Inclusion strategies in President El Sissi’s discourse in context of election campaigns

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By

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Abstract

The goal of this study is to investigate how President Abdelfattah El Sissi used pronouns as well as different alternatives of the word “Egypt” as a discourse strategy to add the sense of inclusion in the context of election campaigns. Group orientation (i.e. inclusion) is of the strategies commonly used in political speeches (Hicks, 2005). Several theories relating to Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) have been introduced to help understand political speeches beyond the surface level. For the purpose of this study, which includes the text, discourse practices and socio-political context, has been employed. The sample used for this study was downloaded from YouTube and includes two TV interviews with President El Sissi, one before 2014 elections and the other before 2018 elections. The study sought to answer two questions; one on how El Sissi used the collective pronouns ʔeḥna and naḥnu (we) as opposed to his use of the personal pronoun ʔana (I) to add as sense of group orientation; and the other is on how he used the word “Egypt” and other alternatives like “homeland” and “the country” for the same purpose of expressing solidarity with people. Results show that he has successfully used the pronouns as well as the different alternatives of “Egypt” in both interviews to gain people’s support in elections.

Keywords:
Discourse, political discourse, inclusion strategies, election campaigns, election interviews, el Sissi
Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to the souls of my father and my aunt. I also dedicate it to my beloved mother who has been the source of love and support throughout my life, and my brother. I also dedicate this work to my dearest wife who supported and motivated me to complete this degree, and my beloved kids Anas and Hamza.
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1. Introduction

Political leaders around the world use language as a means to influence people they address. Several studies have examined how language is used by presidents, both before and after they get elected to take office, in order to impact their addressees. Some scholars even suggested that language is used by some political leaders with the intention of deceiving their addressees on purpose (Emeren, 2005).

It is established that media in general, and especially mass media, play a key role in election campaigns (Peterson et.al, 2006). In the United States, presidential candidates find it more convenient to reach voters through TV interviews rather than via news columns and newscasts, and therefore, they are willing to invest in paid air time; this is due to the fact that television dominates the media consumption in the United States at the time of elections, the percentage of election-related newscasts does not exceed 15 per cent of news items (Graber 2006). Several studies have been conducted to analyze speeches given by political leaders in different occasions. Batchelor (1998) has analyzed the content of twenty American nomination acceptance speeches in the period from 1960 to 1996 and suggested that presidential speeches are affected by the socio-political context.

Several discourse strategies are used by political leaders while addressing their audience in order to persuade them to do something they want from them. One of the strategies commonly used is group orientation, known also as “inclusion” (Hicks, 2005), in which the president seeks to unite himself/herself with the public and share the experience together. Such group orientation could be measured by the number of pronouns used in a given speech. Franklin Roosevelt, for example, used the singular pronoun ‘I’ only four times, as he wanted to stress the need for “group identity and commitment by restricting the usage of the first-person pronoun” (Hicks, 2005).
If we consider the situation in Egypt, we could argue that TV interviews are probably the most convenient way for presidential candidates to reach their voters. In addition, if we consider the fact that after Egyptians were deceived by the media in the Six Day War in 1967, as the misleading media coverage led them to think that Egypt won the war against Israel, but eventually people were shocked to realize that they were defeated in the war. Despite this, the Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser was able, by addressing the people, through the media, to gain public support (Abdel Fattah, 2015), we come to understand how important studying the influence of the language, and obviously discourse strategies, used by Egyptian presidents on the Egyptian people.

**Definition of key terms**

**Electoral campaign:**

According to Cambridge Dictionary, an “electoral campaign” is “the period of time immediately before an election when politicians try to persuade people to vote for them.” The main goals that candidates target to achieve from their campaigns is to win the support of the voters in the period preceding an election; and for this purpose, they use different techniques to reach voters, including communicating their message through the media (Peterson, 2006). Since sociolinguistics is interested in studying the relationship between the different structures, vocabularies and language levels, etc. used in different situations (Wardaugh, 1998) in the present research, the present study seeks to analyze how President Abdelfattah El Sissi has used the pronouns ʔana and ʔehna as well as the lexical items he used to refer to “Egypt” in order to add the sense of “inclusion” in two TV interviews, one before 2014 elections and the other before 2018 elections.

**Critical discourse analysis (CDA):**
Critical discourse analysis (CDA) approaches have been used to analyze political speeches. CDA, as opposed to discourse analysis (DA), is interested in studying social practices and how language is used in social interactions to form social relationships, in addition to investigating implications of such practices on things like power, solidarity and status (Gee, 2011). Several factors determine how the meaning is negotiated and the message is conveyed and interpreted, including the interlocutors’ communicative competence (Hymes, 1967) which denotes speakers’ knowledge of communicative and linguistic conventions to be followed to achieve a successful conversation (Gumperz, 1982). Speech act theory suggested that speakers are simultaneously involved in three different speech acts when uttering a sentence (Searle, 1969).

**Pragmatics:**

Pragmatics is another area of interest that helps determine the specific meaning of an utterance. Out of the indefinite number of propositions that could be understood by relying on the literal meaning, the propositions that the speaker has expressed, pragmatics help with determining the propositions that the speaker has expressed (Carston, 1988). Such determination of the specific meaning happens through cooperation between both the hearer and the speaker in a conversation and is controlled by the four maxims developed by Grice (1975) in elaboration of the Cooperative Principle that he introduced.

**Positioning:**

Positioning is another important concept that relates to the present study. The term ‘positioning’ in the positioning theory introduced by Bronwyn Davies & Rom Harré (1999) is seen as a dynamic construction of personal identities in relation to others (Davies & Harré, 1990). Thus, it is about how people locate themselves by using different discourse strategies. Positioning Theory is particularly important to this study because it is investigating the discourse strategies used by President Abdelfattah El Sissi both in his “position” a military
leader running for presidential elections in Egypt in 2014, and then as a president of Egypt who is running for a second term in 2018.

**Inclusion and Clusivity:**

Inclusion using the pronoun ‘we’ aims at evoking a sense of commonality between the speaker and the audience. Recently, the term clusivity was coined to denote the distinction between the inclusive and exclusive usages of pronouns (Nordquist, 2018). Mühlhäusler & Harré (1990) also point out that the use of 'we' instead of 'I' portrays both the speaker and the hearer(s) as collaborators, which leads to diminishing the responsibilities on the part of the speaker.

A recent study by Abdel Fattah (2015) has investigated the discourse strategies used by three recent Egyptian presidents (namely, Mubarak, Morsi and El Sissi) at the times of crisis. The study has examined three speeches as follows: Hosni Mubarak's 2011 speech "the 2011 Revolution" on January 28th; Mohamed Morsi's "One Year Accountability" on June 26th, 2013, and Abdelfattah El Sissi's "Sinai attacks” on January 31, 2015. The study concludes that both Mubarak and Morsi failed to employ the efficient discourse strategies to achieve a successful communication with the public and overcome the crises, while El Sissi has ably communicated messages successfully by employing appropriate discourse strategies (Abdel Fattah, 2015).

My hypothesis is that the discourse strategies used by President El Sissi before 2014 elections are different from those he used before 2018 elections. The study also hypothesized that he opted to use this lexical item, as opposed to other words such as “the state”, “the nation”, etc. to add a sense of inclusion, which is the same goal he sought to achieve by using the pronoun ḍehna. Abdelfattah El Sissi, the military leader who gained broad public support because of his role in the removal of the Muslim Brotherhood (MB) regime in June 30, 2013 is different from Abdelfattah El Sissi who has been subject to much criticism after the severe
economic decisions he made during his first four-year term as a president of Egypt. In fact, President El Sissi’s role in the removal of the Brotherhood made his winning of the 2014 elections something expected (Aly, 2014). A recent study that has tried to situate President Abdelfattah El Sissi in the context of the three former military presidents of Egypt, namely Nasser, Sadat and Mubarak, claims that President El Sissi could easily get in troubles when he does not speak from a prepared text, and makes a lot of grammatical and linguistic mistakes when he tries to use Modern Standard Arabic (Barfi, 2018).

The 2014 interview came after Abdelfattah El Sissi, then the Egyptian Minister of Defence, declared his resignation from the government and announced that he intended to run for the 2014 presidential elections. Hamdeen Sabahi, an Egyptian politician, journalist and activist, was the one competitor who ran for the election against El Sissi in 2014. In preparation for the elections, both presidential candidates appeared in TV interviews to present themselves to the Egyptian people. The 2014 election interview under investigation in the present research came in this context.

The 2018 interview was the only TV interview that El Sissi did before 2018 elections. Unlike the 2014 interview which came in two episodes (4 hours in total), the 2018 interview was only one hour. It came at a time where allegations were made by several internal and foreign parties convicted President El Sissi government to be undemocratic, and several opposition leaders called for boycotting the elections, especially that Samy Anan, a former military leader, failed to run for elections against El Sissi and was arrested by the Egyptian authorities based on accusations claiming that he announced his candidacy while he was still in military service, while the Egyptian law prohibits active military personnel to participate in politics. The final situation resulted in only two presidential candidates, namely President

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El Sissi, and Moussa Moustafa Mousa, who had been known for his active role in collecting nomination pledges for El Sissi until a short time before announcing his candidacy.

The present study seeks to analyze how President Abdelfattah El Sissi used the pronouns as well as specific lexical items to refer to “Egypt” as a means to show inclusion with the people. In this sense, inclusion is synonymous to “group orientation” or simply how the speaker seeks to unite himself/herself with the public. The focus in the present research is on how the collective pronouns ِِّهُنا as well as the use of specific lexical items to refer to “Egypt”.

As mentioned above, several studies have examined the use of the collective pronoun “we” and found that one of the main goals of its use is to add the sense of inclusion or solidarity with people, which is of course important for a political leader, especially at times of elections. To further investigate the discourse strategies used by President El Sissi to add the sense of inclusion, also examined how he referred to “Egypt” in different contexts. The decision behind studying this point in particular was that president El Sissi uses the Arabic words for “Egypt” and “Egyptians” repeatedly in his speeches. In fact, his electoral slogan “Tahya Miṣr” (Long live Egypt) includes the Arabic word for “Egypt”, and did not appear in slogans of any other candidate.

Significance of the study

The speeches given by presidents are used to achieve multiple goals, including communication of message, persuading the people, demonizing dissidents, etc. (Eshbaugh, 2010). This study is particularly significant because, to the best of my knowledge, it is the first study to examine the discourse strategies used by an Egyptian political leader in the context of electoral campaigns. Moreover, only a few studies have been conducted in Arabic to investigate the discourse strategies used by political leaders in Egypt in other contexts.
The current study seeks to analyze two TV interviews of one of the key figures in the political life in Egypt. It attempts to fill the gap in the literature by introducing an analysis of the discourse strategies used by an Arab leader in the context of electoral campaigns; thus, enriching the literature analyzing speeches and interviews of Arab political leaders.

**Delimitation of the study**

Initially, this study will confine itself to only investigating the inclusion strategies used by President El Sissi through the use of the singular pronoun ʔana (I) and the collective pronoun ʔeḥna (we) as well as through reference to the name of the country “Egypt”. The study also is only examining two TV interviews in the context of elections.

**Theoretical Framework**

Political Discourse Analysis (PDA) is interested in analyzing political discourse in a critical manner. In line with the contemporary approaches in CDA which link discourse and power relations, critical-political discourse analysis is about using the political discourse for the purpose of reproducing power, power abuse or domination (Van Dijk, 1997). The present study is using Fairclough’s CDA approach.

**Research Questions**

The study mainly seeks to answer the following questions:

**RQ 1.** How did Abdelfattah El Sissi employ group orientation as a discourse strategy to persuade the Egyptian people to vote in his favor in 2014 elections and 2018 election?

Specifically:

**A.** How did President El Sissi employ group orientation as a discourse strategy by the use of pronouns “I” and “We” in TV interviews before 2014 elections and before 2018 election?
B. What are the differences, if any, between his use of pronouns “I” and “we” as a group orientation discourse strategy in 2014 (as Egypt’s Minister of Defence) as opposed to those used in 2018 (as the President of Egypt)?

RQ 2. How did he refer to “Egypt” in both interviews and for what purpose(s)?

A. What other words did he use to refer to “Egypt”?

B. Does the topic control his choice of the words to use to refer to “Egypt”?
II. Literature Review

The first section of the present chapter introduces a brief account on the basic concepts that are related to the critical discourse analysis as a field of study. It briefly introduces what is meant by “Critical Discourse Analysis” (CDA) and the differences between “Discourse Analysis” and CDA. It also introduces the Speech Act Theory including the three types of speech acts as suggested by the theory. Definitions of pragmatics and the cooperative principle as well as the Positioning Theory are also included in this section. The second section presents some of the relevant research that has been conducted to investigate the discourse strategies used by political leaders at critical times in their life, both in the context of elections and in other contexts.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

CDA as a discipline of study first emerged after a group discussion in a small symposium held in January 1991 in the University of Amsterdam which involved some of the main contributors to the field; Teun van Dijk, Norman Fairclough, Gunther Kress, Theo van Leeuwen. (Wodak, 2001). Several attempts have been made to explain what CDA is about.

While linguists limit their scope of work to the study texts at the word level (in morphology) and sentence level (in syntax) in addition to studying the meaning (in semantics), discourse analysts take a step further by looking into threads of connected texts (Johnstone, 2008). In fact, the definition of “discourse” can be categorized into three aspects: 1) anything beyond the sentence; in this sense, unlike, for example, phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics which deal with linguistic details at the sentence level, discourse is anything beyond the scope of single sentences; 2) language in use or, in other words, how people use the language in different contexts; and 3) the larger range of social practice that includes nonlinguistic instances (such as gestures, clothes, etc.) and nonspecific instances
(i.e. what people do generally in their writing or speech regardless of specific situations) (Schiffrin et al., 2001).

According to Foucault (1971), discourse is an entire system of thought that exists in a particular historical location and not only the language of an individual communication; and it is this larger system that makes certain things thinkable and sayable and sets the rules and regulates who can say them. In this sense, Foucault views that people develop larger ideas and understandings, within a particular historical location, prior to any actual language use, and thus, such understanding controls what people can “think about” or say.

Several approaches have been introduced for analyzing a discourse. Gee (2011) breaks down Discourse Analysis into two basic approaches as follows: 1) Descriptive approach, which looks at how the grammars of a language work together to cohere and make people’s utterances meaningful; and 2) Critical approach, which is concerned with the applied understanding of linguistic information and how power flows and operates within society using language (Gee, 2011). Another attempt has provided three approaches to discourse analysis as follows: 1) formal linguistic discourse analysis, which provides a microanalysis of how the grammar, semantics, syntax etc. are used; 2) empirical discourse analysis, which involves both macro- and microanalysis of how language constructs social practices; and 3) critical discourse analysis, which seeks to explain how discourse constructs what is thinkable and sayable for individuals and institutions (Hodges et al. 2008).

As shown above, both Discourse Analysis (DA) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) are interested in studying social practices, yet, they use different approaches on how they look at social practices. Gee (2011) suggests that non-critical approaches only limit their scope of work to studying how language is used in social interactions to form social
relationships, while critical approaches go even further by investigating implications of such practices on things like power, solidarity and status.

Language and social practices have reciprocal influence. As maintained by Foucault (1971), in addition to the idea of seeing language as a social practice, how language is used, on the other hand, is also determined by social factors. In other words, a discursive event could help maintain a social situation or transform it; thus, it is constitutive to the relationships between people and groups of people as well as to the social identities of people and groups of people (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997). Language is viewed as a social practice. Discursive practices can serve as “a medium of domination and social force” (Habermas, 1967: 259) which can, in turn, affect ideologies, based on the manner in which it represents things and positions people. Thus, unequal power relations between, for example, social classes, can be maintained through such practices (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997). How to get the actual meaning of utterances and discourses in general has been extensively discussed under the Speech Act Theory.

Speech Act Theory

Linguists distinguish between two categories of meanings of a word, phrase or structure. According to Gee (2011), a structure, a word or a phrase could have one or more possible meanings (i.e. utterance-type meaning), but could also have more specific meanings that are defined by the context (i.e. utterance-token meaning or situated meaning). For this reason, form, context and function of the utterance are all determinants of whether interlocutors of a communicative event can achieve a successful communication (Kaburise, 2011), and it is the interlocutor’s communicative competence that determines how he/she negotiates meaning and conveys message and interprets messages (Hymes, 1967). John Gumperz (1982) suggests that communicative competence involves both the structural as well as the functional elements of a language. He defines communicative competence as ‘the
knowledge of linguistic and related communicative conventions that speakers must have to create and sustain conversational cooperation’.

The term ‘functions of language’, as introduced by Austin (1962) and then by Searle (1969) may be equated and used as synonymous with “meaning”, “use” or “intention” of the speaker (Kaburise, 2011). As Douglas Brown (1987: 202) suggests, communication is not only an event, rather it is something that happens to cause an effect on the part of the hearer or the speaker. In other words, in a communicative event, language is used as a function or a tool to achieve specific purposes or cause some kind of change (Kaburise, 2011).

Speech Act Theory seeks to explain the functions and mechanisms of utterances, and was first introduced by Wittgenstein Austin and then developed by Searle. According to the theory, speakers are simultaneously involved in three different speech acts when uttering a sentence; namely the locutionary act, which is related to the basic linguistic analysis of an utterance; the illocutionary act, which describes what the speaker does by uttering the sentence (e.g. commanding, threatening, etc.); and the perlocutionary act, which denotes the effects on the listener by means of performing the illocutionary act (Searle, 1969).

Illocutionary acts result in an intended effect called illocutionary force to perform a certain act (Vanderveken, 2001), and are most of the time implicit with the utterances containing no performative acts, but sometimes they become explicit, if a performative act denoting the act exists in the utterance (Coulthard, 1985). Illocutionary acts take several forms; namely assertive, which is basically a statement as to how things are; directive, where the speaker tries to get hearer to do things that the speakers wants; commissive, where the speaker commits themselves to doing something, as in promising; expressive, where the speaker expresses feelings and attitudes; and declarations, where the utterance brings about changes to reality (Searle, 1969).
Pragmatics & Cooperative Principle

Closely related to the field of CDA is the field of pragmatics, which is about how people understand language in context using their knowledge of the word and their expectations about how other speakers communicate (Gumperz, 1982). Since the literal meaning of a sentence probably provides indefinite number of propositions that can determine the meaning, the context enables the hearer to determine the propositions that the speaker has actually expressed (Carston, 1988). In fact, both interlocutors in a conversation cooperate together to negotiate the meaning based on their pragmatic competence. Hence, Grice (1975) introduced the Cooperative Principle (CP), based on his view that the hearer in a conversation works with the speaker to try to get the meaning across truthfully and clearly (Grice, 1975). To explain the Cooperative Principle, Grice (1975) has developed four maxims that should be followed by the speaker, namely: 1) maxim of quality, 2) maxim of quantity; 3) maxim of relation and 4) maxim of manner. How the speaker situate himself/herself and his/her audience is also another important aspect to the present study, and has been addressed under the Positioning Theory.

Positioning Theory

The Positioning Theory was introduced by Bronwyn Davies & Rom Harré (1999). The term ‘positioning’ in the positioning theory is seen as a dynamic construction of personal identities in relation to others (Daves & Harré, 1990). In 2012, Professor Rom Harré explained the Positioning Theory as follows:

“…based on the principle that not everyone involved in a social episode has equal access to rights and duties to perform particular kinds of meaningful actions at that moment and with those people. In many interesting cases, the rights and duties determine who can use a certain discourse mode…A cluster of short-term disputable rights, obligations and duties is called a ‘position’”. (2012: 193)

Thus, positioning theory is about how people position (i.e. locate) themselves and others by using words and discourse of all forms (Moghaddam and Harré 2003). According to the
theory, words and discourse are used to ascribe rights, place duties, give moral implications such as positioning (i.e. identifying) someone as ‘trusted’ or ‘untrusted’, ‘with us’ or ‘against us’, etc.

