

Doing News Coverage Through Scripture: A Critical Analysis of Intertextuality and Metaphors in Aljazeera Media Discourse

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Abstract—The current paper is a critical cognitive corpus-based analysis of Aljazeera Arabic news reports that have utilized the Qur’anic scripture in an implicit way to report on political events that took place in Egypt in 2011. While it is well-known in academic research that intertextuality can be determined by metaphors in media discourse (Semino, 2008; Otaif, 2015), the current paper found that intertextuality can also constitute a main discourse metaphor that serves as an effective discursive tool to influence or manufacture the public ideological stance and consent to social events. The findings raise ethical concerns over the use of the Qur’anic scripture in political news discourse and call for further critical research.

Index Terms—intertextuality, metaphors, intertextual metaphor, critical discourse analysis, Quran, news discourse

I. INTRODUCTION

Major world political changes and events are always accompanied by an effective media discourse that facilitates their implementation, mitigates their consequences, or instigates their unfolding scenarios. For example, Brexit was one of the major political events in Britain, which is believed to be the result of a prolonged discourse of anti-immigrants cf. Charteris-Black (2006, 2019). Language in the news and public domains is never neutral, see Conboy (2013), Afrin et al. (2022), and Lahlali (2023); instead, it conveys the socio-political orientations of its producers (Elyas et al., 2023). Given that the micro-level of political discourse is a linguistic one (Chilton, 2004), news discourse producers, writers, or speakers are always keen to grasp the reader’s or the consumer’s attention (Hoey, 2001, pp. 18-27), especially when it comes to media discourse (Conboy, 2013) where each media channel operates in a competitive market.

In this regard, news outlets have always claimed that their coverage is in adherence to the principle of “objectivity” (Fowler, 1991); nevertheless, academic research, Hart (2007), Al-Hejin (2012), Elewa (2019), and Elyas et al. (2023), has always shown the contrary. One of the main news outlets that received much criticism throughout the last decade is Aljazeera Arabic which was condemned by Arabic elites for instigating the chaos and uprisings in the Middle East between 2010 and 2013 especially the instability that took place in Egypt between 2011 and 2013 and became known as the ‘Egyptian revolution’, see Cherribi (2017). Nevertheless, unlike other news channels in the Arab world, Aljazeera’s linguistic discourse has rarely been questioned or analyzed in depth. That is why we see now and then a discourse that thinks that the media coverage of these events was ‘objective’ such as the recent work of Abozaid (2023). Abozaid (2023) believes that these socio-political changes were due but placed no responsibility or blame on the media discourse of Aljazeera that is widely thought to have instigated or at least have partially flamed these changes in Egypt and elsewhere; instead, he further sees such media discourse as a channel of promoting democracy against what he called ‘Mubarak’s tyrant regime’.

Following the school of critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1995a, 1995b) that believes in the dialectical relationship between media discourse and social reality where media discourse can constitute social reality and is also constituted by social reality, the current study will be a cognitive corpus-based critical discourse analysis of metaphors (Charteris-Black, 2004, 2006, 2019, 2021) and intertextuality in three news reports, that have received prominent positive feedback on YouTube (the online video platform), reporting about the so-called ‘Egyptian revolution against Mubarak’. Since metaphors are macro-level discourse (Charteris-Black, 2004; Chilton, 2004; Semino, 2008, 2020) and can reflect the attitude of the discourse producer (Gibbs, 1994; Lakoff, 1996; Hart, 2007, 2010), the focus of the analysis in this paper will investigate what metaphors are mainly used in Aljazeera’s news discourse.¹

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

Using his *critical linguistics* approach, Fowler (1991) investigated how ideologies and perspectives are embodied in the language of the press. Fowler’s (1991) work pioneered early critical linguistic research in criticizing what he called

¹ It is worth noting that the data of this paper were collected at the time of the event i.e. in 2011 and was delivered as a 20-minute presentation paper at an international conference (see Otaif, 2012).

the media's 'vaunted objectivity'. His research has shown how the British press uses different linguistic structures such as *nominalization*, *passivization* and *transitivity* to report about the same news events differently where language is used to serve their socio-political perspective and interest. In this vein, recent researchers have pointed out how the socio-political orientations of news producers are imposed to shape news discourse in a biased manner. Al-Hejin (2012), in a corpus-based critical discourse analysis, pointed to how the English BBC journalists impose their socio-political orientations by transforming the content of the interviewees' quotes through translation to make it adhere to the BBC orientalist view of Muslim women as being 'submissive' and 'oppressed'. He has shown how the quotes from the speech of Saudi Muslim women about their religion and hijab were distorted through translation to render realities that were different from the original discourse they gave on the BBC Arabic website.

Similarly, Elewa (2019) conducted a corpus-based critical discourse analysis of the British and American newspapers' translations of quotations from the 'Middle East'. He found that the English news discourse, translating quotations from Arabic into English, was affected by the news producers' socio-cultural perspectives; news journalists tend to produce quotations that adhere to the publishers' sociocultural perspective and/or its target readers, see also Daghig and Guo (2024). Elyas et al. (2023) conducted a corpus-based critical discourse analysis to study how news headlines of two different newspapers operating from two different socio-cultural contexts framed COVID-19 in the news discourse of *The USA Today* versus the Saudi newspaper *Asharq Alawsat*. They found that the socio-political orientations of the operators of these news outlets were always present in the news discourse even at the time of the pandemic, while the USA Today news discourse blamed China and Trump over the spread of the virus, and the *Asharq Alawsat* news discourse pointed to the loose travel measures that Iran took causing more outbreaks of the virus in the region. Similarly, Lahlali (2023), in a corpus-based critical discourse analysis, found that BBC Arabic and Aljazeera Arabic discourse about the COVID-19 pandemic is shaped by the countries in which these news outlets operate from i.e. United Kingdom versus Qatar. Lahlali (2023) discussed how the news discourse reported in BBC Arabic utilized **metaphors** and **intertextuality** "to rally the Vietnamese people to fight this pandemic in unity in the same manner as their ancestors did during the Vietnam War. Using a national historical war evokes a feeling of belonging and unity" (p. 209). The WAR metaphor² and its previous historical scenarios of defeating the invader's army were activated to trigger the public response against the enemy; however, this time, it was COVID-19 instead of the US.

In fact, **intertextuality** (Fairclough, 1992) is one of the most effective and common tools used in news discourse (see Al-Hejin, 2012; Conboy, 2013; Elewa, 2019; Lahlali, 2023); it refers to the use of snatches or quotes from other texts in media discourse. Intertextuality can be explicit or implicit. First, an explicit intertextual practice occurs when journalists usually quote a speech or phrase(s) from another source between two double quotation marks. This practice is common in media discourse and somehow evokes a sense of 'objectivity' in transferring exactly what has been said along with an attribution to its source. Nevertheless, the most challenging practice is that of '*implicit intertextuality*' in which a prominent linguistic phrase(s) or cluster(s)³ is used implicitly in media reports to make sensational news stories without referring to their original sources.

