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Patterns of Lexical Cohesion in Arabic Newspaper Editorials

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Abstract

The present study offers an integrated model of lexical cohesion in Arabic newspapers' editorials that falls into three main categories: reiteration relations, comprising repetition, paraphrase and summary; systematic semantic relations including synonymy, contrast, specification, generalization and co-specification; and collocation relations. It captures two novel categories that contribute significantly to newspaper editorials: paraphrase and summary, both of which offer readers an understanding of vague or culture-bound terms and summarize the writers' opinions. The adequacy of this model is tested against a corpus of 105 newspaper editorials (42,878 words) from three main newspapers in Jordan: Al Rai, Al Dustoor and Al Ghad. A statistical analysis of the corpus reports that reiteration relations are the most frequent type in newspaper discourse (53.7%), followed by systematic semantic relations (24.5%) and collocations (21.7%). The study argues that many of the systematic semantic relations are triggered by the headline, which is reported to play a significant role in the cohesiveness of newspaper discourse, generating a set of items that belongs to the same semantic field and presaging the use of some expressions. Following Hoey (1991), Stokes et al. (2004), and Yankova (2006), the model emphasizes the importance of lexical cohesion in creating textual continuity.

Keywords: Discourse analysis, Cohesion, Newspaper editorials, Lexical ties, Reiteration relations, Collocation

1. Introduction

Textual linguistics regards text as a semantic unit that is defined by its communicative function. For Halliday and Hasan (1976), the notion of text refers to a unit of language in use. Text is often differentiated from discourse when used in the same study in terms of the mode. Thus, where text refers to the written form of language, discourse refers to the spoken form and is made up of utterances (Brown and Yule 1983, Coulthard 1985). For Sunderland (2004), discourse carries an ideology that is manifested in text.

De Beaugrande (1981) maintains that a group of sentences can function as a text only if they satisfy seven standards of textuality: cohesion, coherence, acceptability, informativity, intentionality, situationality, and intertextuality. Where any of these standards is not met, such sentences fail to function as a text and they are rendered a non-text (De Beaugrande and Dressler 1981). The latter maintain that cohesion 'subsumes' the procedures whereby the surface elements appear as progressive occurrences such that their sequential connectivity is maintained and made recoverable (1981, 3-10). Cohesion and coherence are treated as essential components of textness, with neither having an influence on the other.

According to Halliday and Hassan (1980), cohesion refers to semantic relations that hold between linguistic and extralinguistic entities in text and situation. Grammatical and lexical devices function cohesively only when the interpretation of an item in the text is totally dependent on that of another, i.e. no one item can be cohesive by itself. De Beaugrande and Dressler (1981) hold that cohesive devices show how text surface structure elements, e.g. phrases, sentences, and clauses, are connected through a sequence. Hannay et al. (1996) argue that cohesion is an obligatory requirement for any text to guarantee a sense of continuity. By providing readers with a text that contains a set of cohesive devices, writers make it easy for readers to keep the text unified. Paltridge (2012) demonstrates that cohesion patterns express the integration of grammar and discourse in language. The contribution of cohesion to the unity of the text has not been challenged as it is one way of providing coherence (Tanskanen 2006).

Researchers disagree as to whether cohesion is an essential requirement of textness. Most of them, (e.g. Halliday and Hasan 1976, Tanskanen 2006) confirm that the significance of cohesion cannot be overemphasized as there are certain features in each text type that help keep text as a unified whole rather than scattered sentences. Other researchers, (e.g. Martin 1992, Halliday 1994, González 2011), contend that although cohesion is not a necessary condition for textness, the more coherent a text is, the more cohesive devices are utilized. Yet others, e.g. Brown and Yule (1983), posit that it is a significant, yet insufficient condition for the identification and unity of text. They assume that readers will interpret sentences based on the different semantic relations that exist with previous sentences. To test this, they suggest taking a narrative text, where they leave the first sentence and scramble the rest. They observe that in spite of the cohesive ties present in that text, readers would not recognize the scrambled sentences. Thus, what is more important to them is the coherence between the propositional units in the text. Without coherence, a group of sentences fails to function as a text irrespective of how many cohesive ties there are.

2. Theoretical Background and Related Studies

A number of models have been proposed for the analysis of lexical cohesion. Halliday and Hasan (1976) produced the most comprehensive and pioneering account of cohesion. According to Brown and Yule (1983, 190), Halliday and Hasan's model "is by far the most comprehensive treatment of the subject and has become the standard text in this area". Similarly, Baker (2018), 180) adds that their model is "the best known and most detailed model of cohesion available". Tanskanen (2006) shows that the model is the first to draw attention to the set of relations that contributes to the unity of text and discourse. What is highly regarded in their model is how they point out that the interaction between lexical items and users' world knowledge would lend continuity to the text (De Beaugrande 1981, Tanskanen 2006).

Under Halliday and Hassan's model, cohesion falls into two broad categories: grammatical and lexical. Grammatical cohesion refers to the grammatical features of a sentence and is created via reference, substitution, ellipsis and conjunction. According to them, no single element can be cohesive by itself; rather, one element should be interpreted by reference to another element in the text itself. The first and most common aspect of cohesion is reference which falls into two categories: exophoric and

endophoric. Where the former creates cohesive ties inside the text that cement the connectedness of the text, the latter fails to create a cohesive tie because it "directs the receiver out of the text and into an assumed shared world" (McCarthy 1991, 41).

Substitution refers to the process by which an item in one sentence substitutes for some material somewhere in the text in the same grammatical slot (Halliday and Hasan 1976, Johnstone 2002). Substitution is used to avoid repetition of unnecessary items (Vujević 2012). The value of this type of cohesion lies in the fact that the interpretation of both items is retrievable by reference to a previous piece of discourse (De Beaugrande and Dressler 1981, Johnstone 2002). Another aspect of grammatical cohesion is ellipsis, which involves deliberate deletion of lexical items, with clarity being maintained (cf. Kennedy 2003, Harmer 2004). Such omission of words, phrases, and clauses creates a cohesive tie that gives texture to the text. Ellipsis is viewed by Halliday and Hasan (1976) as "substitution by zero". Both substitution and ellipsis are treated by Hoey (1991) under lexical cohesion because they function in a similar way to lexical repetition.

One of the most effective aspects of cohesion is conjunction, which relates what is to be said to what has been said before using markers like 'and', 'or', 'yet', 'therefore', 'because', … etc (Halliday and Hasan 1976, Ghazalah 2001). Conjunctions are not cohesive by themselves, but by virtue of relations of meaning they make inside the text. Despite the terminological differences in the classification of conjunctions, most accounts divide them into additive, adversative, sequential and causal relations (Ghazalah 2001, Louwerse and Mitchell 2003). Conjunction can be achieved through single word adverbs, e.g. 'but', 'and', 'yet', or multi-word phrases, e.g. 'in spite of this', 'in addition'. Recent research recognizes a number of cohesive syntactic constructions, e.g. 'to conclude', 'while it is true' (Biber et al. 1999).

