)	31-32	وقد كان من الممكن أن تؤدي الضغوط ...المفضل	Lobbying by Clinton and ... its favored candidate
41	ولم يشر	/wa/ but (adversative)	40-41	تحدث نائب وزيرة الخارجية الأميركية ... من الرئيس أوباما	Deputy Secretary of .State....from Obama
42	أيضاً	/ayddan/ too (additive)	41-42	الإشارة إلى المعونة العسكرية	mentioning the military aid
42	وهناك إجماع	/wa/ Also, there is a consensus (additive)	41-42	ولم يشر بيرنز في تصريحاته...	Burns didn't publicly mention...
46	لكن	/la:kin/ however (adversative)	46	ومبدئياً، فإن هذه ليست خطة سيئة	In conception, that's not a bad plan
49	أما أصدقاء أميركا	/amma/ However, (adversative)	48-49	ورغم أن العسكر ... بمرور الوقت	Though the military ...over time
50	لكنهم	/la:kin/ but (adversative)	50	الذين تم إخراجهم قسراً من الصورة	who have been shoved to the sidelines
53	فالعسكر	/fa/ so (causal)	52-53	والخطر الداهم الآخر ... إلى مسارها القديم	The other big danger ... domestic pressure
54	والبعض	/wa/ and (additive)	53-54	فالعسكر سيقاومون ... والنفوذ لدى واشنطن	The military will resist...in Washington by civilian leaders
55	وقد	/wa/ but (adversative)	53-55	فالعسكر سيقاومون ... لنظام إسلامي	The military will resistto an Islamist government

على قادة مصر الجدد الاعتراف بالواقع: Text 7

Personal references					
reference			Referenced item		
line	reference	translation	lines	item	Translation
2	هو	/huwa/ it	2	الهجوم	the attack
4	له	/-hu/ him	2	مرسي	Morsi
8	باعتبارها	/-haa/ considering it	6	خطوة مرسي	Morsi's move
8	مطالبها	/-haa/ its promises	8	الثورة	the revolution
10	حوله	/-hi/ around him	10	مرسي	Morsi
11	هو	/huwa/ he	10	وزيراً	a new minister
11	هو	/huwa/ he	11	صلاح عبد المقصود	Salah Abdul Maqsud
12	مناصبهم	/-him/ their position	12	50 رئيس تحرير وصحافياً	50 leading editors and journalists
15	معها	/-haa/ with it	15	جماعة الإخوان المسلمين	The Muslim Brotherhood group
16	هو	/huwa/ he	15	الرئيس	the president
19	مقاومتهم	/-him/ their resistance	18	مرسي والإخوان المسلمين	Morsi and the Muslim Brotherhood
19	توليهم	/-him/ their	18	مرسي والإخوان المسلمين	Morsi and the Muslim Brotherhood
21	لتقديمها	/-haa/ to offer it	20	الـ3.2 مليار دولار	the \$3.2 billion
22	أنهم	/-hum/ they	22	مرسي والإخوان المسلمون	Morsi and the Muslim Brotherhood
23	إنكاره	/-hi/ (denial) it	22	الواقع	the reality
27	هو	/huwa/ it	27	مسؤولية هجوم سيناء	the responsibility of the Sinai attack
29	واقعتها	/-haa/ its own reality	28	جماعة	an organization
29	فلسفتها	/-haa/ its philosophy	29	الجماعة	the group
30	عقيدتها	/-haa/ its ideology	29	الجماعة	the group ₁₉₁
36	عليهم	/-him/	33	الرئيس والشعب	Egypt's president

		they		المصري	and people
36	التزاماتهم	/-him/ their obligations	33	الرئيس والشعب المصري	Egypt's president and people
37	سجلهم	/-hum/ their record	33	الرئيس والشعب المصري	Egypt's president and people
41	لكنه	/-hu/ but it	41	ردنا	our response
Demonstrative reference					
Demonstrative reference			Referenced		
Line	reference	translation	Line	Refers to	Translation
13	الرئيس	/al-/ the president	10	مرسي	Morsi
13	الدولة	/al-/ the country	5	مصر	Egypt
14	هذا	/haadhaa/ this	13	تغير نبرة إعلام الدولة	the state media's tone has changed
14	هذا	/haadhaa/ this	13	تغير نبرة إعلام الدولة	the state media's tone has changed
15	الرئيس	/al-/ the president	10	مرسي	Morsi
17	الدولة	/al-/ The country	16	مصر	Egypt
21	الصندوق	/al-/ the fund	20	صندوق النقد الدولي	International Monetary Fund
24	هذه المذكرة	/haadhihi/ this note	23	مذكرة أرسلها الرئيس الإسرائيلي	a note sending by Israeli President
24	هذا	/haadhaa/ this	23	إنكار مرسي إرسال رد على مذكرة أرسلها الرئيس الإسرائيلي	Morsi's denial sending Israeli President Shimon Peres a response
29	الجماعة	/al-/ the group	28	جماعة	group
40	هذا المنوال	/haadhaa/ this behavior	38	أرسل مرسي تعزيزات أمنية الجانب الإسرائيلي	Morsi has moved armored forces.....the Israelis
Substitution					
Line	reference	translation	Line	Substituted information	translation
25-26	القيام بذلك	doing so	25	نشر خطاب مرسي	to release Morsi's letter
33	يعرف ذلك	/dhaalika/ know that	31-32	يمكن تفهم الاختلافات في السياسة... الخيال	Policy differences are understandable... fictions
34	نفعل ذلك	do so	33-34	لحشد المجتمع الدولي والمؤسسات المالية العالمية لمساعدة مصر	to mobilize the international community, and global financial