This feature of media discourse is rarely, if ever, analyzed which, in turn, could be attributed to two reasons. First, it is in many cases subconsciously processed where discourse consumers (readers, listeners and viewers) of media discourse feel their effects but cannot immediately grasp what source they came from unless the discourse receiver possesses critical reading skills which is not the case for most of average news readers (see Hart, 2010). Second, the difficulty of spotting them in public discourse by average readers, listeners and viewers of media discourse, especially when intertextuality has a metaphorical or sophisticated/indirect religious interpretation⁴. For example, religious metaphors were found in speeches made by New Labour and Conservative/Tory politicians in Britain (Charteris-Black, 2004) to influence public electoral decisions. Similarly, Delaney and Spoelstra (2022) documented the use of religious metaphors such as 'savior' and 'sinner' in modern leadership discourse for their strong semantic associations and ability to attract/influence the audience.

Myers et al. (2023) found that the use of religious cues by Christian influencers in their social media posts increased audience engagement positively. Therefore, it is worth stressing here, as will be seen later in the current paper, that intertextuality can sometimes be taken from a religious discourse such as scripture by utilizing metaphors and linguistic chunks/clusters that are common in religious discourse to conceptualize the news event within the 'religious domain'. For example, Omer and Springs (2013) discussed how American Christian politicians such as Jerry Falwell used scripture to justify the war on Iraq: "GOD is pro-war: In a message to the American people, Jerry Falwell uses scripture to justify the war in Iraq, suggesting that the war fulfils the work that God has intended Americans to accomplish" (p. 239). The discussion of religious metaphor and intertextual use of scripture takes us to the concept of *intertextual metaphors* which Gee (2020) defines as the metaphor that is created by intertextuality in discourse (p. 201); *intertextual metaphors* are constructed through reference(s) to a culturally salient text(s) (Zinken, 2003, p. 509) such as the phrase *my savior* in a sentence such as *this medicine is my savior* which constitutes an intertextual metaphor that is derived from the Christian religious discourse and scripture. When it comes to media discourse 'most of what we read in our finest newspapers is metaphoric' (Lakoff, 1996). Since the use of metaphor is an essential feature of public discourse and sometimes a single

² See Semino (2020) and Charteris-Black (2021) for discussion of the WAR metaphors.

³ Cluster refers to well-known linguistic coherent chunks or expressions found in poetry, scripture and/ or the elite discourse.

⁴ That is why it requires critical reading and in-depth knowledge from the side of the discourse analyst.

metaphor can constitute a ‘whole discourse’ (Charteris-Black, 2004; Zinken et al., 2008), the current paper explores the metaphors and intertextuality used in Aljazeera discourse and the sources from which they were taken and whether or not they contribute to manufacturing the so-called Aljazeera’s ‘good news story’ about the former Egyptian president Mubarak and the Egyptian uprisings in 2011.

III. METHODOLOGY

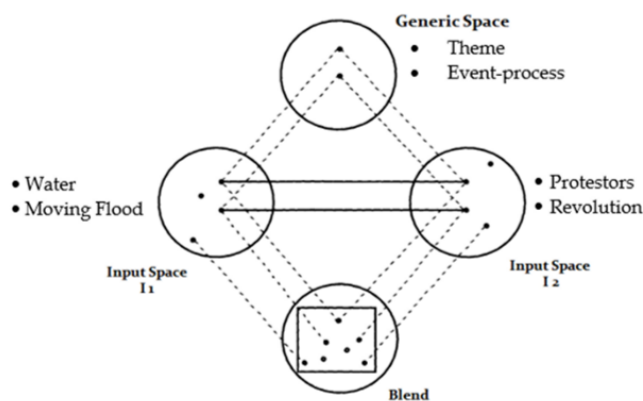
The current research is a cognitive corpus-based critical discourse analysis (Charteris-Black, 2004, 2006, 2019, 2021) that combines corpus linguistics (Baker, 2023) and cognitive linguistics in critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1995a). Using a corpus-based analysis of the text (discourse) of Aljazeera’s news reports about the former Egyptian president Muhammad Hosni Mubarak and the Egyptian uprisings, the main metaphors and intertextuality used to construct news stories about these events, including the image of people inside them, were critically investigated. Our data came from three of Aljazeera’s news reports that have received prominent positive feedback e.g. ‘strongest’ and ‘wonderful’ reports and spread through what is recently known as the ‘new media’ i.e. social media and its applications such as YouTube. While the first report chosen was released five days before Mubarak stepped down, the second report was released one night before he stepped down. Lastly, the third report appeared the night after his stepping down was publicly announced, see Table 1 below.

TABLE 1
ALJAZEERA NEWS REPORTS

Name	Date of release on TV	Tokens/ words of text	Name of journalist
Report 1	06.02.2011	593	Fawzi Bushra
Report 2	11.02.2011	629	Fawzi Bushra
Report 3	12.02.2011	346	Fatima Aturaiki

The news corpora were transcribed and classified before each file was fed into Wordsmith Tool 8, which is a corpus analysis software. The main methodological approach used was critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1995a) which is summarized in the following three steps: 1) identifying the relevant linguistic patterns and examples found in the given discourse, 2) interpreting their nature, and lastly 3) explaining how they act as discourse socio-political practices in public domains. Additionally, the Qur’anic corpus available online at <https://tanzil.net/> was utilized and regularly consulted; it helped the analysis to trace the clusters and phrases that were thought to have a Qur’anic nature i.e., taken by Aljazeera’s reports from the Qur’anic scripture.

On the other hand, the Conceptual Metaphors Theory (CMT) (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980), which is a cognitive linguistic theory, tells us how to find the *source* and *target* domain in a sentence like *flood of protestors drowns the regime* (the example is the author’s own) where the target domain, which is *protestors*, is conceptualized in terms of properties from the source domain *flood* to arrive at the conceptual metaphor PROTESTORS ARE A MOVING FLOOD, which evokes the scene and threat of a natural disaster. Unlike the CMT (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980), the Blending Theory of Metaphors (BT, henceforth) (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002) claims that several elements are activated from two separate mental (input) spaces in the mind of the discourse producer and consumers, then projected in the upper circle of the *generic space* (see the diagram in Figure 1 below) before particular elements from each mental space are selected to form the emergent metaphor e.g. FLOOD OF PROTESTORS.



PROTESTORS ARE A MOVING FLOOD

Figure 1. The Basic Diagram for the Blending Process Adapted From (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002) for the Metaphor PROTESTORS ARE A MOVING FLOOD⁵

⁵ The example above is the author’s own.

In this metaphor, protesters are conceptualized as a massive flood power that can demolish an existing regime i.e. as strong as a dangerous disaster to the community depending on further contextual modulation (Evans, 2009) that specifies the exact meaning based on a given discourse. Such cognitive processing of linguistic expressions occurs subconsciously (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999) and at the speed of light (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002). Similarly, in this study, the main metaphor(s) used by Aljazeera reports were explicated and explained using the BT network.

IV. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Metaphors were found pervasive in Aljazeera's news reports; the metaphor of MUBARAK IS FIRA'OON i.e. Muhammad Hosni Mubarak was conceptualized as the dictator pharaoh mentioned in the Holy Qur'an (Holy Qur'an, 2024, 28: 4) has almost dominated Aljazeera reports and evoked several related Qur'anic scenes through intertextual metaphors.