Positioning Theory is of particular importance to this study. In this research, I am investigating the discourse strategies used by President Abdelfattah El Sissi both in his “position” as a military leader running for presidential elections in Egypt in 2014, and then as a president of Egypt who is running for a second term in 2018. So, my hypothesis is the discourse mode used by President El Sissi in 2014, as a military leader and a protector of a controversial revolution against MB, is not the same as the discourse mode he used in 2018, as an already president of Egypt who had been in power for four years.

**Discourse strategies of political speeches at critical times**

Political leaders around the world use language as a means to influence the people they address. Several studies have examined how language is used by presidents, both before and after they are elected, to impact their addressees. Some scholars see that language is used by some political leaders with the intention to deceive their addressees on purpose. (Emeren, 2005). Several studies have investigated the discourse strategies employed by political leaders at critical times of their period. Such critical times include during election campaigns, at times of national crises, at times of revolutions, etc. In the following paragraphs, I present some of the studies that show how such discourse strategies are used by politicians to influence their addressees.

Fairclough (2000) has conducted a case study on a part of Margaret Thatcher's interview with Michael Charlton on BBC Radio 3 which took place on December 17, 1985 making use of his three-dimensional approach to CDA. For the purpose of analysis, Fairclough (2000) has provided a brief account on the political context of the interview by
sketching out the context of Thatcherism as well as the political, social and economic situation in Britain.

Upon examining the usage of the pronoun ‘we’ in on Thatcher’s interview, Fairclough (2000) found that she used ‘we’ both inclusively and exclusively, who also claimed that the inclusive use of ‘we’ is used to assimilate the leader to the people, while exclusive ‘we’ is used to assimilate the people the leader. Following are two examples from Fairclough’s study on the usage of inclusive and exclusive ‘we’ respectively:

Inclusive ‘we’:

Now we do enjoy a standard of living which was undreamed of then.

Exclusive ‘we’:

If we played our cards right the standard of living within twenty-five years would be twice as high as it was then.

Liu (2018) has analyzed the written speeches of both Trump and Clinton and that data was downloaded from the UC Santa Barbara’s (2017) “The American Presidency Project” website. The research used a corpus-driven approach which fits well with Liu’s study since the amount of words analyzed was 286,899 words for Clinton and 276,212 words for Trump.

The study used a sentiment analysis approach in order to investigate the discourse strategies used by Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump in 2016 US presidential elections. Sentiment analysis investigates the emotions, opinions, and attitudes regarding “services, products, individuals, organizations, issues, topics, events and their attributes” (D’Andrea et al., 2015). The study has run the two main approaches of sentiment analysis, namely, the machine-learning approach, which uses a training and testing datasets in order to identify semantic orientation of a text; and lexicon-based approach, which uses a sentiment lexicon
which incorporates words denoting the target sentiment to determine the sentiment of the target text.

The two sentiment analysis tests were used to calculate negativity in the corpus of each of the two candidates at the sentence level. In addition, the study used topic-modeling and word2vec association analysis to identify the top 50 thematic words used by each candidate as well as the unique prominent thematic terms used by each candidate. Moreover, the study performed a word2vec analysis of the top 50 thematic terms used by each candidate to determine the most closely associated companion words that most frequently occur with them.

Results showed that the corpus of Trump’s speeches was much higher in negativity level than that of Clinton. In addition, the study found that Clinton and Trump each had 25 unique prominent thematic terms. While Clinton’s most prominent thematic terms, which included word like hope, friend, raise, opportunity, build, carry a positive, unifying and forward-looking vision, Trump’s unique thematic terms, which included words like bad, lose, stop, border, lie and foreign reflected a negative, divisive and inward-looking view. The study concluded that the discourses used by Clinton and Trump in 2016 US elections were significantly different. While Clinton’s discourse shows that she used a strategy of inclusiveness and appealing to reason, the analysis shows that Trump’s discourse was characterized by negative sentiments as his main strategies.

A study was conducted by Halmari (2008) in order to examine the rhetorical strategies employed by President Clinton and Senator Dole in the context of 1996 presidential debates for the purpose of persuasion. The study has spotted a number of differences between the strategies used by Clinton and those used by Dole. The use of ‘well’ as a turn-initiator was one of the strategies that Halmari (2008) noticed in the speech of both candidates. This
word was mainly used before insufficient answers as well as to indicate disagreement, rejection, non-compliance.

The study also found that in thirteen percent of the Clinton’s eighty-three turns, he used turn-initiators as a strategy of inclusion or audience-involvement. This was achieved by using the words ‘let’s’, ‘let me’ [i.e. you let me] and ‘let us’. The following is an example from Clinton’s reply to one of the debate questions which goes as follows: “My question was how you plan to deal with the trade deficit with Japan?”

Clinton: Let me tell you what we have done. ... (Clinton/San Diego)

Halmari (2008) has also examined the use of personal pronouns, and found that only investigating the frequencies of the usage of personal pronouns by Clinton and Dole reveal huge differences in the patterns of the two figures. While Clinton has heavily used the audience-inclusive we, Dale used the pronouns ‘I’, ‘you’ and ‘they’ more often.

The study found that although the singular pronoun ‘I’ is clearly audience-exclusive than ‘we’, yet ‘we’ is also sometimes used in a manner that excludes the audience. Examples of exclusive ‘we’ noticed in Dole’s speeches include the following:

... I think we have a real obligation, obviously, public officials. ... Young people are looking to us. They’re looking to us for leadership. They’re watching what we do, what we say, what we promise, and what we finally deliver. ... (Dole/San Diego)

An example of inclusive ‘we’ in Clinton’s speeches is as follows:

... we are stronger because of our diversity. We have to respect one another. (Clinton/San Diego)

The use of vocatives and humor are two other strategies that the study has examined. Making the audience laugh is at least a sign of temporary persuasion which could be considered as “a scoring a point” (Halmari, 2008; p. 262) in the context of political debates; and for this reason, both candidates, especially Dole, have tried and managed to make the audience laugh. The study also considered using the use of vocatives in a political
session which includes questions and answers is a clear strategy that achieves audience-involvement. However, Halmari (2008) noted that the use of vocatives by mentioning the first name implies empathy, but could also imply patronizing, which makes it a double-edge sword. The following is an example given by Halmari (2008: 263) on the use of vocatives in Dole’s interview with the public.

“Dole: Jason, I appreciate that very much, being a former military man myself. (Dole/San Diego)”

Khalil et. al. (2017) conducted a CDA study on the speech of Imran Khan, Chairman of Pakistan Tehreek-e- Insaaf (PTI), a major political party in Pakistan during the election campaign two days prior to the general elections (2013) in Pakistan. The study attempted to identify the linguistic tools that Khan has employed to achieve his political objectives through employing specific words and phrases to transform political views of the people. The study used the qualitative method to perform the analysis of the speech and employed Fairclough’s framework to explore the discourse strategies used which included referential strategies, repetition, word choice, positive self-representation and negative representation of the other.

The study found that Khan has attributed certain stereotypes to his political opponents by using the predicational strategy. An example demonstrating this strategy is the statement: “we have observed two turns of both parties in the province and in the center, and it was found that if we had to go with them, then the country has no future”. Thus, this and other statements were used by Khan to denote that if the people vote for his political opponents, they will have no future. Reisigl and Wodak (2001) posit that such strategies are employed in discourses of political leaders to associate various qualities, usually negative or discriminatory, to social actors in political discourse.
Reference to the name of the home country (i.e. Pakistan) as well as repetition of specific words and phrases are two phenomena in Khan’s speech that were examined by the study. The study found that Khan has tried to build a close relationship with the audience by employing pronouns in combination with the name of the country, through using the pronoun “my” in “My Pakistan”. Moreover, he chose to use positive words that denote “change” in combination with the name of the country by using “new Pakistan”, which the study sees portrays a negative image of the other (i.e. the present regime) and highlights the need for a new regime. The study also found that repeated use of specific words and phrases in Khan’s speech aim at persuading people to be participate in changing the political reality of the country.

Abdelfattah (2015) has investigated the discourse strategies used by three Egyptian presidents, namely Abdelfattah El Sissi, Mohamed Morsi and Hosni Mubarak, at times of crisis. The study used Fairclough approach (1989) and Discourse-Historical approach (Resigl & Wodak, 2009) to analyze one crisis speech for each of the three presidents, namely Hosni Mubarak's "25th Revolution,"(2011) Mohamed Morsi's "One Year Accountability"(2013), and Abdel Fattah El Sissi's "Sinai attacks" (2015). Abdelfattah’s (2015) study has briefly addressed the use of the collective pronoun “we” as an inclusion strategy in the three speeches. However, the present study seeks to deeply analyze the usage of the two pronouns only by President El Sissi and to link such usage to the wider socio-political context in Egypt at the time of each interview.

The study found that the use of the pronoun “I” and the self-referencing “we” outnumbers the use of the inclusive “we” in all three speeches of the three presidents. Yet, Mubarak used them in a manner to feature himself as the focus of attention, and Morsi managed to use the inclusive “we” to engage the Egyptian people in the responsibility in the challenges facing Egypt. El Sissi, on the other hand, has efficiently used the inclusive “we” to
express both solidarity with the people and authority. For example, the fact the Morsi heavily used the singular pronoun “I” denotes that he positioned himself as having a distant relationship with the people; however, he attempted to add the sense of solidarity with people using the pronoun “we” in expressing specific ideas. In the following example from his one-year accountability speech, Morsi tried to engage people in responsibility for the challenges facing Egypt using the pronoun “we”.

“I stand before you today to declare transparently the brief of my first year including the achievements and the difficulties and failures we faced, to recognize together, together all of us, all Egypt and her people, what we have achieved and we have not.”

The study also found that Mubarak and Morsi repeated the words referring to Egypt “i.e. nation, Egypt and the country” 14 times and 74 times respectively, mainly for the purpose of bringing people’s attention to the importance of Egypt. The study concludes that Mubarak has adopted an emotional approach as he amplified the crisis to raise audience’s fears and used the ‘us’ vs. ‘them’ model to negatively represent the other. Morsi used both the religious reference and the emotional approach by negatively representing Mubarak’s former regime. El Sissi, on the other hand, employed inclusiveness, religious reference, and the ‘us’ vs. ‘them’ model using neutral words to describe social actors.

Latif (2010) has conducted a CDA study on the resignation speech of the former president of Egypt Gamal Abdel Nasser using the Fairclough’s Framework. The study found that Abdel Nasser has used several efficient discourse strategies and succeeded to influence the majority of the public and was able to get the support of the Egyptian people although he was not able to manage the crisis. Euphemism is one of the strategies used by Abdel Nasser; instead of using the Arabic word hazima (defeat), he chose to use the euphemized word naksa, with the objective of alleviating the bad feelings of the Egyptian people towards the war. Using conceptual metaphors is another strategy noticed in Nasser’s resignation speech. He used conceptual metaphor to indicate that “The naksa is interrupting [our] progress.”,
and therefore, what Egyptians should do is to get rid of the consequences of *naksa* and resume their road toward progress.

Both Mubarak and Abdel Nasser have tried to handle the crisis by making concessions in their speeches. Nasser offered to resign from his post as president and Mubarak promised to undertake political and economic reforms and introduce amendments to the constitution. Yet, although Nasser was able to overcome the crisis and gain people’s support, Mubarak failed to overcome the crisis. Abdelfattah (2015) points out that Nasser, in addition to his efficient discourse strategies, had the advantage of the media being monopolized by the state which made him the only source of information to the public. On the other hand, Mubarak was not the only source of information; other media outlets such as Al Jazeera, and the social media presented the crisis from different perspectives other than that of Mubarak and the Egyptian state.

Said (2017) explored the semantic-functional strategies employed by President Abdelfattah El Sissi to legitimize and justify his decisions announced in in two speeches; one regarding the political issue of announcing the Islands of Tiran and Sanafir as Saudi territories, and the other is regarding the economic issue of his government’s decision to cut subsidies on utility bills. The study used Fairclough’s CDA theoretical framework and Van Leeuwen’s (de)legitimation strategies framework to analyze the discourse of the two El Sissi speeches delivered after public uproars in 2016.

The study found that shifting the focus into a second issue and expanding into a second point of discussion was a rhetorical strategy used by President El Sissi in both speeches. For example, while justifying the decision related to the subsidy cuts, he used various legitimization strategies to legitimize the hypothesis that the Egypt was suffering from an unhealthy economy (Said, 2017). The study further indicated that President El Sissi used different forms of authorization (i.e. referring to the authority of law), including
referring to the authority of official bodies of the Egyptian state such as the Ministry of
Foreign Affairs, and referring to official documents signed between the Egyptian State and
other parties. In the following example, President El Sissi used authorization from an official
state body to legitimize the decision regarding Tiran and Sanafir:

"And from a technical prescriptive, I've addressed all state institutions (such as the Ministry
of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Defense, and the General Intelligence Directorate) and I
asked them to consult their secret archives to see whether they've an alternative solution or
not, and the answer was no."

Rationalization and moral evaluations and comparison are also legitimation
strategies that were employed by President El Sissi (Said, 2017). He used the two forms of
rationalization as suggested by Leeuwen (2007), namely theoretical rationalization (based on
the facts of life) and instrumental rationalization (social practice). An example of how he
used moral evaluation as a legitimation strategy is the negative phrases he used to evaluate
the way the public and the media have reacted to the Tiran and Sanafir deal with Saudi
Arabia. Instrumental rationalization, on the other hand, is used as a means to justify decisions
through referring to the functions they serve. The study found that El Sissi used theoretical
rationalization 15 times and used instrumental rationalization eight times in the two speeches.

This type of rationalization is usually accompanied by a purpose linking word such as "حتى"
(ḥatta) and "عشان" (ṣafan) (i.e. in order to and so that). The two examples below illustrate the
theoretical rationalization and instrumental rationalization in El Sissi speeches investigated
under the study by Said (2017) respectively.

Example 1: Theoretical rationalization

"ادينا حق الناس لهم"  
'We gave people [the Saudis] their right'

Example 2: Instrumental rationalization

"المراسلات والكانتات التي كانت بتعني هذا الموضوع مكانتش ينطروح حتي لا تؤذي الرأي العام في البلدتين، حتي لا تؤذي الرأي العام في البلدتين."

22
“The correspondences on this issue were not circulated so that the public in both countries are not offended.”

As shown above, political leaders use several discourse strategies to influence their audience for a variety of purpose and in order to achieve different goals. This could happen both at the times of elections to have the people vote in their favor. It could also happen after the elections to gain the people’s support for the decisions they take. It could also happen for the purpose of legitimizing decisions made by them as shown in by Said (2017).

Using CDA tools proved to be useful in teaching foreign languages. Rahimi (2015) has conducted a study on 62 subjects with the objective of demonstrating how critical discourse analysis can facilitate nurturing critical thinking as one of its objectives. Rahimi (2015) used a political text, namely one of President Obama’s political speeches in written format. In the study procedures, students were required to do the analysis on two stages, once before learning CDA techniques and once after learning CDA techniques. In the first stage, the learners restated the text in two or three paragraphs, and were not able to analyze the text. However, after learning CDA tactics, they developed skills that enabled them to guess the implied messages. The study also found that using CDA helped students to increase their debating skills and their ability to defend their own ideas and beliefs.
III. Methodology

Data Collection

The objective of the study is to examine the lexical choices made by El Sissi’s when talking about different topics. The sample has been analyzed in order to answer two questions; 1) how he achieves group orientation (inclusion) through using the pronouns ʔana and ʔeḥna; and 2) how he refers to “Egypt” when talking about different topics.

The source of the data used for the purpose of this research is two online videos of TV interviews with President El Sissi. The data was collected by downloading the two videos from YouTube and writing down the script of each interview. The total length of the first video is 02:22:43 hours and the second video is 59:00 minutes.

The rationale behind choosing the sample in this manner is to have a sample where President El Sissi talked about a variety of topics, including the economic issues, the opposition in Egypt, the social issues, etc. in order to note the differences, if any, in the discourse strategies President El Sissi has used based on the topic which is determined by the type of question he was answering, including political issues, the economic situation and education.

Data Analysis

For analyzing the collected data, I have used the textual analysis method. According to Frey et. al (1999), textual analysis is “the method communication researchers use to describe and interpret the characteristics of a recorded or visual message”. Thus, the goal of the study is to link between the forms (i.e. the use of the pronouns and the different lexical items for “Egypt”) and the functions of each usage in order to clarify the messages El Sissi wanted to communicate to the audience by such usage.
In order to analyze the use of the collective pronoun ʔehna (we), an analysis of the different functions of the pronoun ʔana (I) was conducted in order to find out the difference in the frequency of use of each pronoun. Analyzing the various lexical items used by President El Sissi to refer to ‘Egypt’ in the two interviews was conducted because the study hypothesized that his uses of the word in several occasions was meant to present Egypt as the entity to which all Egyptians (both political leaders and the people) belong. A similar usage of the home country name was also noted by Khalil et. al. (2017).

**Fairclough’s Approach**

Norman Fairclough introduced Critical Discourse Analysis in his book, *language and power* (1989). To study any given discourse, Fairclough has suggested a three-dimension framework that includes: text, discourse practice, and socio-political context. Critical Discourse Analysis suggests that language is "exploited by individuals" in order to achieve particular goals (Shukry, 2013), one of which is exercising control and power.

Norman Fairclough (1989, 1992) viewed Critical Discourse Analysis as an analytical framework and defines it as “an approach seeking to systematically explore the opaque relationship of causality” (Jørgenson & Phillips, 2002, p.61) among the three main levels: (a) text (whether spoken or written), (b) discourse practice (i.e. text production process), and (c) a wider socio-political context. To avoid the superficiality of discourse analysis, the text needs to be analyzed in the larger context that includes the political situation. The three levels discussed by Fairclough are shown in the following figure 1.
Following the example of Fairclough (2000) in his analysis of Thatcher's interview with Michael Charlton on BBC Radio 3, in my analysis of the El Sissi’s interview, I focus on the first and third levels of Fairclough’s levels. Therefore, this study is analyzing the text (i.e. the utterances of president El Sissi in both interviews) in relation to the wider socio-political contexts in which the two interviews were made. In his analysis of Thatcher's interview, Fairclough (2000) only looked at the first and third levels of the model, because the second level is concerned with the process of writing the speech and the role of the speech writer, which also applies to the present study, since the material involved in the present study is a TV interview, rather than a prepared political speech.

Therefore, the study will analyze the text (the spoken discourse in this case) with the objective of finding the relationship between the choices made in that text and the effect it had on the audience, considering the socio-political context, as suggested by Fairclough’s model.