					institutions, to help Egypt
Ellipsis					
Reference			Refer to		
Line	Reference	Translation	Line	Ellipsed information	Translation
4	انفرد	also amended	2	انفرد مرسي	Morsi amended
23	أرسلها الرئيس	The president sent it	23	أرسلها له الرئيس	The president send it to him (Morsi)
39	الإدارة	The administration	30	الولايات المتحدة	The administration of the United States
Conjunctions					
Line	Reference	Translation	Line	Conjunction reference	Translation
2	وهو	/wa/ and (additive)	2	استغل مرسي الهجوم	Morsi seized on the attack
3	ليطيح	/li-/ to (causal)	2	استغل مرسي الهجوم الذي أسفر عن مقتل 16 جنديا ... الشهر الحالي	Morsi seized on the killing of 16 Egyptian soldiers... early this month
4	كذلك	/kadhaalika/ also (additive)	2	لقد استغل مرسي الهجوم الذي أسفر عن مقتل... الشهر الحالي	Morsi seized on the killing of... early this month
8	ويرى	/wa/ but others, (adversative)	6-9	ينظر كثيرون إلى خطوة مرسي.... نظام مبارك وتحقيق مطالبها	Many see Morsi's moveMubarak regime and fulfill its promise
10	فقد	/fa/ as (causal)	10	لا يوجد ما يدعو إلى القلق	there is reason to be concerned
11	ويدعم	/wa/ and supports (additive)	11	ينتمي...	he comes from...
12	وتم توجيهه	/wa/ and (additive)	10	فقد عين مرسي..	Morsi has appointed...
14	ولا يعني	/wa/ but (adversative)	13-14	وربما لا يعد تغير نبرة إعلام الدولة ... مرسي إلى حد كبير	It is probably no accident that ...favorable toward Morsi
14	ولا يعني	/wa/ and (additive)	14	ولا يعني أي من هذا أن طريق مصر نحو التغيير حتمي	None of this means that Egypt's path of change is foreordained
22	لكن	/la:kin/ but (adversative)	22	يبدو مرسي والإخوان المسلمون مقرّين	Morsi and the Brotherhood

				بالواقع	seem to recognize reality
26	ودفع الغضب	/wa/ and (additive)	22-23	أثارت أنباء هذه المذكورة .. أي اتصال مع إسرائيل	news of the correspondence provoked a ...having any such contact with Israel
26	كذلك	/kadhaalika/ also (additive)	23-24	. انظر في إنكار مرسي .. مع إسرائيل	Consider that Morsi denied ... with Israel
30	مع ذلك	/ma' dhaalika/ However (adversative)	29-30	أن الجماعة متمسكة بفكرها ... وعقيدها	the group the Brotherhood is wedded to its ideology ...philosophy
31	ولا يعني	/wa/ and (additive)	30-31	لا ينبغي أن تعترف الولايات المتحدة والدول الأخرى بجماعة الإخوان المسلمين كواقع بديل	the United States and others should not accommodate the Brotherhood's alternative reality
31	لكن	/la:kin/ but (adversative)	31	يمكن تفهم الاختلافات في السياسة	It is possible to understand policy differences
33	وكذلك	/wa kadhaalika/ and also (additive)	32	ينبغي أن يعرف كل من مرسي والإخوان المسلمين ذلك	Egypt's president and people should know that
34	لكننا	/la:kin/ but (adversative)	33-34	أننا مستعدون لحشد المجتمع الدولي والمؤسسات المالية العالمية لمساعدة مصر	we are prepared to mobilize the international community, and global financial institutions, to help Egypt
37	وسجلهم	/wa/ Moreover, their record (additive)	35-36	يجب أن يحترموا حقوق الأقليات والمرأة...السلام مع إسرائيل.	They must respect the rights of minorities and women....peace treaty with Israel
39	فيجب	/fa/ so (causal)	37-39	وسجلهم حتى هذه اللحظة غير جيد... معاهدة السلام	and their record to date is not good.. the peace treaty