The Story of Pharaoh

While *pharaoh* is a word used in language to describe the ruler of ancient Egypt (LDCE, 2024), the ruler of modern Egypt is called a president. The Holy Qur'an tells us about one of the ancient Egyptian pharaohs whose name in the Holy Quran is Fira'oon. Fira'oon was an arrogant dictator who never listened to advice but oppressed and killed his community, as the Holy Scriptures say:

Indeed, the Pharaoh exalted himself in the land and made its people into factions, oppressing a sector among them, slaughtering their [newborn] sons, and keeping their females alive. Indeed, he was of the corrupters. (Holy Qur'an, 2024, 28: 4)

In fact, Fira'oon was mentioned in the Holy Qur'an 74 times in 67 Ayas/Verses,⁶ almost all in negative contexts as a dictator (Holy Qur'an, 2024). To Muslims, especially those in the Arab world, it became a conventional metaphor to describe and call any dictator with Fira'oon i.e. the Pharaoh mentioned in the Holy Quran. In many other places, the Holy Qur'an tells us that Fira'oon was brutal to his people and never listened to the advice told to him by wise people, as will be discussed later in this paper.

Intertextual metaphors

The first report by Fawzi Bushra was found to use several Qur'anic linguistic clusters and metaphors; nonetheless, it was dominated by the metaphor MUBARAK IS FIRA'OON. This was clear at the beginning of Report 1 (Aljazeera Report 1, 2011). As shown in Excerpt 1.1 below, the report used the Qur'anic phrase *قيل أن أذن لكم* *gabla an aathan lakom*, which in English means *before I permit you*. This phrase is an exact Qur'anic linguistic cluster uttered by Fira'oon to upbraid and threaten his people as mentioned in three different places in the Qur'anic scripture, in three chapters which are respectively, 7:123, 20:71 and 26:49 (Holy Qur'an, 2024). One of these instances (i.e. 7:123) is given in Excerpt 1.1 below.

Excerpt 1.1:

تقومون بالثورة قبل أن أذن لكم إنه لمكر مكرتموه في المدينة

Translation: *You have revolted before I permit you! Indeed, this is a conspiracy which you conspired at the city.*

(Aljazeera Report 1, 2011)

The linguistic chunk *قيل أن أذن لكم إنه لمكر مكرتموه في المدينة* *gabla an aathan lakom, iinaho limakr makartumuh fi almadina* which means *before I permit you! Indeed, this is a conspiracy which you conspired at the city* is the exact Qur'anic phrase 7:123 (Holy Qur'an, 2024) and was used in Aljazeera Report 1 (2011) without quotation marks. This is an implicit intertextual practice that utilizes the scripture for media coverage that seems to serve certain political agenda. The socio-political practice used here is an intertextual discourse. It seems to encourage audience engagement by utilizing the Qur'anic scripture through which the 'enemy' is implicitly conceptualized through religious intertextuality and metaphors embodied in the news discourse. This reminds us of Jerry Falwell's uses of the Christian scripture to justify the war in Iraq, suggesting to the American soldiers that the Iraq war was a religious mandate by God (Omer & Springs, 2013).

Another Qur'anic phrase of Fira'oon's speech was found in Excerpt 1.2 below. It is an exact phrase that was taken from the Holy Quran narrating a clear statement uttered by Fira'oon when he was imposing his obedience on his people as the governor of ancient Egypt (Holy Qur'an, 2024, 43:51).

Excerpt 1.2 (Aljazeera Report 1, 2011):

أليس لي ملك مصر!

Translation: *Do not I own the governance of Egypt!*

(Aljazeera Report 1, 2011)

These two clusters in Excerpts 1.1 and 1.2 were used metaphorically to conceptualize Mubarak's speech to the Egyptian people as being that of the tyrant Fira'oon. These two instances belong to the main metaphor MUBARAK IS FIRA'OON (Aljazeera Report 1, 2011).

⁶ See the Qur'anic corpus (Holy Qur'an, 2024).

In the second report (Aljazeera Report 2, 2011), the Qur'anic scene of an awful end or fate that happened to Fira'oon was evoked metaphorically through a more intensive intertextual practice; the reporter started the reportage with the linguistic cluster given in Excerpt 2.1 below:

Excerpt 2.1:

اليوم ننجيك ببدنك لتكون لمن خلف آية

Translation: "Today we save you physically to be a sign for those who come after you"

(Aljazeera Report 2, 2011)

This phrase which came at the onset of Report 2, was an exact phrase taken from the Holy Qur'an (see Holy Qur'an, 2024, 10: 94) and was used here to evoke a particular metaphorical reading of the event i.e. that of MUBARAK AS FIRA'OON. This practice is done through intertextuality. In discourse, words or sentences "in the text other than the first in a fragment of discourse will [have] the whole of its interpretation forcibly constrained by the preceding text" (Brown & Yule, 1983, p. 46). Therefore, when metaphors such as MUBARAK IS FIRA'OON are placed at the beginning of a text, they can influence the consumption and reading of the remaining discourse. In fact, metaphors at the onset and macro-level of news discourse such as headlines and leads were found to determine the type of intertextuality that could be used or avoided (Semino, 2008, 2020; Otaif, 2015).

In this vein, Fira'oon, as mentioned in the Holy Qur'an, was advised by his people to be mindful of God/ Allah and not to torture the children of Israel (Holy Qur'an, 2024, 20:47). However, Fira'oon was stubborn and never listened to the advice of wise people before he was finally drowned along with his companions (Holy Qur'an, 2024, 2:50) as punishment from Allah. Report 2 (Aljazeera Report 2, 2011) used this linguistic cluster (Excerpt 2.1) to suggest that the fate of Mubarak would be similar to the end of Fira'oon. Further linguistic evidence of this metaphorical mapping and linkage between Mubarak and Fira'oon in terms of the bad fate awaiting him was also found in Report 2 as the reporter said (see Excerpt 2.2):

Excerpt 2.2:

مصير سبق إليه الشهر الماضي الرئيس التونسي الذي لم يجد من الهرب بدأ فنجأ هو الآخر ببدنه، تاركاً أمثلة بأن الشعوب أقوى إن صح منها العزم

Translation: *A Fate that, last month, the Tunisian president [Zine El Abidine⁷] preceded to, [he] who found nothing but to escape so that he was also saved physically, leaving an example that the most powerful are nations/ peoples with true determination.*

(Aljazeera Report 2, 2011)

Similarly, Excerpt 2.3 includes a number of other linguistic clusters taken from the Holy Quran.

Excerpt 2.3:

وإن مثل مبارك في شعبه كمثل زين العابدين إذ قال له شعبه: أصلح، فأبى أن يكون من المصلحين، ألا بُعداً لمبارك، وبعداً لزين العابدين!! قال الشعبان الثائران.

