Intertextuality

in contemporary Egyptian media texts: An exploratory semiotic analysis

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Abstract. Intertextuality - the relationship between one text and another/others, which may be literary or non-literary - is a major focus in postmodern criticism, perhaps because it emphasizes the hybrid nature of any text, and because it adds to the potential excitement experienced by the reader in her/his attempt to trace the "echoes" of past and contemporaneous texts in the text at hand. Furthermore, it is part of the meaning-making process in any text; it brings together at least three possible worlds: the text at hand, the text cited, and the mixture thereof. This paper provides a semiolinguistic analysis of a number of contemporary Egyptian media texts with an emphasis on transtextual relations, intra- and intergeneric features in addition to more basic semiotic aspects of the texts.

<u>Keywords</u>: contemporary Egyptian media texts intertextuality – parody – Egyptian film - cover page – obituary column – epitext and peritext

1. Introduction

"In western society at least, the last few centuries have seen a momentous shift from a text-based to a visually dependent culture. Images have become the primary form of signification today. However, this shift or "the pictorial turn" as it was termed by W.J.T. Mitchell in 1994, is only now having an impact on

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academic theory which has been dominated by text not picture".

(Ross Woodrow, 1999)

Academic linguistic theory and application in Egypt are obviously still dominated by text, in the traditional sense of the term, not picture, although the "momentous shift from a text-based to a visually dependent culture" where images are "the primary form of signification" is only too noticeable in the contemporary Egyptian society. The 'pictorial turn' in the Age of Infomedia is yet to be accompanied by a shift from analysis of text as a cohesive, coherent string of verbal signifiers to analysis of text as a combination and selection of a group of verbal as well as nonverbal, e.g., pictorial, gestural, and audio signifiers. "Only a semiotic analysis is capable of capturing the meaning-making processes in contemporary media texts, because only a semiotic analysis is capable of accounting for anything that signifies, anything that has (a) meaning/s" (Mazid, 2000, p. 34).

Very few studies in the area of linguistics in the Egyptian academia explore the semiotics of contemporary media texts. See, for example, Mazid (1999) for an analysis of metatext and intertext in a sample of Egyptian and US American political speeches, advice columns and headlines; (2000) for an analysis of the semiotics of a daily caricature column by Ahmad Ragab and Moustafa Hussein, and (WWW) for an analysis of the semiotics of a caricature by Amr Fahmy¹.

This paper is an analysis of intertextuality in a number of contemporary Egyptian media texts. (Caricature is included only in the preliminary list of examples.) A necessary introduction to the analysis is a discussion of the concept of intertextuality and other concepts most closely related.

2. Theoretical Framework

A number of terms have been proposed to describe more or less the same phenomenon:

2.1. Burlesque. "A work designed to ridicule a style, literary form, or subject matter either by treating the exalted in a trivial

way or by discussing the trivial in exalted terms (that is, with mock dignity). Burlesque concentrates on derisive imitation, usually in exaggerated terms. Literary genres (like the tragic drama) can be burlesqued, as can styles of sculpture, philosophical movements, schools of art, and so forth". (Harris, 1997, WWW)

- 2.2. Parody. "A satiric imitation of a work or of an author with the idea of ridiculing the author, his ideas, or work. The parodist exploits the peculiarities of an author's expression-his propensity to use too many parentheses, certain favorite words, or whatever. The parody may also be focused on, say, an improbable plot with too many convenient events. Fielding's *Shamela* is, in large part, a parody of Richardson's *Pamela*". (Harris, 1997, WWW)
- 2.3. Pastiche: "is another paratextual form, often difficult to distinguish from parody, since its borrowings are often also for humorous or satirical purposes. But, as its name suggests (from It., meaning 'paste') pastiche is characteristically a 'pasting together', a patchwork or medley of borrowed styles". (Wales 1989, p. 339)
- **2.4. Stylization**: "coined by Bakhtin in the 1930s to describe the technique of IMITATION of the conscious and consistent representation by an author of another style.... The result is a DUAL VOICED discourse, the style imitated and the 'silent' presence of the author. One clear example is parody". (Wales 1989, p. 439, original emphasis)
- 2.5. <u>Intertextuality</u>: "The semiotic notion of intertextuality introduced by Kristeva is associated primarily with poststructuralist theorists. Intertextuality refers to the various links in form and content which bind a text to other texts. Each text exists in relation to others. Although the debts of a text to other texts are seldom acknowledged, texts owe more to other texts than to their own makers..." (Chandler, 1994, WWW)

- **2.6.** <u>Bricolage</u>: "Lévi-Strauss's term for the appropriation of preexisting materials which are ready-to-hand (and in the process contributing to the construction of one's own identity) is widelyused to refer to the intertextual authorial practice of adopting and adapting signs from other texts". (Chandler, 1994, WWW)
- **2.7.** <u>Intratextuality</u>: "Whilst the term intertextuality would normally be used to refer to links to other texts, a related kind of link is what might be called 'intratextuality' involving internal relations *within* the text..." (Chandler, 1994, WWW)
- **2.8.** Anchorage: "Roland Barthes introduced the concept of anchorage. Linguistic elements in a text (such as a caption) can serve to 'anchor' (or constrain) the preferred readings of an image (conversely the illustrative use of an image can anchor an ambiguous verbal text)". (Chandler, 1994, WWW)
- 2.9. <u>Intertextuality</u>: Term proposed by Julia Kristeva in *La Révolution du langage poétique* to describe the way a single work can actually consist of several *text*s and/or the transposition of one set of signs into another..."(Belton, 1996).

It is easy to see that there is a great deal of overlap among these terms. Some distinctions may be made, however. Burlesque and parody may be safely regarded as interchangeable. Both have the obligatory element of satire or irony. Pastiche and bricolage, on the other hand, share the characteristic of 'pasting together', of citing or alluding to more than one single text and hybridizing the allusions and citations in a new form. Stylization and anchorage are apparently narrower in the scope of the phenomena signified thereby. For stylization is restricted to form, or style, rather than content, and anchorage is only a particular instance of text-to-text relationships (of the image-caption relationship in the context of the citation above).

Intertextuality - "links in form and content which bind a text to other texts", or "the transposition of one set of signs into another" - is probably the most comprehensive of these terms. Still more

comprehensive is *transtextuality* - the term proposed by Genette (1982, 1997) — which subsumes inter- and intratextuality, parody, burlesque, stylization, pastiche, anchorage and bricolage. More often than not, intertextuality and transtextuality are used interchangeably. For all practical purposes, it is more convenient to treat the latter as more comprehensive and the former as being one of its subcategories, Transtextuality subsumes the following types of relationships:

- Inter- and Intratextuality: Quotation, plagiarism, and allusions in one text to another or to itself.
- Paratextuality: the relation between a text and its paratext everything that surrounds the text and is related to it, e.g., titles, headings, dedications, prefaces, footnotes, dust jackets, cover page, and so on.
- Architextuality: affiliation of the text to a genre or a number of genres as indicated by the author or as framed by the reader.
- <u>Metatextuality</u>: commentary of one text on another, e.g., critical reviews, parodies, spoofs and sequels. Closely related to metatextuality is hypo- or **hypertextuality** where there is a current hypertext *citing* and a preceding hypotext *being cited*. (Adapted from Chandler, 1994 and 2000, WWW).