Appendix C

Text 1:

Line	English device	Arabic translation	Line	techniques			
				Sustaining	Addition	Subtraction	Alteration
Personal references							
3	<u>his</u> government	حكومته /-hu/	3	✓			
7	<u>his</u> removal	إسقاط البشير Al Bashir	6				✓
7	it	x	x			✓	
8	<u>their</u> common hatred	كراهيتها /-haa/ its hatred	7				✓
8	him	له /-hu/	7	✓			
8	his party	لحزبه /-hi/	7	✓			
9	they	x	x			✓	
9	him	أسقطوه /-hu/	7	✓			
9	they	بينهم /-hum/ them	8				✓
16	he	x	x			✓	
18	their jobs	عملين /-hunna/	14	✓			
28	he live	إقامته his residence /-hi/	21				✓
33	They	x	x			✓	
36	he	لأنه /-hu/	28	✓			
37	put him	أدخله /-hu/	29	✓			
40	his expulsion	طرده /-hi/	31	✓			
42	They	هما they two /humaa/	32				✓
43	his public statements	تصريحاته /-hi/	33	✓			
44	land him	تنتهي به /-hi/	34	✓			

44	he retains	فإنه يحتفظ /-hu/	34	✓			
57	their movement	حركتهما their two /-humaa/	44				✓
59	their provinces	لولايتيهما their two /-humaa/	45				✓
68	it signed	الحركة the movement	51				✓
69	its central principal	مبديه المركزي الخاص /-hi/	52	✓			
69	They	هم hum	52	✓			
73	they	x	x			✓	
74	They	x	x			✓	
74	they	هم hum	56	✓			
74	their allies	حلفاؤهم /-hum/	56	✓			
75	they should have	تراودهم /-hum/ surrounded them	56				✓
Demonstrative reference							
7-8	The groups	/al-/ المجموعات	6	✓			
19	the country	x	x			✓	
33	these groups	هذه المجموعات /haadhihi/ these groups	26				✓
34	the country	السودان Sudan	26				✓
36	these policies	هذه السياسات /haadhihi/ These policies	28				✓
37	these radical groups	هذه المجموعات /haadhihi/ these groups	28- 29				✓
37	that decision	هذا القرار /haadhaa/ this decision	29				✓
38- 39	the two men	/al-/ الرجلان	30	✓			
40	the president	/al-/ الرئيس	31	✓			
50	The rebel	/al-/ المتنرد	39	✓			
59	The agreement	/al-/ الاتفاقية	45	✓			

61	the process	/al-/ العملية	46	✓			
66	the movement	/al-/ الحركة	50	✓			
Comparative reference							
29	other	أخرى	22				✓
68	other	أخرى	51				✓
Substitution							
10	one	بينهم	8				✓
73	do	تمكنوا من ذلك do that	55	✓			
Ellipsis							
21	not	غيرهم /-hum/ not (them)	16		✓		
36	Bashir eventually agreed	وافق البشير Al-Bashir agreed	28	✓			
42	They still are	وهما لا يزالان كذلك they still do that	32		✓		
43	and is believed	يعتقد أنه he is believed	33		✓		
45	and is considered	إليه /-hi/ to <u>him</u> (Al Bashir)	35		✓		
49	continued	استمرار	37	✓			
67	:revenge	وهو الثأر it is revenge	50		✓		
69- 70	:not alone	ليسوا وحدهم	52	✓			
71	but support	لكنهما يدعمان But they support	53		✓		
Conjunction							
3	Currently (temporal)	وَحَالِيَا /wa/ and currently (additive + temporal)	3	✓	✓		
4	as well as (additive)	ناهيك عن Also (additive)	3	✓			
7	yet (adversative)	لكن /la:kin/ However (adversative)	6	✓			
9	But (adversative)	وَإِذَا مَا /wa izama/	7	✓	✓		

		but/And if (adversative, temporal)					
27	also (additive)	x	x			✓	
29	also (additive)	x	x			✓	
37	but (adversative)	ولكن /wa la:kin/ And however (additive + adversative)	28	✓	✓		
63	But (adversative)	لكن /la:kin/ However (adversative)	46	✓			
66	so (causal)	ومن ثم /wa/ And so (additive + causal)	50	✓	✓		
68	But (adversative)	لكن /la:kin/ but (adversative)	51	✓			
71	but (adversative)	لكنهما /la:kin/ but (adversative)	53	✓			
73	But (adversative)	لكن /la:kin/ but (adversative)	55	✓			

Text 2:

Line	English device	Arabic translation	Line	techniques			
				Sustaining	Addition	Subtraction	Alteration
Personal references							
7	my reporting	ما أقوله /-hu/ I report it	5				✓
12	identified them	أنهم /-hum/ they	9				✓

17	told me	أخبرني /-nii/ told me	12	✓			
17	he thinks	أنه يرى /hu/ he thinks	12	✓			
20	their rivals	لمنافسيهم /-him/	15	✓			
26	it led	أدت هذه العملية /haadhihi/ this process led	20				✓
29	it may	إنه ربما /-hu/ it may	22	✓			
30	they were augmented	x				✓	
31	Their anger	غضبهم /-hum/	24	✓			
35	it does	لها /-haa/ it has	28	✓			
37	it	x				✓	
40	They captured	قبضتهم /-him/ their capture	33				✓
41	they seized	x				✓	
42	they can't	x				✓	
50	His comments	تعليقاته /-hi/ his comments	41	✓			
51	it needs	x				✓	
Demonstrative reference							
2	that	هذا /haadhaa/ this	2				✓
17	that crowd	تلك الحشود /tilka/ those crowds	12	✓			
34	these countries	هذين البلدين /haadhayni/ these two countries	27				✓
36	this	هذا /haadhaa/ this	29	✓			
38	That	ذلك العمل /dhaalika/ that work	31	✓			
41	that disaster	تلك الكارثة /tilka/ that disaster	33	✓			

47	That's	ذلك /dhaalika/ that	39	✓			
51	this crisis	هذه الأزمة /haadhihi/ this crisis	41	✓			
52	these events	هذه الأحداث /haadhihi/ these events	42				✓
54	this success	هذا النجاح /haadhaa/ this success	43	✓			
Comparative reference							
15	more conservative	أكثر محافظة /a-/ أقل براغماتية /a-/ الأكثر إثارة /al a-/ the most interesting	11	✓			
15	less pragmatic	أقل براغماتية /a-/ الأكثر إثارة /al a-/ the most interesting	11	✓			
20	more interesting	الأكثر إثارة /al a-/ the most interesting	14				✓
26	a similar process	عملية مماثلة a similar process	20				✓
51	more	أكثر مما /a-/ نفس	41	✓			
58	the same	نفس	46	✓			
Substitution							
29	the one	الهجوم the attack	22				✓
35	it does	لها مصلحة it has an interest	28				✓
Ellipsis							
19	The first	الرسالة الأولى the first message	13		✓		
42	can't or won't	لم تستطع أو لم تفعل	34	✓			
47	has links	له صلات /-hu/ it has links	38		✓		
Conjunction							
2	but (adversative)	بل /bal/ But (adversative)	2	✓			
7	so (causal)	لذا /li-/ for this reason (causal)	5	✓			

8	But (adversative)	ولكن /wa/ /la:kin/ (adversative)	5	✓	✓		
25	but (adversative)	لكنهم /la:kin/ but (adversative)	18	✓			
26	and (additive)	وقد /wa/ And (additive)	20	✓			
29	But (adversative)	غير /ghayra/ But (adversative)	22	✓			
36	But this (adversative)	إلا أن /illa anna/ But this (adversative)	29	✓			
44	Also (additive)	و- أيضا /wa ayddan/ and (additive)	36	✓	✓		

Text 3:

Line	English device	Arabic translation	Line	techniques			
				Sustaining	Addition	Subtraction	Alteration
Personal references							
3	its policies	سياساتها /-haa/	2	✓			
4	Its own people	شعبها /haa-/	4	✓			
6	It	هذا التنافس /haadhaa/ this	6				✓
9	its standing	مكانتها	8	✓			

		/haa-/					
19	it had encouraged	تحثه /-hu/	17	✓			
20	it	x				✓	
20	its territory	أراضيها /-haa/	19	✓			
23	its democratic traditions	تقاليد الديمقراطية /-haa/	21	✓			
25	its support	دعمها /-haa/	22	✓			
25	his brutal crackdown	قمعه الوحشي /-hi/	22	✓			
27	it has become	تحولت القضية the cause	24				✓
43	their persecution	اضطهادهم /-him/	35	✓			
44	They	x				✓	
48	its commitment	التزامها /-haa/	38	✓			
48	its territory	أراضيها /-haa/	39	✓			
55	their hands	أوراقه /-hi/	44	✓			
Demonstrative reference							
5	This	هذا /haadhaa/	5	✓			
15	the two governments	الحكومتين /al-/	14	✓			
24	the revolution	الثورة السورية /al-/	21	✓			
Comparative reference							
50	a greater threat	أكثر من /a-/	40	✓			
52	more aggressive	أكثر عدوانية /a-/	41	✓			
Ellipsis							
2	: “Turkey....”	يقول فيه: <u>He</u> says:	2			✓	
4	face	ستواجه <u>It</u> will face	3			✓	
30	reform	إصلاحات في البلاد Reform the country	26			✓	
44	amends	يعمل الأكراد على إصلاح جسور العلاقات مع السنة to improve relations with Sunni	35- 36			✓	
Conjunction							