The present study employs Fairclough’s model because it is useful when you need to figure out what the sender wants to convey to the recipient and what behavior he/she wants from the recipient. In the context of election campaigns, the goal is persuading the audience to vote for the speaker. The socio-political context, which is the third element in Fairclough’s approach, plays an important role in the present study.
The present research uses two dimensions of Fairclough’s approach of CDA; it considers the first level which looks at the text (which in the broader sense extends to include the spoken discourse as in the case of the present research) as well as the third level which looks at the socio-political context in which such text was produced. Fairclough’s approach fits this study because it aims at studying the differences in President El Sissi’s discourse, especially the inclusion strategies using the pronouns and the names of the home country, in two different socio-political contexts.
IV. Results & Discussion

For the purpose of the present research, I have analyzed the uses of President El Sissi of the personal pronoun ʔana as opposed to his use of the collective pronoun ʔeḥna. Upon examining the different topics addressed during each of the two interviews, correlations could be found between the topic and the use of pronouns. Likewise, the research has investigated the different ways President El Sissi has used to refer to Egypt and a topic-usage link could be found. The following section explains such linkage in more details with several examples.

Answer to Research Question 1

RQ 1. How did Abdelfattah El Sissi employ group orientation as a discourse strategy to persuade the Egyptian people to vote in his favor in 2014 elections and 2018 election?

Specifically:

A. How did President El Sissi employ group orientation as a discourse strategy by the use of pronouns “I” and “We” in TV interviews before 2014 elections and before 2018 election?

B. What are the differences, if any, between his use of pronouns “I” and “we” as a group orientation discourse strategy in 2014 (as Egypt’s Minister of Defence) as opposed to those used in 2018 (as the President of Egypt)?

In order to answer the first research question, a textual analysis of the pronouns ʔana and ʔeḥna has been conducted, and showed the following results:

2014 Interview

Use of personal pronoun "ʔana" versus the use of the collective pronoun “ʔeḥna – naḥnu”:

In order to understand how President El Sissi used the collective pronoun ʔeḥna to add the sense of inclusion and solidarity with the people, a thorough examination of the use of both pronouns (ʔana and ʔeḥna) as well as all the verbs conjugated with the two pronouns
was conducted. According to the verb conjugation system in the Arabic language, a conjugated form of the verb implies the pronoun. Therefore, for the purpose of accuracy, the study had to examine both cases; cases where the pronouns were explicitly used as well as cases where pronouns were implied by the conjugated form of the verb.

**Uses of personal pronoun "ʔana":**

The personal pronoun ʔana was used by El Sissi 195 times while verbs conjugated with ʔana were used 134 times in 2014 interview. The uses of the personal pronoun ʔana as well as the verbs conjugated with ʔana could be categorized as follows:

1. **Stressing personal qualities**

In 2014 interview, president El Sissi used the personal pronoun several times to demonstrate his positive personal qualities. In light of the propaganda against El Sissi at that time, especially by MB, which accused him of planning ahead of the 30th of June revolution to oust Mohamed Morsi and take control of the country, he used the personal pronoun in several instances to stress that he enjoyed high values that prevent him from committing such acts. Following are some examples of such usage of the pronoun ʔana.

1.1. **Honest and truthful**

Example 1:

 أنا مقدر أعترف نفسي لو فكرت بهذا الشكل إنني أعمل خطأ للاستيلاء على الحكم في مصر

\[
\text{ʔana maʔdarf ʔahterem naʃsi law fakkart bi hvad al jakl ?inni ʔaʃmel xeʃta lil-ʔistilād ʕala el-ʔukm fi maʃr}
\]

I cannot respect myself, if I thought to set a plan to seize power in Egypt

Example 2:

 أنا مااقبل على المصريين أنني أخدعهم ومارضيشهم لنهم إن هما يقبلوا مني كده

\[
\text{ʔana maʔbalʃ ʕala el-maʃṣriyyin ?inni ʔaxdaʃhum we marḍāf luhum ?inn humma yiʔbalu minni keda}
\]

I will not accept to deceive the Egyptians, and I will not approve of letting them accept this kind of treatment from me

1.2. **Respectful to the will and protection of people**

Example 3:
As I have said before in subsequent statement that respecting and securing the Egyptians' will is more honorable to me than assuring the Egyptian state power.

Example 4:

If I really love the Egyptians, then I would never love to see them get hurt or suffer emotionally because of anyone not only for the sake of human rights, but for much more.

1.3. Integrity

Example 5:

I have said before I owe nothing to anyone but Allah and the nation.

Example 6:

Again, I say that I owe nothing to anybody locally or abroad.

Example 7:

I really do not love nepotism and clientelism.

1.4. Sacrificing and brave

Example 8:

...
Example 9:

والله لا أسمح أبداً إن حد يروع الناس ويفزعهم واحنا موجودين... نروح نموت أحسن...
I swear to Allah I would never allow anybody to terrorize and frighten the people while we exist.... we would better die...

In the examples (1) and (2) above, El Sissi was answering an interviewer’s question on why he decided to run for the elections. Due to the attacks he was facing at that time, raising questions on his intentions at the time of ousting Morsi, and to further stress that he had no deceitful intentions, he tended to use the personal pronoun ʔana coupled with the negated form of the verb, by using “I cannot respect my self…”, “I cannot accept [to deceive] the Egyptians…” and “I do not accept that for them [the people to be deceived].”

Likewise, he followed the same strategy to of “ʔana + negation” to stress his integrity in examples (5) and (6) when he stressed that he is not indebted to anyone, and in example (7) when he was asked about his stance towards nepotism, when asked a question about his sons holding positions in high-level authorities in the Egyptian state, by saying “I do not like nepotism”.

Using words with religious indications and repetitions with the pronoun ʔana or verbs conjugated with ʔana are also two rhetorical devices used by El Sissi to stress his moral values. This can be clearly seen in examples (8) and (9) where he wanted to highlight the qualities of being brave and sacrificing. In example (8), which was an answer to a question on whether he became aware of any assassination plans targeting him, he referred to his belief in the religious concept of fate and destiny. The usage of the singular pronoun to indicate sacrifice and self-denial also appeared in the analysis of Abdelfattah (2015) of
president El Sissi’s speech. In El Sissi’s speech analyzed in that study, he repeated the phrase “I am ready to sacrifice my soul” twice.

In example (9) above, which was an answer to a question on the MB threats against the Egyptian people, he used the swear word *wallahi* (I swear by God) before the verb conjugated with *ʔana* as a strong promise that he would not allow anyone to intimidate the Egyptians. Religious reference is one technique that Abdelfattah (2015) has also examined in speeches of three Egyptian presidents including El Sissi; the study found that El Sissi has repeatedly used the word “Allah” in his speech to stress certain ideas.

Repetition is also used by him to stress his commitment towards respecting and protecting the will of the Egyptians in example (3), and to stress his love of the Egyptians in example (4), when he was asked a question related to violation of human rights in Egypt, and to stress his courage and sacrifice by repeating the word for “my life” three times in the example (8). Repeated use of the phrase “Egyptians’ will” was also noticed by Abdelfattah (2015) in president El Sissi’s speech, which he employed as a means of persuasion and solidarity with the people after the Sinai attacks.

2. **Expressing Identity**

Example 1:

أنا مصري مسلم، أنا إنسان مصري مسلم

*ʔana masrî muslim, ʔana ʔinsân maṣrî muslim*

*I am an Egyptian Muslim, I am an Egyptian Muslim human being*

Example 2:

أنا ولدت وتربيت في منطقة من أقدم مناطق مصر

*ʔana ʔitwalad fî wit-trabûti fî manṭî? a min ʔaqdîm manāṭî? maṣr*

*I was born and raised in one of Egypt oldest regions*

Example 3:

أنا كنت مشوف في حارة اليهود... المعبد اليهودي

*ʔana kunt baʃ′fî ḥārit el-yahûd . . . el-μaṣbaḥ el-yahûdi*

*I used to see the Jewish synagogue in the Jewish alley.*
As shown in the above examples where he was talking about his social background, President El Sissi used the pronoun ʔana several times to express his identity. In the first example, he linked himself to humans, Egypt and Islam using a simple and clear nominal sentence. In example (2), he linked himself to and ancient area of Egypt, an area where middle- and low-class people live; while in example (3) he wanted stress his religious tolerance by stating that he used to see the Jewish alley and the Jewish synagogue in the area where he lived as a child.

He again used same-sentence repetition as a rhetorical device to stress his identity and affiliation to both Egypt as a country and Islam as a religion in example (1). Moreover, he repeated the pronoun ʔana in the three sentences (which is not necessary in Arabic grammar, since the pronoun could be understood from the verb conjugation), as a means to stress his identity, especially that some linked him to the MB when he was serving as a Minister of Defense in Morsi’s government.

3. Presenting himself as a strong military leader

Example 1:

ثلث هيرفع السلاح في مواجهة الجيش أنا هليلة من فوق وش الأرض
ʔillī hayerfaʾ el-sīlāh fī muwaghīt el- ghéf ʔana ḥafīluh min fūʾwef el-ʔard
If anybody thinks to raise a weapon in the face of the army, I will remove him from the face of the earth

Example 2:

أت حاجة هتبقي مطلوبة لتأمين مصر واستقرارها هعملها عايدة قانون عمل عايدة أجرات
ʔayy hāga hatebqa maṭlūba li taʔmīn maṣr wistiqarrarrha ḥaʾsmilha ṣayṣa qanūn ḥaʾsmil ṣayṣa ʔigraʔāt
I will perform any required action for Egypt security and stability be it law or procedures

Example 3:

أنا مش هسمحلك تقول العسكر تاني
ʔana mīf hasmählak tiʔūl el-ʔaskar tānī
I will not allow you to say the world el-ʔaskar again

Compared to his competitor in 2014 elections, President El Sissi had the advantage of enjoying a military background. This is particularly important because Egypt, at that time,
was facing major security challenges. Thus, he used the pronoun ʔana with a verb conjugated in the future tense to make strong promises as shown in example (1) when he was talking about the security situation in Sinai and in example (2) when he was talking about potential legislation to combat terrorism. In example (3), he was refusing the interviewer’s use of the word “ʕaskar” which has negative connotation when referring to the Egyptian army. Thus, his use of ʔana plus the future tense in the context of providing security conveyed the message of him being a strong leader with a military background which most probably would enable him to outweigh his competitor, who lacks the military background.

4. Expressing ideologies & personal beliefs

4.1. Religious ideology

Example 1:

 أنا أتصور أن الخطاب الديني في العالم الإسلامي بالكامل أفقد الإسلام إنسانيته ʔana ʔatašawwar ʔinn el-xiṭāb el-dīnī fil-yālam el-ʔislāmi bakhīmil ʔafqad al-ʔislām ʔainsāniyyatuh

I imagine the religious discourse in the entire Muslim world has stripped the entire Islam of its humanity

Example 2:

 أنا أتصور نحن قدمنا يعني، قدمنا رينا بشكل لا يليق بمقامه العظيم ʔanā ʔatašawwar naḥmu qaddamnā ya’ni, qaddamnā rabinā bifakl lā yalīq bi maqāmih el-ʔaṣīm

I imagine that we represented Allah in a way that does not befit his greatness

Example 3:

 فأننا شأيف إن الرشد والممارسة الحقيقية للدين مكن اللي احنا بنشتغل به ده ابداً fa ʔana fāyif ʔinn el-rufj el-rufj wel mumarsa el-ḥaqqāqiyya lid-dīn mif elli ʔihna biniṭayyal bhī da ʔabadan

I see that the rationality and true practice of religion is not what we are doing at all

4.2. Political beliefs

Example 4:

 أنا يقول أيضاً، يقول أن الرئيس مسئول عن تشكيل مش مش هو يشكل أي حزب سياسي لا تشكيل ويبقى فيه فئة سياسية أو حياة سياسية حقيقية بجانب النظام السياسي اللي موجود ʔana bīn yāl fi ʔaṣīl il-yālam tālima knā il-yālam nā ṭabsīlā il-yālam liyālā ʔaṣīlā il-yālam nā ṭabsīlā il-yālam liyālā ʔaṣīlā il-yālam nā ṭabsīlā il-yālam liyālā
What I am saying is... I am saying that the president is responsible for the formation... not forming political party but a formation that includes real political power and political life in addition to the existing political system

Example 5:

ما هي دي مهمة دي مهمة من مهام الرئيس، أنا آعتقد
mahi di muhimma di muhimma min mahām er-raʔīs, ʔana ?ałaʔaqid
I think, this is one of the president's roles

4.3. Personal opinions

Example 6:

أنا اختلف أنا مع حضرتكم في إن المصريين ماعهدش صبر، المصريين ماعهدش تقة
ʔana ؤاъتل ؤانا مأ slee ḥadratak fi ʔinn el-mašrīyyīn maʔsanduhumf šabr, el-mašrīyyīn
maʔsanduhumf ṣila
I disagree with you regarding the point that the Egyptian people do not have patience; they do not have confidence

Example 7:

وكنت شاف أن الأمه في مصر لن يستقيم بالتحديات الموجودة داخل مصر لن يستقيم بحالة الفوضي
we kunt ʃāy if ʔinn el-ʔamr fi maʃr lan yastaqīm bil-tahaddīyīt el-mawgūda dāxil maʃr lan
yastaqīm bi ḥālat el-fawḍa
I saw that the situation in Egypt will not be righted with the existing challenges inside Egypt; it will not be righted with the existing chaos

In the examples above, El Sissi used the personal pronoun ʔana to express his religious and political ideologies as well as his beliefs about the situation in Egypt and the nature of the Egyptians. Code-switching is a major rhetorical technique he used in combination with the pronoun ʔana in expressing his beliefs and ideologies.

While most of his utterances reflect the use of Egyptian Colloquial Arabic (ECA), in this category, especially in the subcategory “religious ideology”, he used the Fuṣḥā variety, whether by producing a full sentence in Fuṣḥā as shown in example (1) or partially as shown in example (2) where he used the conjugated form of the verb and the negation form in Fuṣḥa. Less Fuṣḥa features appeared in example (6) when he expressed...
his personal beliefs about the nature of the Egyptian people; so, only the verb was
cjugated in Fuṣḥā while the negation form came according to the ECA rules.

Repetition is also another technique that El Sissi used in combination with the
pronoun ʔana to express his beliefs. This could be noticed in examples (3), (4), (5) and
(7) above. The reason why he repeated specific expressions such as “establishing
[political life]”, “[Reform in Egypt] “will not happen under....” implies that El Sissi has
high awareness of the situation and has formed strong beliefs about how the situation in
Egypt should be addressed.

5. Using the negation with ʔana to share responsibility with others

Example 1:

لا إجتا هذئاكر مش أنا اللي هذئاكر كننا هذئاكر
la ʔihna hanðâkir mif ʔana elli haðâkir kullina hanðâkir
We will all study. I am not the one who will study. We all are going to study

Example 2:

انا عايز أولئك مش أنا اللي نهيتها انتم يا مصريين اللي نهيتها المصريین قالوا ما قالوا في 30/6
ʔana ʕayiy ʔaʔullak mif ʔana ʔelli nahetha ʔentom ya maṣríyyín ʔelli nahitūha el-maṣríyyīn
ʔālo la ʔālo fi 30/6
I want to say that, I did not end this situation, you Egyptians are the ones who ended it. The
Egyptians said no on 30/6

As shown in the above two examples, the pronoun ʔana was used preceded by the
negation word “mif” and followed by the relative pronoun “ʔilli” mainly to share
responsibility with the audience. In example (1) where the President was talking about the
need to work hard, after using the collective pronoun ʔeḥna, he stressed the idea of
collective work by using the negation with ʔana followed by the word “kollina” [i.e. we
all]. Thus, he wanted to convey the message that his work is not enough to reform the
situations; rather, the Egyptian people as a whole need to work towards achieving that
goal.
In example (2), the same strategy was used. He was talking about ending the MB rule of Egypt. Yet, this example shows more stress on the fact that only Egyptians ended the MB rule, not President El Sissi. For this reason, instead of using the collective pronoun in the same sentence, he used the second person pronoun “ʔantom” to indicate that his role was only to implement the will of the Egyptians only.

Repetition was also used as technique to stress the message. Thus, in the first example the word “study [i.e. to work]” is repeated 3 times in a 9-word sentence, and in the second example, the word “said” [i.e. Egyptians said…no for MB rule] was repeated 2 times, and the word “Egyptians” was repeated 2 times.

Use of collective pronoun “ʔeḥna” and “naḥnu”:

The pronouns “ʔeḥna and naḥnu” were used 115 times and verbs conjugated with “ʔeḥna” were used 160 times by President El Sissi throughout the interview, mainly to achieve the following purposes:

1. We = The people of Egypt

President El Sissi has frequently used the collective form to involve the Egyptian people for a variety of purposes, including the following:

1.1. Share responsibility with the people

Example 1:

اِنَّنا الْبِيَانَ بِتَابِعٍ ٣/٧ كَانَ وَاضِحاً جَدًّا أَنَا بِنَفْلَكَ أَنَّهُ رَئِيسُ الْمَحْكَمَةِ الْدِّسْتَوْرِيَّةِ هُوَ الرَّئِيسُ الْمُؤْتِيٍّ لِمَصر
ʔiḥna el-bayān bitāṣ 7/3 kān wāḏiḥ ṭinnina binwil ṭinno raʔūs el-maḥkama el-dustūriyya
huwwa el- raʔūs el-muʔaqqat li masr

Our statement on 3/7 was very clearly stating that the President of the Constitutional Court will be Egypt interim president

Example 2:

الَّذِي حَصْلَ فِي مَصرَ دِه إِراَدَتَنا إِنَّهَا إِراَدَةُ الْمَصْرِيِّينَ
ʔellī ḥaṣall fī maṣr dah ṭirāditna ʔiḥna ṭirādat el-maṣriyyin
What happened in Egypt was our will, the Egyptians’ will
In the above two examples, in order to share responsibly with the people and position himself as one of the people who only implemented their will, he used the collective pronoun “ʔeḥna”. The collective pronoun is used to serve this purpose mainly when he talked about the ouster of Morsi and the ending of MB rule. In the first example, where he was answering a question on why he decided to run for elections, he inserted the collective pronoun “we”, though grammatically incorrect in the sentence, for this purpose. The part of the sentence translates literally into “We the 3/7 announcement was very clear”. While he could just say “The 3/7 statement was very clear…”, he opted to insert the collective pronoun to share the responsibility, and possibly the achievement, with the Egyptian people as a whole.

In the second example, where he was talking about the security situation in Sinai, he also inserted the pronoun ʔeḥna, though grammatically unneeded, to stress the same meaning. This part of the sentence translates literally to “This was our will, we, the will of the Egyptians”. He could have been more straightforward by saying “this is the will of the Egyptians”, but again, he wanted to position himself as one of the people who only implemented their will. Also, repetition could be noticed in the second example of the Arabic word for “will” which is repeated 2 times in a 10-word sentence.

1.2. Involve people in problems/challenges

Example 1:

إحنا عندها مشكلة حقيقية إحنا حجم الفكر والثقافة والفهم الديني محتاج بتراجع
ʔihna ʕandina moʃkila ḥaqiqiya ʔihna ḥaqm el-ʃikr wel-ʔaqāfa wel-ʃehm ed-dīni mehtāg yitrāgī
We have a real problem; we need to reconsider the size of ideology, culture, and the religious understanding

Example 2:

والأخلاق التي احنا كننا نقول إن فيه عندها مشكلة فيها
wel-ʔaxlaq ʔellī ʔihna kullinaμinʔal ʔinn fīh ʕandena moʃkila fiha
And the morals that we are all saying we have a problem with
Example 3:

It is not acceptable for us to leave debts and destitution for our children and grandchildren

Example 4:

It is kind of shame to have 12 million unemployed people while we do not do anything

In the examples above, the collective pronoun ʔehna was mainly used to involve people in the challenges and problems facing Egypt. In the first two examples, the Arabic adverb “ʔandina” that translates to “we have” plus the word “problem” were used to explicitly state the problems of religious misunderstandings and ethical problems. On the other hand, when talking about the problems of poverty and unemployment, he used the expressions “not acceptable” and “shame on us”. The reason why he used the collective pronoun, rather than using “Egypt”, “the Egyptians” or the pronoun “you” [i.e. “you Egyptians”], was to add a sense of inclusion, thus, positioning himself as one of the people.