Lexical cohesion falls into two categories: reiteration and collocation. Reiteration refers to the cohesive effect created by reiterating lexical items or relating a lexical item to a previous noun (Halliday and Hasan 1976). Both grammatical and lexical devices help text receivers relate the different parts of the text so as to keep them unified. Halliday and Hasan (1976) point out that grammatical cohesion is more powerful than lexical cohesion, which sometimes fails to indicate any cohesive function. This is not in line with some studies that have stressed the importance of lexical cohesion in creating textual continuity, e.g. (Hoey 1991, Morris and Hirst 1991, Stokes et al. 2004, Yankova 2006). For example, Hoey (1991) claims that lexical cohesion has received little attention compared to that of grammatical cohesion, arguing that it has the capacity of creating various connections between different items at the same time, unlike grammatical cohesion, except for reference, which fails to form a relation with more than one item at a time. Hoey (1991, 10) reports that "the study of the greater part of cohesion is the study of lexis, and the study of cohesion in text is to a considerable degree the study of patterns of lexis in text".

Although Halliday and Hasan's model has been widely recognized and adopted, it has come under attack from some text linguists. For example, Brown and Yule (1983) criticized their detailed analysis of grammatical aspects of cohesion at the expense of lexical ones. Halliday and Hasan devoted only a chapter of twenty pages to dealing with lexical cohesion, compared to four long chapters on the

grammatical aspects of cohesion. Lexical cohesion is responsible for almost half of the cohesive ties for the texts analyzed at the back of their book, which shows that they failed to highlight the real value of lexical cohesion (Tanskanen 2006). Stotsky (1983) also criticized Halliday and Hasan's model, claiming that their data was taken from literary and conversational discourse, ignoring expository discourse.

A number of studies, other than Halliday and Hasan, have contributed to the study of lexical cohesion. For example, Halliday and Hasan's part in cohesion has been revised by Hasan (1984), Halliday (1984) and Martin (1992). Under the new approach, Hasan (1984) excludes the category of collocation because of its intersubjective nature. Her model is reorganized into two broad categories: general and instantial. The general lexical category involves relations that can be semantically defined, including repetition of lexical items and sense relations: synonymy, antonymy, hyponymy and meronymy. Some of the collocation categories in Halliday and Hasan (1976), e.g. synonymy and antonymy, are now considered under the general category. The instantial lexical category refers to relations of equivalence, naming, and semblance that are created by the text.

Similarly, Halliday (1984) offered a new approach to lexical cohesion, comprising three main classes: repetition, synonymy, and collocation. What is new in this approach is the addition of the category of synonymy, which is used as an umbrella term referring to synonymy, superordinates, hyponymy, co-hyponymy, meonymy, and antonymy. In his later version, Halliday (1985) reorganizes the category of collocation to cover co-occurrences of lexical items.

McCarthy (1988, 181) aimed to show how language users "use language in a systematic and patterned way for interactive purposes". He posits that spoken discourse cannot be analyzed using models developed for written discourse, as intonation patterns should be considered to complement the analysis. McCarthy's proposed model of lexical cohesion in spoken language comprises equivalence, inclusion (specific-general), meronymy (general-specific) and oppositeness. Exact repetition in this model fails to work cohesively and he investigates how different variants of the same form are knitted together.

Hoey (1991) presented a model of lexical cohesion that emphasizes the role of lexical cohesion in discourse. The proposed model falls into: simple repetition, complex repetition, simple and complex paraphrase, substitution, co-reference, ellipsis and deixis. Carefully examining them, we find that some of the proposed categories, namely ellipsis and substitution, belong to Halliday and Hasan's grammatical cohesion, although Hoey (1991) argues that such categories function like lexical repetition in that they enable text producers to say something again. Hoey (1991, 10) criticizes Halliday and Hasan's model's exhaustive analysis of grammatical cohesion, arguing that lexical cohesion is "the most dominant mode of creating texture".

Martin (1992) redefined the lexical cohesion of Halliday and Hasan to comprise taxonomic, nuclear and activity sequence relations. Taxonomic relations refer to Halliday's general relations (1984) and they comprise repetition, synonymy, hyponymy, meronymy, co-hyponymy and co-meronymy, and contrast. Nuclear relations refer to the different ways in which "actions, people, places, things and qualities configure as activities". Activity sequence relations describe the ways in which "the nuclear configurations are recurrently sequenced in a given field" (Halliday 1984, 309).

Eggins (2004) developed a model of lexical cohesion based on the division of paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations. Paradigmatic relations fall into elaboration and extension relations. The former comprises repetition, synonymy and hyponymy. Synonymy includes antonymy whereas hyponymy comprises cohyponymy. Extension relations comprise meronymy and co-meronymy. Syntagmatic relations incorporate items that tend to co-occur: collocation. Based on the fact that native speakers can recognize the type of genre once they read the first stage, Eggins (2004) suggested a functional approach for dealing with the schematic structure of genres, called 'functional labelling'.

González (2010) examined the use of lexical cohesion in telephone conversations using a corpus of 15,683 words drawn from the international corpus of English. The analysis of data demonstrates that lexical repetition was the dominant source of lexical cohesion (52.6%), followed by associative cohesion (24%) and inclusive relations (8.2%).

Mirzapour and Ahmadi (2011) examined lexical cohesion patterns in English and Persian research articles. The study revealed that research articles in both languages dominantly employ repetition, collocation and synonymy to give texture. Where English research articles prefer repetition and collocation, Persian ones prefer repetition and synonymy.

Carefully examining previous literature on cohesion, we draw the conclusion that spoken and written genres and registers have their own distinguishing cohesive devices (Swales 1990, Taboada 2004, Tanskanen 2006, and González 2011). Tanskanen (2006, 38) further shows that "cohesion may not work in absolutely identical ways in all languages, but the strategies of forming cohesive relations seem to display considerable similarity across languages". For example, Al-Jabr (1987) shows that fictional narratives tend to cohere using pronominal co-reference, whereas editorials and science cohere via lexical cohesion. Fictional narratives also use the additive conjunctive *wāw* more significantly than editorials and science texts. While previous studies have addressed the use of cohesion in narratives (Fox 1987), academic language (Verikaitë 2005), legal discourse (Yankova 2004), and religious discourse (Huneety et al. 2017), no single study has addressed the use of cohesion in newspaper discourse in the context of the Jordanian press.

Newspaper discourse follows certain linguistically rich techniques to shape the minds of readers. This feature makes newspapers a rich source of linguistic data (Bhatia 2014). Newspapers fall into different sections: news reports, sports, letters to the editor, editorials, weather reports, opinion, business, and so on. Each of these sections employs particular linguistic devices appropriate to its function (Fowler 1991). Based on this, the present study is limited to addressing three newspaper sections: political, sport and satire editorials**.** Familiarity with the characteristics of any one genre is one way of functioning well in that discourse community (Malah 2015).

This paper falls into five sections. Section one presented a general introduction to cohesion, and Section two the theoretical background to cohesion that provides support for the rest of the discussion. Section three deals with the rationale behind this research and data collection. After consulting theories on cohesion and related ideas, we propose a model of cohesion in newspaper discourse, and provide

examples that prove the effectiveness of the model. The paper concludes with a discussion of the results and concluding remarks.

3. Data Collection

The aim of this research is twofold: to offer an insight into the use of lexical aspects of cohesion in creating texture in Arabic editorials and to provide patterns of lexical cohesion based on previous literature, that capture any cohesive devices other than those introduced by pioneering models of cohesion (e.g., Halliday and Hasan 1976, Hoey 1991, Tanskanen 2006).