A more common-sensical classification of transtextuality is the one that deals with conscious vs. unconscious, or, more traditionally, with optional vs. obligatory, aleatory or incidental transtextuality (Berger, 1998, pp. 23-25). "Obligatory", "aleatory", and "unconscious" are three different terms for more or less the same concept. They signify the textual materials that "become common currency, that pervade cultures, and that fin their way into new texts without the creators' being aware of it" (p. 24). Each text inevitably belongs to a genre, or a number of genres. The features that the text has in common with the other members of the same genre, e.g., dialogue in a play, illustration or cartoon in a caricature, abstract or lead in a news story, are its unconscious or obligatory transtextual features. Conscious transtetxtuality, on the other hand, is not mandated by any generic affiliation. It rather consists in a text's deliberate choices of other texts to be parodied, quoted, or distorted therein.

The taxonomy given above has so far been predominantly applied to verbal texts. At the outset of the third millenium, there appears to be a tremendous shift in linguistic scholarship, at least in the West, towards exploration of nonverbal texts – in addition to the already established traditions of critical linguistics and critical discourse analysis - see Mazid (1999) for a review. A huge literature is now accumulating, in print and online, on almost all forms and types of texts – in the broadest sense of the term.

Given the pictorial origin of words, it is not surprising to read about coloremes (see below) or visual communication. Nor is it surprising to hear of concepts such as the discourse of pictures (e.g., Prince, 1993), visual rhetoric, or la rhetorique de l' iimage, pictorial semiotics (e.g., Sonesson, 1999), and so on. More traditionally, such concepts used to appear in the world of media in the guises of design and layout. However, it seems that linguistic analysis that is blind to 'la rhetorique de l' image' is as inefficient as visual analysis that is blind to the pictoriality of verbal language and the code that is there in any image or picture.

The present study is a further attempt to explore the semiotics of contemporary Egyptian media texts with a focus on inter/transtextuality therein. The first section in the applications is a preliminary list of transtextual relations in a variety of contemporary Egyptian media texts. Then a more detailed analysis of specific texts is provided.

3. Illustrations

3.1. A Preliminary List

There is a labyrinth of transtextual relations in contemporary Egyptian media texts. Obviously, transtextuality is not the privilege of these texts, because it is simply a *semiotic universal*, so to speak. It is particularly important in the Arab/Egyptian context for a number of ideological and cultural reasons. Arab/Egyptian culture is more or less graphocentric, occasionally graphophobic. The written word is far more reliable, authoritative and respectable than the spoken word. A text is by definition an unquestionable record of facts. This explains many practices, or, in fact, lack thereof in the Egyptian society, e.g., little, if any, critical thinking in dealing with textbooks

and reading comprehension passages (e.g., Mazid & Salah-Eddin, 1995). Together with a considerable glorification of the past, an undeniable reliance on contemporary Western civilization and a well documented tendency towards formulaicity and citation, graphocentricity accounts for a great deal of transtextual relations in contemporary media texts in Egypt. The following is a preliminary list of examples of such relations:

- Citation of wise sayings, Arabic poetry, contemporary pop songs and video clips, films and TV dramas, as well as celebrities and models in newspaper, magazine and TV advertisements, e.g., Gohaina milk ads, and citation of pop songs and classical music in the titres of TV and radio programs, e.g., the weekly Channel#1 program "law battalna niħlam" (When/ Once /If we cease to dream) is a citation of one Muhammad Mounir's songs "law battalna niħlam nimuut" (When/Once/If we cease to dream, we cease to live/ be alive).
- Remakes of old films in modern TV dramas or films, e.g., rudda qalbi (Give my heart back to me), and remakes of traditional Egyptian and Arab songs in, for example, the weekly TV Channel#1 program al-muusiiqa al-?arabiyya (Arab Music); repetition or rebroadcasting of films and TV dramas.
- Adaptation of tradition, folklore and historical narratives as well as modern and contemporary literary works in radio, cinema and TV films and dramas, e.g., wa ?islaamaah (O Islam!), ?alf Leila w Leila (Arabian Nights). TV dramatic adaptation of Arab and Islamic history and texts is sometimes modified and rendered modern in form and content, e.g., ?almaal wa -l- banuun the phrase occurs in the Qur'an in the Cave Sura and it is translated into English by Yusuf Ali as "wealth and sons" but could also be translated as "money and posterity", to avoid the sexist 'sons'. More often, adaptation does not entail modification, e.g., ?aSr il ?a?immah (The Age of Imams), ?abu –l- ħassan il baSri. One more example of adapting literary works in the cinema is The Land ?al-?arD Yousef Chahine, Egypt, 1970 Chahine's classic film was

adapted from Abdel Rahman al-Sharqawi's well-known novel by the same title (see below). Contemporary Egyptian cinema is not very much into such adaptation except for parodical purposes. Adaptation, in the present context, is not restricted to Arab/Egyptian literary works. Many British, French, Russian, and US American literary texts, to mention only four categories, have been adapted in modern and contemporary Egyptian cinema: Shakespeare's Hamlet – in Chahine's film discussed below, Macbeth, Romeo and Juliet and Othello; Dostoyevsky's Brothers Karamazov – in, for example, ?al ?ixwa l- ?a?daa?; Tolstoy's Anna Karenina, and others.