1.3. Highlight common religious and cultural beliefs

Example 1:

I have never seen any form of disgrace [for the Jewish temple] that will hurt us as human beings

Example 2:

We are saying that religion might come up against the existing human development

Example 3:

We are saying that religion might come up against the existing human development
el-binā? el-fikri btāʕ el-gamaʕāt di yarāna ?īnna ?īnna nās mīs muslimīn bigad we humma nās muslīlīn bigad

The intellectual construct of these groups does not see us as real Muslim people; they only see themselves as the real Muslims.

When President El Sissi talked about the religious minorities in Egypt and the stance of the Egyptians towards the MB thoughts and interpretation of Islam, he used the collective pronoun ?eḥna as a means to highlight and build on the beliefs of the majority of Egyptians. In example (1), he was explaining that he never saw any attacks on the Jewish community in the area where he lived his childhood. In examples (2), he expressed his point of view that the interpretation of Islam should not conflict with the human development and in example (3) he highlighted that MB and similar groups see “us” [i.e. Egyptians including myself] as being untrue Muslims. This use of the pronoun in this context is particularly important because this election comes after the ouster of the MB, which tried to tamper with the beliefs of the Egyptians by introducing what some considered as a different version of Islam. So, El Sissi here wanted to distance himself from such thoughts and include himself with the majority of the population in terms of religious and cultural beliefs.

1.4. Motivate the people to act

Example 1:

ʔiḥna lāzīm kullīna nītharrak wa lāzīm kullīna nīfīyāl līl wennhār
We all need to move and work day and night

Example 2:

ʔiḥna lāzīm nīfīyāl šāla el-ʔāliyyāt di Wennraqīha wenṭawwarha
We have to somehow work on these mechanisms, to upgrade and develop them

Example 3:

ʔiḥna mihtāqīn nīdṣamhum maṣnāweyyan
We need to morally support them
In the examples above, the collective pronoun ʔeḥna is used as means to motivate people to act. Lexical expressions indicating the necessity of acting are repeated in the three examples. Also, in the three examples, he was keen to use the pronoun ʔeḥna, though grammatically unnecessary, in order to stress that “we all” and “not only me” will work. This is further emphasized by the repeated use of “we all” in the first example where he urged the Egyptians to work hard, day and night. In the second example, he urged them to develop the Egyptian identity, and in the third example, he expressed the need to morally support the Egyptian police.

1.5. Ignite the patriotic sense

Example 1:

مش هنخد رأي حد كمان في حماية بلدنا أبداً، احنا لينا اطئر بيشغل بيه حوا بلدنا
miʃ hanāxud raʔy ġad kamān fi ḥimāyyit baladna ʔabādan, ʔiḥna ṭīna ṭīṭar biniftayal bīḥ
guwwa baladna
We will never ask permission from anyone to protect our country. We have a framework that we follow within our country

Example 2:

واللي مخوفنى على مصر، إن احنا تسقط مصر، لا إن شاء الله
welli mixawwifni ʃala maṣr, ʔinn ʔiḥna tasquṭ maṣr, lā ʔinn fāʔ ʔallāh
I was scared for Egypt; that Egypt might fall; it will not, God willing

The collective pronoun ʔeḥna is used in the above examples in a manner that ignites the patriotic senses of independence and military capability of the country. In the example (1) above, President El Sissi was replying to the interviewer’s question on whether he consulted with national or foreign parties before taking the decision to run for elections. Instead of using the personal pronoun ʔana, he opted to use the collective pronoun ʔeḥna to stress the sense of independence, not only of himself as a political figure, but also of the Egyptian nation. His use of the expression “protecting our country” in the same sentence indicates that he linked his decision to run for elections to the security of Egypt. This implies that his
decision to run for elections was not only independent, but also necessary to protect “our country”.

In example (2), El Sissi was in the context of his answer to the interviewer’s question on why El Sissi decided to join the army. The sentence in example (2) would not typically include any pronoun in the place where ḥeḥna is used. It translates literally to “that we Egypt falls” and should normally be “…that Egypt falls”. Inserting the collective pronoun here is a means to ignite the patriotic sense of the audience. So, the implied message is that “we = the people of Egypt” will fall if Egypt falls, and then he stresses that this will not happen.

2. We = The Army

President El Sissi has also used the collective pronoun ḥeḥna in several instances to refer to the Egyptian army. Following are some examples:

Example 1:

واعتنا بدنا في تأمين حدودنا الغربية قبل وأثناء فترة حكم الرئيس السابق

We have started securing our western borders before and during the reign of the former president

Example 2:

إننا مسئولون عن تأمين حدودنا ومسؤلين عن تأمين أراضينا مسئولين عن منع أي اعتداء يحدث على مصر، ومسؤولون يعني

We are responsible for securing our borders, responsible for securing our territories, and responsible for preventing any attack on Egypt; and I mean the armed forces

Example 3:

لولا خافين على أهلاً في سيناء إجتننا نخلصه في ساعات

If it were not for our fear for our families in Sinai, we would have eradicated these security threats within hours
The above 3 examples show that President El Sissi used the collective pronoun ئهنا exclusively to refer to the Egyptian armed forces. The type of lexical words used in combination with the pronoun ئهنا for this purpose are mainly related to security. In the three examples, the pronoun was used in combination with words that indicate “burden”, “danger” and “protection”. Thus, in example (1), he used the lexical words of “providing security” (burden) and the “rule of the former president” (risk posed by MB). In example (2), he repeated the word for “providing security” 2 times, and used the word for “aggression” (danger). In example (3), where he talked about the security threats in Sinai, he mentioned the concept of “fear for the people in Sinai” (protection).

Moreover, he used the repetition as technique to stress the capability of the army (which was headed by him until recently at that time) to protect the people and combat terrorism. Thus, he repeated the expression “providing security” 3 times and the expression “we are responsible” 2 times in the three utterances. This means that when President El Sissi used the collective pronoun in the context of security threats, he was referring to the role of the Egyptian Army as the burden bearer and protector of the country. The goal is to present himself as a member of the Egyptian armed forces which gives him an important advantage, because a presidential candidate who held the highest position in the armed forces would outweigh a competitor who lacks such background.

3. **We = The government**

The collective pronoun ئهنا was used in several instances to imply responsibility by and towards the state as well as future plans of the government as follows:

1. **Responsibility by the state towards the people**

Example 1:
This job requires us to communicate with the political powers and agree to a common point as this is our homeland and we all share it.

2. Responsibility by people towards the state

People should understand this and support us; and anyone who thinks otherwise, just wants to destroy Egypt and this will not be permitted.

Example 4:

We will not allow Egypt to fall, no

3. Government plans

It will be our role, if we are meant to win this, to handle the state of trust and state of doubt. The state of doubt must end and be replaced with replace full trust at the State, regime and each other.

Example 1:

government plans

The state of doubt must end and be replaced with replace full trust at the State, regime and each other.
We will start by achieving [providing] real job opportunities for the people, achieving housing for the people, achieving agriculture development for the people, achieving education for the people, achieving new tourism for the people,

Example 2:

التصور المحفوظ إن احنا نغير التركيبة الجغرافية والإدارية لمحافظات مصر
et-tašawwur el-maḥṭūt ʔinn ʔeḥna niyayyar et-tarkibta eg-guyrāfiyya wal ʔidāriyya li muḥafazāt māṣr
The set perception is that we change the geographical and administrative structure for Egypt’s governorates

The examples above show that the collective pronoun was used by El Sissi to refer to the power he will receive as a ruler of the Egyptian state. In the first 2 examples, the pronoun was used in the context of explaining the obligations on the part of the state towards the citizens. The lexical words used in the first category denoted the sense of inclusion by expressions like “a homeland we share”, “communicating with political powers” and “people everywhere in the country”, “our role”, “stability” and “security”. To strengthen the sense of inclusion, he referred to “Egypt” once as “homeland” (in example 1) and once as “Egypt” as opposed to the use of expressions like “the State” and “the country” which were used in other contexts.

In examples (3), (4) and (5), the collective pronoun ʔeḥna was mainly used in the context of clarifying the responsibilities on the part of the people toward the state. To refer to the role of the people expressions like “understand”, “support”, “trust”, “replace doubt with trust” were used. In examples (3) and (4), in which the President was replying to questions on the possibility of enacting a law regulating protests in Egypt, strong expressions like “they want to destroy Egypt” and “…the country to fall” were used. Yet, in the third example, where the question was about the difficult economic situation in Egypt, less strong expressions like “fully trust the state and the regime”, “replace doubt with trust” were used.
Repetition is again used in example (3) as a way to stress the message. The expressions “state of trust” and “state of doubt” are repeated twice each in the same utterance.

Using action verbs and repetition are two techniques that El Sissi used with the collective pronoun ʔeḥna when talking about the plans of the Egyptian state, as shown in examples (6) and (7). Thus, he used the action verbs “start” “achieve” and “change” rather than verbs like “continue” to indicate that he has new plans that will change the reality in Egypt. Moreover, he used lexical words like “job opportunities”, “housing”, “agriculture”, “education” and “tourism” and repeated the expression “achieve for the people” 5 times in the same sentence in order to convey the message that people’s living will witness huge achievements.

Such usage of exclusive ‘we’ also appeared in Fairclough’s (2000) study on Margrett Thatcher’s TV interview. In Thatcher’s case, she used the exclusive ‘we’ to refer to her political party, while President El Sissi used ‘we’ exclusively to either refer to the Egyptian army or the Egyptian government. A similar use of the exclusive ‘we’ was noticed by Halmari (2008) in Dole’s speech where he used ‘we’ to refer to the public officials.

2018 Interview

Use of personal pronoun "ʔana" versus the use of the collective pronoun “ʔeḥna – ṵəḥnu”:

As done with the 2014 interview, in order to understand how President El Sissi used the collective pronoun ʔeḥna to add the sense of inclusion and solidarity with the people, a thorough examination of the use of both pronouns as well as all the verbs conjugated with the two pronouns was conducted.

Uses of personal pronoun "ʔana":

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The personal pronoun \(ʔana\) was used by El Sissi 96 times while verbs conjugated with \(ʔana\) were used 50 times, which totals 146 times. The uses of the personal pronoun \(ʔana\) as well as the verbs conjugated with \(ʔana\) could be categorized as follows:

1. **Stress his qualities as a ruler being:**

   **I. Democratic**

   Example 1:

   فَأَنَا لَا أَا حَقِيقَة مَشْ مِن كَدَهُ أَوْلَأً أَا نَأَا بِي مِسَاحَة كَلَام وَحَرَكَة مِنَ الزَّمْلَاء
   fa ʔana la ʔana el- ʔa?ʔa mi? bas keda ʔawwalan ʔana baddi misaʔa kalam we haraka maʔ ez-zumalaʔ koll ez-zumalaʔ
   I do not do this. In fact, I give my colleagues, all my colleagues, the space to speak and act

   Example 2:

   أَنَا مَمْكَن أَوَافِق أَنَّهُ هُوَ مَمْكَن يُقُولِي كَلَام إِلَى حَد كِبْر يَعْنِي
   ʔana mumkin ʔawaʔ?iʔin muwa mumkin yiʔuli kalam ʔil?a ḥadd kibr yaʔni
   I can agree that he may speak to me freely

   Example 3:

   يَتَكَلَّم زِيِّ ماَ أَنتَ عَيْزَ مَا عَنْدِيْ أَيْ مُشَكَّلة
   Yitkallim zayy ma ʔinta ʕayz ma ʔandif moʃkila
   He can speak freely, I do not have any problem with that

   Example 4:

   أَنَا مَشْ هَزِع وَالله خَالَصَ أَنَا بِحَلَف
   ʔana miʃ hazal wallahi xalish ʔana baʔhil
   Promise, I will not be upset. I swear.

In examples (1) and (2) above, President El Sissi was answering the interviewer’s question on how he works with other members of the government. He used the affirmative form in both examples to indicate that he is democratic when it comes to working with other members of the government. He also used repetition in both examples, by repeating the word “colleagues” in the example (1) and the word “possible” [i.e. it is possible for them to express their opinion freely]. In examples (3) and (4), the president was commenting on questions by citizens (who were presented in a recorded TV report presented to him during the interview).
Some citizens expressed their fear to express their opinion honestly. In reply to this, the president used in both examples stronger linguistic techniques to present himself as a democratic ruler. In both examples, he used negation to stress that he has no problem and will not have any negative feelings towards criticism. In addition, in example (3) he used as stronger negation technique by adding the word “any” in “I do not have any problem” and used swearing in example (4) to further stress the same meaning.

II. Not a power seeker

Example 1:

أنا عمري ما دورت على التاريخ
?ana ūmri ma dawwart ūla tarīx
I never tried to be part of history

Example 2:

أنا ما حلمت أنني في أحلام يقظة أنني أبقى رئيس
I have never dreamt of becoming president of Egypt

Example 3:

أنا كنت آمنى أن يكون موجود معايا 1 و2 و3 و10 من أفضل الناس وتختاروا زي ما أنتم عايزين
?ana kunt ?atamanna ?innī ?akūn mawgūd mašāya 1 we 2 we 3 we 10 min ?aṣqīlī en-nās we tixtārī zayy mantom ?ayzīn
I wished there were more than one [competitor] in the elections, I wish I had 1,2,3 and 10 candidates from the best people in Egypt and you choose whoever is the best as you want.

In this interview, President El Sissi also used the personal pronoun ?ana to stress that he is not seeking to become the president of Egypt. In examples (1) and (2) he used two negation techniques in combination with the pronoun ?ana to highlight this meaning. In example (1), he used the word that translates to “never” and in example (2) he used an expression that indicates that he even never had the dream of becoming a president. In example (3), he further stresses this meaning by mentioning that the Egyptian political life lacks qualified candidates or lacks candidates who are ready to take responsibility. The reason why he used these linguistic components of the personal pronoun ?ana plus strong
forms of negation in examples (1) and (2), as well as verb for “wish” in example (3) is to convey the message that he does not seek to become president but he had to take this responsibility since no qualified candidates exist.

**III. Sacrificing**

Example 1:

 أنا كنت أتمنى يكون معايا تريليون 2 تريليون دولار... ابني يهم بلدي

?ana kunt ?atamanna yekun mašaya trillion eteen trillion dollar... ?abni bihum baladi

I wish I had one or two trillion dollars ... [to use them] to build my country

Example 2:

و أنا ديك الساعة لما أنا أخذ شرف أني حميت بلدي وأهلي وناسي من ظروف صعبة د حاجة عظيمة جداً لا

wana diki es-sāqa lamma ?ana ?âxud faraf ?inni ḥamīt baladi w?ahlī wnāsī min żūrīf sašba
dah ḥāga ḥazīma giddan la

It would be my honor to be known as the person who protected my country, family and my people in these hard circumstances; that would be something really great, no

In the two examples above, president El Sissi used the personal pronoun ?ana mainly to express his wish to serve his country. Using the word for “wish” in example (1) and using the word that could translate to “lucky” in the example (2) in combination with the personal pronoun denote his loyalty to the country and his sense of pride he feels because of serving the Egyptian people. In the two examples, he used personal possessive pronoun 4 times, namely “my country” (twice), “my people” and “my own people”. Two main action verbs were used in this context, namely “to build... my country” and “to protect... my people...” This use of the personal pronoun coupled with these verbs and lexical expressions mean that El Sissi, at the personal level, wishes to sacrifice for the people and is proud of his role as protector of the Egyptian people.

**IV. Close to the people**

Example 1:

 أنا طبعاً ما بحبح أنا أحب أكون مع الناس

?ana tuberculosis ?ana ḥabib ?ana ḥabib ?akûn maša en-nâs

I do not like being out of touch with people, I love being with them

Example 2:
In the two examples above, president El Sissi was answering a question on how he feels when the security forces block public roads when his motorcade is in the city. In both examples, he utilized the repetition technique to show his interest to be close to the people. In example (1), he repeated the personal pronoun twice and; once coupled with negative form of the verb “love” and the other with the affirmative form of the same verb. In example (2), he also repeated the word for “people” and used a verb that translates to “suffer” to stress the same message of him being very interested in being close to all the people. Since it has been a common practice in Egypt to block roads to free the main roads for motorcade of political figures, and most Egyptians get annoyed due to this, El Sissi used the personal pronoun coupled with other affirmation techniques to stress his willingness to be close to the people.

V. God-fearing

Example 1:

أنا التاريخ عدني هو اللقاء مع الله سبحانه وتعالى
?ana et-tarîx ūndî huwwa el-liqâ? ma'âllâh subhânah wa ta'âla
History for me is the day I meet Allah

Example 2:

وادار في المواضيع دي أنا بكلم فيها رتبا يسن
wallahi fil-mawaqîf di ?ana bakalim fiha rabbena bas
I speak only to Allah in these matters

VI. Self-denial

Example 1:

يعني 200 جنيه اللي ادبيوكك مش أنا مصر
ya'sni 200 ginîh ?elli 'addîhîlak mîf ?ana ma'syr
When I give you 200 L.E., Egypt gave them to you, not me

Example 2:

مش أنا أديته، مصر مصر ما دلولش?
mîf ?ana ?iddêtoh, ma'syr ma'syr maddêltûf
Did I not give him, Egypt, Egypt did not give him?
Example 3:

Of course, I was not the one who came through this period successfully, it was Egypt and its people.

In the three examples above, President El Sissi used the personal pronoun ?ana always preceded by the negation word “miʃ” as a technique to express his quality of self-denial. Repeated use of the word “Egypt” is also noted in the three examples. So, the message he wanted to convey from this usage is to highlight the great achievements he made, yet show his selflessness by attributing those achievements to “Egypt”.

VII. Achievements

Example 1:

The citizen who used to cross the level-crossing was in danger, or used to spend from 15 minutes to an hour to cross it, can now cross it in five minutes, does this mean I did not give him...

Example 2:

The citizen who used to cross the level-crossing was in danger, or used to spend from 15 minutes to an hour to cross it, can now cross it in five minutes, does this mean I did not give him...
I did not have a great infrastructure that I upgraded. I had a very poor infrastructure.

In the examples above, President El Sissi was mainly talking about his achievements during his first term as president. In the four examples he used the personal pronoun ʔana in combination with the action verbs “provide” in example (1) and “make” [i.e. make something available, make people safe, etc.] in examples (2, 3 and 4). In the first 3 examples, he used an interrogative, rather than affirmative, sentence. In the fourth example, he started by stating the problem of dealing with a very poor infrastructure. The reason why he used these two techniques is apparently to provide a strong proof to the people who complained about the economic situation in Egypt (who appeared in the TV report presented to him shortly before his answer). The use of personal pronoun in these instances indicates that he had the feeling that the people were blaming him for the poor economic situation, and therefore, used the personal pronoun to defend himself as the major policymaker.

Use of collective pronoun “ʔeḥna and naḥnu”:

1. We = The people of Egypt

President El Sissi has frequently used the collective form to involve the Egyptian people for a variety of purposes, including the following:

I. Share responsibility with the people

Example 1:

ʔihna ḥabbēna nitharrak fatharrakna li 25 wetharrakna li 30
When we wanted to move, we moved for 25 and 30

Example 2:

ʔihna ef-jēla kibīra ʔawi tiʔila ʔawi
We have a very heavy burden

Example 3:
We will be able to overcome the current circumstances, not with the president efforts, but with all of the people's effort.