To this end, a corpus comprising105 newspaper editorials was built from three main newspapers published in Arabic, Al Rai, Al Dustoor and Al Ghad, 35 from each. These newspapers are among the most popular in Jordan, reporting on local and international events and issues. They were selected because they appeal to most Jordanian readers and have some of the most prominent writers in the country. The corpus covers political, satire, and sport editorials. Where political and sport editorials use Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), satire editorials employ both MSA and Colloquial Jordanian Arabic. The general criteria for selection is that texts should be written by professional writers, should have a minimum length of 200 words, and should cover the period from September 2017 to January 2018. Another criterion is the viewing behaviour of the audience; where the website of each newspaper in our sample shows most-read articles by professional journalists, these were selected.

To achieve the objectives of the study, the corpus was carefully analyzed for the use of lexical cohesion, drawing on earlier works (e.g. Halliday and Hasan 1976, Hoey 1991, Eggins 2004, Tanskanen2006). Lexical ties were then categorized by type and frequency. To offer an integrated model of lexical cohesion that satisfies Arabic newspaper discourse, all editorials were carefully examined to capture any cohesive devices other than those employed by pioneering works on cohesion, particularly Halliday and Hassan (1976).

4. Patterns of Lexical Cohesion in Arabic Newspaper Discourse

Lexical cohesion refers to the cohesive effect created through relating one lexical item to other items in some way, leading to textual continuity. While many previous studies emphasized the role of lexical cohesion in creating texture, this study contributes to the field by providing patterns of lexical cohesion in newspaper discourse. Following Hoey (1991), it assumes that meaning is context sensitive and therefore adopts the discourse-based approach, according to which two lexical items which are not semantically absolutely synonymous can be equivalent to each other in particular contexts. In addition to analyzing cohesive relations within single editorials, the model looks into the relationship between the headline and the following editorial in creating cohesion. It has been found that a headline evokes all related items in one semantic field, and this creates cohesion by preparing readers for the type of lexis as well as the type of grammatical structures to be used in the editorial, and limits the use of some expressions in the body of the editorial.

The analysis reveals that patterns of lexical cohesion in newspaper editorials fall into three categories: reiteration relations, systematic semantic relations and collocations, drawing on Halliday and Hasan (1976), Hoey (1991), Eggins (2004), Tansaken (2006) and González (2010, 2011). The following table summarizes these patterns:

Table 1: Patterns of lexical cohesion in newspaper editorials

Reiteration Relations	Simple and direct repetition Paraphrase Summary
Systematic Semantic Relations	Synonymy Contrast Generalization Specification Co-specification
Collocation Relations	

Reiteration Relations

Drawing on Tannen (1989) and Johnstone (1994), reiteration in this study comprises repetition of lexical items either exactly or with some variation, paraphrase; the latter involves direct repetition of one idea but using different wording. The category of summary has also been suggested, where the gist of the writer's view is offered to keep readers focused. Below is a clear illustration of each category.

4.1.1 Repetition (simple and complex)

Repetition refers to the cohesive effect achieved via recurrence of lexical items, either identically or in a modified fashion. Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) report that repetition is "the most direct form" of lexical cohesion. Most previous models on cohesion, except for McCarthy (1988), emphasize the role of repetition in giving cohesion to the text. Similarly, Hoey (1991) and Reza and Tazic (2010) demonstrate that repetition is an important factor in creating coherence in a text, since it keeps the audience focused on a topic.

Following Hoey (1991), repetition is divided into simple and complex. Simple repetition involves lexical items that share the same consonantal root, but differ in some minor morphological alternations such as singular-plural, present and past tense. Complex repetition, by contrast, involves different morphological variants of the same consonantal root, e.g. *lāʕib* 'player', *laʕiba* 'to play'. In the following excerpt from Al Rai, the different occurrences of the term *ʔiʕfāʔ* exemption' create lexical ties that help keep the text focused and offer readers a kind of thematic pattern (Eggins 2004). All occurrences are instances of simple repetition as they are formally identical except for the concatenation of the plural marker –āt and the definite article al.

[1]*1. kalimat **al-ʔiʕfāʔ** hiya al-kalima al-akṯar taʔṯīran fi axbār aṣ-ṣuḥuf al-yawmiyya wa hiya taṣif qararāt ʔit-taxaḏatha al-ḥukūma liʔanna kalimat **al-ʔiʕfāʔ** ġayr maḥsūsa la taḏhar fil-ḥisabāt wa la taḥtāj li-muʕamalāt wa ʔiṣalāt wa man yadri faqad takūnu **al-ʔiʕfaʔāt** akbara min al-ʕajz fi mizaniyyat ad-dawla.*

Kān ṣundūq an-naqd ad-dawli qad lāḥaḍa as-suhūla al-lati tamurru biha qararāt **al-ʔiˑfāʔ** *xāˑa wa-ʔanna haḏihi* **al-ʔiˈfaʔāt** *takūnu fil-ˈāda maftūḥa fa-la tartabiṯ bi-zaman muˈayyan..*

Translation

The word 'exemption' is the most effective word in daily newspapers; it describes decisions made by the government. It does not appear in calculations and does not need any deals or receipts because it is not tangible. However, who knows! The exemptions may cost more than the budget deficit in the country. The monetary fund noticed how easy it is to get exemption, especially as the exemptions are usually open and have no expiry date.

Example (2) below comprises instances of simple and complex repetition. First, we find simple repetition of the items *ʔiˈfāʔ* 'exemption' *ʔiˈfaʔāt* 'exemptions', which also have a relationship of repetition with *al-muˈfayīn* 'exempts'. The latter is an instance of complex repetition since both items share the lexical morpheme: ˈ-f-w although they belong to different grammatical structures. Repetition in both cases provides a clear focus and therefore creates coherence in the text.

2- adrakat al-ḥukūma xuṭurat **al-ʔiˈfaʔāt** *wa ʔaˈlanat ʔannaha sa-tuˈīdu dirāsat kul wāḥida tamhīdan li-ʔilġāʔiha ʔiḏa ṯabata ʔannaha lam tuḥaqiq ġaraḍan miṯil ziyādat al-ʔintāj aw taxfīḍ al-asˈār bi-ḥayṯ yumkin tamrīr jānib min* **al-ʔiˈfaʔāt** *li-ṣāliḥ al-mustahlik wa laysa li-mujarrad ziyādat arbāḥ* **al-muˈfayīn**

Translation

The government realized the risks of these exemptions; therefore, it announced it would review those exemptions in order to cancel them, especially if it is approved that they have no role in increasing productivity or reducing prices.

4.1.2 Paraphrase

Paraphrase is a subcategory of reiteration, which involves phrases or sentences that convey the same message using different wording (Hirst 2003, Bhagat and Hovy 2013). Hirst (2003) demonstrated that paraphrase is not equivalent to synonymy as it has some pragmatic differences, e.g. evaluation, point of view, and connotation. The paraphrase technique is commonly followed to avoid misunderstanding of vague expressions, particularly culture-specific idioms or proverbs. Paraphrase is most common in satirical editorials, where satirists tend to colour their writings by using idioms and proverbs, which could help in conveying a sense of humour, creating suspense, and prompting readers to think beyond the text. To keep the text as comprehensible as possible, writers tend to clarify these idioms to avoid misunderstanding and thus ensure that the text is coherent. The cohesive value of paraphrase lies in the fact that the interpretation of a vague expression is manifested in another piece of discourse.