Translation: *Mubarak in his nation was an exact example of Zine El Abidine who was told by his people 'reform' but chose not to be among the reformists. "Far off to Mubarak and Far off to Zine El Abidine" said the two revolting nations/ peoples.*

(Aljazeera Report 2, 2011)

First, in Excerpt 2.3, the linguistic cluster *إذ قال له eth gal laho*, which means in English *as they said to him* appeared in the Holy Qur'an once, followed by an imperative verb (Holy Qur'an, 2024, 2:131) and has a connotation that is dependent on what comes after it. The following co-text in Excerpt 2.3 also included the verb فأبى *fa'aba* which means *but he refused*. The verb *fa'aba* appeared frequently in the Holy Qur'an expressing the stubbornness of the disbelievers and conveying a negative connotation of their strong rejection and disobedience to God's orders. Such a strong negative connotation that comes from the Holy Qur'an may influence the perception of news consumers and trigger their religious emotions and sentiments towards Mubarak as being Fira'oon, the tyrant disbeliever who is disobedient to Allah/ God and cruel to his people.

Further analysis of the text has confirmed this; for example, the phrase *بعداً boa'dan* in Excerpt 2.3 above is an extremely threatening Qur'anic promise to take someone far away from God's mercy and acceptance; it was mentioned six times in the Holy Qur'an, all with a negative connotation of threatening disbelievers (Qur'an, 2024). Report 2 used this threatening word twice, in the same sentence; one mention was used for the former Tunisian president i.e. Zine El Abidine and the other one was used for the former Egyptian president Mubarak (Excerpt 2.3). This particular usage suggests to the reader that these presidents should be taken away from the mercy and acceptance of God/Allah, and therefore, their peoples (nations) should treat them as such. The examples discussed above exemplify an implicit intertextuality practice based on the conceptual metaphor MUBARAK IS FIRA'OON.

Additionally, Excerpt 2.4 included the use of another Qur'anic linguistic cluster:

Excerpt 2.4:

قال مبارك: (إنني أعي هذه التطلعات المشروعة للشعب، وأعلم جيداً قدر همومه ومعاناته)، كذلك قال زين العابدين من قبل، أفلا يزال في مدرسة القادة والزعماء من لم يفهم الدرس بعد على بساطته؟

⁷ Zine El Abidine Ben Ali, the former president of Tunisia.

Translation: Mubarak said: (I am aware of the legitimate aspirations of the nation/ peoples, and I know well its concerns and sufferings), so said Zine El Abidine before him, is there any other leader in the school of leaders who did not understand this lesson despite its simplicity?

(Aljazeera Report 2, 2011)

The linguistic cluster quoted in Excerpt 2.4 was found to be taken from the Holy Quran (Holy Qur'an, 2024, 2:118); it is the phrase *كذلك قال الذين من قبلهم kthalika gala allathieena min gablihim*. However, the word *allathieena* was substituted with Zine El Abidine to become *kthalika gala Zine El Abidine min gabl* which means *so said Zine El Abidine before him*. This particular linguistic cluster is associated in the Holy Qur'an with hypocritical (unwise) people who neither commit to their promises nor turn them into actions; therefore, it has a negative connotation in the Holy Quran. Therefore, the Qur'anic linguistic clusters found in Excerpt 2.4 (Report 2), similar to Excerpt 2.1 and 2.2, were employed in an implicit intertextual practice to evoke with negative connotations the reading of Mubarak's stepping down as a dictator's hopeless end; exactly, like those dictators and disbelievers in the Holy Quran.

The third and final report in this research is the one made by Aljazeera reporter Fatima Aturaiki (Aljazeera Report 3, 2011) who evoked the comparison between Mubarak and FIRA'OON more explicitly in her report as she referred to the speech of the Friday sermon Imam in Al-Thrir Square and stressed that the Imam mentioned the story of the Prophet Moses and Fira'oon (Aljazeera Report 3, 2011): "*The man [imam] delivered an earth-shattering [Friday] sermon in which he recalled the determination of the Prophet Moses, peace be upon him, in confronting Fira'oon*" (Report 3, Aljazeera, 2011). Interestingly, this quote has also documented the use of other, but similar, interesting metaphors that are in line with the previous findings; these will be discussed a few lines later.

By this, the recurrent metaphorical conceptualization of MUBARAK AS FIRA'OON through mainly implicit intertextual practices in Aljazeera reports was identified, interpreted and explained. Next, subtle cognitive sub-mappings between the source and target domains will be explained (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980) using the BT apparatus (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002), see Figure 2.

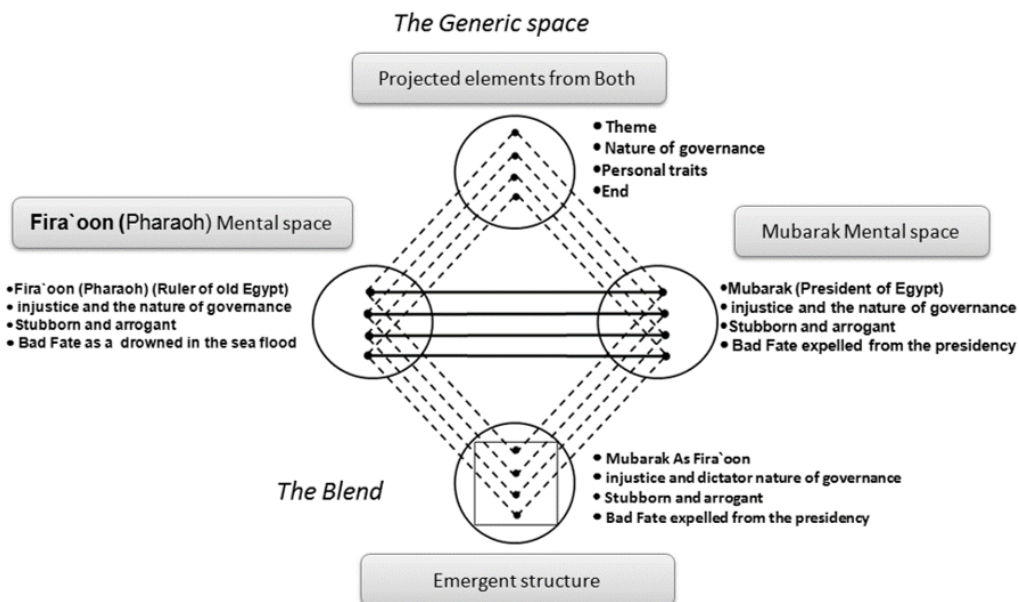


Figure 2. The BT Diagram of the Conceptual Metaphor of MUBARAK AS 'FIRA'OON'

As we can see, the BT diagram above has provided a panorama for the discussed intertextual metaphor MUBARAK IS 'FIRA'OON' that appeared repeatedly in Aljazeera reports. It explains how specific elements are activated from two separate mental spaces in the mind of the discourse producer and consumers and how they get projected in the upper circle of the *generic space* (see the diagram above) before particular elements from each mental space get selected to form the emergent metaphor MUBARAK IS FIRA'OON, in milliseconds (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002). In Aljazeera reports MUBARAK has been repeatedly conceptualized as FIRA'OON the dictator mentioned in the Holy Qur'an through intertextual practices that perpetuate and propose conceptual similarities of him being *stubborn, arrogant, unjust* and a *dictator governor of Egypt* who received a bad fate from God *i.e. Mubarak was expelled from the presidency of Egypt* much the same as the Pharaoh Fira'oon was drowned by Allah. The findings here remind us of the findings of previous research on using scripture in media discourse (Omer & Springs, 2013), the use of religious metaphors (Charteris-Black, 2004; Delaney & Spoelstra, 2022) and the use of religious cues to influence and increase the engagement of media viewers (Myers et al., 2023).