- Quoting Qur'anic verses, Prophetic Hadith (tradition), Companions' sayings, and religious parables on radio and TV on a regular basis at the opening and closing of the broadcast, after the calls for prayers, and in Fatwa (casuistry, religious, legal opinion) programs where religious FAQs are addressed by Muslim savants.
- Metatextual comments on the letters to the editor in Al-Ahram by the 'gabarti of bariid il ?ahram' (al-Gabarti is a late great Egyptian historian) the pen-name of a fan of the letters to the editor section in Al-Ahram who is used to submitting an annual review of all the letters sent to the editor of this section.
- Film, comedy and TV drama titles' citation of words, phrases and sentences from pop songs, holy texts, proverbial sayings, e.g., hilw i w kaddaab (pretty but deceitful) - the title of a contemporary theatrical comedy and is also a phrase in one of Abdel Halim Hafiz's songs; ?alliSS wa -l- kilaab (The Thief and the Dogs) - the title of an Egyptian film and of the source novel by Naguib Mahfouz; hallq huuS is the title of a contemporary Egyptian film and a common expression in Arabic; ⁹uvuun ħakiim (an Egyptian Colloquial opthalmologist) is the title of a contemporary Egyptian comedy and a phrase in a famous song in a famous film Muhammed Abdel Wahab. Moreover, many contemporary avant-guard film titles are metatextual, e.g., film θaqaafi (lit. a cultural movie = a pornographic movie). A film

- title is part of its titre and consequently of its peritext, one of its 'seuils'. The title-titre-text relationship in contemporary Egyptian movies merits more and more in-depth analyses. For a study of this relationship in a different context, see Kolstrup (WWW).
- The titre-text relationship in TV drama serials is another significant example of transtextuality in contemporary drama is Egyptian media texts. titre in TV equivalent/transtextually related to the cover page and the front book or magazine. It contains necessary information about the author, scriptwriter, director, producer, cast, technicians, and so on. It is a regular feature of the serial. Usually the verbal text/s of the titre is/are accompanied by a song and some significant shots from the serial. The verbal and nonverbal components of the titre combine to perform important functions. They provide the drama with its distinctive character and the viewers with clues to the theme, locale, and the major developments of the drama. One interesting example of this is the titre of the TV drama serial ?awaan il ward (It's Rose Time), written by Wahid Hamed and directed by Samir Seif, 2001. The drama is chiefly concerned with the theme of love and tolerance, specifically in the context of Muslim-Christian relationship in contemporary Egypt. By citing black and white shots from old Egyptian romantic films, the titre clearly indicates the ultimate message of the entire drama. A complex transtextual relationship is created: the foregrounded black and white hypotexts, the background titre and the text of the drama. Thereby, a common past for all Egyptians is invoked and a message of love, tolerance, and understanding is imparted.
- Less context-specific transtextual relations such as replays of goals in TV news bulletins, shots from football matches in the press, commentary and game relationship (e.g., Berger, 1998); image-caption anchoring relations in newspapers and magazines and news bulletins; the duplication into Arabic of American, especially Walt Disney, cartoons; citing shots and scenes from international news agencies in TV news reports;

- sound-image relations in video clips and song-narrative relations in a movie or a drama; film and TV drama reviews in newspapers and magazines; radio and TV interviews with actors and actresses; viewers' comments on films and TV: dramas in letters to the editor sections in newspapers and magazines, and so on.
- Thematic transtextuality, i.e., the recurrence of themes, characters, plot development, happy endings, etc. in movies and TV dramas, e.g., the archetypal triangle of lover-villainbeloved; the stereotypes of the mother-in-law, amoral businessmen, deceitful lawyers, as well as the ridiculous scenes of a taxi always waiting for the hero, of foreigners speaking pure Arabic when no Arabic-speaking person is there, except the viewer.
- Parodical thematic transtextuality, e.g., the contemporary film hallq huus (a slang for "Stop the thief") is apparently a humorous instantiation and imitation of the caper filmic subgenre - fictional work concentrating on the planning and eventual execution of a single major crime, such as a robbery of a bank (Taves, et. al., 1998, WWW).
- Adaptation of the Egyptian intelligence department/agency records in films and TV dramas. Grouped together, these films and dramas belong to the espionage film/serial genre. An espionage is a fictional work that depicts "spies and secret agents seeking to uncover or maintain secrets from each other and for one country or for the benefit of another... especially during wartime or in the Cold War" (Taves, et. al., 1998, WWW). "Although espionage and counterespionage have a long history, they became of great interest and importance during World War II (1939-1945), and during the long postwar period called the Cold War. It was mainly during this period that the spy thriller, written by such authors as Graham Greene, Ian Fleming, and John Le Carre, became a distinct and successful literary genre..." (World Book, 1999). Modern and contemporary Egyptian examples of espionages - where the

- waqiħah (Tears in Impudent Eyes), ra?fat il hajjaaan (Raafat El-Haggan), ?attariiq ?la ?iilaat (The Way/Road to Eilat), and others.
- Citation of **documentary material**, e.g., shots, images, newspapers, and letters to give only a partial list of possible hypotexts in a film or TV drama to simulate reality and enhance credibility. The inevitable Brechtian gap between the current text and the inserted documentary hypotext is often indicated by a change in color modality, i.e., from color to black and white. Examples of contemporary Egyptian films and TV serials that manipulate this type of transtextuality include <u>naaSSir sitta w xamsiin</u> (Nasser 56) and <u>?umm kulθuum</u>. What these two have in common is the element of **biography** of the late President of Egypt Gamal Abdel Nasser with a focus on the High Dam nationalization period, and the late, famous Egyptian singer Umm Kulthoum, respectively. The biographical element in each largely justifies the citation of documentary materials.
 - Contemporary Egyptian caricature makes utmost use of transtextuality. In addition to the universal caption/dialoguecartoon illustration relationship, the thematic recurrence of stereotypes, and the distortion of public figures and celebrities, which is more or less a distortion of iconicity, texts in this genre often cite titles of famous books, films, comedies and TV dramas. In some cases, the citation is used as a metatextual comment on texts cited or alluded to; in other cases, cited hypotexts are contextualized into a new dialogue. One example of this is a caricature in the haawil tibtisim (lit. Try to Smile) section very recently added to the weekly Akhbar El-Youm, by Ahmad Ragab and Moustafa Hussein. The caricature is taken from the Jan. 27, 2001 issue, p. 16. The visual part of the caricature is an illustration of a couple where the female is an instantiation of the ugly, horny woman stereotype in Egyptian caricature. The verbal part of the text is a dialogue where the woman claims to be the true heroine of ?anf wa θalaaθ Suyuun (A Nose and Three Eyes) - a film adapted from a novel by Ihsaan Abdel Ouddous. In response, the man argues

that she is not. In fact, he adds, she is the heroine of Moustafa Amin's <u>la</u> (No), because a million men have already said "No" to her [sexual hints and advances].

This is by no means an exhaustive list of transtextual relations in contemporary Egyptian media texts – nor is it meant to be. The instances of such relations in these texts are literally infinite. Below is a comparatively more elaborate investigation of transtextuality in another sample – 'sample' being used very loosely here – of these texts.

3.2. The Obituary Column

The Obituary Column is a very rich newspaper genre that has been underresearched thus far. Research on death announcements has often been restricted to conversations in different settings, e.g., delivering bad news, especially news of death, by medical personnel (Glaser&Strauss, 1965,1968; Sudnow, 1967), and death announcements in ordinary conversations (Holt, 1993), or even announcing the opposite of death, birth, in newspapers (Hodge, 1979).