Example 4:

In the examples above, El Sissi used the collective pronoun ʔehna to share responsibility with the Egyptian people. In example (1), the shared responsibility is the two revolutions and the resulting hard economic situation. In example (2), he used the collective pronoun in combination with the repetition technique to stress that the problems are difficult to solve. He used the word for two synonyms that mean “huge” [referring to the problem] and repeated the word “very” twice in a 6-word sentence. In example (3), he stressed the same message by using the word “all” [we all]. Example 4 shows again that repetition is a major technique that El Sissi uses in combination with pronouns to stress messages. So, he used the word for “we must” 3 times, the word for “we all” 4 times in just one sentence. The implied message he wanted to convey to the people is: you took the decision to make these revolutions; this resulted in bad economic situations; I cannot solve the problems alone as a president; we all must be aware of and handle the economic situation.

II. Involve people in problems/challenges

Example 1:

Our questions are different, not like the ones we have now?

Example 2:
In the two examples above, President El Sissi used the collective pronoun to involve people in the challenges and problems of Egypt. In example (1), he was talking about the government subsidies on electricity and other services. In example (2), he was talking about the waiting lists for virus C treatment plan. In the second example, he opted to use a question, rather than a statement, to highlight the problem and involve people by inviting them to think about an answer to the question.

III. Ask people to be patient

Example 1:

إن احنا ننتج مشاريعنا في خلال أربع سنين دول يغير شكل مصر
?inn ?ihnā nintig mafarīsna fi xalāl ?arba? sinīn dol yīyayyar fakl maṣr
....by producing our projects during four years in a way that changes the shape of Egypt

Example 2:

لكن احنا براحتنا برامجنا هنطبقها السنة الجالية أو السنة دي
We are working at our own pace, we will apply our programs this year or next year

In the two examples above, the President used the collective pronoun ?ehna followed by future expressions to ask people to be more patient as to the current economic situations. The two examples came in the context of his reply to citizens’ questions which included a question on hard economic situation. Similar techniques can be observed in both examples. In example (1), the pronoun was used in combination with the future expression of “within 4 years”, and in example (2), the expression “this year or next year” is also used, to ask people to be patient. Moreover, the two examples contained similar lexical words. In example (1), the lexical expressions “projects” and “change” [i.e. in the reality in Egypt]
were used. In example (2), expressions “implement” and “programs” were used. The reason why the collective pronoun was used along with these techniques is to ask people to be patient and allow more time for the government achievements to be seen.

While President El Sissi used the singular personal pronoun ana in both 2014 and 2018 interviews to stress personal qualities, the type of qualities he stressed in the two interviews are not the same. While in 2014 interview, he stressed the qualities of being honest, truthful and respectful to the will of the people, in 2018 interview, he focused more on the qualities of being democratic and close to the people. Moreover, the usage of the pronoun ana by El Sissi to present himself as a strong military leader only appeared in 2014 interview. The reason for such differences in the usage can be understood if we consider the political context of both interviews. In 2014 interview, El Sissi was addressing the Egyptian people amid a state of insecurity and instability in different parts of the country with the MB exerting a lot of efforts to destabilize the country after the 30/06 Revolution. Therefore, he wanted to position himself as a strong military leader who is able to combat all terrorist acts. Also, due to the allegations by MB against El Sissi claiming that he planned for a coup against Morsi, 2014 interview contained usages of the singular pronoun to stress his honesty, truthfulness and keenness to protect the people.

On the other hand, at the time of 2018 interview, El Sissi had been in power for four years. He became less affiliated to the military and therefore uses of both the exclusive ‘we’ referring to the ‘Egyptian Army’ which was noticed in 2014 interview disappeared in 2018 interview. Moreover, the types of personal qualities he stressed using the singular pronoun to stress the personal qualities of being democratic, because at that time he was facing other types of allegations made by internal and foreign parties convicting him of being undemocratic, with some opposition leaders calling for the people to boycott 2018 presidential elections.
A similar usage of the inclusive pronoun ‘we’ for the purpose of sharing the responsibility with the people has been mentioned by Abdelfattah (2015), where president El Sissi used the pronoun ‘we’ to engage people in sharing the responsibility for the improvement of the situation in Egypt. The example given by Abdelfattah (2015) cited from El Sissi’s speech translates into “Did not we agree to share the role of building Egypt together, between me, you and the state’s institutions?”

This is also consistent with Abdelfattah’s (2015) finding that El Sissi has repeatedly stressed that the Egyptian people, not himself, made the decisions relating to the 30/6 Revolution and the subsequent process. The study has counted 17 repetitions of words and phrases denoting the meaning “You Egyptians took the decision; respect your decision; and Egyptian’s choice”.

Answer to Research Question 2

RQ 2. How did he refer to “Egypt” in both interviews and for what purpose(s)?

A. What other words did he use to refer to “Egypt”?

B. Does the topic control his choice of the words to use to refer to “Egypt”?

To further investigate the discourse strategies used by President El Sissi to add the sense of inclusion, the present study also examines the different lexical items he used when referring to Egypt. The reason why I decided to investigate this point in particular is that president El Sissi, unlike former presidents of Egypt, uses the Arabic words for “Egypt” and “Egyptians” repeatedly in his speeches. In fact, his electoral slogan “Tahya Miṣr” (Long live Egypt) includes the Arabic word for “Egypt”, and did not appear in slogans of any other candidate.

2014 Interview
In 2014 interview, President Abdelfattah El Sissi used several alternatives when referring to “Egypt” based on the topic. Those alternatives included “Egypt”, “the Country”, “the homeland”. In the following section, I present examples of the instances where he used each of these alternatives and explain why he opted for one word, rather than the other.

**First: Use of the word “Egypt”**

El Sissi used the word “Egypt” 43 times during the whole interview in different contexts for different reasons. Following is a topic-based categorization of these usages:

1. **In context of security risks**

President El Sissi has frequently used the word “Egypt” when talking about the challenges posed by the security situation in the country. Examples include the following:

Example 1:

والاستهداف داخل وخارج مصر

*wel-ʔistihdāf dāxīl we xārīg maṣr*

*Egypt is targeted from inside and outside*

Example 2:

ملف الموقف الأمني داخل مصر

*malaff el-mawqif el-ʔamni dāxīl maṣr*

*The profile of the security position in Egypt*

Example 3:

داخل مصر وخارج مصر التهديدات

*dāxīl maṣr wxārīg maṣr et-tahdīdāt*

*Threats are inside and outside Egypt*

Example 4:

لأن ده أمن مصر واحنا مسؤولين عنه كلنا

*laʔann dah ʔamn maṣr wiḥna maṣrulīn ʕannu kullīna*

*Because this is Egypt security and we all are responsible for it*

In the examples above in which the president was talking about the security challenges in Egypt, he used the word “Egypt” rather than other alternatives. The word
“security” is repeated in all four examples accompanied with the word “Egypt”, with the objective of iconizing “security in Egypt” as a main focus of the president. Moreover, the words “inside” and “outside” [i.e. Egypt] in these examples shows that El Sissi wanted to highlight that Egypt is subject to extensive security threats. Other lexical items such as “targeting” and “threats” serve the same purpose of highlighting the bad security situation and the need for a president with a military background to save “Egypt” from such threats.

2. **In combination with “armed forces”**

Although it would be understood that El Sissi would be talking about the Egyptian army if he just uses the word “army”, he linked the use of the word “army” to the word “Egypt” in several instances, including the following:

Example 1:

المؤسسة العسكرية في مصر مؤسسة منضبطة جداً

*el-muʔassasa el-ʕaskariyya fi mašr muʔassasa mundabiṭa giddan*

*The military institution in Egypt is a very disciplined institution*

Example 2:

والجيش مسؤول عن ده الأمن القومي في مصر

*welgēʃ masʔūl ʕan da el-ʔamn el-qawmi fi mašr*

*...and the military is responsible for the national security in Egypt*

Example 3:

طول ما الجيش في مصر موجود لازم تبقوا أنتتم مطمئنين جداً

†ūl ma el-gēʃ fi mašr mawgūd lāzim tīb?u ?intum muṭmaʔinnin giddan

*You must be very assured, as long as Egypt military exists*

In the examples above, El Sissi affiliated the armed forces to “Egypt” by saying “…the armed forces in Egypt…” The lexical items used in combination with these two words always had positive connotations. In example (1), he used “very disciplined”, in example (2) he used “responsible for the national security”, and in example (3), “very reassured” [talking about how Egyptians should feel as long as the army exists]. The message he wanted to
convey to the audience is: despite the security challenges that “Egypt” is facing, the armed forces of “Egypt” is the source of reassurance and security to the people.

3. **In combination with 30/6 Revolution**

Example 1:

30/6 التي حصل في مصر أمر عظيم جداً في

`¿elli ḥaṣal fi maṣr ʕamr ʕaẓīm giddan fi 30/6`  
*What happened in Egypt on 30/6 is very very great matter*

Example 2:

التي حصل في مصر ذه إرادتنا إحدى إرادة المصريين

`¿elli ḥaṣal fi maṣr dah ʔiradtna ʔihna ʔirada el-maṣriyyīn`  
*What happened in Egypt was our will, the will of the Egyptians*

In the two examples above, President El Sissi used the word “Egypt” when talking about the Egyptian revolution in 30/6/2013. In addition to this combination, the lexical items he used in these examples have very positive connotations. This includes the words “very very great” [referring to what happened in 30/6] in example (1), and “our will” and “the will of the Egyptians” in example 2. The reason why he used this combination of “30/6” + “Egypt” + “the will of the Egyptians” is to stress the fact that the 30/6 is nothing but a revolution that aimed at achieving the will of the Egyptians. This is particularly important because at that time he was the leader of the military who ousted the MB president Mohamed Morsi, and he wanted to refute the allegations made by the MB media that he as the leader of the army, planned ahead of 30/6 demonstrations, to remove Morsi from power.

4. **To denote conspiracy against “Egypt”**

Example 1:

كان فيه خطر عظيم على مصر خطر كبير جداً

`kan fiḥ xatār ʕaẓīm ʕala maṣr xatār kibīr giddan`  
*There was a great threat on Egypt, a huge threat*

Example 2:

الإسهداف داخل وخارج مصر
el-ʔistihdāf dāxīl we xārīg maṣr

Egypt is being targeted from inside and outside

Example 3:

واللَّي هُوَ بِيَتَصُورٍ غَيْرَ كَثِبَةٍ يَقِي عَيْنِ يَخْرُبِ مصر

welli huwwa biyīṣawwar yēr keda yibʔa ʕāyīz yixrib maṣr

Anyone who imagines otherwise just wants to destroy Egypt

In the examples above, El Sissi used “Egypt” in the context where he wanted to convey the message that Egypt is targeted by conspiracy plans. In example (1), in which he was talking about the dangers to which Egypt was exposed before 30/6 Revolution, he used the repetition technique by repeating the words “danger” and “great danger” to stress the message. In example (2), he was talking about plans from inside and outside Egypt targeting the security of Egypt, and in example (3), he referred to those who refuse a legislation regulating protests as “people who want to destroy Egypt”. The use of lexical units such as “great danger”, “targeting” and “destroy” have a negative connotation and are used here to denote that Egypt was in an imminent danger and your authorization was necessary (example 1), and it is still targeted by inside and outside conspirators (example 2), and those who reject the measures we will take are enemies who want to destroy Egypt example (3).

Second: Use of “homeland” and “the country” to refer to Egypt

President El Sissi used the Arabic word for “homeland” and “the country” to refer to Egypt, mainly to stress:

The need to protect Egypt from the danger of collapse

Example 1:

إِذَا كُنَّا بِحَبِّ الْوَطَنِ وَخَافِئِينَ عَلَى الْوَطَنِ فَأَحَنا مُلَانَاشْ خِيَارٌ تَأْنِي

ʔidā kunna biyḥib el-waṭan we xayfīn šālal waṭan fa ʔehna malnāʃ xiyār tānī

If we love the homeland and are scared for it, then we do not have any other choice

بِحَبِّ بلَدِهِ وَبِحَبِّ دِينِهِ وَبِحَبِّ النَّاس

biyḥib baldu we biyḥib dīnīn webiyḥibb en-nās

... loves his country, religion, and people
Example 2:

وعنده فرصة أنه ينتمي لحماية هذا الوطن
we ſlando forṣa ſinnu yʔaddim li ḥimāyit hāda el-waṭan
And has a chance to protect this homeland

بمعنى إن البلد يتممي
bimaṣna ſinnil balad yeqhimi
In other words, the country [should] be protected

Example 3:

لا الجيش كان يشتعل في مهمته الأساسية للدفاع عن الوطن
la el-gēf kān biyiftayal fi muhimmito el-ʔasāsiyya li-el-dīfāʾ Šan el-waṭan
The military was working on its core job, which is defending the homeland

انا معني بالأمن القومي للبلد
ʔana maṣnī bel-ʔamm el-qawmi lil-balad
I am responsible for the national security of the country

Example 4:

فرصة سقوط الوطن فرصة استهداف الوطن من جانب الآخرين
forṣit suqīt el-waṭan forsāt ḥistihdaṯ el-waṭan min gāniḥ el-ʔaxarīn
The possibility of the homeland falling, and being targeted by others

إن أهنا هنسمح إن البلد دي تقع مننا لا
ʔinn ſiḥna hanismaḥ ſinn el-balad dī tuʔawṣ minnina la
We will not allow the country to fall

Example 5:

لكن الوطن ده هيضيغ
lākin el-waṭan da ḥayḍīš
This homeland will fall

بكلم على بلد بتصيغ
batkallim Šala balad bitḍīš

I am talking about a country that is being lost

In the examples above, El Sissi used both “homeland” and “the country” to refer to Egypt in the context where he wanted to stress the need to protect and defend Egypt. So, he was quoting the members of the SCAF when saying the sentence in example (1). The lexical units he used in examples (1), (2) and (3) in combination with the word “homeland”
are mainly “protect, defend, fear for, and love”. In examples (4) and (5), he raised the fear of collapse and fall of Egypt. This use of “homeland” and “the country” with these lexical items should affect the audience, especially that neighboring peoples, such as the Syrian people, have lost their “homeland”; something that all Egyptians should fear. Therefore, a president with military background and supported by the armed forces should be elected to protect and defend the “homeland” against the security threat to avoid the fall of Egypt.

2018 Interview

In 2018 interview, President Abdelfattah El Sissi also used several alternatives when referring to “Egypt” based on the topic. Those alternatives included “Egypt”, “the Country”, and “the homeland”. In the following section, I present examples of the instances where he used each of these alternatives and explain why he opted for one word, rather than the other.

Use of “Egypt”:

President El Sissi used the word “Egypt” 23 times throughout the whole interview, mainly for two reasons:

1. To state challenges/problems

Example 1:

الواقع اللي موجود في مصر وتحدياته

el-wāqi‘ ʔelli mawgūd fī maṣr wetahaddiyyaatu
The existing reality in Egypt and its challenges

Example 2:

الشي انتهت اتكلم فيه مشاكل مصر اللي اتكلم في تعليم صحة - إسكان - مرتبات - دخل - أسعار هي دي مصر

ʔelli ʔintom ʔikkalimmotom fīh mafākil maṣr ʔelli ʔikkālim fī taṣīm-siḥḥa-ʔiskān-murattabāt-daxl-ʔasār heyya di maṣr

What you all have spoken about are problems facing Egypt such as education, health, salaries, income, and prices: this is Egypt

Example 3:
All of these accumulations started to cause problems for Egypt.

The above examples are quoted from the part of the interview where the president was answering the questions and complaints by Egyptian citizens, presented to him in a recorded TV report. As shown in the examples, the word for “Egypt” is accompanied by lexical items such as “challenges”, “problem”, “problems”, “education”, “health”, “salaries”, “income” and “prices”. This is consistent with the use of the same word in 2014 interview where El Sissi also used the same word in combination with the problems facing Egypt, though the focus in 2014 was on security problems. The message of using the word “Egypt” is to state that it is not the president’s policies that result in the suffering of some Egyptians; rather, the reality that has accumulated over years (as stated in example 3) resulted in this situation.

2. In the context of self-denial

As stated in before, president El Sissi used the personal pronoun ʔana with negation as a technique to express self-denial. In the same context, he always attributed all the achievements that he made during his first term to “Egypt”, as in the following examples:

Example 1:

مش أنا إديته، مصر مصر ما دنلوش؟

Did I not give him; [I mean] Egypt, did not Egypt give him?

Example 2:

كل تحدي من اللي احنا اكلمنا فيه ده احنا مصر اغلبت عليه

Egypt has overcome every challenge we spoke about

Example 3:

مش أنا عبرتها بنجاح لا طبعاً مصر

Of course, I was not the one who came through this period successfully, it was Egypt
As shown in the examples above, president El Sissi used the word “Egypt” in combination with self-denial expressions such as “it is not me” to denote that Egypt as an entity is the real giver and achiever. The fact that he kept using the same technique every time by starting with “it is not me…” and then stating “it is Egypt who…” means that he wanted to count the achievements he made during his first term in office. The fact that he used self-denial expressions and attributed all the achievements to “Egypt” could be a technique to reply to people who criticized his government’s performance and complained about the hard-economic situation in Egypt.

Use of “the country” to refer to Egypt

El Sissi used the expression “the country” to refer to Egypt in 2018 interview mainly in combination with expressions with negative connotations. Following are some examples.

Example 1:

بس أنها تقوم تأذي البلد بعمل

\[ \text{bass ṭinnaha tiʔūm tiʔūdī el-balad bi ʕamal} \]

They only harm the country with their acts

Example 2:

هو كان مغامنا ويبحث عليا والبلد تتحترب

\[ \text{huwwa kān miyammīna we biyidḥak ġalēna wel-balad hatexrab} \]

He was fooling us and the country is about to fall

Example 3:

حصلت أحداث كثيرة جدا في البلد كثير جدا وبالتالي الناس بره وجوا حذ زي كان عايز يشوه الواقع

\[ \text{haṣalīt ḥaḍādī kitāra giddan fil-balad kitūr giddan webiṭṭalî en-nās barra we guwwa ḥadd zayv kān ṭāyīz yīfawwa el-wāqīq} \]

Many events happened inside the country, some people inside and outside wanted to distort the reality
As shown in the examples above, the lexical items used with the expression “the country” contain “destroy”, “ruin” and “distort” which have negative connotations. The three examples come from the section where the President was commenting on the complaints by the citizens. His message was that the government can work to accommodate the people’s needs but “the country” might be harmed and destroyed if actions, such as protesting, are allowed.

Reference to the name of the home country were only noticed in Khan’s speech that were examined by the Khalil et. al (2017). A similar use of the name of the home country has been noticed in President El Sissi’s discourse in the two interviews. As above, he employed several lexical choices in combination with the word “Egypt” and other alternative words to convey specific messages.

Generally speaking, El Sissi has successfully employed inclusion strategies in both interviews. The illocutionary acts that his utterances included have yielded in the perlocutionary act of having the Egyptian people vote in his favor in both elections. This is consistent with the Speech Act Theory suggested by Searle (1969). Also, president El Sissi has used the pronouns in a manner to position himself differently in both interviews. Such positioning becomes evident if we consider the unique uses of pronouns in both interviews. For example, his use of the pronoun “I” to present himself as a strong military leader only appeared in 2014 interview and almost disappeared in 2018 interview. This is consistent both the Positioning Theory suggested by Daves & Harré (1990) as well as with Fairclough’s (1989) approach which takes into consideration the socio-political context.