For example, in the extract given below, the idiom *baḥibakūn min –juwwa* 'I like to be from inside' is vague, and could have different interpretations depending on the context. To avoid misunderstanding, the writer follows this with *yaˈnibaḥibišḥadayiḏḥakˈalay* 'I do not like to be fooled by others'. Since the

interpretation of one piece of discourse is dependent on another in the same text, a cohesive tie is created that gives continuity to the text.

*3. massīk bal-xīr xāli.. ma-txāfiš fīš ʔiši yxawwif.. ʔani ḥabbū astašīrak b-šaġla qanuniyya....aš-šāb w-huwwa yiblaʿ rūqu: t-faḍḍal xāli...abu yaḥya w-huwwa y-ḥik šaʿru yzīd faḍlak hassaʿ b-tiʿrif ya xāli .....**ʔinni baḥibb akūn min juwwa ṭūl ʿumri**...yaʿni baḥibbiš ḥada yiḍḥak ʿalayy w-baḥibb a-kūn qāḍib an-nās muš an-nās qāḍbitni*

Translation

This can be achieved by investing some of these exemptions not only for the purpose of increasing the profit, but also in favour of the consumers. The tender-hearted government thought that adding only 10% to the tax on medicines would not make a difference to citizens as the government budget will add 60 million to the taxes during the year.

Similarly, the text in bold is a culture-bound proverb that could have different interpretations depending on the context. Understanding this proverb could also pose a difficulty for some non-native speakers of Jordanian Arabic. To avoid misunderstanding, the writer offers a paraphrase for this proverb,

*4. hunāka nawʿan min an-nās yuqallibu raʔsahu waṣaṭ hāda al-ḥirāk al-ʔqtiṣādi wal-ʔijtimāʿi laysa fi dālika al-amra kulluhu wa laysa lahu ʿilāqatin bi-šayʔin min dālika **kulluhu wa laysa lahu nāqatun wa la jamal***

Translation

Some people tend to move around amid this economic and social dynamism and they have nothing to do with that.

4.1.3 Summary

Summary is an important type of paraphrase, where writers aim to keep their readers focused by rewriting or implying the main themes in the text. This gives cohesion to the text by supporting its semantic unity. In one editorial, the writer attacks those who seek to make more money or obtain high positions in their careers at the expense of their values. He concludes the editorial by presenting its main theme in a single sentence: *ʔan yakūnalakamawqif fi hadihi al-ḥayāh aw la-yakūntilkahiya al-qaḍiyya*!

'Whether you take a stand in this life or not is the important issue'.

4.2 Systematic semantic relation (general/ taxonomic relations):

These relations refer to what Halliday (1984) calls general relations and Martin (1992) taxonomic relations. They include synonymy, contrast, generalization, specification and co-specification. Below is an examination of each of these sub-categories.

4.2.1 Synonymy

Synonymy refers to lexical items that encode similar meanings (Eggins 2004). It is a relationship of elaboration involving items with the same or similar sense. While repetition is regarded as true synonymy (Martin 1992), it differs from synonymy in the fact that where there is identity of lemmas in the case of repetition, lemmas in synonymy are not identical (Berzlánovich 2008). Synonymy is a key aspect of cohesion that has been included in all previous models, using different labels, including simple paraphrase in Hoey's (1991) model, and equivalence in Tanskanen (2006) and Taboada (2004). It is worth noting that synonymy here is different from that in Halliday's model (1984/1994) which comprises all items that restate each other, including sameness in meaning, superordinates, hyponymy, meronymy, antonymy, co-hyponymy and co-meronymy.

Following McCarthy (1988) and Tanskanen (2006), we adopt a discourse-specific approach instead of the lexical-semantic approach. McCarthy (1988) states that the former deals with the communicative potential of items whereas the latter explores the meaning potential of items. According to the discourse-specific approach, two lexical items which are not semantically absolutely synonymous can be equivalent to each other in particular contexts. This posits that the interpretation of the relation between lexical items should be sought in the text itself (made in context), rather than depending on ready-made classifications. Accordingly, the present analysis does not start from ready-made classifications which would tell us which relations are possible; we start from a text and try to establish which items are related in it. Since complete synonymy is hard to find, only partial synonymy is considered in this study, regardless of any secondary or stylistic differences.

In the following excerpts, there are many instances of lexical items that refer back to each other by a relation of sameness. It is perfectly conceivable from the context that the pairs *majlisal-wuzarāʔ*'the cabinet of ministers' and *al-ḥukumah*'the government'; and *al-ġayrmuqtadir*'the non-able' and*al-fuqarāʔ*'the poor' in the first instance have the same sense, i.e. they are both interchangeable with slight differences in meaning in this particular context. Similarly, the relationship between *amrhām*'something urgent' and *bsāᶜ*'quickly' in example (6) would be easily recognized as synonymous. The relation between each of these items is made in context. Thus, if such instances were decontextualized, they would no longer be considered as synonymous.

*5- lam yakad **majlis al-wuẕarāʔ**ʔan yuṣdira qarāruhu al-uṯnayn bi-ḥaṣr at-taqdum lil-ʔiᵉfāʔ aṭ-ṭibbi lil-muwāṭin **al-ġayr muqtadir** bi-d-diwān al-malaki…………fala bud min al-muḥafaẕa ᶜala tawfīr al-ʔiᵉfaʔāt aṭ-ṭibiyya lil-**fuqarāʔ** wa li-ġayr al-malikīn li-ʔay nawᶜ min at-taʔmīn aṣ-ṣiḥi. Wa yaġib al-ʔistiġrāb ᶜinda mutābaᶜat ma buḏila min juhūd wa ḏuġūṭ baᶜda tasarrub anbāʔ tawajjuh **al-ḥukūma** li-ḥaṣr al-ʔiᵉfaʔāt bid-diwān al-malaki*

Translation

After the cabinet of ministers decided to limit applying the medical exemption to those who cannot afford it and through the patient's affairs, they recalled the decision the day before yesterday by creating a unit in the Ministry of Political Development to receive the indents of the medical exemption via

deputies. It is a must that the poor and those who do not have medical insurance should be provided with exemptions until we have full health insurance for all citizens. It becomes less strange, if you follow the deputy's efforts and pressure after hearing the news of the government tending to limit the exemptions.

6. bināʔan ʿala hāḏa al-mabdaʔ aṯ-ṯābit ṭalaba abū yaḥyā min šlāš ʔan yattaṣil bi-ʿarnūsa li-yaḥḍira fawran ʔila baytihim bi-ʔamrin hām: gallu jūz xāltak biddu ʔiyāk b-sāʿ

Translation

Based on this firm principle, Abu Yahiya asked Shllash to call "Arnosa" and tell him to come immediately to their house because there was something important: "Tell him that your uncle wants you urgently and let him bring...". "

A relationship of sameness can also occur between an item and a culture-idiomatic expression. For example, the idiomatic expression *yiblaʿrīquh* is common in Jordanian Arabic, referring to a state of being intimidated. This interpretation is synonymous with the verb *yxawwif* 'it is scaring' where both encode the meaning of scare. In the example given below, the verb *yxawwif* 'it is scaring' and the idiomatic expression *yiblaʿrīquh* 'lit. swallow his dry saliva'' encode the same meaning despite the fact that semantically they denote different meanings.