According to Holt (1993, p. 191), the components of the sequential pattern of death announcements in ordinary conversations are:

- 1. A lead-up to the death announcement.
- 2. The announcement of the fact of the death:
 - i. A temporal indicator
 - ii. Description of the manner of death (with evaluative component)
- 3. Description of the **circumstances of the deceased's life** prior to death (with the import that the life of the deceased as portrayed bears on the sense of the death).
- 4. A **bright side sequence** in which the speakers take a positive stance towards the news.

Although marginal and often overlooked by those who are not interested, the Obituary Column is a significant part of contemporary media, an indication of the strong relationship between language on the one hand and ideology and culture on the other, and of how linguistic structures are used "to classify and rank people, events and objects; to assert institutional or personal status." (Fowler, Hodge,

Kress&Trew, 1979, p. 3). This is especially the case in communities where *tradition* and the *Scriptures* still play a major role in everyday life, where status is still perceived as *inherited* rather than acquired, and where *metaphysical* issues are not trivialized.

The Obituary section in <u>Al-Ahram</u> – probably the most prestigious daily newspaper in Egypt – is a fertile area for linguistic as well as semiolinguistic research. The number of words per death notice, the font, the presence or absence of a photograph, and the number of columns occupied by a death notice are all indications of the socio-economic status of the deceased as well as those who pay for the notice to get published. The section also contains interesting examples of intertextuality and euphemism as will be shown below.

Not all the texts in the Obituary pages of <u>Al-Ahram</u> are death notices to be sure. There are at least three text types in these pages in addition to the **death notice** – which is simply a report of someone's death and/or funeral with or without a short account of his/her life, and with or without a list of his/her relatives. The second text type therein is the **condolence** notice, where the deceased's relatives, friends, colleagues, etc., send their condolences to his/her family. The third text type is the **response-to-condolence** notice, where the deceased' relatives express their gratitude to those who have sent condolences to them. Finally, the <u>Ahram</u> Obituary section frequently includes **remembrances and invocations** of the deceased by his/her close family members where their sadness as well as their certainty of his/her glorious and happy afterlife is expressed.

In Al-Ahram, Jan. 4, 2001, pp.25-27, the Obituary texts demonstrate many of the characteristics of death announcements in ordinary conversations as identified by Holt (1993). The lead-up to the death announcement is a citation from the Qur'an or the Bible; a set phrase, e. g., "?al baqaaa?u lillaah" (survival/eternity is for God; Only God survives death); or an indication of text content, e. g., "šukr wa zikra – l- ?arba?iin" (thanks and [announcement of] the fortieth-day commemoration).

"?al baqaaa?u lillaah" and its translation into English as given above deserve a digression. The English equivalents to this expression include "I'm sorry", "My sympathy to you", "I'm sorry for you", "That's too bad", "It was good to know X", "X was a fine person and

a friend of mine", "X will be missed." "My sympathy to you/your Y." (X stands for the deceased and Y for any of his/her relatives). Colloquial Egyptian Arabic (ECA) variants of the condoling expression include: "?ilbaqqiyya/?il-ba?iyya f/fi ħayatik/tak/tkum" – its preferred response is "ħayatik/tak/tkum il-baaqya/baa?ya". Neither the ECA variant nor the English equivalents are relevant to the present context. They are apparently to be used in informal face-to-face interactions, phone calls, or, in the case of the English equivalents, in condolence cards. The Obituary column in <u>Al-Ahram</u> is a formal, distant communication context where only Classical or Modern Standard Arabic may be used.

The lead-up is followed by an announcement of the death of someone (with an optional time indicator, e.g., "?ams" = yesterday), an announcement of a commemoration (with an obligatory time indicator, e.g., "?al yawm" = today), a report of a funeral (also with an obligatory time indicator), or an expression of gratitude to condolers – these correspond to the announcement of the fact of death in Holt's list.

Description of the manner of death is only there when this manner is *marked* or abnormal and/or when it is a premature death, e.g., "?intaqal ?ila – l-?amjaad issamaawiyyah ?iθra ḥaadiθin ?aliim" (passed –he-to the glories of Heaven as a result of a terrible accident). Description of the circumstances of the deceased's life prior to death is replaced by an account of his/her attributes, titles and prominent relatives.

The bright side sequence in which a positive stance towards the death is taken appears in (i) the euphemisms used in talking about death e.g., "?intaqal ?ila – l - ?amjaad issamaawiyyah", "?intaqal ?ila ?a?la" rrafiiq il (passed/transferred the Sublime to Companion/Supreme Comrade), "?intaqal ?ila/ tuwuffiya ?ila raħmati llaah" (he-passed/was transferred to God's mercy) instead of "maat" (died); (ii) the epithets used in describing the deceased, e.g., "?ariis issamaa?" (Bridegroom of Heaven), "zahrat iššabaab" (flower of youth), "?il marhuum" (lit. the one who has received/will certainly receive mercy from God; the deceased), and (iii) overt statements by

condolers and the bereft about the glorious afterlife awaiting for the deceased.

The Obituary texts under investigation are bound to be different from the death announcements in ordinary conversations analyzed by Holt, because of the essential differences between the written and the spoken language and because of the cultural-ideological differences between the present sample and Holt's.

First and foremost, Holt does not identify any citations from any of the Holy Books. The most frequent citations in the <u>Ahram</u> texts may translate into English as follows:

- "To God we belong and to Him is our return" (The Qur'an, 11:156).

- "To the righteous soul will be said: O thou soul, in complete rest and satisfaction, come back then to thy Lord, well-pleased and well-pleasing unto Him; enter then among my Devotees; yea, enter then my heaven" (The Qur'an, LXXXIX: 27-30)².

in addition to many biblical expressions, e.g., "With Jesus, that's much better".

The presence of such citations – the first instance of intertextuality in the Obituary texts – bears witness to the centrality of religion and religious texts, or what Smith (1987) calls the *deistic background* and what Robinson (1980) calls *theologocentricity*, in the discursive practices in the Egyptian community in particular and in the Arab world in general. People in the West, Hall (1959, p.58) argues, hardly understand "the extent to which religion infiltrates all aspects of life in the Arab world". For more on *theologocentricity* in Arab-Egyptian discourse, see Mazid (1999, pp.202-205).