1	for instance (additive)	فعلى سبيل المثال /fa.../ for instance (additive)	1	✓			
4	or (adversative)	/wa illa/ If not (adversative)	3	✓			
8	though (adversative)	ومع ذلك /wa ma' dhaalika/ however (adversative)	7	✓	✓		
17	Meanwhile (temporal)	وفي هذه الأثناء /wa fi: haadhihi al-athnaa/ and meanwhile (additive + temporal)	16	✓	✓		
22	Then (temporal)	وبعد ذلك / wa baada/ and then additive) (+temporal	20	✓	✓		
26	Either...or (additive)	فإما..... وإما /fa-imm....wa imma/ either...or (additive)	23	✓			
27	Likewise (additive)	ثم /tumma/ Then (temporal)	23				✓
29	Hence (causal)	وعلى هذا /wa alaa haadhaa/ and hence (additive + causal)	25	✓	✓		
36	While (adversative)	في حين /fii heen/ while (adversative)	31	✓			
44	also (additive)	كما /kama/ also (additive)	36	✓			

Text 4:

Line	English device	Arabic translation	Line	techniques			
				Sustaining	Addition	Subtraction	Alteration
Personal references							
2	its first anniversary	الذكرى الأولى لها /-haa/	2	✓			
4	predicted it	حدوثها /-haa/ its incidence	3				✓
5	see it	حدوثها /-haa/ its incidence	3				✓
5	it's going	هي ذاهبة /hiya/	4	✓			
21	they had voted	إنهن قد صوتن /hunna/ they	19	✓			
24	they	لأنهم /-hum/ they	21	✓			
24	they	يعرفنهم /-hum/ know them	21				✓
26	their kids	أبنائهن /-hunna/	23	✓			
26	told them	قال لهن /-hunna/	23	✓			
27	them	جميعا all	24			✓	
27	they had voted	إنهن صوتن /-hunna/	24	✓			
28	<u>they</u> expected	لأنهن يتوقعن /-hunna/	24	✓			
28	them	منهم /-hum/ from them	24	✓			
30	they voted	-	-			✓	
30	I love	أنا /anna/	26	✓			
31	they	هم /hum/	27	✓			
31	I want	-	-			✓	
32	We need	نحن /nahnu/	27	✓			
32	I want	-	-			✓	

32	my kids	أطفالي /-ii/	28	✓			
33	they	هم /hum/	28	✓			
33	It	هم /hum/ they	29				✓
34	We	-	-			✓	
35	My biggest fear	خوفي الكبير /-ii/	30	✓			
36	We sit	إننا نجلس /-naa/	30	✓			
36	our homes	بيوتنا /-naa/	31	✓			
36	You	-	-			✓	
36	Your	أبناؤنا /-naa/ our	31				✓
38	he had voted	-	-			✓	
39	he said	قال لي /-ii/ told me	32				✓
39	he wrote	إنه كتب /-hu/	32	✓			
39	his ballot	ورقة الاقتراع الخاصة به /-hi/ ballot belongs to him	33				✓
40	He spat out	-	-			✓	
40	his disgust	اشمئزازه /-hu/	33	✓			
41	like him	مثله /-hu/	34	✓			
46	them	منهم /-hum/	37	✓			
47	I	أنا /anaa/	38	✓			
48	I	-	-			✓	
51	their now proven ability	قدرتهم /-him/	42	✓			
52	they see	-	-			✓	
56	His voting station	هذا المراقب مكلفا بمراقبته Voting station this observer is responsible to monitor <u>it</u>	46				✓
58	over to them	نحوهم /-hum/	48	✓			
59	our future	مستقبلنا /-naa/	49	✓			
59	they put	أنهم /-hum/	49	✓			

59	put it	سيضعونه /-hu/	49	✓			
61	it	إنه /-hu/	51	✓			
63	meld them	صهرها /-haa/ it	52				✓
Demonstrative reference							
4	this	لها /-haa/ it	4				✓
9	here	مصر Egypt	8				✓
11	these Islamist parties	هذه الأحزاب الإسلامية /haadhihi/ these Islamist parties	10				✓
13	here	مصر Egypt	11				✓
20	Here	هذه الزيارة /haadhihi/ this visit	18				✓
23	that way	هذا النحو /haadhaa/ this way	20				✓
34	the country	البلاد /al-/ the country	29	✓			
35	here	مصر Egypt	30				✓
40	the country	البلد /al-/ the country	33	✓			
46	this story	هذه القصة /haadhihi/ this	38	✓			
49	the country	البلد /al-/ The country	40	✓			
52	here	Egypt مصر	43				✓
59	that box	هذا الصندوق /haadhaa/ this box	49				✓
59	This is our future	هو مستقبلنا /huwa/ <u>It</u> is our future	49				✓
60	That box	هذا الصندوق /haadhaa/ this box	50				✓
61	here	هنا /hunaa/	51	✓			