This metaphorical panorama was conveyed discursively to viewers through several Qur'anic phrases and clusters quoted by Aljazeera reporters. While Fawzi Bushra in Reports 1 and 2 used several Qur'anic linguistic clusters implicitly as explained above, Fatima Aturaiki, in Report 3, has cognitively evoked the scene or metaphor of MUBARAK AS

FIRA'OON with external intertextual reference to the Friday Imam speech about Moses and Fira'oon (Aljazeera Report 3, 2011). These linguistic practices are ideologically loaded and can reveal Aljazeera's ideological and socio-political stance before Mubarak stepped down, especially since the first report was released on the sixth of February 2011 and the second one was released a day before he stepped down. Similar to Elwa (2019), Elyas et al. (2023) and Daghigh and Guo (2024), the news discourse analyzed in this paper was found to be loaded with the socio-cultural orientations of news outlets and their socio-political agenda, yet this time their 'ideological manipulation' (Daghigh & Guo, 2024) was maintained through the implicit utilization of the Qur'anic scripture.

Other metaphors

On the other hand, the representation of the protestors has also been made through various other metaphors, ranging from conceptualizing them as 'massive floods' to 'flowers'. First, the conceptual metaphor of PROTESTORS AS FLOOD, discussed earlier in the Methodology section of this paper (see Figure 1), was found in Aljazeera discourse in the linguistic expression *tofán bashari* طوفان بشري (Aljazeera Report 3, 2011) which means *flood of humans* in English. Conceptualizing protestors in such a way is a deliberate linguistic representation that aims to evoke a particular cognitive view of the news events. It either 1) intensifies the news event and its future influence in changing the reality of governance in Egypt, 2) warns that they become an uncontrollable danger or 3) both.⁸ Aljazeera journalist Fatima Aturaiki used also other metaphors to highlight the successive massive power of the protestors in "collapsing and demolishing 'Mubarak's regime in 18 days'" (Aljazeera Report 3, 2011); below is a table of the found metaphors in the three reports.

TABLE 2
METAPHORS FOUND IN ALJAZEERA REPORTS

No	Metaphor	Aljazeera Reports
1	MUBARAK IS 'FIRA'OON'	Reports 1,2 &3
2	PROTESTORS ARE A MASSIVE FLOOD	Report 3
3	ANGRY PROTESTORS ARE BOILING WATER	Report 3
4	A FALLING REGIME IS A COLLAPSING BUILDING	Report 3
5	THE FRIDAY IMAM'S SPEECH IS AN EARTHQUAKE	Report 3
6	EXTREME JOY IS AN EXPLOSION	Report 3
7	A REVOLUTION IS A FLOWER	Report 1 & 2

The POWER OF NATURE was a recurrent source domain in the metaphors found in Aljazeera reports (Table 2). For example, while *waterpower* was found in metaphors No. 2 and 3, the force-dynamics power of 1) *a collapsing building* was found in No. 4, 2) *an earthquake power* (No. 5), 3) *an explosion power* (No. 6) and lastly, *the natural blossoming power* (No. 7), see Table 2.

The common feature of these metaphors is that they are all pro-uprisings utilizing different forms of power to conceptualize and perpetuate the roles of the parties mentioned in the news event/story within the main intertextual metaphor MUBARAK IS THE DICTATOR FIRA'OON. In fact, Report 3 mentioned the name of Prophet Moses who resisted and confronted the dictator Fira'oon explicitly saying: "The man [imam] delivered an earth-shattering [Friday] sermon in which he recalled the determination of the Prophet Moses, peace be upon him, in confronting Fira'oon" (Report 3, Aljazeera, 2011). This quote in the news discourse is an example of how religious metaphors are used discursively and recurrently in Aljazeera media discourse through intertextuality i.e. quoting what fits the political agenda and ideological 'manipulation' (Daghigh & Guo, 2024), or perhaps the ideological orientation of the news outlet.

Similarly, in the second report, journalist Fawzi Bushra conceptualized the revolution as a flower that came out of poor neighborhoods, which is another clear indicator of Aljazeera's ideological and socio-political stance towards the events in Egypt.

In sum, Aljazeera reports have conveyed its ideological and socio-political stance towards the Egyptian state and people through several metaphors such as:

- MUBARAK IS FIRA'OON: Mubarak speaks, governs, and has a similar end or fate to that of Fira'oon.
- A REVOLUTION IS A FLOWER THAT CAME FROM POOR EGYPTIAN NEIGHBOURHOODS, which means that protestors are flowers and positive social actors in comparison to the negative dictator Mubarak as given by the new story (see Aljazeera Report 2, 2011).
- A FALLING REGIME IS A COLLAPSING BUILDING DESTROYED BY A FLOOD OF PROTESTORS (see Aljazeera Report 3, 2011)
- ANGRY PROTESTORS ARE BOILING WATER THAT WILL NOT COOL DOWN UNTIL MUBARAK STEPS DOWN (see Aljazeera Report 3, 2011)
- HAILING IN EXTREME JOY IS AN EXPLOSION i.e. the source domain of explosion is utilized to sensationally describe the massive happiness among Egyptian people after Mubarak stepped down.

Lastly, the findings may trigger the question of how the main intertextual metaphor MUBARAK IS FIRA'OON can affect the public point of view and influence social realities. To answer this question, a further examination of the available public reaction to the given discourse was conducted. However, due to the limitations and confines of this study, available sources were explored. The online viewers' comments posted beneath Aljazeera's reports on YouTube were compiled, analyzed, and translated into English. It was found that while most of the commenters were taken by Aljazeera reports

⁸ See Charteris-Black (2006) Hart (2007) for similar discussions of the metaphor ASYLUM SEEKERS ARE A MOVING FLOOD.

and had given positive comments like *wonderful* and *great reports*, few others had a different perspective. Therefore, all the categories found (Table 3) will be briefly discussed as they help provide a full understanding of the media discourse practices i.e. its production *by the news outlet* versus its consumption *by the viewers* (See Fairclough, 1995a&b). Below is a random sample of the reader's comments on YouTube.