Contemporary Egyptian media is no exception to Hall's generalization. Reading contemporary Egyptian newspapers, one is overwhelmed by citations from Qur'anic and Prophetic texts used to achieve various discursive and ideological goals: "If God helps you, none can overcome you..." (The Qur'an, II: 160); "And say: Truth has (now) arrived and falsehood perished, for falsehood is (by its nature) bound to perish" (XVII:81); "And say: Work (righteousness); soon will God observe your work, and His Apostle and the Believers..." (IX: 105); "O ye who believe, if a wicked person comes to you with any news, ascertain the truth, lest ye harm people unwittingly, and afterwards become full of repentance for what ye

have done" (XLIX: 6); "...I only desire (your) betterment to the best of my power, and my success (in my task) can only come from God. In Him I trust, and unto Him I look" (XI: 88); "...God's Will [be done]! There is no power but with God" (XVIII, 39); "...We shall not suffer to perish the reward of any who do a [single] righteous deed" (XVIII, 30).

The citations translated into English above are commonly used in parliamentary election campaigns, inaugurating new projects, as well as publishing accomplishments of existing ones, defending a company's or an individual's public image, celebrating victory over a competitor, or the winning of a case. They have tangible as well as subliminal effects. They contribute to the formality, authority, and prestige of the message - they are taken from the Qur'an with which the Highest variety of the Arabic used in Egypt - Classical Arabic - is associated. On the other hand, they help align the advertiser or message sender with 'the believers', and his/her enemies/ competitors with 'the unbelievers'. Furthermore, by appealing to the worship motive, they enhance the credibility and trustworthiness of the message. This is one example of exploiting tradition, of which the Qur'an is the most sacred and influential part, for political and economic purposes in contemporary Egypt. Some of the verses translated above are used in other contexts in the same community to achieve more or less similar goals. For example, "... God's Will [be donel! There is no power but with God" is a talismanic verse commonly thought to have influence or power over other people or spiritual or supernatural beings specifically in the prevention of envy (Cf. Encarta, 1998: Spells and Incantation).

The second major instance of intertextuality in the Obituary texts is the *image-text* relationship therein. On the three Obituary pages of Al-Ahram, only twenty photographs appear, **iconically** referring to 6 females and 14 males. The publication of a photo with the Obituary is a clear indication of the socio-economic status of the advertiser and/or the deceased. The cost of publishing a photo in the Obituary section of Al-Ahram is between L.E.625 and L.E.1250 ³ – which is quite a sum of money for an average Egyptian. The presence of a photo is normally accompanied by an increase in the font of the Obituary text, especially that of the headlines. The price of a headline

is in direct proportion to the number of columns occupied thereby between L.E. 1150 and 1435.

The Obituary texts have many semiolinguistic aspects in common. The main signifier in each is the deceased and the most frequent lexical categories are personal names and honorary as well as job titles in addition to kinship terms. The recurrence of such categories transtextually links those texts to a quite different discourse genre; namely, that of *resumes* or CVs. They are more obviously related to birth announcements – bearing in mind that obituaries and birth announcements are as different from each other as birth and death.

Repetition is another feature of the Obituary texts. In addition to the incidental repetition of names, some set expressions and verbatim mini-texts are repeated: "?intaqal ?ila –l- ?amjaad issamaawiyyah"; "?intaqal ?ila – rrafiiq il ?a?la"; "?intaqal ?ila/ tuwuffiya ?ila raħmati llaah"; "?al baqaa?u lillaah (waħdah)" – this is one of the most common condoling expressions used in funerals in the Egyptian community; "bism –illaahi rraħmaani rraħiim" (in the name of God, most Merciful, most Compassionate). Some lexical verbs also recur: the root Š- ţ- r (to share/ divide with/ sympathize with) appears in many forms, e.g., "yušaaţir"/ "tušaaţir" (he/she- third person singular), "yušaaţiruun" (they- third person plural), and so do the words "na?y" (death announcement) and "yan?a/ yan?uun" (he announces/ they announce the death of). These items seem to be the basic vocabulary in the funeral etiquette in formal contexts in Modern Egyptian Arabic.

Another distinctive feature of the Obituary texts at hand is the predominance of announcing (representative), condoling and regretting (expressive) speech acts, as well as metarepresentations or illocutionary force indicating devices (Yule, 1996; Rehbein, 1981). "na?y", "?azaa?" (Consolation/ condolence), "Šukr" (thanks) and similar lexical items are at once indications of the content of the texts and of their generic affiliations.

The speech act of announcing can be anaphoric or cataphoric: it can refer back or forward. In the context of formulating plans, it

obviously refers forward, while in the present context of death announcements, it refers back to something that has already happened – death. It is in this sense that announcing is treated here as a representative rather than a declarative speech act.

Distinctive typographic features of the Obituary texts include color modality - the restriction of colors to black and white, the recurrence of a vertical or diagonal black ribbon symbolizing death and sadness, and the typographic prominence of the name of the deceased as indicated by the font - bold for the name of the deceased and normal for other names. Bold is also used with names of condoling individuals and institutions, as well as the titles, attributes and tribal affiliations of the deceased. The Obituary page is generally, and justifiably, "dull" compared to other pages in Al-Ahram. It lacks variety and ornament. The letter type is straightforwardly traditional Arabic Naskh, Simplified, or Transparent and the general layout is a regular number of equivalent columns, except when the deceased is too important or too rich, e.g., a priest, a minister, a secretary of state, and so on. In these cases the Obituary text occupies two, three, or any number of columns depending on the importance/authority and/or richness of the deceased.

The semiolinguistic features identified in the Obituary texts of Al-Ahram link them to the discourse genre of obituary texts in general. The texts at hand are, however, inevitably distinct from those that belong to the same genre but in different languages and cultures. Comparing these texts to some online UK death announcements (http://bdmadirect.bizland.com/uk_death.asp), although there is an apparent difference in medium, reveals interesting cross-linguistic, cross-cultural variations. For example, the Arabic texts do not mention the exact time of dying, the age of the deceased, or the exact cause/s of the death. On the other hand, the Arabic texts are arguably more formal and less personalized than their British counterparts. The online UK death announcements are ornamented with death and religion-related icons, their relative lists are restricted to nuclear families, generally lacking in titles and honorifics. This is only a partial, oversimplistic comparison that merits further, quantitative investigations of cross-linguistic, cross-cultural variations between Arabic and English death announcements.

The transtextual relations discussed above have a very important discursive-ideological function. Particularly as far as religious citations, formulaic expressions and set phrases are concerned, transtextuality in the sample texts is a means of asserting group identity and community membership (Wray&Perkins, 2000, p. 14). This is still an important part of the ideological make-up of the Egyptian society, especially when it comes to death, disease and sadness.