*7. massīk bal-xēr xāli.. ma-t-xāfiš fīš ʔiši **yxawwif**.. ʔani ḥabbū astašīrak b-šaġla qanuniyya….aš-šāb w-huwwa **yiblaʿrīqu**: t-faḍḍal xāli*

Translation

"Good evening son. Do not worry, I want your advice on a legal issue." The young man, swallowinghis saliva: "You are welcome uncle".

Using synonymy in the above cases helps avoid inappropriate repetition, which would cause text monotony (Tuttle 2013). The synonymy relation, additionally, adds lexical variety to the text and gives it cohesion by creating synonymous ties between a set of lexical items inside the text.

4.2.2 Contrast

The relation of contrast involves lexical items that have an opposite meaning, including graded and ungraded antonyms (Lyon 1977, Cruse 1986). This relation has been given different labels, e.g. antonymy (Halliday and Hasan 1976), opposition (González 2010), and complex repetition or paraphrase (Hoey 1991). Again, following the discourse-oriented approach, two lexical items which are not semantically antonymous can be antonymous in particular contexts.

Contrast refers to all types of semantic oppositeness, including graded antonyms, and ungraded antonyms (Crystal 1980, Cruse 1986). Following Cruse (1986) and Jones (2012), we will look at contrast in terms of logical incompatibility. Thus, if one thing is described by any of the members of the antonym pair, then the other group cannot describe it. If one thing is black, then it is not white; if X is a man, he cannot be a woman. This is insufficient to define opposite pairs since many pairs of lexemes are semantically incompatible, but they are not antonyms. To resolve this, semantic opposition involves both

similarities and differences. In the following example, there is an instance of two lexical items semantically opposite each other: *wuḍūħ* and *ġiyāb*'clarity and obscurity'; a relation of contrast is established here between each of the antonyms and this enhances the unity of the text.

8. *qultu li-waladi: hal fahimta yā bunayya maʕnā**ġiyāb** ar-ruʔya wa hal istawʕabta maʕnā**wuḍūħ** ar-- ruʔya. ṣamata qalīlan θumma saʔalani: māḏa ʔiḏa kāna al-jawwu māṭiran wa massaħāt as-sayyāra muʕaṭṭala*

Translation

"I said to my son: son, did you understand the meaning of vision's absence and clarity? He remained silent for minutes before asking: "What if it was rainy and the windshield wipers weren't working?"

4.2.3 Generalization (hyponymy)

The subcategory of generalization describes the semantic relationship between an item and a more general item (Tanskanen 2006). It has been labelled as inclusion, 'general-specific' (McCarthy 1988), hyponymy (Halliday and Hasan 1976, Halliday 1984, Eggins 2004), and superordinate (Morris and Hirst 1991). It is also discussed under taxonomic relations in Martin's model (1992).

In the example given below, both *ʕammān*'Amman', *al-qāhira* 'Cairo' and *talabīb*'Tel Aviv' are hyponyms of the term *minṭaqa*'region' which is in turn a hyponym of the more general term *al-ʕālam* 'the world'. This is also an example of hyponymy by a shared context, not by an absolute semantic or lexical relation. This general-specific relation between two items keeps a text unified by virtue of creating a relation between the superordinate term and the hyponyms.

9. *kāna al-ʔiʕlām al-ġarbi šadīd at-taraqqub wal-ʔihtimām li-ziyārat ar-raʔīs al-amrīki ʔila **ʕammān**ḍimna jawlatihi fil-manṭiqa allati šamalat **al-qāhira** wa **tal-ʔabīb**, fa kama huwa ṭabīʕi wa muʕtād an takūna ziyārāt al-masʔulūn al-amrikiyūn ʔila ʔayyi makān fil-**ʕālam** maħaṭa taraqqub-in wa-h-timām*

Translation

Western media was very interested and attentive to the visit of the American vice-president to Amman as a part of his tour of the region, which included Cairo and Tel Aviv. Such visits of US officials to any place in the world are always a matter of interest.

4.2.4 Specification

Specification describes the semantic relation between one item and a more specific one (part-to-whole relationship). It has been referred to in the literature as meronymy and general-specific inclusion (McCarthy 1988).

In the following examples, there are many instances of an item specifying a general item: *al-raqabah* 'neck', *al-azrār* 'buttons, *akmām* 'sleeves' are meronyms of *balāyiz* 'blouse' and *maʕāṭif* 'coats'; the relation here between the former and the latter is part-to-whole. In addition, both *al-aġṭiyaaṣ-*

ṣufiyya 'summer blankets and quilts' and *al-luḥufaṣ-ṣufiyya* 'woollen quilts' are a specification of the term *frāš al-ʿīla* 'family blankets and quilts'.

*10. kuntu atafarraju ʿalā al-ummahāt aš-šitwiyyāt allāti yuxrijna **balāyiz at-trīkuw-al-maʿāṭif** aṯ-ṯaqīla yuʿidna tawzīʿaha ʿalā al-awlād ....wa ʿindama yanāl al-jamīʿ min difʔ aš-šitāʔ al-qādim baʿda ʔan tartaq **ar-raqaba** wa tuṣallaḥa**l-azrār** wa tukaff al-**akmām** yantaqilna ʔila **firāš al-ʿīla** yarfaʿna **al-aġṭiya aṣ-ṣayfiyya** wa yunzilna **al-luḥuf aṣ-ṣufiyya***

Translation

I was watching mothers in winter getting out heavy coats and thick jumpers and distributing them to their kids. When everyone has his/her share of the "warmth of the next winter, they fix the neck and the buttons and tighten the sleeves. After that, they move to beds, removing the summer blankets and bringing down the woolen ones.

In the following example, a relation of specification exists between different items in the text. On the one hand, the general term *dawāʔ* 'medication' is specified by *ʿulbatdawāʔ* 'bottle' and *ašriṭatdawāʔ* and *ḥubūb* 'pills'. The term *ḥubūb* 'pills' also specifies both *ʿulbatdawāʔ* 'bottle' and *ašraṭatdawāʔ* 'tablets'

11. wa li-ʔijrāʔašarāt al-ʿamaliyyāt lil-ʔiqdām ʿala xuṭwat širāʔʿulbat dawāʔ. Hal qulta ʿulbat dawāʔ baʿda ayyāmin qalīla lan takūna hunākaʿulab lil-dawāʔ bal ašriṭa wa rubbama ḥubūb

Translation

They made dozens of calculations in order to buy a box of medicine. Did I say medicine box? After a few days, it will not be boxes but rather tablets or even pills.

4.2.5 Co-specification

Following Tanskanen (2006), the subcategory of co-specification includes the semantic relation between two items that share a general item. Whereas this involves the generalization and specification relations, it differs from both relations in that it is working even when the general or specific item is not found in the text. In the example below, the bold terms: *al-ḍibāʿ* 'hyenas', *kilāb* 'dogs', *dajajāt* 'chicken' and *arānib* 'rabbits' reiterate the unmentioned general category of animals. The use of such co-specified terms enhances the semantic unity of the text and therefore keeps it cohesive.

*12. al-bawwabāt kānat maṣnūʿa min at-tanak aw baramīl qadīma jarā taṭbīquha li-tuṣbiḥa bawwabāt ad-dār lam yakun yurtaja minha siwāʔan takūna maṣadda wahmiyya **lil-ḍibāʿ** alḥāʔma wal-**kilāb** al-hāʔma allati taqūduha ḥāsat šammuha ʔila **dajajāt** albayt wa **arānibuhu***

Translation

The gates were made of tin, or old barrels that have been placed next to each other to be the gate of the house. They didn't hope a lot from the gates, but to be a fake bastion to the hyena and stray dogs led by their sense of smell to the house's chickens and rabbit sheds.