TABLE 3
CATEGORIES OF VIEWERS' COMMENTS

NO	Comment	Report
1	بيقطع من آيات القرآن على هواه ويركبها على موقف حسني. حسبي الله ونعم الوكيل فيه وفيكم ايها Translation: Cutting Ayas from the Holy Qur'an based on his interest and using them to report on Hussni Mubarak, Oh! My Almighty God Help me on those.....	1
2	غلبتو تحريف القرآن، بجد سفالة. مش عارف ازاي الكلام دا يطلع من اخوة عرب ربنا ينتقم منكم..... Translation: Distorting the Holy Qur'an, really shame on you, I do not know how this comes out from Arab brothers like you.....	1
3	اما بالنسبة للتقرير فهو جدا رائع كيف لا وقد ظهر تاثر من كتبه بالقران وقد ورد ذلك اكثر من مره الى حد ان قال عن الصناديق المزوره بانها كاذبه خاطئه. تحياتي لمصر الثوره ولقناه الجزيره الحره Translation: The report is wonderful; why not especially since the writer is influenced by the Holy Qur'an This was visible more than once, to the extent where the journalist has described the election boxes [with the Quranic phrase] as "lying and sinning [boxes]" [see Holy Quran, 96:16]. Greetings to Revolutionary Egypt and Al Jazeera Al Hurra Channel	2
4	انا اتحفظ على استخدام آيات القرآن بهذه الطريقة بغض النظر عن موقفي من مبارك. Translation: Regardless of my stance towards Mubarak I have my own reservations over the use of the Qur'anic Ayas.....	2
5	"إِنَّ فِرْعَوْنَ عَلَا فِي الْأَرْضِ وَجَعَلَ أَهْلَهَا شِيَعًا أُولَىٰ، لَا يُؤْتُونَ مَالًا سِوَىٰ مَالِهِمْ لِيُحْسِنُوا وَجْهَ اللَّهِ إِلَىٰ رَبِّهِمْ، فَكَذَّبُوا بِآيَاتِهِ وَاسْتَكْبَرُوا، فَجَاءَ اللَّهُ بِطُوفَانٍ مِنَ الْمَاءِ فَأَخَذَتْ الْأَرْضَ خِثْلًا، وَكَانَ فِرْعَوْنُ مُجْرِمًا، فَجَاءَ مُوسَىٰ مُؤْتَمِرًا مِمَّنْ ظَلَمُوا أَنْفُسَهُمْ فَاذْعَبُوا وَبُكَوْا، فَذَرَوْهُم حَبْرًا، إِنَّ رَبَّكَ بِبَدَنِكَ غَدِيرٌ، فَاتَّقِ اللَّهَ لَعَلَّكَ تُبْقَىٰ وَتَرْضَىٰ عَنَّا، وَاللَّهُ الْعَظِيمُ" Translation: "Indeed, Pharaoh exalted himself in the land and made its people into factions..... Far Away to Fira'oon (Mubarak) as Far Away to Thamood".	2
6	"اليوم نتجيك ببديك" صدق الله العظيم Translation: "Today we save you physically in your body" Allah is the Truth Sayer	2

The viewer's comments can be in general classified into three main categories:

- 1- Readers who expressed disagreement with Aljazeera's stance and its misuse of the Quranic discourse (see No. 1 and 2 in Table 3).
- 2- Readers who express disagreement not with its discourse practice i.e. objected to Aljazeera's uses of phrases implicitly from Holy Qur'an to report on political events (see No. 4).
- 3- Readers who were entirely driven by the intertextual practice that utilized the Qur'anic discourse and imitated it by producing similar Qur'anic discourse as in No. 3, 5 and 6. The phrases between quotation marks are exact Qur'anic phrases/Ayas (Holy Qur'an, 2024).

V. CONCLUSION

The use of clusters from the Qur'anic discourse related to Fira'oon in the Aljazeera news discourse reminds us of the utilization of religious *metaphors* (found in Charteris-Black, 2004; Delaney & Spoelstra, 2022), *scripture* (as in Omer & Springs, 2013) and *religious cues* (in Myers et al., 2023) for their strong semantic associations to influence the audience decisions and interpretations of news events. Similar to Delaney and Spoelstra (2022) who documented the use of religious metaphors such as 'savior' and 'sinner' in modern leadership discourse for their strong semantic associations, the metaphor MUBARAK IS FIRA'OON was found to be used recurrently in Aljazeera news discourse. The corpus-based analysis helped us to realize that it is an intertextual metaphor (Zinken, 2003, 2008; Gee, 2020) that is taken from many Qur'anic phrases and clusters which appeared in variant linguistic forms and structures (see Excerpts 1, 2 and 3) but were all related to the same intertextual metaphor of MUBARAK IS FIRA'OON.

From the discussion above, there is no doubt that the Qur'anic discourse and its linguistic structure are effective, yet the recurrent use of phrases from the Qur'an, implicitly, to report on political events poses an ethical concern and questions over the quantity and the stylistic quality of such implicit intertextual uses. While some commentators (discourse consumers/ viewers) were happy and taken by the language of the news reports (see No. 3, 5 and 6 in Table 3), others expressed their unhappiness with this linguistic practice (No. 1, 2, and 4) and found it offensive to their sacred scripture. Some of them (No. 1, and 2) saw this as a major sin as the news outlet was distorting the Qur'anic discourse for their political agenda and/or interest. Others expressed their dissatisfaction and made their reservations about such linguistic practices regardless of their socio-political stance towards Mubarak (see No. 4).

The analysis suggests that intertextual metaphors in a news story represent a far more complex and effective phenomenon that is beyond the threshold of a layperson. It is a linguistic practice that can effectively influence or even manufacture public ideological stances and thoughts through metaphorical conceptualizations as in Omer and Springs (2013). Aljazeera reports were found to provide a complete and coherent conceptual metaphoric reading of MUBARAK AS FIRA'OON i.e. the dictator pharaoh mentioned in the Holy Quran (Holy Qur'an, 2024, 28: 4). This was achieved through the intensive utilization of several Qur'anic clusters employed metaphorically in an implicit intertextual practice to construct sensational news discourse. On the other hand, Egyptian protestors and their 'revolution'/ uprising were always metaphorically conceptualized in a very positive, powerful, and effective way using conceptual metaphors such

as A REVOLUTION IS AN OPENING FLOWER, PROTESTORS ARE A MASSIVE FLOOD, and ANGRY PROTESTORS ARE BOILING WATER. The metaphors discussed in this paper clearly indicate the reporter's or the media channel's ideological stance (in more accurate words their political agenda) and hence support Fowler's (1991) claim that the 'objectivity of the media coverage of the news is a myth and provides further evidence that the socio-political orientations or agenda of news outlets shape the news/media discourse they produce, cf. Al-Hejin (2012), Elewa (2019), and Lahlali (2023). Finally, this paper places an ethical concern over the implicit use of the Qur'anic discourse to report political events and calls for further critical research on how such news discourse is constructed; for example, perhaps, they should make explicit rather than implicit references to the Qur'anic linguistic clusters if there is a need for them to be intertextually used in news discourse. The confines of the current study were limited to a textual corpus-based critical discourse analysis, future research may use multimodal critical discourse analysis to investigate the multimodal discourse of such news coverage and how it intertwines with other modes such as sound, color and moving script on the screen. Lastly, the question of whether Aljazeera 'made' or 'covered' the Egyptian, revolution is left to the reader to answer, cf. Abozaid (2023).