3.3. An Example from Contemporary Egyptian Comedy

Parody of other art forms is a characteristic feature of contemporary Egyptian comedy. In fact, it largely consists of the verbal as well as nonverbal play on contemporaneous pop songs, TV programs and dramas, news bulletins and reports, TV advertisements and instructional programs. In this context, parody extends to traditional Arabic poetry, folktales, wise sayings and parables as well as to salient events and characters in Arab history. A case in point is Mohammed Sobhy's Mamma America, videotaped for TV in 1998. A famous line of Arabic poetry from a poem by Hafiz Ibrahim - a Classical, Revivalist Egyptian poet (1872-1932) - and another from a poem by Nizar Qabbaani are parodied in a very significant scene in the play. The play is in fact a satire against the USA and the Arabs' attitude thereto. The hero and the heroine, "Saayis" (alive) and Amira Kamel (a play on the word 'America'), represent Egypt and the USA, respectively. On their wedding night, and at a time when SaayiŠ is not quite sure of his sexual potency, Amira sings a line of Arabic poetry that may translate into English as: "One day you will come back, beaten and broken-hearted". In an immediate response, Saayiš recites the line of Arabic poetry that translates: "All human beings stood in reverence to watch me [Egypt] establish the foundations of glory, unassisted by anyone". "Unassisted by anyone" is a translation of the Arabic "waħdi" (lit. 'alone'). ?aayiš substitutes this phrase with "bi-ssudaani" (with peanuts). At least in Egypt, peanuts are associated with sexual potency. Thus, three contexts are created: Egypt's glorious past, Egypt-USA relationship, and the

wedding night sexual 'battle'. What is being satirized here is Egyptians' over-veneration of their past, their unawareness of important issues going on around them, and their trivialization of international disputes and alliances.

3.4. Contemporary Egyptian film

Film is a very complex discourse genre that exploits more than one code: camerawork (shot, size, focus, lens and camera movement, angle, lens choice, composition); editing (cuts and fades, cutting rate and rhythm); manipulation of time (compression, flashbacks, flashforwards, slow motion); light; color; sound and music; graphics and narrative style, decorum, costumes and makeup, nonverbal communication signals, and so forth (Chandler, 1994, WWW). It has been rightly described as one of the most popular forms of technology and one of the most technological forms of popular culture (Bischoff, 2000).

?iskindiriyya kamaan wi kamaan, 1990 (Alexandria again and again) is a modern Egyptian film directed by, and starring, Yousef Chahine. In more ways than one, it is not simply a film, but a metafilm, a film about acting, filmmaking, and about other films and literary works. It is self-reflexive/reflective, concerned more with itself and its genre than with the realities surrounding and embodied therein. Overall, it is an example of the well-documented shift in modern and contemporary Egyptian cinema from the post-1967 realism to (post)modernism in form and from social issues to "problems of individualism and identity, often defined in conflict with tradition and society" in content (Martin Rubin, WWW).

The titre of the film, part of its peritext, contains a translation of the famous Shakespearean soliloquy "To be or not to be..." sung in Colloquial Egyptian Arabic. Throughout the film <u>Hamlet</u> remains a major source text. Allusions to the play concretize some of the main themes of the film: acting vs. reality, conformity/ obedience vs. individualism and the consequences of hesitation.

The film cites other texts as well: <u>maSra? kiliyubatra</u> (Death of Cleopatra) – a play by Ahmad Shawky (which is incidentally transtextually related to Shakespeare's <u>Anthony and Cleopatra</u>, John

Dryden's All for Love, Bernard Shaw's Caesar and Cleopatra and to earlier historical accounts of the life of the famous ill-fated Queen, such as Plutarch's) and to Elizabeth Taylor's Cleopatra; ?al-?arD and bab il ħadiid – a famous place in Cairo; the national anthem of Egypt, and other minor texts.

The boundaries between texts collapse, and so do the boundaries between high and popular culture, between acting and reality and a multitude of anachronisms problematizes traditional notions of linearity and order - Cleopatra wearing jeans and "To be or not to be" in Colloquial Egyptian Arabic are only two examples.

It is in these senses that the film is postmodernist: "...the familiar 'model' of the postmodern text is one which uses strategies of disruption like self-reflexivity, intertextuality, bricolage, multiplicity, and simulation through parody and pastiche" (Palmer, 2000, WWW). It is also postmodernist in its indifference to iconicity – Alexander the Great in the film should look like Alexander the Great in reality, and less obviously in its autobiographical elements – landmarks in Chahine's career as well as the role of a successful temperamental filmmaker he himself plays. (For more on postmodernism in film, see Strianti, 1995, pp.229-234).

Meet Full (Let us Kill our Dad) directed by Ra'fat El-Meehy, 1995, belongs to the same cinematic orientation, but it is less melancholic and more satirical than Chahine's film. In Meet Full, there are many instances of transtextuality, more specifically of burlesque, parody and pastiche. The film parodies Indian films – songs, music, words, and costumes characteristic of these films and the classic Egyptian film <u>Šay? min al xouf</u> (A Touch of Fear), adapted from a novel by Tharwat Abaza. It also contains allusions to the famous character of Gouha and satirical imitations of the <u>Lost and Found</u> column in newspapers.

3.5. (Dis)Cover Page of Alam Al-Computer

The next text to be analyzed is the **cover page** of an Egyptian, specialized, monthly magazine – <u>Saalam il kumpyuutar wa –l-</u> <u>?intarnit</u> (The World of Computer and Internet), Vol.2, Issue 21, Jan. 2001 (see Appendix).

The cover page belongs to the *paratext* of the magazine, more specifically to its *peritext*. It is probably the most important part of the magazine, simply because, as the English proverb goes, *you do not have a chance to make a second impression*. The cover page is at once a means of identifying the magazine and of attracting purchasers thereto:

The newspaper's front page has a function closely resembling that of the magazine cover....It must sell the paper. It must also—and this is what so frequently is overlooked—get the whole paper read. If the purchaser glances over the front-page banner lines and big stories, then throws the thing away, the advertisers will not be getting results and the financial security of the paper will be undermined....As the first step, then, in making the front page fulfill its proper function, it is obvious that we must build a page which gives the reader less, but promises him more, a promise which only the inside pages can fulfill (Vitray, et. al., 1939:255, original emphasis).

As part of the peritext of the magazine, the cover page signifies at once interiority and exteriority. It is (on) the boundary line between text and context, between the magazine and the world. It is the first part of the magazine that meets the eye, the entrance to its space. As will be shown below, the cover page at hand is not simply an entrance, but a summary of the main issues as well as an indication of the spirit of the magazine – the front page to the newspaper, the titre to the film or TV drama, the eyes to the body and the soul, the envelope to the letter.

The very name of the magazine rings many generic bells, thus indicating its architext, and provides a glimpse of its main concerns. The genitive structure "?alam + ?al (the) + noun" which is equivalent to "the world of + noun" recurs in the world of newspapers and magazines, e.g., "?aalam issayyaaraat" (The World of Automobiles), "?aalam irriyaaDah" (The World of Sports), "?aalam il-fann" (The World of Art).