		here					
61	The country	البلاد /al-/ the country	51	✓			
62	those votes	تلك الأصوات /tilka/ those votes	52				✓
62	those hopes	تلك الآمال /tilka/ those hopes	52				✓
64	that	ذلك /dhaalika/ that	53	✓			
64	those ballot boxes	صناديق الاقتراع هذه /haadhihi/ these ballot boxes	54				✓
65	then	ذلك الحين then	54	✓			
Comparative reference							
28	better, more honest	أفضل وأكثر صدقا	25	✓			
Substitution							
7	If you do	إذا شرع المرء في ذلك /dhaalika/ If someone begin that	6				✓
31	they are the only honest <u>ones</u>	هم وحدهم الشرفاء They are (they alone) honest	27				✓
Ellipsis							
22	none	أي واحدة منهم none of them	20		✓		
24	Many	الكثيرات منهم many of them	21		✓		
25	visited	بزيارتهم visited them	22		✓		
26	and just voted	وأنهن قد صوتن and they just voted	23		✓		
26	told them to	قال لهن أبناؤهن أن يفعلن They told them to <u>do</u>	23		✓		✓
28-29	not more	ليس لكي يقوموا ببناء عدد أكبر not to build more	25		✓		

48	I have to	إذا اقتضى الأمر (الذهاب) If (the thing),going, is necessary	39				✓
49	and now runs	وهو من يدير and it runs	40		✓		
61	not sufficient	ليس كافيا بمفرده It is not sufficient alone	51	✓			
Conjunction							
11	But (adversative)	فإن /fa/ but	10	✓			
22	But (adversative)	ولكن /wa la:kin/ but (adversative)	20	✓	✓		
24	because (causal)	لأنهم /li-/ because (causal)	21	✓			
26	But (adversative)	ولكن /wa la:kin/ and + but	23	✓	✓		
28	because (causal)	لأنهن /li-/ because (causal)	24	✓			
38	Meanwhile (temporal)	ولكن /wa la:kin/ and + but	32		✓		✓
44	And (additive)	وهكذا /wa/ additive	36	✓			
61	But (adversative)	فإنه /fa/ but (adversative)	51	✓			

Text 5:

Line	English device	Arabic translation	Line	techniques			
				Sustaining	Addition	Subtraction	Alteration
Personal references							
4	you attend	x				✓	
5	their country	x				✓	
6	they should	ينبغي عليهم /-him/ them	4				✓
7	you	مرسي Morsi	5				✓
9	It	x				✓	
11	their votes	أصواتهم /-him/	7	✓			
12	he	هو /huwa/	8	✓			
12	his Muslim Brotherhood	جماعة الإخوان المسلمين التي ينتمي إليها /-haa/ the Muslim Brotherhood which he belongs to it	8				✓
14	his legitimacy	شرعيته /-hu/	9	✓			
15	he	مرسي Morsi	10				✓
17	its nuclear facilities	منشآتِه النووية /-hi/ its nuclear facilities	12	✓			
20	It	x				✓	
20	remind him	سيذكره /-hu/	13	✓			
20	his own past	بماضيهِ /-hi/	13	✓			
20	offer him	يظهر له /-hu/	13	✓			
22	He could	بمقدوره /-hi/ his ability	14				✓
27	a logic to it	تأسيسها كان منطقيا /-haa/ its	17				✓

		establishment					
32	he	هو /huwa/	21	✓			
35	his hand	x				✓	
38	his business	شأنه /-hu/	25	✓			
38	see him	x				✓	
39	It	ذلك /dhaalika/ that	25				✓
41	It	x				✓	
47	he can read	فيإمكانه قراءة /-hi/ he has the ability to read	32	✓			
51	Their simple slogan	شعارهم /-hum/	35	✓			
60	he read	x				✓	
61	to him	له /-hu/	42	✓			
62	his Iranian hosts	مضيفيه الإيرانيين /-hi/	43	✓			
62	their backs	x				✓	
63	their people	شعوبهم /-him/	44	✓			
63	urge them	حثهم /-him/	44	✓			
63	their country	دولتهم /-him/	44	✓			
Demonstrative reference							
4	the meeting	الاجتماع /al-/	3	✓			
5	that	هو /huwa/ it	3				✓
9	This Iranian regime	النظام الإيراني the Iranian regime	6			✓	
15	This	هذا /haadhaa/	10	✓			
27	then	تلك الفترة /tilka/	17	✓			
29	these two blocs	هاتين الكتلتين /haathayni/ 'these two'	19				✓
32	that choice	اختياره /-hi/ his choice	21				✓
35	this Iranian whitewashing festival	هذا المؤتمر الإيراني /haadhaa/	23	✓			
38	that	فهذا /haadhaa/ this	25				✓