4.3 Collocation Relations

A key factor in the cohesiveness of editorials is lexical collocation. Collocation refers to the property of two or more words appearing frequently in each other's company (Hoey 2005, Tanskanen 2006). This type of cohesion results from the co-occurrence of lexical items that are typically associated with each other (Halliday and Hasan 1976, 287). Collocations are arbitrary in the sense that substituting any of the collocation words with a synonymous item would result in an unacceptable lexical combination.

The cohesive value of collocation lies in creating expectations of what is to come next (Halliday 1985, 312-313). Two or more lexical items are said to perform a cohesive function if one of them predicts the other in this way. While collocation defines pairs that occur together in similar contexts, it excludes items with free-word combinations, i.e. items that go with any other word in the language, e.g. go, come (McKeown and Radev 2000). The category of collocation is absent from many accounts on lexical cohesion because it is hard to define and analyze (McKeown and Radev 2000).

In the following example, there is a habitual association between the pairs of collocation in bold, *ʕizz al-ḍuhur* 'in broad daylight' and *salbwanahb* 'robbery', so that if one word, e.g. *ʕizz*, occurs, the other word *al-ḍuhur* is likely to be present. This predictability of the co-occurrence of lexical items gives cohesion by participating in the semantic unity of the text. It is worth mentioning that replacing any of the collocation pairs with a synonym would lead to an infelicitous pair.

13. *ʕizz al-ḏuhur tahdīd aṣḥāb maḥāl tijariyya bis-sayf fi waṣaṭ al-balad…. salb wa nahb fi mawāqiʕa ʕidda*

Translation

In broad daylight, a number of store owners have been threatened by swords… robbery in different areas.

Tanskanen (2006) identifies three main types of collocation: ordered sets of collocations, activity-related collocations and elaborative cohesion. The ordered set comprises collocational patterns that belong to the same set, e.g. seasons, colours, days of the week. Following Renkema (2009), we would argue against regarding these items as collocations since they are categorized as systematic semantic functions. For example, the concepts 'yesterday', 'tomorrow' and 'today' can be seen as an example of meronymy as parts of the week. Another collocational pattern refers to activity-related collocations, where the relationship between collocation pairs is based on activity, e.g. *tuqaddim daʕman* 'to financially support', *salbwanahb* 'robbery'.

More important to this model is what Martin (1992) and Tanskanen (2006) call elaborative cohesion, where a frame, e.g. knowledge structure, identifies some collocation patterns in that frame. According to Tanskanen (2006, 63), "Frames are knowledge structures evoked by lexical items: for example, if a text begins with arraignment, it evokes the arraignment frame, and following items, such as magistrate and charges are interpreted according to this frame, thus creating coherence in the text". Considering newspaper discourse, we find that an editorial headline evokes all related items in that frame; this prepares readers for the type of lexis as well as the type of grammatical structures to be used in the text

(Morley 2009). In the following example discussing healthcare in Jordan, the general frame is public care. The health frame evokes relevant collocation patterns such as *ar-riʿāyaaṣ-ṣiḥiyyahwal-awaliyyah* 'primary health care' which in turn evokes *fuḥuṣātawaliyya* 'pretests', *taṭʿīm* 'vaccination' and a number of illnesses, e.g. *al-ḥaṣba* 'measles', *al-jadari* 'smallpox'. Such items are interpreted according to this frame.

*14. tabdu al-arqām wal-muʔašširāt aṣ-ṣiḥḥiyya fil-ardun ʔijabiyya ʔiḏ yaxlu al-balad taqrīban min amrāḍ al-**malārya** wal-**ḥaṣba** wa-s-sil wal-**jadari**, wa yašmal **at-taṭʿīmwar-riʿāya aṣ-ṣiḥḥiyyaal-awaliyya** jamīʿ al-muwaṭinīn*

Translation

The numbers and health indicators seem to be positive, as the country is almost free from diseases like malaria, measles, tuberculosis and smallpox; the country provides vaccination, health and primary care for all citizens, especially needy groups such as children, mothers and pregnant women.

5. Discussion

Lexical cohesion falls into three main categories: reiteration, systematic semantic relations and collocations. A systematic analysis of the newspaper corpus identifies a total of 8,934 lexicalities belonging to the eight (sub) types of lexical device already given in section one. This is in complete agreement with Hoey (1991, 10) who overemphasizes the key role of lexical cohesion in establishing multiple relations inside the text. Figure 1 summarizes the frequency of lexical cohesive ties in Arabic newspaper discourse:
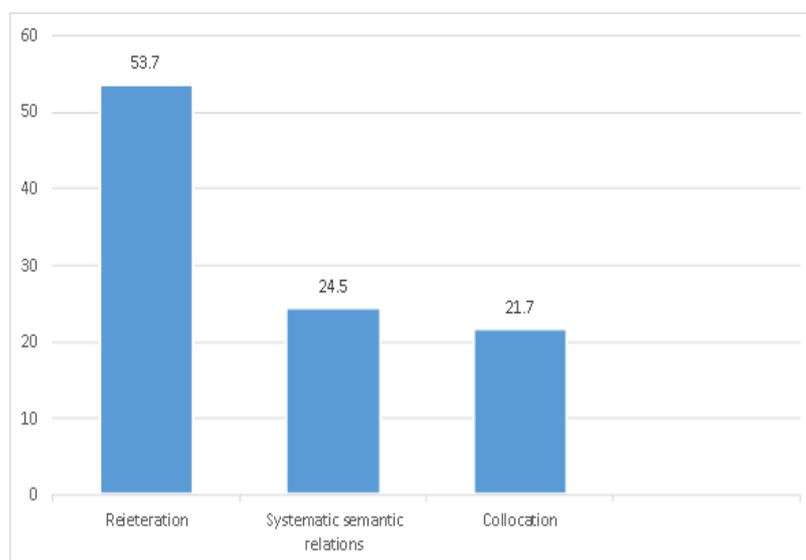

Figure1: The frequency of lexical aspects of cohesion in newspaper discourse

The first fact emerging from this figure is that reiteration relations are the most frequent lexical devices in newspaper discourse, with an average of 53.7% (4,798 occurrences). The results are in line with Tanskanen (2006) who demonstrates that reiteration relations play the most significant role in the

cohesiveness of all texts analyzed, including mailing lists, academic writings, conversations, etc. Where reiteration relations in this study involve simple and complex repetition, paraphrase and summary, repetition of lexical items makes up the majority of these ties with an average of 96.1% (4,609 occurrences) versus 2.3% (111 occurrences) and 1.6% (78 occurrences), respectively, for paraphrase and summary relations. This is congruent with Hoey (1991) who reports that repetition is the dominant aspect of lexical cohesion in different text types. Similar findings have been reported by Taboda (2004) and Huneety et al. (2017) who demonstrate that the repetition of lexical items contributes significantly to the unity of Spanish and English conversations respectively and Arabic religious discourse.