This parallel structure reveals a tension between specificity and comprehensiveness. For the word "?aalam", in this context, means 'everything about', whereas the noun modified by "?al/?il" (the) limits the scope of the magazine to the entities, phenomena, issues and concepts to which it refers.

The entire cover page is rectangular (29.5x21 cm) – the scanned copy of the cover page in the Appendix is reduced to fit the present paper size. Its *background* consists of shades of orange and yellow. Orange dominates the margins, while yellow dominates the center of the cover. What seems to be signified here is a movement from darkness to light, from ignorance to knowledge. At a more practical level, orange is more suitable than yellow for the margin as it is more capable of surviving smudges and fingerprints.

The magazine name/logo bar – a regular feature of the cover-is also rectangular (3.5x21). Its background is in dark red and its boundaries are in black. The verbal parts inside are in white shaded with degrees of gray. The bar contains the name of the magazine in Arabic, a transliteration/lation thereof into English, and the location/address of the magazine website on the Internet. Scattered on the background are many blurbs, windows and headlines, as well as 'icons' and banners - headlines extending across (the top of) the (cover) page. Two difficult-to-recognize lines also appear on the cover – one for the facts of publication, i.e., year, month and issue number; the other is a linear list of 17 Arab countries and the price of the magazine in each.

Pictures and graphics can lead the reader into the magazine "as surely as stories can—perhaps more surely", because of the *emotional* appeal of illustrations of different kinds. "When a single dramatic shot of a big news story is played boldly on the front page, and the reader is referred to the daily picture page or to an inside page for more, he [sic] is practically certain to turn to them. Picture appetite can be depended upon as a means of getting the paper read, much more than appetite for reading matter" (Vitray, et. al., 1939:260).

In attempting to formulate a syntax for visual communication, in today's "brave new (visual) world", Saint-Martin takes color to be the basic visual element, and the *coloreme* to be equivalent to the

phoneme, grapheme and morpheme in verbal communication. A coloreme is "the smallest element in a direct or mediated image". It can be composed of "the actual color, texture, size, boundaries, direction, or position in the frame of view" of the image or picture. Biederman uses the term *geon*, short for 'geometrical ion', to talk about the primitive, basic shapes or parts of which every object is composed. Barthes, on the other hand, describes 'a chain of associations' that make up a picture narrative. In this regard, one basic difference between verbal and visual communication is that the former is *linear* while the latter is *discursive*. However, both words and pictures have "equal importance in the communication process", (Lester, 1996, WWW), although words are, generally speaking, more symbolic and pictures more iconic.

In the remaining part of the analysis of the cover page, an attempt is made to merge traditional linguistics, semiotics and visual rhetoric, because, rather than a simple challenge to graphocentricity and logocentricity, this is perhaps the only way a fairly adequate understanding of the text/cover page may be arrived at.

Three windows are foregrounded on the cover page of Alam Al-Computer - in addition to a red- ribbon blurb, bottom left, announcing a gift calendar: (i) a rectangular window for the front screen of the Arabic version of Linux with the letter ξ ? or "ein" standing for the Arabic language and the famous penguin standing for Linux⁵, (ii) a circular window with a verbal mini-text about the two free CDs⁶ distributed with the issue (these are also referred to in the banner above the logo/name bar), and (iii) a smaller circular one within which a bold e encompasses the number 2000 and the word "town". This last text should read: e-town 2000, i.e., the electronic town in the year 2000. The letter e is both an abbreviation and a symbolic signifier. It is an important member in the alphabetic family of the Age of Infomedia. A prominent morpheme in eliteracy, e-mail, e-text, and so on, it connotes technology, information, and everything that is doable via the Internet and the WWW. It is a magic letter currently associated with the modernization of Egypt (Howeidy, 2001). The year 2000, on the other hand, has come to suggest the ideas of unprecedented

advancement, of things undreamed of before, of all the utopias that the third millenium promises to offer.

The penguin in the Linux window is the official mascot of Linux (see endnote 5). The creator of Linux explains the reason for choosing the penguin as follows:

Some people...don't think a fat penguin really embodies the grace of Linux, which just tells me they have never seen an angry penguin charging at them in excess of 100mph. They'd be a lot more careful about what they say if they had.

(Linus Torvalds: http://www.linux.org/info/penguin.html).

Thus, the penguin on the cover page is at once an **icon** standing for the flightless, aquatic, graceful bird that is capable, when necessary, of moving with great speed and agility (Encarta, 1998); an **index metonymically** referring to the entire Linux program, organization and website; and a **symbol** of grace and speed and agility. The entire Linux window is a citation of the logo, brand name and mascot of a now famous operating system, version Linux Mandrake 7.1.

The main story on the cover page comes under the banner "?al ?internit tataħaddaθ bi kulli lughaat il !aalam" (The Internet speaks [in] all [world] languages), announcing machine translation programs and the potential translation of web pages and sites into different languages. Below the banner, there comes the magic WWW, bold, large and in WordArt, iconically standing for the first part of most web locations and sites, indexically standing for a web address and for the entire World Wide Web and symbolically epitomizing the 'treasure island' of infotainment, the global village of MacLuhan, the dream of human collaboration and understanding and the parallel virtual reality that is in here. It is an Open Sesame fairytale of the Age of Infomedia, and much more.

The shadow of WWW on the cover page consists of three letters: the Arabic ''ein', the English 'E' and the symbol $\ddot{\mathbf{U}}$ that

appears in languages such as modern Turkish. These shadow letters symbolically represent the written language as well as the dream of finding a place under the sun and **metonymically** stand for three different languages. That these letters are merely shadows is significant, because English is still the most dominant language on the internet. (Whether this is a good thing or not is beside our point).

Right below the 'shadow letters', the front screen of ajeeb (http://www.ajeeb.com) – a website that offers free English-Arabic and Arabic-English translation services. The cited screen 'floats' on the cover page – a reminder of the navigation metaphor of the WWW and the vehicles of the metaphor: Netscape navigator, navigation tools, Internet Explorer, NeoPlanet, NetCaptor, FTP Voyager, and many more.

Based on the bits and pieces gathered above, some general conclusions on the semiolinguistics of the magazine cover may be made. First and foremost, this is apparently a technical, specialized, elite magazine – 'elite' also starts with an 'e'. The cover, not to mention the magazine text, is accessible only to an e-literate person. Most of the Arabic words on the cover are either transliterated or literally translated from English. The banners, windows, icons and the 'compunet' jargon are all Greek to someone who is not familiar with the computer and the Internet. The cover page is more or less a simulation of an Internet screen.

The graphics thereon are, to use color modality terms, still, silent and multichrome. However, foregrounding and color and font variations, in addition to the subliminal effects of images and graphemes, give the viewer a sense of movement and vividness.