60	That is the regime	هذا /haadhaa/ this	42				✓
Comparative reference							
7	same kind	نفس النوع same	4	✓			
Substitution							
22-23	done that	يفعل عبر البريد do	15	✓			
48	the one	قراءة ما كتبه What was written	32				✓
Ellipsis							
4	and have	حضور To have attendance	3		✓		
11	the results	نتائج الانتخابات the election results	7		✓		
13	followed	أعقبها followed it	9		✓		
21	say	يقول إن say that	14		✓		
22	Really?	أحقا؟ Is that really?	14		✓		
25	Nonaligned against what and between whom?	بين من تقف حركة عدم الانحياز؟ With whom nonaligned does it stand for?	16		✓		
27	a logic	تأسيسها كان منطقيا a logic for its establishing	17		✓		
37	this	هذا this	24	✓			
42	maybe on	وربما إلى maybe to	29	✓			
42	Caltech	معهد «كالتيك» Caltech institution	29		✓		
55	the government	الحكومة	38	✓			
58	the regime	النظام	40	✓			
60	sanitize	إصلاحه sanitize it	42		✓		
61	urging	الذي يحثه that is urging	43		✓		
65	that	ذلك that	45	✓			
Conjunction							
3	but (adversative)	لكن /la:kin/	2	✓			

		but					
6	and therefore (causal)	ومن ثم /wa/ /thamma/ and therefore (causal)	4	✓			
13	but (adversative)	لكنهم /la:kin/ but (adversative)	9	✓			
28	and (additive)	واختارت /wa/ and (additive)	18	✓			
30	But (adversative)	x				✓	
34	And by the way (additive)	وبالمناسبة /wa/ And by the way (additive)	22	✓			
38	As (adversative)	أما /amma/ while (adversative)	25	✓			
39	But (adversative)	لكن /la:kin/ but (adversative)	27	✓			
52	Over the next six months (temporal)	على مدار ستة أشهر تالية Over the next six months (temporal)	36	✓			

Text 6:

Line	English device	Arabic translation	Line	techniques			
				Sustaining	Addition	Subtraction	Alteration
Personal references							
2	its relationship	علاقتها /-haa/	1	✓			
5	its connection	علاقتها /-haa/	5	✓			
7	<u>It</u> is a daunting	هذه مهمة /haadhihi/	7				✓

		this task					
8	it is also offers	لكنها أيضا تتيح /-haa/ it	7	✓			
11	it became	لكنها صارت /-haa/	10	✓			
15	it backed	دعمتهم /-hum/ them	13				✓
18	their nominally democratic	x				✓	
19	its best	جهدهم /-him/ their	18				✓
20	its lifelines	صلاتهم /-him/ their	18				✓
24	transforming it	تحويلها /-haa/	22	✓			
29	it waived	الإدارة the administration	26				✓
37	it infuriated	أنها أغضبت /-haa/	32	✓			
44	it follows	النظام the regime	38				✓
47	he delivered	بتسليمه خطابا /-hi/ to deliver for him	41				✓
50	it should be continued	استمرارها /-haa/ Its continuity	43				✓
51	it should eventually be restructured	هيكلتها /-haa/ Its restructure	43				✓
62	its influence	x				✓	
Demonstrative reference							
23	this tightrope	هذا الخيط الرفيع /haadhaa/	21	✓			
25	those roles	هذين الدورين /haadhayni/ these two roles	22				✓
32	the new president	الرئيس الجديد /al-/	28	✓			
38	the Islamists	الإسلاميين /al-/	33	✓			
47	those terms	لهذه الشروط /haadhihi/ these terms	41				✓
50	that	هذه النقطة /haadhihi/ this	42				✓

54	that	هذه /haadhihi/ this	46				✓
59	the country	للبلاد the countries	50	✓			
63	those pressures	لتلك الضغوط /tilka/	55				✓
Comparative reference							
60	The other	الأخر	52				✓
Ellipsis							
3	perpetuated by	استمراريتها Its perpetuation	3				✓
3	and defended	تدافع عنها defended about it	3				✓
7	a daunting	مهمة ثقيلة a daunting task	7		✓		
9- 10	the remake	مهمة إعادة تشكيل العلاقات The remake of rebuild- connections with Egypt	8-9		✓		
34	the administration	الإدارة	30	✓			
40	the administration	الإدارة الأميركية the American administration	35		✓		
45	respects	يلتزم	39	✓			
46	preserves	يحافظ	39	✓			
49	the administration	الإدارة الأميركية the American administration	42		✓		
59	are	لكنهم /-hum/ they	50		✓		
63	the administration	الإدارة الأميركية the American administration	54		✓		
Conjunction							
5	however (adversative)	ولكن /wa la:kin/ however (adversative)	5	✓		✓	
8	But (adversative)	لكنها /la:kin/ however (adversative)	7	✓			
11	but (adversative)	لكنها /la:kin/ but	10	✓			