To start with repetition, there are 2,746 exact ties versus 1,944 complex repetitions belonging to different morphological variants of the same root. The high number of repetitions might be attributed to the derivational system of the Arabic language. Arabic follows a root and pattern system where the stem of content words comprises three discontinuous morphemes (e.g. Watson 2002, 126): the consonantal root, which bears lexical meaning, the templatic pattern and the vocalic melody, which both convey syntactic information. Arabic has ten forms of the verb; Form I is the basic form from which other forms (II-X) are derived (Huneety 2015, Mashaqba 2015). This results in a discourse where various lexical items share the same consonantal root. Repetition might be employed to establish coherence, reinforce key ideas in the reader's mind and help avoid ambiguity (Tannen 1989, Johnstone 1998). This is in line with González (2010, 177) who argues that the high incidence of lexical repetitions in broadcast discussions is attributed to "their being opinionative discussions controlled by a chairperson and intended for an audience".

Another sub-category of reiteration relations is paraphrase, most prevalent in satire editorials, which frequently draw on culture-specific expressions. Where writers and readers often share the same background knowledge, writers add colour to their writing by using culture-specific ironic expressions or proverbs. To avoid misunderstanding, which arises from unfamiliarity with the background context, writers offer an explanation for such expressions. The cohesive value of this type lies in the fact that the interpretation of a culture-bound expression is dependent on another piece in the text itself, thus creating a lexical tie that supports the unity of the text. Similarly, another important characteristic of newspaper discourse is the use of summary, where writers offer a concise conclusion that summarizes their opinions. This keeps the text unified and supports its semantic unity. Editorials are mostly persuasive and argumentative texts, encoding writers' points of view (Fowler 1991, Bhatia 2014), so the writers aim to keep their readers focused by offering a concise conclusion.

Systematic semantic relations come second after reiteration relations, with an average of 24.5% (2,188 occurrences). Among these relations, co-specification is first with an average of 5.5, immediately followed by specification, synonymy, generalization and contrast. Figure 2 summarizes the frequency of systematic semantic relations in newspaper discourse.
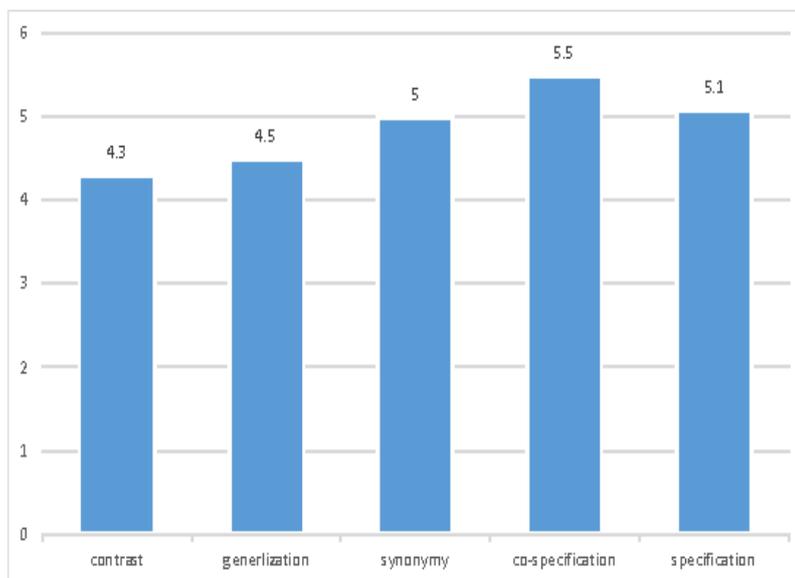
Figure 2: The frequency of systematic semantic relations in newspaper discourse

Carefully examining systematic relations, we argue that headlines are a vital source of cohesion where a headline evokes a number of expressions that belong to the semantic field. As reported by Morley (2009), headlines prepare readers for the lexis of the article and often identify the kind of grammatical structures to be used. In the following excerpt drawn from an editorial entitled *siyāsatar-rafḍ al-musbaq* 'Policy of pre-refusal', there is one major semantic field: politics. This is exemplified by the existence of six expressions belonging to the semantic field of politics. These expressions are given in bold.

15. *fil-axbār ʔanna **ʔiʔtilāf al-aḥzāb** al-qawmiyya wal-yasariyya **šajaba** muwafaqat **majlis an-nuwwāb** ʕala mašrūʕ muwāzanat 2018 ruġma iʕtiraḍāt wa taḥḏirāt **alqiwa al-siyasiyya**......wayušīru bi-wuḍūḥin ʔila **maṣādir at-tamwīl***

Translation

In the news, the coalition of National and Left Wing parties denounced the approval by the House of Representatives of the budget in 2018 in spite of the objections and warnings of politicians and specialists……….it clearly indicates the sources of funding.

Headlines function cohesively where a single word presages the use of some expressions in the body of the editorial (Morley 2009). In the previous example, the existence of the term *rafḍ* 'refusal' paves the way for instances of refusal, as shown below:

16. *lam yaktafi al-ʔiʔtilāf al-qawmi wal-yasāri bi-**rafḍin** jāhiz yasbiq al-ʔijraʔāt al-marfūḍa bal **rafaḍa** ayḍan ma yumkin ʔan yaḥduṯ salafan ʕala ṭarīqat šiʕār tasquṭ al-ḥukūma al-qadūma, wa miṯluha ʕindama yatim salafan **rafḍ** al-qararāt al-ḥukumiyya al-murtaqaba*

Translation

The National and Left Coalition not only rejected it with premeditation even before the rejected procedures, but also rejected what might happen in advance, taking the slogan "the next government must fall". Similarly the economic decisions are rejected in advance even before being announced.

More importantly, headlines offer a summary of the contents of editorials (Morely 2009). The headline thus creates expectations about the lexis to be used, the writer's point of view, the style and other things.

Collocation relations play a central role in the cohesiveness of newspaper editorials, with an average of 21.7%. The cohesive value of such relations lies in the expectancy of the co-occurrence of lexical items.

Analysis of the data shows that collocation relations contribute largely to the cohesiveness of newspaper editorials, with an average of 21.7%. The cohesive value of such relations lies in the expectancy of the co-occurrence of lexical items.Thus, when one word occurs, another word is likely to occur in the vicinity (Halliday and Hasan 1976). Using collocations is necessary to express particular ideas on a certain topic without sounding unnatural (Mustapić and Malenica 2013), to produce language fluently and to have a better understanding of the editorial (McCarthy and O'Dell 2010). Additionally, appropriate use of collocation patterns highlights a writer's competent use of vocabulary, which otherwise would result in poor and simplistic discourse (Karoly 2005). It is concluded that appropriate use of collocations is one way of distinguishing competent writers from incompetent ones.

6. Conclusion

To conclude, this study offers an integrated model that fits newspaper editorials. The model comprises reiteration relations, sense relations and collocation relations. Intriguingly, the study finds two novel categories that contribute to the cohesiveness of this type of discourse, namely paraphrase and summary. Headlines are found to play a key role in the cohesiveness of newspaper editorials, creating expectations about the type of lexis to be used in the body of the text. The study is strongly recommended for novice journalists, as it shows them the types of cohesion that would give texture to their texts. It recommends examining newspaper editorials in Arabic and English for the use of cohesive devices.