The cover page, part of what makes the text a magazine, is the borderline between the magazine and the world. Being a link in a long chain, one issue of a periodical, it is related to previous as well as forthcoming issues of the same magazine – the facts of publication and the unchangeable logo/name bar are clear indications of this transtextual relatedness. It is self-evidently related to the magazine text. The banners, windows and headlines on the cover refer to articles and reports inside the magazine. The banner and the window

about the free CDs and the reference to the gift calendar are related to attachments to the magazine – and the CDs and the calendar are part of the epitext of the magazine, i.e., paratext that is not part of the magazine.

The principles that seem to have been followed in the design of the cover page include: (i) repetition - "the repeating of lines or shapes in large areas of a design", e.g., the repetition of the letter W; (ii) symmetrical balance amongst the three Ws and between them, on the one hand, and the three shadow letters, on the other, between the two banners at the top of the page, between the three banners at the bottom right corner; (iii) asymmetrical balance - out of perfect order, but still pleasing to the eye, e.g., the circular CD notice window and the rectangular Linux one are not identical in shape or size. The former seems to be more prominent, but the amount of detail and the combination of picture, letter and the logo in the latter make it equally, if not more, prominent; (iv) harmony, e.g., yellow with orange, red with orange, black and white, red, pink and yellow, and (v) unity - all the elements in the design combine to create a consistent whole very much like an Internet screen, as has already been noticed. (for a definition of these design terms, see World Book, 1999).

These principles are not specific to this cover page. Rather, they link it to a host of genres and subgenres. The relation between the banner outside and the article inside is similar to the relation between a headline and a news story, between the table of contents and the contents in a book or magazine, between the summary and the news in a TV or radio news bulletin, between the main screen of an internet search engine and the links that branch therefrom. The entire cover belongs to the huge, distinct genre of cover pages. It is apparently more 'gorgeous' than an academic journal cover, but less 'erotic' than a <u>Cosmo</u> cover, more technical and jargon-laden than a popular magazine cover. Yet, the ABCs of magazine cover design are the same.

4. Conclusion

The present study does not seek to provide any final answers to any experimental research question. It is an exploration into a hitherto neglected area in Egyptian linguistic academia. The statements made therein are mostly qualitative – more systematic analyses of the phenomenon/na explored above would arrive at more reliable conclusions. Its main contribution is the combination of traditional linguistic/ stylistic analysis with more up-to-date insights from semiotics in the study of contemporary Egyptian media texts.

Endnotes

- 1) Ahmad Ragab is a contemporary Egyptian satirist. Moustafa Hussein and Amr Fahmy are contemporary Egyptian Caricaturists.
- 2) Translations of the Qur'anic verses are taken from:
- Ali, Y. A. (n.d.). <u>The Holy Quran: Text, Translation and Commentary</u>. Cairo: Dar El-Manar.
- 3) The information about prices is taken from the <u>Ahram</u> site on the internet: http://www.ahram.org.eg/arab/ahram/info/info3.htm
- Mohamed Sobhy is a contemporary Egyptian actor and director well known for the seriousness and social commitment of his plays, films and TV dramas.
- 5) Linux is "an operating system that was initially created as a hobby by a young student, Linus Torvalds, at the University of Helsinki in Finland. Linus had an interest in Minix, a small UNIX system, and decided to develop a system that exceeded the Minix standards. He began his work in 1991 when he released version 0.02 and worked steadily until 1994 when version 1.0 of the Linux Kernel was released. The current full-featured version is 2.2 (released January 25, 1999)." Source: Linux homepage: http://www.linux.org
- 6) CD-ROM, "in computer science, acronym for compact disc read-only memory, a rigid plastic disk that stores a large amount of data through the use of laser optics technology. Because they store data optically, CD-ROMs have a much higher memory capacity than computer disks that store data magnetically" (Encarta, 1998).
- 7) The World Wide Web is "a user-friendly interface onto the internet. It was developed by Tim Berners-Lee (www.w3.org/People/Berners-Lee) in 1990-91, and caught on in 1993, when a freely available Web browser called Mosaic, written by Marc Andersen and Eric Bina, started the 'Web revolution'. (Mosaic went on to become Netscape Navigator, and Andersen went on to become very rich)... the Web is something

that runs on the internet. It is the popular face of the internet. It is not, however, the *same* as the internet. The internet is the network of networked computers. Since it is basically all cables, wires and microprocessors, the internet can carry any kind of data, such as e-mail, and computer programs." (Gauntlett, 2000).

== Transcription Conventions. In transcribing examples and extracts in Arabic, the study uses the following non-English symbols, in addition to the symbols that are there in English: Consonants: /?/ (hamza): voiceless glottal stop – an allophonic variant of /t/ in American English; /θ/ (thaa): interdental voiceless fricative – same as the initial sound in "thing" in Standard British English; /j/: voiced palatal fricative – very similar to the initial sound in the English "general"; /ħ/: voiceless pharyngeal fricative; /x/: voiceless uvular fricative; /Š/: voiceless palatal fricative - /sh/ in English; /S/: voiceless pharyngealized fricative; /D/: voiced pharyngealized plosive; /½: voiceless pharyngealized plosive; /½: voiced uvular fricative;

/q/: voiceless uvular plosive; /y/: voiced palatal semi-vowel; **Vowels:** /a/: front low unrounded; /i/: front high unrounded; /u/: back high rounded and pushed. Geminate consonants and long vowels are shown by doubling the relevant symbol.

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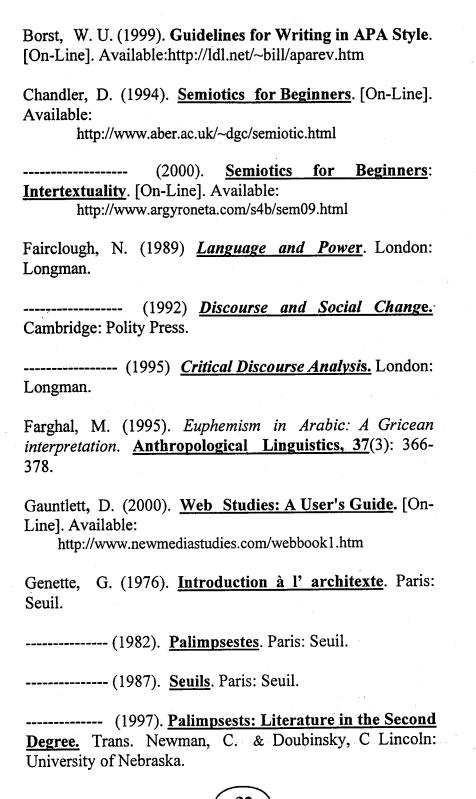
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Appendix