APPENDIX A. REPORT 1

Aljazeera Report 1., (2011) 6th of February 2011 by Fawzi Bushra:

"هي إستعادة أمن"... (صوت مبارك)... لو صح للرئيس المصري حسني مبارك في عزلته المزدحمة بالحيرة والخيارات العسيرة ان يسأل المتظاهرين في ميدان التحرير وفي كل مدينة مصرية تظاهرت ضده ربما كان سؤاله أتقومون بالثورة قبل أن أذن لكم إن هذا لمكراً مكرتموه في المدينة. وقد يكون تساؤل الرئيس في محلة فليس من شي وقع في مصر خلال ثلاثين عاماً بدون إذن من مبارك وقد يكون من حقة أن يحتج عليهم أليس لي ملك مصر خولينيبة الدستور ولي البرلمان أصره بغالبية حزبة كيف أشاء أعدله حتى يوافي رغبتي المخلصة في خدمتكم دورة بعد دورة أتستبدلون الفوضى بالاستقرار! ألم تعلموا أنني الضامن لاستقرار مصر ورفاهيتها. لكن كتاب التاريخ المفتوح والمليء بالعبر يقول إن الثورات هي الفعل الوحيد الذي يقع ضد رغبة الحاكم ورغماً عنه وبلا إذن منه، صحيح أن وزارة الداخلية والحزب الحاكم وأجهزة الأمن جميعاً لم تستطع أن تشتم عبير الثورة. وهو يوضع بين الحوارية الفقيرة وبين حشود العاطلين تمتليء به صدور مفكرين ومتفقين أذاهم حال مصر ولا استطاعت أجهزة الحكم الأمني أن تفهم أن الموبايل والانترنت مقار دائمة للثائرين فالثورة كانت تتخلق في الأثير كلاماً وبيانات قبل أن تتحول إلى جيش هادر يخرج الحل. ومنذ إنطلاق ذلك الصوت المنادي بالرحيل والنظام في حالة إنكار! كان الإنكار صمتاً طويلاً متأملاً في الحال والمآل قبل أن يخرج مبارك إلى الناس بخطاب يقول فيه: إنه يعي المطالب المشروعة للمظاهرات "إنني أعي هذه التطلعات المشروعة للشعب ويعي هو فعل بيت بقرابة للفعل أفهم الذي استعمله زين العابدين في محنته "لم انفصل عنها يوماً" (صوت مبارك) "الشعب يريد إسقاط الرئيس" (أصوات الثائرين). لكن الثائرين مضو بالتظاهر يرددون القول كره أخرى الشعب يريد إسقاط النظام وقدم مبارك تنازلاً نخر قائلاً إنه لا يريد هو ولا إبنه الترشح في انتخابات رئاسية مقبلة، لكنه سيبقى حتى سبتمبر مكملاً ولايته. قال المتظاهرون لا بل الرحيل، بلوذ الرئيس بالصمت فيخرج نائبة عمر سليمان ورئيس وزراء أحمد شفيق بمزيد من وعود الإصلاح. إنه الإصلاح تحت ضغط الثورة وهو أسوأ أنواع الإصلاح لأنه يأتي من أناس يحملون عليه حملاً. ورغم فصاحة المطالب بتتحي الرئيس وإجتماع ملايين من الشعب المصري عليه، ظلت حالة الإنكار قائمة لدى الرئيس مبارك تجاه مايريد الشعب وقد قدم مشهد المواجهة القائمة بين الشباب المتظاهرين وبين السلطة المصرية صوراً بدت علاقاتها شديدة التنافر من جهة المنطق حتى إرتد المشهد إلى هزلية سياسية قل نظيرها. يخرج المتظاهرون وما معهم من سلاح غير إيمانهم بالثورة والتغيير وتخرج السلطة بطائرات الإف ستة عشر المقاتلة! والفرق بين قبضة التائر والإف ستة عشر كالفرد بين الجمل والفيش بوك في مضامير السياسة. لم تفلح طلعات الطائرات المقاتلة فجاء نظام الحكم في مصر بخيلة وإبلة ورجلة لتتحد المعركة من استعمال مقاتلات الإف ستة عشر إلى الاستعانة بالجمال والخيل فقد تلفت الخائفون على النظام فلم يجدوا الحزب الحاكم صاحب العضوية المليونية! قال قائل منهم اليوم لا عاصم لكم اليوم إلا البلطجية وكان ذلك مشهداً آخر في تردي السياسة في بلد عريق كمصر، لا يجد نظام الحكم المغضوب عليه من شعبة من يدافع عنه غير شرار المجتمع والجائرون فيه. هنا راية الجامعة العربية لأحدث عن قمة طارية بين يدي رياح التغيير التي تهب على المنطقة قبل غن أمينها العام عمرو موسى نزل إلى ميدان التحرير إستجابة لنداء الثورة وقد الناس الجامعة مستودعاً للحكمة العربية وسداد الرأي كما عهدوا مبارك ناصحاً أميناً في المهمات! ألم يأتك حديثه إلى صدام والغزة يدقون أبواب العراق في عام ألفين وثلاثه "هي الفكرة بناع الشيخ زايد فكرة صائبة يعني إنفذ العراق وأهل العراق وإستقبل، وممكن لو حاب تقعد في أي دولة. يقدروا يستضيفوك"" (صوت مبارك) "بلادي بلادي بلادي لك حبي وفؤادي" (صوت جموع المتظاهرين) من يتصدق بنصيحة لمبارك من أجل مصر وحقاً لدماء أبناءها في ثورة لاغزة فيها وإنما خهي مصر تحدث عن نفسها... "بلادي بلادي لك حبي وفؤادي" (صوت جموع المتظاهرين)

APPENDIX B. REPORT 2

Aljazeera Report 2., (2011) 11th of February 2011 by Fawzi Bushra:

اليوم نُحْيِك بدينك لتكون لمن خلفك أمة ، مصير سبق إليه الشهر الماضي الرئيس التونسي الذي لم يجد من الهرب بدا فنجأ هو الآخر ببدينه، تاركاً أمثولة بأن الشعوب أبقى وأقوى من الطغاة متى صح منها العزم وإن مثل مبارك في شعبه كمثل زين العابدين إذ قال له شعبه: أصلح، فأبى أن يكون من المصلحين، ألا يُعَدُّ لمبارك، ويُعَدُّ لزين العابدين!! قال الشغبان الثائران لم يمض شهر على انتفاضة تونس حتى خرجت الثورة في مصر خروج الوردية من أكمته، خرجت الثورة من الحواري الفقيرة، ومن أحلام العاطلين المهضمة، ومن شباب الطبقة الوسطى، الذين ظننت بهم الظنون، وأخروا لأدوار ليس من بينها السياسة والانشغال بهم العام خرجت الثورة في مصر من أمة ضاقت بحاضر ها، وخافت من مستقبلها، وفرت كثيراً إلى ماضيها، به تتعزى، أمة كان قدرها أن تكون قائدة ورائدة، فرأت نفسها في ثلاثين سنينها الخالية يتراجع شأنها بين العالمين، ويضح مفرها ومتقوفا بالشكوى، يقولون: ليست هذه مصر التي نعرف ثلاثون عاماً بدأت بلحظة خاطفة يوم قررت جماعة على طريقتها أن تصحح ما بدا لها مساراً خاطئاً أو غلت فيه البلاد، فاعتالت الرئيس أنور السادات مبارك الذي ظل نائباً للرئيس منذ عام خمسة وسبعين ، لم يكن يتوقع أن تكون أقداره بذلك السخاء، فلا مكان في مصر للانقلابات العسكرية الكلاسيكية، والحال كذلك بين كبار الضباط، لا يطمعون بغير وظيفة دبلوماسية، أو ملحقة عسكرية في بلد ما، يكون بها حُسْنُ الختام، لكن مبارك أصبح رئيساً لجمهورية مصر العربية في أكتوبر عام واحد وثمانين.