V. Conclusion

Presidents and political leaders use language strategies as a tool to influence their audience. Several studies have examined how language is used by presidents, both before and after they get elected to take office, in order to impact their addressees. Inclusion is one of the
strategies commonly (Hicks, 2005), in which those leaders try to unite themselves with the public in order to build on their commonality. The present study has examined the inclusion strategies employed by President Abdelfattah El Sissi through the use of the singular pronoun ءانا and the collective pronoun ءهنا, as well as through referring to the name of the home country.

The present study has examined two TV interviews with President El Sissi, both in the context of election campaign. The first interview was done by interviewers Ibrahim Eissa and Lamis El Hadidi in 2014, and the second was done by director Sandra Nashaat in 2018. The discourse strategies have been analyzed through the textual analysis approach. Both Speech Act Theory and Positioning Theory are two important theories that were used in the analysis. Fairclough’s theoretical framework has been employed in this study, because it seeks to analyze the text in relation to the socio-political context. The fact that the context in 2014 interview is different from that of 2018 interview has reflected in the text (i.e. discourse) of President El Sissi in the two interviews.

The 2014 interview was made while president Abdelfattah El Sissi was presenting himself as a presidential candidate in his capacity as the top military leader of the country who satisfied the Egyptians’ demand of Morsi’s removal. On the other hand, 2018 interview came at a time when President El Sissi had already served as president of Egypt for four years. Therefore, the hypothesis of the present study was that the inclusion strategies he used in each interview could be different. The use of pronouns is a vehicle that could be used by political leaders as an inclusion strategy in order to unite themselves with the audience (Hicks, 2005), since uniting oneself with the people is particularly important for political leaders at critical times, including elections.

In 2014 interview, President El Sissi was introducing himself to the Egyptian people as a politician for the first time. Yet, in 2018, people already had known much
information about him. For this reason, the 2014 interview was around 4 hours, while the 2018 interview was only 1 hour. While in 2014, most of the time was allocated for the president to present himself through the interviewers’ questions, most of the time in 2018 interview was allocated for the president to reply to the citizens’ complaints.

President El Sissi has effectively used the personal pronoun ana in both interviews. While he used it in 2014 interview to present his personal qualities and express his identity, he used it in 2018 interview to present his qualities as a ruler being democratic, not seeking power, close to people, God-fearing and self-denying. He only used the personal pronoun in the context of presenting himself as a strong military leader only in 2014 interview due to the insecurity and instability in different parts of the country with the MB exerting a lot of efforts to destabilize the country after the 30/06 Revolution. Therefore, he wanted to position himself as a strong military leader who is able to combat all terrorist acts. Such usage of the singular pronoun ḥana to refer to himself as a military leader almost disappeared in 2018 interview, because by that time, he had already served as a civil ruler of the country for 4 years. He also successfully used the collective pronoun ḥenًا in both interviews to achieve a sense of inclusion to his language.

While in 2014 interview, the collective pronoun ḥenًا was used both inclusively and exclusively, in 2018 interview, it was only used inclusively. He used ḥenًا in both interviews inclusively to position himself as one of the people. Yet, in 2014 interview, he used the pronoun exclusively to either refer to the Egyptian army or the Egyptian government. At the time of 2018 interview, El Sissi had been in power for four years. He became less affiliated to the military and therefore uses of both the exclusive ‘we’ referring to the ‘Egyptian Army’ which was noticed in 2014 interview disappeared in 2018 interview.

It is also because of the deteriorated security situation in Egypt during the 2014 interview, we can find that President El Sissi used the words “Egypt”, “homeland” and “the
country” in 2014 interview mainly to bring up the idea of the country being at risk, in need of protection against conspiracies, etc. Yet, the 2018 interview contained a limited use of lexical words referring to “Egypt”, mainly for the purpose of stating the challenges and problems facing Egypt as well as to denote self-denial by stating that “Egypt”, not the president, is the real giver and achiever.

Limitations to the study

The amount of data analyzed under the present study affects the generalizability of the findings to President El Sissi’s discourse. For the findings to be generalized, a bigger sample may be needed. Moreover, this sample is taken from a very specific context (i.e. during the electoral campaign); so, to describe the discourse strategy of El Sissi in general, we might need to examine his discourse in different contexts, for example, before and after the elections.

VI. Implications of CDA on FL teaching

Language classrooms, and especially TAFL classrooms, lack real-life teaching material that can help build the linguistic competence of language learners. The efforts made in language classrooms used to focus on the formal features of language and failed to provide the learners with the conversational ability they need (Kramsch, 1981).

Using CDA in teaching can fill this gap in foreign language classes by having language learners approach the text critically, try to uncover the ideological assumptions and hidden meanings behind the text and explore the association between discourse, ideology, and power (Rahimi, 2015).

In TAFL classes, CDA can be used to help students build a better pragmatic competence and develop a better understanding of both written material and listening material, which will then reflect on their writing and speaking skills. Since the main goal of
critical discourse analysis is to disclose the hidden ideological and power relations which are embedded in text (Wallace, 1992), exposing FL learners to natural discourse can take their language competency to higher levels.

One of the useful applications of CDA principles in the educational setting is to improve the learner’s abilities to be creative, since CDA addresses the evolvement of both linguistic and intellectual abilities (Rahimi, 2015). This is especially important in light of the new developments in FL teaching methods, after foreign language students have been marginalized as readers by exposing them to texts primarily designed for language learners" (Wallace, 1992).

A political discourse, such as the one I used for the present study, can be used in TAFL classes as a listening material to help the students build and enhance their critical thinking skills and uncover the underlying thoughts behind the text. However, not all students may be interested in political texts and some students may find such texts boring and ask teacher to provide some other texts in accordance with their area of interest (Rahimi, 2015). Therefore, other types of texts could be used to accommodate different types of students, including debates on social issues, economic problems, art works, etc.
VII. Bibliography


Habermas, J. (1967): Erkenntnis und Interesse (Knowledge and Interest). Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.


Appendix 1: 2014 Interview Transcript

VIII.

Material: TV Interview entitled “Masr Tantakheb El Ra’ees” (Egypt elects the president)
Duration: 1:40 minutes
Participants:
1. President Abdelfattah El Sissi
2. Interviewer: Lamis El Hadidi
3. Interviewer: Ibrahim Eissa

The transcript of the interview with President Abdelfattah El Sissi, discussing topics of interest on television.
المتجر: 27 في النقطة التي كان فيها
المتجر: المجلس الأعلى
المتجر: أن كان فيه ثوراً كبيرًا في متجر سيدنت للترشح، ولم يكن هناك قرار واضح أو متأخر للناس، هل في المرحلة دي كلياً كان
المتجر: صحيح: الدراسة بالمخاطر بالتبادلات بكم كان في نقطة مهمة معيار تنس، هناك، باستخدام الناس استدعى المصريين واستدعى بسطاء المصريين.
المتجر: أقنع حسب استدعائ بسطاء المصريين بشكل جافل جعلكن أدرك أن لابد أن تتصدى لهذه
المتجر: أن الثورة أعلن استعداد لمخاطر استدعاء ولا تقصى المصريين هما استدعوك.
المتجر: لا.
المتجر: المصريين ما أن استدعوه
المتجر: على تلك إذا أجا نحن نحن جد ونتحطير الناس بعد ناس المصريين أو أمرهم واجبة التخفيف على أي أحد المصريين، هذه السلطة
المعملة: إذا أخذ رأيك كهذا كهدفة، كهدفة في 25 يناير و30/6 وعبر عن المصريين إذا كأنه عزازين بيعملوا حاجة استدعى المصريين?
المتجر: استبدلت هذه قضاعدة كبيرة في موقع إلزامي، وفي حالة قلدرة المصريين كانت وصلت لأيدي مرحلة، وفوف خير كان بصرع عيانًا، بوصاروا
استدعاء المصريين مطالبة المصريين بأنك سمح قد، قد تم لهذا الأمر، كأنك بابناً جدًا يعود الاستعفاء على أي حالة.
المتجر:!
المتجر: النشاط الاستقامة استدعى للاست闹ول. لكن كان بالتوازي مع نزلوم ده مطالبة بكاء.
المتجر: الاستعفاء للأعمال، واجب جدًا أنهن نصائح نازلين للاست闹ول. لكن كان بالتوازي مع نزلوم ده مطالبة بكاء.
المتجر: استدعاء لتولي هذا الأمر.
المتجر: تلغي هذا إذا ذكر ذلك، فلم تمهل ده الاستقامة في إحساسات، كيف يعني رصد عبد الفتاح السيسي استدعاء المصريين له؟
المتجر: فليس إذا طبعي يعني في متابعة لذي النمط وتخطيط لذي النمط، وفوف خير كان بصرع عيانًا، بوصاروا
المتجر: النشاط الاستقامة استدعى للاست闹ول. لكن كان بالتوازي مع نزلوم ده مطالبة بكاء.
المتجر: أtec ما أن تستغلده دي الإجراءات أو اعتبارات الأمن القومي المصري إذا نبي مطمئن على الداخلية في مصر مش تابعه ده دي.
المتجر: النشاط الاستقامة استدعى للاست闹ول. لكن كان بالتوازي مع نزلوم ده مطالبة بكاء.
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الموضوع:

الرجلين: حرية التعبير ك право متعلق بالكرامة والأساسية. مطالبتان هما في حق الإنسان كفرد، كفرد مختار في حقه كفرد، وحقه كفرد في حقه كفرد.

الرجلين: فما هو الموقف الذي يieres بالكرامة والأساسية. ما هو الموقف الذي يieres بالكرامة والأساسية.

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النَّصُّ:

لا لأن مكن تكون لغة العربية أحياناً يتحكم لك في ملايين من المصريين حياتهم على المحك لقرا، ممكن يتخذه بالإلغاء أو التسويق.

المنحة: بطب صحة ضحى مهدي البغدادي، من بعد 30 مليونية ولا من قبل 30 مليونية يعني حجم华润 أرثر بما بعد هذه المعلومات من، مافنتسه، ما كرتشن عن روا زوريزه، territories هذه هي نوعية نت، يتيح بشر فتنة بحاسوب مسافر، إن من النوع الثالث وأنا بمارس عرف أن لا حداد صحي عمره من بلو، عمر محسوب بالفند.

المعين: صححي.

المعين: مهارات.

المعين: كم مؤخراً اكتشافهم سيادة المشير؟

المعين: مواليين.

المعين: مواليين.

المعين: مهارات ولد رازك خلاص.

المعين: أم، أي أن الآن تحدث مع مرشح رئاسي في حالة فوزه هو رئيس مصر، وهذه مسألة مهمة جداً يعني أن رئاسي محترف لك حماية أمنية

النَّصُّ:

فلم حماتية مرشح المشير.

المعين: صححي.

المعين: مساعدة من الرئيس العام، في ذلك لا تكون موضوع من يظل في المرة.

المعين: يعني تزحلقهم، خلياً بعد الفعال تواصل مع سيادة الرئيس عبد الفتاح السيسي مرشح الرئاسي في حوار أول من نوعه.

تعرض الفقرة مساعدة من صور للرئيس مع وقفة من أي شيء، وموظف للوزارات في النظام القومى للمرأة، والاجتماع، الأمانة العامة، وعلاقة الرئاسة، والتنمية، وال]=-، والسياسي اختراعي، ينضم على الوضع، ووزارة الديكية، وغيرها، والائتمان، والقائمة المصرفية، ولكن من الطرق الصحية، وأيضاً على مراقبة متارة، والثوابت، والنازح، وثوابت، وينسيق، والمنتخب، والعمل، وثوابت، والنازح، وثوابت.

المعين: إيه ما إنا شام، شيقع، واشتوتت مساهمة، التي آتنا توتيه يا محاسبات، بهالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالالا...
العصر: لا لولا وب الوقوف من دخل المتعب ولا ما في جرح ولا حداد بن يحي أو برماضق أو يتقن أي شكل من الأشكال التي احتاج مكن نقلهم لكي يستوعبوا، كلاً. كانت كتيبة في الشارع يسوع جرجها وأمر الأفوك الأفوك الكتيبة في مسار صعب لمعلق دلوتًا صعب النزاع لكي لا يبتديءاً كرها بميدان الطائف ميدان دلوق. سيداً.

العصر: معناه ما إذا كان في حالة يكون مصغرة كبير، ويعود إلى أنها تعرف بـ 25 هي كنود ومحل الدولة ومسؤول الدولة كان موجود شركاء وكوكب النغ الذي كثير من الناس صغيرين من واحدهم بالفعل من وحدهم في مصر، إن أحاذي تقطع مصر.

لا ما تلاس الله فإن!!

المتبقي: وتخليص الأ사회ية لباقات السلاسة.

العصر: نعم، كان كده كان كده.

المتبقي: عقم مدمجة.

العصر: المعبر، معنها معناه:

العصر: هل حصل في ذلك، لكن صورة عبد الناصر في بيته وertainment وطلب:

العصر: إذا مها بالزهور كنح في الناصر ووضع جماع صرح عنوان أن عبد الناصر الجديد بقي مشاغل أي؟ تصورك أي؟ هذه القمر?

العصر: عندي كده، يعني دة صورة لذ، معنى دة مقدمة والعلاقات كانت في عصرها خارج كل الحقول يعني ف微信公众 كر.

المتبقي: خذتكم ما أنت في حالة المحلة، من الملكة التي أنت على حياة.

المتبقي: خطأ: اضطر:

العصر: دا فكر أو ينوي فكر في دا عامة عامة، كانت عامة على الناس، كانت عامة على بعضهم البعض ولو القولية أو التغيير التي حصل.

المتبقي: عتبر قياس يا واحد لا نفتقد حتى يعني مك لك نغم مهم وجود في المجDICแหًا. في هذه الحين،ならない، إذا أتى فراز في الشهر الواف، أي في جمع 37، لكنها ما تفصل بالمكان.

المتبقي: نعيين لغوية للوفي، صحيح ما يزل كثير في الثلاث أرباع السياسيين الفقه وعالم السياسة. وكن ودان المعايا.

المتبقي: تلاس الله، حيث ما في ده أن داي وفكر عادة.

العصر: إذا كان أن نطب الدين في العالم الإسلامي بالكامل أقدر الإسلام الساسية، أقل تأتي؟

المتبقي: أقدر وفقي:

العصر: وأصر على الأحبار من داي ناس ميدان فهة إيه بتخدم وله ناقال تقول عنها لا ما ومن.

المتبقي: فدا روي بالله غاية عالم الإسلام.

العصر: ت Müslطت تعبر عن العالم الإسلامي، احترام أقدر الإسلام، أقدر الإسلام الناسية.

المتبقي: فده، داي دير وفر يو ألا أصسر أحر دين ينوي، دان رني لا يقلي بمقامه العظم ينوي الموضوع كده أمر.

المتبقي: قد يوصلن لله و(Runtime أحر دين ينوي، تعلق أحر دين أحر دين، آمن أضر وملتنص.

المتبقي: الساسية:

المتبقي: الحاكم المشرد بقية دابة?

العصر: الحاكم المشرد بقية دابة?

المتبقي: داي، داي دار داي ينوي ما في سنال ميدان فهة إيه بتخدم وله ناقال تقول عنها لا ما ومن.

الفية: سديد دير وفر يو ألا أصسر أحر دين ينوي، دان رني لا يقلي بمقامه العظم ينوي الموضوع كده أمر.

المتبقي: كده، داي دير وفر يو ألا أصسر أحر دين ينوي، دان رني لا يقلي بمقامه العظم ينوي الموضوع كده أمر.

المتبقي: الساسية:

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المتبقي: كده، داي دير وفر يو ألا أصسر أحر دين ينوي، دان رني لا يقلي بمقامه العظم ينوي الموضوع كده أمر.

المتبقي: الساسية:

المتبقي: الحاكم المشرد بقية دابة?
المتتبع: سيادة المشير عباس عبد النور عن قلقة ما بالالتزام بالانضباط على الأخلاق في اجتيازها تتعلق باعتبار منظوراً

الخُلاصة: التمثيل يُنصّب ترشيده قوة دافع بها كونه مطلوب معادلة الناس مثبطاً في الأخلاق.

الرئيسي: مصحيح.

المتتبع: فالعظام الشرفاء على الأخلاق في المجتمع قد يستقل بعض المقاولين في الواقع منظف هيبه خطر شويه.

الرئيسي: ما هو مثبط معروفة من هماء الرئيسي، إلا أنّه.

المتتبع: التقييم الأخلاقي للناس؟

الرئيسي: تعجز دو لازم حمل.

المتتبع: حذف دو لازم حمل.

الرئيسي: إذاً لا يزالون يشعرون على الألفية دي لذي هي مؤسسة التعليم ومؤسسات العلوم في مصر والاعلام إضاف.

معاناه في مديدة في مث كتو مبيغ ضبطي الحالة والأعمال في الألفية ذات أخرى لازم الألفية دور العدالة في مصر والاعلام إضاف.

المتتبع: حذف دو مثب بطق.

الرئيسي: مصحيح.

المتتبع: طلبت أن أحاصلة أن لازم الألفية على الألفية دي لذي هي مؤسسة التعليم ومؤسسات العلوم في مصر والاعلام إضاف.

الرئيسي: ما إذا كنا بكتكلم كريس مصوحي غيرن عززاً أن أنك عنصرت فيزاي.

المتتبع: إضا.

المتتبع: حذف دو مثب بطق.

الرئيسي: إذاً لا يزالون يشعرون على الألفية دي لذي هي مؤسسة التعليم ومؤسسات العلوم في مصر والاعلام إضاف.

الرئيسي: ما هو أنك تكلم كريس مصوحي غيرن عززاً أن أنك عنصرت فيزاي.

المتتبع: حذف دو مثب بطق.

الرئيسي: إذاً لا يزالون يشعرون على الألفية دي لذي هي مؤسسة التعليم ومؤسسات العلوم في مصر والاعلام إضاف.

المتتبع: حذف دو مثب بطق.

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المتتبع: حذف دو مثب بطق.
المنيح كان قبل كده الده دويًا، يا فلاد تحميلها نكم عنك.

المنيح: ثلاثين سنة من 30 سنة
المنيح: 30 سنة
المنيح: ثلاثين سنة يا قلوا كان كده دور؟ أن الجيPorn كان يشتعل في مهمته الأساسية للدفاع عن الوطن وحماية المساهمة في التنمية إن أمكن

بالطبع: في المرة القادمة إذا ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما ما 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الرئيس: على كل حال هو حاجة واحدة فقط فضيحة في مجلس الوزراء، والحوار والنقاش التي نبناه بين بعضنا في هذا الاجتماع بل ودائمًا.

الرئيس: ماذا يعني تأسيس الرئاسة؟ يمكن أن يكون ذلك مجرد تشكيل، أو تأسيس رئاسة.

الرئيس: لم تكن هناك تشكيل لما يكون تأسيس الرئاسة، أو تأسيس رئاسة.