أنماط التماسك المُعجميّ في أعمدة الصّحف الأردنيَة

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الملخص

تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى تحليل أنماط التماسك المعجميّ في أعمدة الصحف الأردنيّة. وجاءت هذه الأنماط في ثلاث فئات: أنماط التكرار المشتملة على: التكرار اللفظيّ وإعادة الصياغة والتلخيص، وأنماط العلاقات الدلاليّة المشتملة على: الترادف والتضاد والتفصيل والتعميم، وأنماط التلازم اللفظي. وقد توصلت الدراسة إلى وجود نوعين جديدين من أنماط التماسك المعجميّ، هما إعادة الصياغة والتلخيص، إذ أسهمَا على نحو جليّ في خلق التناص في أعمدة الصّحف. وخلُصَت الدراسة إلى أنّ هذين النمطين يمكّنان القارئ من فهم التعابير الغامضة والعبارات العاميّة المحليّة وتلخيص آراء الكُتَّاب. جُمِعَت مادة البحث التي اشتملت على 105 مقالات من ثلاث صحف أردنيّة رئيسة، هي: صحيفة الرأي، وصحيفة الدستور، وصحيفة الغد. وعمدت الدراسة إلى تحليل البيانات إحصائياً؛ فوجدت أن النمط الأكثر شيوعاً كان علاقات التكرار بنسبة بلغت 53.7%، ويليهما العلاقات الدلاليّة 24.5%، وأخيراً جاء نمط التلازم اللفظي 21.7%. كما توصّلت الدراسة إلى أن عناوين الأعمدة تُسهِم على نحو بارز في توليد علاقات دلاليّة تنتمي إلى ذات الحقل الدلاليّ. وأكدت الدراسة أهميّة التماسك المعجميّ في خلق التماسك النصيّ، متوافقة بذلك مع هوي (1991)،وستكوكس (2004)، ويانكوفا (2006).

الكلمات المفتاحية: تحليل الخطاب، التماسك النصيّ، التلازم اللفظي، أعمدة الصحف، التماسك المعجمي، أنماط التكرار.

Endnotes

[1] All Arabic examples are given in the appendix.

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Appendix of Arabic Examples

1- كلمة الإعفاء هي الكلمة الأكثر تاثيرافي أخبار الصحف اليومية و هي تصف قرارات اتخذتها الحكومة لان كلمة الإعفاء غير محسوسة لا تظهر في الحسابات و لا تحتاج لمعاملات و ايصالات و من يدري فقد تكون الاعفاءات أكبر من العجز في ميزانية الدولة. كان صندوق النقد الدولي قد لاحظ السهولة التي تمر بها قرارات الإعفاء خاصة وان هذه الإعفاءات تكون في العادة مفتوحة فلا ترتبط بزمن معين.

2- أدركت الحكومة خطورة الإعفاءات و أعلنت أنها ستعيد دراسة كل واحدة منها تمهيدا لإلغائها إذا ثبت أنها لم تحقق غرضا مثل زيادة الإنتاج أو تخفيض الأسعار بحيث يمكن تمرير جانب من الإعفاءات لصالح المستهلك وليس لمجرد زيادة أرباح المعفيين.

3- (مسّيك بالخير خالي..ما تخاف فيش أشي يخوّف..أنيحبّيت استشيرك بشغلة قانونية)..الشاب وهو يبلع ريقه: تفضّل خالي ...أبو يحيى وهو يحك شعره: (يزيد فضلك..هسع بتعرف يا خالي..إني بحبّ ''أكون من جوه'' طول عمري..يعني بحبّش حدا يضحك علي..وبحبّ أكون قاضب الناس مش الناس قاضبيتني..فهمت علي..كونك محامي وبتفهم بالقانون..مبارح قريت انه السجين بيكلف الدولة 700 دينار صحيح هالحكي؟؟

4- هناك نوعا من الناس يقلب رأسه وسط هذا الحراك الاقتصادي و الاجتماعي ليس ذلك الأمر كله وليس له علاقة بشئ من ذلك كله وليس له ناقة ولا جمل.

5- لم يكدْ مجلس الوزراء أن يصدر قراره الاثنين بحصر التقدم للإعفاء الطبي للمواطن غير المقتدر بالديوان الملكي، وعبر وحدة شؤون المرضى بالديوان، حتى استدرك قراره أول من أمس باستحداث وحدة بوزارة التنمية السياسية لاستقبال طلبات الإعفاء الطبي المقدمة عبر نواب،

6- وبناء على هذا المبدأ الثابت طلب أبو يحيى من شلاش أن يتصل بعرنوسة ليحضر فورا الى بيتهم بأمر هام:و قالو جوز خالتك اياك بساع

7- مسّيك بالخير خالي..ما تخاف فيش أشي يخوّف..أنيحبّيت استشيرك بشغلة قانونية)..الشاب وهو يبلع ريقه: تفضّل خالي ...

8- قلت له هل فهمت يا بني فهمت معنى غياب الرؤية و هل استوعبت معنى الرؤية. صمت قليلا ثم سألني: ماذا اذا كان الجو ماطرا و مساحات السيارة معطلة

9- كان الاعلام الغربي شديد الترقب و الاهتمام لزيارة الرئيس الأمريكي الى عمان ضمن جولته في المنطقة التي شملت القاهرة و تل أبيب، فكما هو ثابت و معتاد أن تكون زيارة المسؤولين الامريكين الى أي مكان في العالم محط ترقب و اهتمام

10- أتفرج على ''الأمهات الشتويات'' اللاتي يخرجن بلايز ''التريكو'' والمعاطف الثقيلة يعدن توزيعها على الأولاد.....وعندما ينال الجميع حصّته من ''دفء الشتاء القادم'' بعد أن ترتق الرقبة وتصلَح الأزرار وتكفَ الأكمام...ينتقلن إلى فراش العيلة ، يرفعن الأغطية الصيفية في أعالي المطوى ، وينزلن اللحف الصوفية

11- و لأرجاء عشرات العمليات للاقدام على شراء علبة دواء. هل قلت علبة دواء ؟ بعد أيام قليلة لن تكون هناك علبة للدواء بل ستصبح بالاشرطة و ربما حبوب

12- البوابات كانت مصنوعة من التنك ،او براميل قديمة جرى تطبيقها وإدخالها ببعضها البعض لتصبح بوابة الدار، لم يكن يُرتجى منها سوى أن تكون مصدّة وهمية للضباع الحائمة والكلاب الهائمة التي تقودها حاسّة شمّها إلى دجاجات البيت وأرانبه المختبئة ،

13- عز الظهر.. تهديد أصحاب محال تجارية بالسيف في وسط البلد.. سلب ونهب في مواقع عدة...

14- تبدو الأرقام والمؤشرات الصحية في الأردن إيجابية، إذ يخلو البلد تقريبا من أمراض الملاريا والحصبة والسل والجدري، ويشمل التطعيم والرعاية الصحية والأولية جميع المواطنين ،

15- في الأخبار ائئتلاف الاحزاب القومية و اليسارية شجب موافقة مجلس النواب على مشروع موازنة 2018 رغم اعتراضات و تحذيرات القوى السياسية...ويشير بوضوح الى مصادر التمويل

16- لم يكن الائتلاف القومي و اليساري برفض جاهز يسبق الاجراءات المرفوضة بل رفض ايضا ما يمكن أن يحدث سلفا على طريقة شعار تسقط الحكومة القديمة و مثلها عندما يتم سلفا رفض القرارات الحكومية المرتقبة.