ثلاثون عاماً كان مبارك خلالها العنوان السياسي الأوحده لمصر، لم ينصحه خلالها الأصدقاء الحلفاء سدنة الديمقراطية وحقوق الإنسان في الغرب أن عشر سنين في الحكم تكفي، أو أن ربع قرن أكثر مما يطيق شعب، وقديماً قيل: إن من بعش ثمانين حولاً -لا أباً لك- بسأم، لكن مبارك الثمانيون كان حريصاً على السلطة، ينتقل بين كل دورة حكم وأخرى انتقالاً سلساً، تضمنه انتخابات معلولة، وصناديق كاذبة خاطئة، كل ذلك كان يجري باسم الديمقراطية، وفي وفاء تام لمطلوباتها الشكلية استطاع مبارك ورجاله التوصل إلى صيغة سحرية لإحكام السيطرة على الدولة عبر مزاجية نفوذ السياسة بنفوذ المال، لتبدأ دورة التهميش السياسي للشعب ولأحزابها ولتنظيماته المدنية، ولأن شرط السيطرة على السلطة في ذهن حاكم يعتقد أن التداول عليها يتم بينه وبين الموت، أو بينه وبين ابنه، فقد تفنن نظام الحكم في إضعاف المعارضة وإرهابها.

أبقى مبارك على قانون الطوارئ الحاكم للبلاد منذ عام واحد وثمانين، وهو قانون مقيد للطلاقة السياسية، "أن مرشح الحزب الوطني..." (صوت أحمد سرور). تحولت مجالس الشعب حيث يفترض أن تقع الرقابة على الأداء التنفيذي، بالإضافة إلى النهوض بالمهام التشريعية، إلى مسرح لاستعراض سطوة الحزب الحاكم، حيث لا مكان لصوت الشعب ،...، في مجلس الشعب، ولم تكن ملاحظة التعديلات الدستورية في ألفين وسبعة فقط لأنها تكبل الأحزاب بألف قيد، وتحول بينها وبين التمثيل النيابي، ولكن لأنها كانت أيضاً تمهد الطريق أمام جمال مبارك لخلافته والده وكانت حصيلة ثلاثين عاماً من حكم مبارك أن تردت السياسة، وافقر المواطن والوطن، اتسعت أحزمة الفقر، وتزايدت جيوش العاطلين، وانسدت الأفاق في وجه الملايين من المصريين، الذين وجدوا أنفسهم تحت خط الفقر وقد ألفت مصر على عهد مبارك الدعم الدولي خاصة الأمريكي، حتى أصبح بنداً ثابتاً في الميزانية، وهو ما تأذى منه المصريون، ورأوه خصماً من كرامتهم الوطنية.

كانت مصر على عهد مبارك قد أصبحت حالة صارخة في إدمان العون والعطايا الدولية. ولا يكون دعم غير ثمن، وقد دفعت مصر على عهد مبارك اثماناً في السياسة باهظة، وتحولت من جراء ذلك كله ضمن آخرين إلى مغالٍ سياسي معتمد لعملية السلام غير المنتجة للسلام وصارت مصر مبارك تمسك بمفاتيح بوابة رفح في موقف مناهض للمشاعر الوطنية المصرية، تجاه حصار غزة ومجمل الموقف من القضية الفلسطينية ثلاثون عاماً تراجع خلالها دور مصر القومي، وتقزمت خلالها أحلام المواطن المصري في الرفاه والتقدم والديمقراطية والحرية ثلاثون مرة ثم وقع لمبارك أن الشعب لم ينل حظه موفوراً من أي شيء

قال مبارك: "إنني أعي هذه التطلعات المشروعة للشعب، وأعلم جيداً قدر همومه ومعاناته"، كذلك قال زين العابدين من قبل، أفلا يزال في مدرسة القادة والزعماء!! من لم يفهم درس بعد على بساطته؟

APPENDIX C. REPORT 3

(Aljazeera Report 3, 2011) 12th of February 2011 by Fatima Alturaiiki:

(صوت هتاف جمهور المتظاهرين) .. فعلها المصريون وأسقطوا حسني مبارك. ونظامه قبل أسابيع ماكان أحد يظن أن نظاماً بوليسياً جديداً جثم على صدور المصريين ثلاثين عاماً يمكن أن يتهاوى ويتكسر في ثمانية عشر يوماً "قرر الرئيس محمد حسني مبارك تخليه عن منصب رئيس الجمهورية وكلف المجلس الأعلى للقوات المسلحة لإدارة شؤون البلاد، والله الموفق والمستعان" (صوت عمر سليمان) ما إن نطق عمر سليمان متجهماً بتطلق الجملة المقترضة حتى انفجرت الساحات في مصر كل مصر فرحاً وتكبيراً. غير هتافهم الأثير فصار الشعب أسقط النظام. ساعة نهار اليوم التاريخي الحادي عشر من شباط فبراير ألفين وأحد عشر كانت تحمل غضباً عارماً إستقر في نفوس عشرات الملايين منذ الليلة السابقة حين خرج عليهم مبارك ليقول إنه باق رغم كل شيء. ظهر الجمعة طوفان بشري في ميدان التحرير ضاقت به الشوارع والجسور المحيطة. معاد لبشر موطء قدم زحفت القاهرة كلها إنها صلاة الجمعة وأي جمعة! "أيتها الأمة الإسلامية أن تعيش الأمة" (صوت خطيب الجمعة) الشيخ محمد جبريل المنصوي مع الثوار مع ليف من علماء الأزهر الشريف ممن رفضوا فتوى تحريم قول لا للظلم والقهر والفساد، أم المصلح، خطب الرجل خطبة مزلزلة إستحضر فيها عزم النبي موسى عليه السلام في مواجهة فرعون ودعا دعاء القنوت والملايين من خلفه تردد أمين تطلب النصر من الله لعله أسرع دعاء يستجاب له. (اللهم ثبنا يارب العالمين " أمين" اللهم إنصرنا يارب العالمين " أمين" اللهم حقق آمالنا يارب العالمين " أمين" اللهم حقق مرادنا يارب العالمين " أمين" اللهم إنا نشهدك أنا نحب مصر " أمين" اللهم إنا نشهدك أنا نحب تراب هذا الوطن" (دعاء الخطيب والمصلون يرددون أمين). بعد الصلاة تحرك آلاف المتظاهرين إلى قصر العروبة الرئاسي حيث احتشد آلاف من الليل السابق. بينما كان آلاف آخرون يطوقون مبنى الإذاعة والتلفزيون الرسميين ويمنعون دخول وخروج العاملين فيه "الجزيرة فيين الجزيرة أهوه" (هتاف المتظاهرين). ظلت القاهرة ومصر كلها تغلي حتى المساء كانت كل الاحتمالات مفتوحة وغضب الشعب يتصاعد لن تراجع لن تخلي الساحات، لن تخفض الصوت. في المساء إعلان صغير عن بيان هام للرئاسة، أقل من ساعتين وجاء الخير اليقين "قرر الرئيس..." (صوت عمر سليمان) حسني مبارك لم يعد رئيس مصر بعد الآن

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