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العنصر: لم تكن هناك تشكيل لما يكون تأسيس الرئاسة، أو تأسيس رئasu.
المنبج: كام انتقل من هذه الإتفاق
الرئيسي، 1280 مكلا لбитر إن أي عبار دل في مواقع الإتفاق الرئيسية وكد، لا طباعة، في جزء كبير جداً من الرئيسي بديل إن الحركة التي
مقيش قرينة كان إن المفاوضات التي تستخدم في الحرب الأهلية
المجدي: اعتقد أنم بدأنا بداية حتى خلال صور الإتفاق
الرئيسي: لا
المنبج: موفق صغير دل في
الرئيسي، كان أي معين موافقه في صور وثيقة من أنم قومي وبدأت في توافق المزيد على صور، وموضوعه بياني أنم بكامل توقعات
المنع: ألم من قومي، في الواقع، وضع مسألة شرطة لموقفية الإلهام والإراك لتم توقف.
الرئيسي، كان أي معين موافقه في صور، الأول، أندر أي من أمين حكم
المنبج: لم تتم منفصلة ياء قد في النزلة كرنس للجمهوريوه لا يكس توقعات الصلالة إن تم بعد مفعول عن رئيس الجمهورية
الرئيسي، هو كن النازيم معين الأليم القدم.

هناء، أي بداية مهم جدا،
المنبج: ألم من قومي لل.numericUpDown
المنبج: موفق سلما دل في
الرئيسي، كان أي معين موافقه في صور،갯 من أمين حكم
المنبج: لا ينتصر معين في ظل نظرة، كرنس للجمهوريوه لا يكس توقعات الصلالة إن تم بعد مفعول عن رئيس الجمهورية

هل، أي بداية مهم جدا,
المنبج: ألم من قومي للнный
المنبج: موفق سلما دل في
الرئيسي، كان أي معين موافقه في صور،갯 من أمين حكم

الرئيسي: لا أنا قولت
المنيع: طيب فنحبر إن ضمكولت قولت
المنيع: فهي مغفت خارج؟
الرئيسي: ما هو لبكي كله أنا أزار لكان فاهسين برضا صراحة كده عن المجتمعات العربية لها في متعة الإسلام فيه يعيش بأسلوب نور
المنيع: في مصر بشكل عنصر تقليدي نجد بقولهم خول بالمذاكين في العالم الغربي بقية مثيل في مصر بس، بدء هنالك
قيقين واحترام على النظام على مصالحه وهموا أتائم ذكرت له
المنيع: في نقطة مهما جهانه نصا إلى المروان المصري الذي قرأ أن يتجنب حكمة كهذا في الصندوق علاقة على اسم عرف ك
تبني مجاعة الأخوان إبراهيم وهي يوضع بطاقة التنصيب وهو يعلم أن موضعه الذي أراده وانتخبه لن تكون في مدة رانشة شيء
بجماعة الأخوان إبراهيم وهي يوضع بطاقة التنصيب وهو يعلم أن موضعه الذي أراده وانتخبه لن تكون في مدة رانشة شيء
الرئيسي: أي؟ كده، أنا قولت في بداية الكلام أنت زعت الأشياء: أي ما كنتم في مكارم الأخلاق والأدب والاسلام والدين.
المنيع: أنا كنتك كله زعت الأشياء: أي ما كنتم في مكارم الأخلاق والأدب والاسلام والدين.
الرئيسي: فمكين، فإنك تعرِّف نفسك حاجنة تانية فصام عارفين نعشي مع بعض.
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المنيع: فمكين، فإنك تعرِّف نفسك حاجنة تانية فصام عارفين نعشي مع بعض.
الرئيس: أنا ب قول تان عثمان بن الكلاي بقيت له ترتيب حقيقي بقول أن ده قانون لتنظيم التظاهر فكرة إن إحدام مثل فابلين بقي إطحا مش عشاقين

في دولة مش عازيين نرجس الدولة ونصب القانون فيها.

المنيع: هل كان من الأفضل أننا نطيع قانون للإرهاب إذا الإسلام بوجه العنف أكثر من قانون التظاهر؟

الرئيس: فيه قوانين في يعني صوص داخل قانون العقوبات بتخلق كثير من المطلوب.

المنيع: يعني حالنا كرئيس للجمهورية لست تطلب تشريع سواء من البرلمان حال تشكيلة أو وانت ألغو حق التشريع حتى انتخب البرلمان لـ

طلب أن تقوم بوضع قانون مكافحة الإرهاب؟

الرئيس: يعني أي حاجة خلفي مطلوبة لتأمين مصر واستقرارها حماي قانون فهم عريزة قانون عمل عريزة إجراءات

المنيع: في برنامجنا الانتخابي ستري هل مصر في حاجة لتمك هذا القانون لله موضوع في اهتمامك في برنامجك الانتخابي؟

الرئيس: أنا بقول الأمن والاستقرار يعني كم ما يعني يتصلا بق هذه حلما.

المنيع: له طالب العفو التي منتشرة عن بعض الشباب أو بعض القوى اللي تم حسها لاختراقهم أو تخوفهم هذا القانون يستمع إليها وتوقف

عليها؟

الرئيس: سمعنا إليها كميطلك.

المنيع: إذا أصبحت رئيسا ستوافق على هذه الطلبات؟

الرئيس: القضاء هو اللي يقر.

المنيع: لكن الرئيس لديه سلطة العفو.

الرئيس: صحيح على كل حدث حديث.

المنيع: طيب.

المنيع: إذا هذا ينتهي الجزء الأول من حواراتنا مع المرشح الرئاسي عبد الفتاح السيسي وغداً الجزء الثاني إذن الله

المنيع: تصبحنا على خير
IX. Appendix 2: 2018 Interview Transcript

Material: TV Interview entitled “Ra’ees wa Shaab” (President and People)
Duration: 60 minutes
Participants:
1- President Abdel fattah El Sissi
2- Interviewer: Sandra Nashaat

المحاربة: أول ما دخلت معركتك، بنكك واحداني، طول عمرك منظم، ولا منظمة جديدة؟
SIDAYA AL RISSE: لا، طول عمرك المدنية، لا مهنة جديدة.

المحاربة: كنت طالب متقدم، يتقدم؟
SIDAYA AL RISSE: أه، كنت متقدم.

المحاربة: أي أهراء مادكتك تنجب؟
SIDAYA AL RISSE: أكثر من كتبنا كتاب، حب التاريخ، أو التاريخ، في عمرة عن سجل للإنسانية بكل ما تعنيه الكلمة دي، يعني ممكن تبني، حتى لو قالت الناس أنه هو تزويري التاريخ ما هو هو عمرة عن واقع، واقع الزمن الذي كان موجود في العصر الذي اكتسب فيه التاريخ، حتى لو كان هو هو

تاريخ التاريخ، التاريخ، التاريخ تزويري.

المحاربة: تفتيقها في وقت داوني تقدر كتاب التاريخ بصدق؟
SIDAYA AL RISSE: يمكن كتاب التاريخ بصدق، لأصل هو برجمان تريكو كل واحد مهرقا، يعني عيان وأوكي كتاب التاريخ من وجهة نظر يعني، أن حي هذا المطر وعليا، يعني لهيتور فين يا تري متي ممكن يكون مونتوري عام ومنصف وأمين عيان ما يكبد شبات لا يطول ولا

برحم.

المحاربة: يعني هل حضرتك تقدر تقولي تاريخ 8 سنين شابه ازي؟ هل هناك اكتساب في كتاب التاريخ.
SIDAYA AL RISSE: 8 سنين التي تقولوا ولا 8 سنين الدي؟

المحاربة: كتاب التاريخ، كتاب التاريخ، كتاب التاريخ، كتاب التاريخ

المحاربة: هل تقدر دلوقي مثلا كتبنا في التاريخ ولا لو سلي شو؟
SIDAYA AL RISSE: يمكن كتابنا أولية لأدائنا، يتسبب خذدي تجنن ناس متخصصة في الموضوع دا ما يكشل توجهاتها عالية على كتاباتها.

المحاربة: حمصتك وانت في المدرسة، لتجنح التاريخ كنت حساس أنك حيي موجود في التاريخ دوم من الأيام؟
SIDAYA AL RISSE: أنا طري ما دورت على التاريخ ليه.

المحاربة: بان.
SIDAYA AL RISSE: ما هو نا التاريخ عندي هو دله مع الله سبحره وتعال.

المحاربة: إسم:
SIDAYA AL RISSE: هو نا التاريخ بتاعي لأن أن حيي موجود، أنا ما حيي بجاي، التاريخ يكتب علي عبرات جميلة ورانة ويعني زي ما يقولوا يعني وانا نكون مش يعني مش معي مش كتبنا مع رينا كتب أه.

المحاربة: هو الوحيد التي
SIDAYA AL RISSE: أه طبيبا.

المحاربة: إسم:
SIDAYA AL RISSE: إسم:

SIDAYA AL RISSE: رينا مجتاه وتعال ما حقش يعني هو مطاع على الأسوار وعليا النوايا ومن الظروف وبالتالي هو حيي جديد مطلص العدالة والرحمة و복 ناجحة وبحلاني إذا ما ما أن ما بجي لا كلام بعد.

المحاربة: دا التاريخ تنبع.

SIDAYA AL RISSE: إيه مهرقة في التقاطة دا فيلاكن وش عايزي أي حد يفككنا غير أنك كنت إنسان حوات.

المحاربة: إيه السيرة التي حضرت تجب دااما.
SIDAYA AL RISSE: إنه أبتغية يحتفظ على يند دي وحي عليا شعبه دي ونداسة في ظروف صعبة بس.

المحاربة: اليوم دا تنبي ما ليه عن دا الطريقة لما أنا ينمق شرف أنني حيي بدي وأهالي وناسي من ظروف صعبة دا حاجة عظيمة جدا لا.

المحاربة: بين تحب ملإ الكلمة السبيسة دا.
SIDAYA AL RISSE: إسم:

المحاربة: عملك ما تلمه برفع جمهوري؟
SIDAYA AL RISSE: لا ما ما ما مهتموش أنني في أخلاق وفقه أه بني ريس.

المحاربة: أه؟
SIDAYA AL RISSE: يعني مستعبل أه أولي يعني.

المحاربة: مهندس لا كدور.
SIDAYA AL RISSE: لا ما ما مهتموش أه طابع طيار.

المحاربة: ظنناك دا حضرتك دلته التالية الجوية على طول؟
SIDAYA AL RISSE: 70 سنين.

المحاربة: أه أظمش أه أظمش سنيد أه أظمش قار?

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سيدآ الرئیس: كانت أول كن ساعتها في أعقاب حرب 67 أنه كانت الخسائر باتعنا في مصر في الوقت د فائقة الجيوش كبيرة حتى البشرية.

والمؤسس، أننا كانوا قد أرسلنا في المجموعة 70 مخلص الإعدادية تقريبا نعن. 

المحاربة: أه.

سيدآ الرئیس، أه.

المحاربة: بن واحد في أعقاد يحص بحاجات نا؟

سيدآ الرئیس، بالله، أنا ما كنت أو جهدي، إنه فينا دكير يوجد أن طباعة البلد كانت محتملة وقعتا كثيرة لأنها كانت تعبر فترة فائزة قاسية جدا.

المحاربة: من أصرور من من أفقي الفرق التي مررت على مصر.

سيدآ الرئیس، هو يعني.

المحاربة: الدعاوى؟

سيدآ الرئیس، الدعاوى كان صاحب قرار والإمكانيات وكافة قوة وصاحبة رأي ورشد عيب.

المحاربة: يام.

سيدآ الرئیس، أه، اساسا.

المحاربة: أه.

المحاربة: أه.

سيدآ الرئیس، أه.

المحاربة: من الحكم، والشتاء، التي سيستبت بتقولهم بشكل.

سيدآ الرئیس، أه، طبعاً أه أنا أحيى اخبار من الأشياء، أه ما فينا إجابة، الأشياء وكيفية وسعي وهو يسيب جدا، ومختلفين أنهم قطيع طلب حتى به.

المحاربة: علاقتهم؟

سيدآ الرئیس، أه، أحيى.

المحاربة: يام.

المحاربة: يام.

سيدآ الرئیس، مهمه بيانا، أه أخواتي كلنا كن يكون أه، أه ما أنا معاها وقت كل يوم كل يوم كل يوم كل يوم كل يوم كل يوم كل يوم كل يوم كل يوم كل يوم كل يوم كل يوم كل يوم كل يوم كل يوم كل يوم كل يوم كل يوم كل يوم كل يوم كل يوم كل يوم.

وتشريحي، وقولي داوماً كان يعني أخ别墅 أساساً مش أنا تتذوقه دلوقي.

المحاربة: دلوقي.

سيدآ الرئیس، لا لا التنين المصري الطبي.

المحاربة: مام.

سيدآ الرئیس، التنين الذي هنا نبات نتسب وتبص وتخاب على الحرام والإلبوب كان غالب العباد للما يسبح د ما تكشش د ما تكشش.

من هذه، ما تطلقش ما تخاب حاء مش بتلك.

المحاربة: تتك، كلنا دلوقي وحضره ودارة يوجد في المكان ده في الكرسي ده.

سيدآ الرئیس، أه، أنا التذوقي تزود المحاربة.

المحاربة: يمكننا بتذكينا أننا تتذوقه ل هو موجودة.

سيدآ الرئیس، هو.

المحاربة: تقبله.

سيدآ الرئیس: LOAD MORE..
سيداء الرياض: أعرف ممدوح أم التي هو توفي من زمان الله يرحمه من أكثر من 45-40 سنة كان أنا بلعا سنين شوته.

سيداء الرياض: لا صفة تانية خاص بين راجل غير بك سلحته لك معامه قديمة النطاق التي كان عندنا عجيب وكان يجب بقيد الناس.

سيداء الرياض: الحالة التي تعيشها من السيدة إيا إذا كان موجود يعني إذا كانت موجودة يعني هو الخلاف العطاء بلا مقابل مش عباس حجة.

بعلخ فصيح هو كلامك قد

المحاورة: حضورًا فعلاً يمكن أنني أمش مش عباس حجة?

المحاورة: هي طبوعي في فيه

المحاورة:تزاحم على جامع حضرت السيف في وقت ده؟

سيداء الرياض: فشفي ممكناً بعدها كده إذا كان فيه حبة كبيرة أني جواح مجمعم بحلول الديه نهنا فعندب كل منف من ينام يوم 30 و31. ومئة يوم 7/3 وحيدة مرة كان يوم 7/4 بعدنا كده حتى خاطي قرب كانت كانت ترطيب دلها بيبوين اطلاع نزاع من فضلكستان حالات كده وهو اختصار القاني لإما حجة يوم كان اليهند التقويض ده هو إعلاء رسالة للعلم كان فيه فانه في مسجد الشعيب كده لأنه نسبان يغوصوا في في ثقافة 7/3 لغة يوم 25 حسبت في السبأ كبير جدا في البلد كبير جدا وانطلاق الناس به وراء حزبين ده كان عباس لجذوه الوقاف التي هو في الحدثة حثكة مصمع عباد ينحى أنه متفاقمة حياحة ده يجيذت توتو هي حياحة مصمع حايات.

المحاورة: ما كان في موارك؟

المحاورة: كلما في موارك ود على ولكن

سيداء الرياض: إذا غصن الموارك كفيي حكاية النواصر المشتقة والخصائص الها فضل بإرادة في دايرة مسجت في مقبرةOfDay حكاية الحوادث كنه كان لمكن كنه سلحف كه و вещ في بكل مهاراتك الدائرة 40 يوم ناسا من كلفة ده فين فين ده فين ويستعد في فين إما استعداد في إذا استعداد في وليلة استعداد بالجزيرة فياء مصمم مع نفسه على ناسا بين كده ده يحضم معه جديد كده لأنها طايع فشفي ده كله أروج يعني نفسه فين.

المحاورة: النقص:

سيداء الرياض: إذا موضوع ألغاز في الحكيم هيكل كله واحد حسب درجة قيمته للدروس ودرجة وحجم الاعتقاد التي تجاهو حجم النفي التي تجاهو فيما إذا هو العيقات يا يعني هناك حورة هيئة في حجة حكما تضرب هستك كفيي بنفسك كده وكن كده مش شرف كما كان مش شرف كما كان مش شرف كما

المحاورة: تام.

سيداء الرياض: عشان أنا شاف كده يعني حرام وحلال في قضية خطيرة چذا چذا في قلبي الذي تحن في هستك وتتنشأ في الوقت

المحاورة: ألم تأتيك في زي حضرت السيف زمن كان الدين حياة تانية كان فيه اختلاف.

سيداء الرياض: إنه ينفع حتى النفيك في جيزة أني تجاهو أني يروي في شرع المعز ومعادج تجاوز تنازل شوية كان أكثر مرجح للسيدة ربية فالقوس الكثافة كده كلها كلن الناس كانت عاشية مليش طنا منا فلم ولا ممارسة نسبي على أسان ونن ده ما تستر فيد ثم كن كده لازم فين.

المحاورة: هل المعمالات والنقادات والكانت؟

سيداء الرياض: خلاص خاص ينعي وأنا وقفت الكلام الد لقبل كده لأن الحيران التي هنا مسيحيين وأنا ما مشى أقول التعبر ده مسيحي وبس أديل ومن وقفت ووقفته:

المحاورة: كده من كرما يلقو.

سيداء الرياض: معلومنة فلن تشارك بين ما يكون نظام

المحاورة: معلومنة عفاكم؟

سيداء الرياض: مع مرح لمعنعي فلن جود كده عند فني كده "مع" ما ما يتائف غير ده أني يطع ولا في أي أي من نافذ كده فيني ما

كلف يعني حاضرة عدانة على أقول كان نقولوا ما نعمل كده لا أنا لا نشكا فيني كده فيني ما.

المحاورة: حضورًا فعلاً يمكن أنني أمش مش عباس حجة?

المحاورة: أوا.

سيداء الرياض: بالله ينعي؟

المحاورة: أه.