		(adversative)					
13	Up until then (temporal)	فِحتى تلك اللحظة until then (temporal)	11	✓			
17	For (causal)	ففي /fa/ for (causal)	16	✓			
25	Or (adversative)	والبدال /wa/ But, the alternative (adversative)	23	✓	✓		
34	But (adversative)	ولكن /wa la:kin/ however (adversative)	30	✓	✓		
37	But (adversative)	إلا أنها But (adversative)	32	✓			
50	too (additive)	أيضا /ayddan/ too (additive)	42	✓			
59	but (adversative)	لكنهم /la:kin/ but (adversative)	50	✓			

Text 7:

Line	English device	Arabic translation	Line	techniques			
				Sustaining	Addition	Subtraction	Alteration
Personal references							
8	he	x				✓	
6	h gave <u>his office</u> executive and legislative powers	خول له السلطة التنفيذية والتشريعية /-hu/ him	4				✓
9	he sacked	إقالة (خطوة مرسي) Morsi's move which is sack	6				✓
12	its promise	مطالبها /-haa/	8	✓			

15	around him	حولِه /-hu/	10	✓			
17	he	هو /huwa/	11	✓			
24	He	هو /huwa/	16	✓			
26	it	x				✓	
27	their “renaissance plan”	x				✓	
28	they resisted	مقاومتهم /-him/ their assistance	19				✓
29	they were not in power	قبل توليهم السلطة /-him/ their	19				✓
33	they appear	أنهم /hum/	22	✓			
33	deny it	إنكاره /-hi/ its denial					✓
34	him	x	x			✓	
43	its own reality	واقعها الخاص /-haa/	29	✓			
44	its ideology	عقيدتها /-haa/	30	✓			
44	its basic philosophy	فلسفتها /-haa/	29	✓			
53	they	x				✓	
53	they	عليهم /-him/	36	✓			
54	they	x	x			✓	
54	their international obligations	التزاماتهم /-him/	36	✓			
62	it	لكنه /-hu/	41	✓			
Demonstrative reference							
19	the president	الرئيس /al-/	13	✓			
20	the state	الدولة /-al/	13	✓			
22	this	هذا /haadhaa/	14	✓			
23	the president	الرئيس /al-/	15	✓			
25	The country	الدولة /-al/	17	✓			
31	the IMF	الصندوق /al-/ the fund	21	✓			
36	this	هذا /haadhaa/	24	✓			

40	the Egyptian soldiers	x	x			✓	
43	the group	الجماعة /al-/	27	✓			
59	this behavior	هذا المنوال /haadhaa/	40	✓			
Comparative reference							
13	more prone	x	x			✓	
15	the other moves	بعض الإجراءات some moves	10				✓
39	Similarly	كذلك /kadhaalika/ also/likewise	26				✓
Substitution							
38	do so	القيام بذلك doing so	25- 26	✓			
49	Know this	يعرف ذلك	33	✓			
51	do so	نفعل ذلك	34	✓			
Ellipsis							
21	and is far	اتخذت جانب مرسي it focuses on Morsi's side	14		✓		
24	sympathizers	المتعاطفين معها sympathizers with it	15		✓		
34	written him	أرسلها الرئيس The president sent	23	✓			
43	If nothing else	هذا إن لم يكن هناك شيء آخر If there is nothing else	30		✓		
56	The record	سجلهم their record (of the Egyptian (government	37		✓		
59	The administration's position	موقف الإدارة	39	✓			
Conjunction							
4	to remove (causal)	ليطبخ /li-/ to (causal)	3	✓			
5	also (additive)	كذلك /kadhaalika/ also (additive)	4	✓			
17	and (additive)	ويدعم /wa/ and supports (additive)	11	✓			

32	But (adversative)	لكن /la:kin/ but (adversative)	22	✓			
39	Similarly (additive)	كذلك likewise (additive)	26	✓			
45	But (adversative)	مع ذلك /ma' dhaalika/ However (adversative)	30	✓			
47	but (adversative)	لكن /la:kin/ but (adversative)	31	✓			
50	also (additive)	وكذلك /wa kadhaalika/ and also (additive)	33	✓	✓		
51	but (adversative)	لكننا /la:kin/ but (adversative)	34	✓			