سيداء الرياض: يهيجكم.
لا يوجد نص يمكن قراءته بشكل طبيعي من الصورة المقدمة.
مياية الربيع: القدرة على الاستجاب حتى العقل يعني الفكر. هناك شعب نيبه أو أي ويتم بسعود حجات كثير جداً ما يحدث يقترب غيره بالعناية أو حتى السما بين ما قوين حجاً رشة تحكيم على الناس في حين كثر من قبله يقرروا بما ما قوة碱 شرعية ومنشأها في تعيين آل حسن شبكة ومما للذين شكل مختلف عن بيننا جداً -وه كان بينهم 1000 سنة دولي في
الناعل.<br>المحاربة: طلب العبيد اللي فيهم؟<br>مياية الربيع: على؟<br>المحاربة: مي سقيم متنى في طباعه يعني.
مياية الربيع: صبورة. طبيب!<br>المحاربة: فيري رأينا يسانش بنيه على جمهور ما تأخد كل الذي في هوا رابط ناذر كثر من أكثر رابط أثر فيهم؟ عاصمته أو سمع عنه؟<br>مياية الربيع: الهوية: الأسماء والمعلومات الموجودة في على الأثر في الفترة التي على الزمن يعني كثر يعني<br>المحاربة: كميات تكوّنت كل رابط وTYPES ضعف في الفيلا ما معاشرين جمال عبد الناصر
مياية الربيع: جمال عبد الناصر كان ضعفًا وفوقًا مشهورًا في باليد ومن بي مصر ووفاته الرقم نعم.<br>السادات والعائلات؟<br>مياية الربيع: السادات التي اقتناعة الآفة طبعاً أربنا أنه هو يعني كثر استعمال يعني لكن طبعاً أقويل هو حك كان غايز بلعرس إصلاح اقتصادك كل هو طبعاً في موضتة حر ووضعة السلام. أنا أثق أن هو كان سابق بدون مسألة يعني فيه ناس كثير يتردد الكلام نه لكنانا<br>يقول؟ حتى في لسال طباعه.<br>معرض كان محارب آراي يا جماعة؟<br>المحاربة: مياية الربيع: يعني أننا هيطل أوث أحمد أن التحدي التي جوا مصر أكبر من أي رابط جمال عبد الناصر السادات-مبارك-مرسي-عبد الفتاح<br>الخريدي أكبر من مهما هيتهن أكبر من المصريين. هنا هو نقلة على اليه أبح فيه قد لى ببسيم وتول كننا مع بعض.<br>المحاربة: من فين بعد الشيخين على نائمين؟ التبت كوفه؟<br>مياية الربيع: لا. ليس باللحن أكبر ولكن معاشرة والمواد الصحية التي بينهم ويبوس ما أن يقولوا مشكلة لأن ما عديش مشكلة أن<br>حقد يقول إن النفس زعامة في الموضوع سنا غبالة من الموضوع دعو يhelm. كفه.<br>المحاربة: إذا أنا بديك يعني كثر ينتقل له صورة علني يحيطك آراي ما رابط ريز يقع في الفخ؟<br>مياية الربيع: إذا أنا آنا هو مش فق.<br>المحاربة: يعني بلوق كي يره هو ما هو كون إلى الأحبار المنتجات التي حاصله
مياية الربيع: لا. لا من مش عازرين مسند كلمة زناعه.|
|
المحاربة: أواه.<br>مياية الربيع: بقي كده يعني مش عازرين نسمعك أيه<br>مياية الربيع: بشكله كلاه. مستقبله.<br>مياية الربيع: خلباً تخطيط على<br>المحاربة: التي فهده.<br>مياية الربيع: ليس هو مثلها معضوب مثل لا فان لا أنا الحقيقة مش بس كده أواه أنا بدي مساحة كلاه وحركة مع الزملاء كل<br>الإلماء لكن أنه كان في الموضوع في المساحة الكبيرة ينتاع والتي هيجي المساله ينصح من كلامه معنا أنا منك كثر من أقوى أنه هو منك بولي
كلام في حكم يعني.<br>المحاربة: يا<br>مياية الربيع: أو طبعاً كثر أنا المساحة المسافة قريبة جداً أكتم ما شنت هو أن احنا نتهي الناس كلها على قلب رجل واحد وعلى رأي واحد ده مش.<br>المحاربة: بش آناء الاعتراف، من يضحك يفة؟<br>مياية الربيع: حيث بين إينان والالعالي التي نشر الكلام الناس يتكلمنز ما هي عيبية كفالة التي حصل السبع ستين التي قالوا فاختاً.<br>المحاربة: على إينان نتفوق على الكافحة.<br>مياية الربيع: فرق بين إينان والالعالي! التي نشر الكلام الناس يتكلمنز ما هي عيبية كفالة التي حصل السبع ستين التي قالوا فاختاً.<br>المحاربة: ماملة ملحة!<br>مياية الربيع: لا. لا تستعتصال تاته يحنا بند تناط هنح عبرها. يعني أننا يعني ده ما ناي علاقة بعد 25 يناير و30 يونية يعني كله مش مضيعه<br>الي أنا يقبله قد فين 25 يناير ولا إبادة لـ 30 يونية لكن ده تجربتنا احنا جيسي تحركنا كـ 25 وانحتركا لـ.<br>30.
مياية الربيع: إننا محاربة فينها بلوظي كفالة واحة أننا في أي؟<br>مياية الربيع: يعني مرحلة تثبيت الدولة التي نشأها و lokal انني الإرهاب في سياسة بلعرس بالمطلقة لو أي حد<br>متصوراً كما حاصل بعد تقدر. إننا بانتكل على حجم معين وحجم نواصله لو انا التهاردة ينكل على إن فيه إهاب بنسبة 90% هناك ما أنا<br>نائز بـ 10%؟<br>المحاربة: آآارا؟؟<br>مياية الربيع: إينان؟<br>المحاربة: عليك ما دعنت طبيبة طويلة تحم المسألة إنعلشات وعلاقتنا كدو الموضوع ضع على أد أجهزة الفوات المسالحة ولreshape<br>د الموضوع ضع على أد وأد أجهزة حقيقة أحيانا الناس هنا تشعر على بعد كل القوة قوة الطاولة ستينين ونص ولا الأروية التي عدنا دول<br>لا تعود عليهم.<br>المحاربة: أحاله؟ يا صديقها؟<br>مياية الربيع: لا. لا يراك؟<br>المحاربة: بلد العربية؟<br>مياية الربيع: لا. لا يراك بدي.<br>المحاربة: محاوله؟<br>مياية الربيع: محاربة تمويل؟<br>المحاربة: دولة الربيع. لا. لا يراك بدي.
سيادة الرئيس: يعني يعنی.

المحرر: عفواً.

سيادة الرئيس: أو يتعين أن أأعمل بيهم كده.

المحرر: والأسرة.

سيادة الرئيس: أسرة أهنا ما هم يعقلون أيا بالقومدين دي كلها.

المحرر: والمعلومات تقدم.

سيادة الرئيس: هم يعقلون أيا أنا لا إنه لا ينفق ولا ينفي.

المحرر: ما ينقضونه يا قد؟

سيادة الرئيس: أي؟

المحرر: كنكون ينقضونه?

سيادة الرئيس: يعني يعيب.

المحرر: وده مسباقك نوعاً؟

سيادة الرئيس: لا لا.

المحرر: يبني ادمين أحا.

سيادة الرئيس: أني أنم تنصح.

المحرر: مش كده ولا أيا؟

سيادة الرئيس: صحيح.

المحرر: يكي حضرتك مش مولد رئيس جمهورية.

سيادة الرئيس: لا لا يعيب خلس ونأ مش.

المحرر: لا أيا؟

سيادة الرئيس: يعيب.

المحرر: مما يعيب من أيا ما أبني حاكم مش همليت نفس يتكلم كده، ما هو هطول زي؟ في الزحمة دي.

سيادة الرئيس: أليا ما يعيب لما اللي يكله ما الذي يجعل لما اللي يعقلوني أه، وعينين أحا لا ما عثمان كده يعني.

المحرر: هنادأق طبق ألي لا ما يطبع ما أحب أكون مع الناس.

سيادة الرئيس: بيبه وصين عتك يعقلن ده.

المحرر: أشياء وكلملي ويوكلوني والله أعلم.

سيادة الرئيس: فيفار لوقلي تعلي ده أكي لأن.

سيادة الرئيس: لا لا أكثر حاجة بعائي منها.

المحرر: أيا في؟

سيادة الرئيس: هي دي.

المحرر: يكي حضرتك مش قادرك.

سيادة الرئيس: إلى مش مع الناس كل الناس.

المحرر: ومش لحظة وآلاك يوقلين يا بابا أنت عملت كده ليه؟ كان ممكن تسمعهم ولا ما لهومش دعوة بالمكاحية دي دولتي.

سيادة الرئيس: ما يطبع كل عمي أن ما أحب قرار صعبة وناس تزعل منها يقوقعينه ما عملت معالكم كده؟ لأن أنا ما كنتش بعمل معاه.

المحرر: هل؟ كان برضه بمعاه يعيب مش سهل.

سيادة الرئيس: يكي.

سيادة الرئيس: لا طبعاً عشاي يفي كويسين مش عثمان حاجة تانية.

المحرر: حضرتك مش مش مع الناس.

سيادة الرئيس: لا عيب يعيب دي دم وجالية للبنين والنس تقدير وأنا يعيب تجربتي كده تجربي كلها ترية جداً فيما يخص ذل.

المحرر: السنت.

سيادة الرئيس: ما شتغل غير كل حاجة حلوة يكي تجربتي مكن واحدة يكون له تجربي تانية قد تكون فائدة عليه، فيكون كاره مثلًا لكن أنا تجربتي.

المحرر: مش كده.

سيادة الرئيس: الاحتفاء أبي يفي تمثل لهم ما يكرروا ويبيده وداً الولاد يبكونوا البلد في عامة أراي؟

سيادة الرئيس: أنا حيبي يعيه مش حيقي مش فيهم فيهم الذين هديته غير كده خلاصه وأ طبعاً.

المحرر: بعد 20-30 سنة.

سيادة الرئيس: لا لا ومن مش يكون تاني مش ميغث لا إن شاء الله بكره تكشوا.

المحرر: بارب.

سيادة الرئيس: أه بارب طبعاً بارب.

المحرر: حضرتك كان اللي تفهم فينا عايزه اسم نحن الناس بعد من غير تريث آنا جيبيه تجريبي يكون زي ما هو آنا تجريبياً جيبيه زي ما هو.

سيادة الرئيس: يعني تكرمي ما حاتمتي أول حاجة.

سيادة الرئيس: عيتي.

المحرر: لا.

سيادة الرئيس: أني شعر عدل والله خلاص أنا بحلم.

المحرر: لما يفصح حاجات كورثت ض في أرباء الناس التي ينقل دولتي.
 hakmiyat min laykifsh dunwaty.

al-akhdar: min khasha khasha?

al-akhdar: 900.


أحد الموطنين:
ولا حاجة أكثر من أن يُقال هو عامل هو صاحب كده في تعاوناته كمان خصوصًاً مع الجانب الروسي وواحد آخر مبناً على التفاؤل.
كرامة:
أحد الموطنين:
عازبائي أقول أعتني.
المحاربة: قل الحق.
أحد الموطنين:
تعبد مصر.
عازبائي مصر، أحسن بلدة في الدنيا انتميوا بين عشان العربات اللي وراكوا.
أحد الموطنين:
أيمر.
المحاربة: أوموم.
أحد الموطنين:
تعمد.
المحاربة: لي بق.
أحد الموطنين:
أشن أن اللوا محروم حنفي لازم أحبه السياسي.
أحد الموطنين:
أنا مش بخوف أن النظام العسكري بيديه الأمر بشكل عملي قد ما هو يبقى للي الدخالي الأممية أكثر.
أحد الموطنين:
أنا مش عازبائي مصر مش هنالك سعة.
أحد الموطنين:
هو الشيخ طبيعي يعني مصر إنه دولة توجد يعني هو أه من البلد ومن الشعب وكل حاجة يعني مفصله لأن هما كان مش مش
من عشرة في الاقتصاد وحنا عاننا مشاكل اقتصادية.
أحد الموطنين:
أنا ختمت في القيادات الممثلة 25 سنة عمر زمان عازبائي يعني أبي السياسي.
أحد الموطنين:
أنا بيستمتع تالي العيش نشاط أيها القواطي حصد عمل اللي أنت عملته في 3 سنين دول.
أحد الموطنين:
مدفع على باشا الثاني بعد 300 سنة بعليه محمد علي في شخصية السيسي.
المحاربة: أه.
أحد الموطنين:
أعتدي في مصدره وبأي.
أحد الموطنين:
الرب قائد وبوسي.
أحد الموطنين:
في إعلاهما مطلبه دي يعني اللي هو الطويل زيادة عن الزروم أنا طالما مفتتح بالشخص مفتتح به مش محتاج إيك تقولي أه.
أحد الموطنين:
توفيق قوام.
أحد الموطنين:
سياح عربية دا يكون في برنامج دا الأهم من وجهة نظرنا.
أحد الموطنين:
طمع هؤلاء نقاني العودة إنه ينزل بيراميدات انتخابي ثانية.
أحد الموطنين:
هنا لول الريس الموجود هيفوز وهمزة العامة وكل حاجة بي تحرك الهية يا جماعة في مرشح ثاني في رأي واحد.
المحاربة: أفرو هو كيف كان بايز اسمه؟
أحد الموطنين:
بغي مش هشي.
أحد الموطنين:
أنا بايز علي من مش طانية منش مششي لا اللي يتبطلنا بي هو أحنا ما إحنا بقولوا إنه هو كريس احنا مش معارضين فيه.
أحد الموطنين:
كلام د بحيس.
أحد الموطنين:
أنا بيديه في داية بيدي كده مش هلكوا الكلام الصح.
أحد الموطنين:
أقولا ريا صي حال حال وبيكي على اللي أتت فيه.
أحد الموطنين:
قل الحق.
المحاربة: قل الحق.
أحد الموطنين:
أنا يقول الحق الله يقول الحق لله يعلم ربنا والله.
أحد الموطنين:
قل الحق وأتقال.
أحد الموطنين:
أبلي منه أنه يقع وبريدا بقي.
أحد الموطنين:
ما تعليمة في؟
أحد الموطنين:
باكر لسي إنشاء الله المرحلة الحالية وبرينا.
أحد الموطنين:
أقول لا إلا إحا عازبائي اللي يمشي يحكم في البلد ما أه شي الم.
أحد الموطنين:
قلنا نظام تعليم عنا تصالح.
أحد الموطنين:
التعليم د مش من دوقتي هو فلسطين التعليم د كان من زمان.
أحد الموطنين:
هو دي اللي على أساس الهجاء اللي يشفي أحسن.
أحد الموطنين:
أنا يعكس التعليم ويبكي مثل.
أحد الموطنين:
لا التعليم د موضوع كبير ويتنا دعاء عازبائي وعازبائي شاعر نابلي منش نابلي من الحضارة مش نابلي من دوقتي.
أحد الموطنين:
أه في البلد كومية بي في ناس مش عازبائي البلد كومية.
أحد الموطنين:
له الهجاء اللي يتحمل؟
المحاربة: أن يشفن الناس عازبائي أه.
أحد الموطنين:
أه بعد في الآخر هيحصل أه؟
المحاربة: توصل صوت الناس.
أحد الموطنين:
وعدي ما بوصل.
المحاربة: نصلح.
لا يوجد نص يمكن قراءته بشكل طبيعى.
وأول أن الأطوار المطلقة هي المحاومة فينا، إذا أعدت الأطوار المنطقية في تلك المكونات كله، وترتبط أيضاً مع غير ما نذكر فيها، قد يكون اللون الأحمر كأبعد ما يكون في الصغة 30% - 4 في الصغة 10% - 20% ولا يتجاوز 100 سنتيمتر في قطر الراوية في المكونة المطلقة، بالنسبة للظل، قد يكون الأحمر شديد، وقد تظهر فيه بعض التدفقات، وعندما يصبح في 6 شوؤن شهد على الشنط، إذا أعدت المزيد من الأطوار الكبيرة، قد يكون دائماً يبحث عن المحاومة إلى 5 ألقاباً؟ من كنّنا أربعة، سوف يكون هناك عدد أربعة هو كيف الجمات وعدد أربعة رأيس وكبير، وأفكنا 18 سنة واذا، نأخذ بعض تفاصيل في حقول الاصطالة، هم كنّنا، واذا، نأخذ بعض تفاصيل في حقول الاصطالة، هم كنّنا، واذا، نأخذ بعض تفاصيل في حقول الاصطالة، هم كنّنا، واذا، نأخذ بعض تفاصيل في حقول الاصطالة، هم كنّنا، واذا، نأخذ بعض تفاصيل في حقول الاصطالة، هم كنّنا، واذا، نأخذ بعض تفاصيل في حقول الاصطالة، هم كنّنا، واذا، نأخذ بعض تفاصيل في حقول الاصطالة، هم كنّنا، واذا، نأخذ بعض تفاصيل في حقول الاصطالة، هم كنّنا، واذا، نأخذ بعض تفاصيل في حقول الاصطالة، هم كنّنا، واذا، نأخذ بعض تفاصيل في حقول الاصطالة، هم كنّنا، واذا، نأخذ بعض تفاصيل في حقول الاصطالة، هم كنّنا، واذا، نأخذ بعض تفاصيل في حقول الاصطالة، هم كنّنا، واذا، نأخذ بعض تفاصيل في حقول الاصطالة، هم كنّنا، واذا، نأخذ بعض تفاصيل في حقول الاصطالة، هم كنّنا، واذا، نأخذ بعض تفاصيل في حقول الاصطالة، هم كنّنا، واذا، نأخذ بعض تفاصيل في حقول الاصطالة، هم كنّنا، واذا، نأخذ بعض تفاصيل في حقول الاصطالة، هم كنّنا، واذا، نأخذ بعض تفاصيل في حقول الاصطالة، هم كنّنا، واذا، نأخذ بعض تفاصيل في حقول الاصطالة، هم كنّنا، واذا، نأخذ بعض تفاصيل في حقول الاصطالة، هم كنّنا، واذا، نأخذ بعض تفاصيل في حقول الاصطالة، هم كنّنا، واذا، نأخذ بعض تفاصيل في حقول الاصطالة، هم كنّنا، واذا، نأخذ بعض تفاصيل في حقول الاصطالة، هم كنّنا، واذا، نأخذ بعض تفاصيل في حقول الاصطال
سيادة الرئيس: 22 خلاص عن عملنا السلام فاختطنا مع الأشقاء ما انتقذاش فقينا حاولنا، وانคอش ونتعهد الواقع اللي كان موجود قبل كده ولنمش ونتحرك بناع الدولة يمكي العدد السكان بيزيز المطالب BMW تعاون المزاحلي ببكر لازم تمسي
معاه، وناما نتأخّر في حلوجة
المحاورة: فسفيلاش حاجة

سيادة الرئيس: غربا عننا لا UB في عبد الناصر ولا عيب في السادات، خاصاً إذا الطفوف كانت بناء الدولة تعتب 10 سنين وقتين سنين لكن المجتمع ما وقفنا المجتمع بينما نحتاج إجابة مطلوبة إعاز إسكن عز ميرسا عز مستفي عز بتشغل التركم ذات در عنها بالكم إ يكن متشكلة لبشر نيجي اذا بينك في هذه الحالة يفتبنا يا لقد إننا تلقت عز ما يتقول عز عز من دخلنا في المواضيع ليه؟؟ دي بينتنا ولازم نتهم بها كلنا ولازم تعرف طوفنا كلنا ولازم نبي عازفي تعديلنا كلنا لأن انا كمان هنعرف نتف قادم انتخابات عز وهتغلب عليها، خلي ياللك، افتكروا كريس أن كل تهد من اللي انا الكمالنا فيه دا أنا مصر أتعلاته عليه الكهربا اتعليننا عليها، غاز انتخبنا عليه، دولر مش موجود خلاص مشفر كلام من دا يتأن بينتيل ميني أني أفوك على الميل دا أنت الآمل اللي أنا بقول عليه دا خطوات انتم عبرتوا نباح مش إذا عبرتوا نباح لا طبعا مصر وشعيب عبر المعاني دي كلها بالكم بنبح

المحاورة: ايه الحاجة اللي تغلب فقول كده مش نازل خلاص مش لا عب اللعبة دي؟

سيادة الرئيس: هما

المحاورة: هما

سيادة الرئيس: طببا ما هو الأول وها الآخر

المحاورة: لو الشباب قال حاجة

سيادة الرئيس: لا

المحاورة: تحب سيركت تبقى ازاي؟

سيادة الرئيس: عن زي

المحاورة: بين معشر الناس هتقول دا كان

سيادة الرئيس: عن زي دي هو اللي يعني المستمر علي قلوب الناس وعلىفتها

المحاورة: عبد الفتاح الأسد

سيادة الرئيس: الأسد زيماري كل اللي في الشارع

المحاورة: لا زي رئيس الجمهورية سابقا الرئيس عبد الفتاح السيسي

سيادة الرئيس: لا لا هو الإنسان عادي خلاص مش عز الحاجة غير أنه بحث للبلا لنفسه بشفها حلو، لازم تكونوا عازفين أنا معرفش غي
### X. Appendix 3: Transliteration Key

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### Short vowels
- a
- i
- u

### Long vowels
- ā (ألف مدة)
- َ (باء مدة)
- ū (و أو مدة)
- َََ (باء مدة في العامية مثل بيت حن"
- ََ (و أو مدة في العامية مثل أوصة حن"