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NEWS REPRESENTATION IN TIMES OF CONFLICT: A CORPUS-BASED CRITICAL STYLISTIC ANALYSIS OF THE LIBYAN REVOLUTION

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Abstract

Despite the diversity of research on the Libyan Revolution across a spectrum of academic fields, very little work has focused on the representation of this event in media discourse. More specifically, no studies have approached this topic from a critical linguistic perspective using a large corpus, focusing on the qualitative analysis of the corpus findings. The overall aim of this thesis is therefore to investigate linguistically how the Libyan Revolution of 2011 is constructed within a corpus of British broadsheet newspapers. The focus of this study was to explore linguistic evidence to substantiate the claim that British newspapers are biased in their coverage in favour of anti-Gaddafi forces. The investigation of textual bias was guided and assisted by tools and methods from corpus linguistics. In particular, the keyword linguistic tool in *WordSmith* (Scott, 2004) was utilised as an entry point to the data to provide potential foci for further analysis. The findings of the corpus analysis revealed that keywords referring to the participants involved in the conflict during the Libyan Revolution and action-related words are the dominant lexical items in the coverage of this event in British newspapers. These corpus findings are further studied in context using the concord function in *WordSmith*, and then interpreted using the tools offered by Critical Stylistics (Jeffries, 2010). The occurrence of different nominal choices referring to the key participants in the Libyan conflict in the keyword list also led me to focus on investigating how those participants have been named and referred to linguistically. The analysis reveals linguistic evidence and discursive strategies showing a biased representation of the Libyan Revolution in the British newspapers in favour of anti-Gaddafi forces. This study has shown that the UK broadsheet newspapers represented a negative stereotypical image of Gaddafi's side, while simultaneously presenting a neutral and at times even a positive portrayal of the opposition side. Specifically, the choices of linguistic structures result in the legitimation of Gaddafi's opponents and, conversely, the delegitimisation and suppression of Gaddafi and his government. Finally, it was also observed that the language of British newspapers was highly ideological in representing this event despite British news outlets endorsing the values of democracy, freedom and universal rights.

It is important to also recognize that the wider social context influences the processes of production and interpretation of news discourse and helps to explain the reasons behind giving Gaddafi and his government the worst negative image. Considering the socio-political contexts and the close examination of the relation between Libya and Britain reveals that Gaddafi's negative representation could be seen as a reflection of the excesses of his dictatorship over his own people during his years in power as well as a reflection of his accumulated stock of past wrongdoings and tense relations between him and Britain. Therefore, this representation could be taken as a fact, given Gaddafi's historical background. However, the analysis reveals that there was unequal treatment of the two sides in the conflict. There was a complete lack of any mitigation on the description of Gaddafi's side, whereas the rebel side are treated in an apologetic manner. The British newspapers are biased in covering up the violent actions that were committed by the opposition and their violation of human rights. It was obvious that British newspapers act as a dominant source of hegemony by deciding what and how to report. The analysis reveals that the British newspapers tried to support their government in their leading role in the military intervention in Libya. This confirms that news reporting is not free from the subjective interpretation of events, rather it constructs them in a way that reflects their ideological and political viewpoints. Overall, the positive representation of the opposition could be seen as a problematic, as the political consequence of overthrowing Gaddafi results in plaguing Libya in chaos and violence with internal wars run by rebels who were described as good during the revolution.

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News Representation in Times of Conflict: A Corpus-Based Critical Stylistic Analysis of the Libyan Revolution

Manal Abeed

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Chapter 1

Introduction

In this thesis, I investigate how the Libyan Revolution of 2011 has been represented linguistically in British broadsheet newspapers. The Western news coverage of the Libyan Revolution has been criticised for being biased in favour of anti-regime forces (Hilsum, 2011). Therefore, the thesis seeks to explore linguistic evidence to substantiate this claim. British newspaper articles reporting on the Libyan Revolution were selected as one type of Western media outlet. Jeffries' Critical Stylistics (2010) is the theoretical framework I used for the analysis. My investigation of textual bias in a corpus of British broadsheet newspapers is guided and assisted by the tools and methods of Corpus Linguistics. In particular, the keyword facility in *WordSmith Tools* (Scott, 2004) is used to provide potential foci for further analysis.

As the results of corpus analysis are descriptive in nature, a consideration of the contextual background behind the investigated topic is necessary for a proper critical interpretation of the corpus findings (Baker et al., 2008). Thus, the relevant contextual background about Libya and the Libyan Revolution needs to be examined and taken into account when explaining why a particular issue or entity has been represented in a certain way. Moreover, as this research examines representation in the British press, understanding the socio-political relationship between Libya and Britain is also essential for the present investigation, in that it will help to explain the reasons behind a particular discursive representation of the Libyan Revolution in the British press.

This chapter, therefore, considers these contextual aspects, focusing on the contextual background of Libya before, during and after the revolution, followed by an investigation of the historical relations between Libya and the UK. I then turn to introducing the objective of the study and the research questions, which are addressed in order to achieve the objective of the study. I then move on to review the previous research conducted on the Libyan Revolution and justify the selection of British newspapers for the kind of research

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I have carried out. The chapter finishes with some insights into news discourse and its newsworthiness, followed by the structure of the remainder of the thesis.

1.1 Contextual Background

1.1.1 Libya and the Gaddafi era

Before Gaddafi came to power, Libya was under King Idris' rule after its independence from Italy in 1951. During his first years in power, King Idris relied heavily on foreign assistance, mainly from Britain and the U.S. He signed an agreement with Britain and the U.S. allowing them to build their military bases on Libyan soil, in exchange for financial support and economic investments (Pargeter, 2012). Although foreign help was dismissed after the discovery of oil in the mid 1950s, those military bases were retained on Libya's territory (Simons, 1993). The oil sector was controlled by foreign companies, known as the Seven Sisters, chosen by the United Nations. At that time, Gaddafi was a military officer who was mainly influenced by Gamal Abdel Nasser's political ideology of nationalism, which was widespread in the region. Because of this ideology, Gaddafi considered Libya a dependent state, since he viewed those military bases as an extension of colonialism. This was the main reason that motivated Gaddafi to overthrow King Idris in a bloodless coup in 1969 to rid the country of colonialism (J. Oakes, 2011). Soon after he seized power, Gaddafi forced Britain and America to withdraw their military forces from Libya immediately. Gaddafi also cut out the hold of the Seven Sisters' cartel and their imperialist control on the oil sector. Then, Gaddafi began reorienting the economic, foreign and social policies of the country, implementing a form of governance in which he reflected his anti-imperialism. His political ideology and revolutionary thought was outlined in his *Green Book,* published in 1975. In the *Green Book*, Gaddafi proposed the theoretical foundation of the direct democracy system that governed through people's congresses and committees (Pargeter, 2012). In order to reflect that the power is held by people's committees, Gaddafi changed the name of Libya to "The Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya" in 1977. "Jamahiriya" literary means "state of the masses", adding the prefix "Great" to it later (St John, 2014, pp. 129-130).

Domestically, Libya experienced many development in health, education and welfare sectors during the Gaddafi years (Lobban & Dalton, 2014). Gaddafi declared that everyone has the right to be educated and treated for free, as well as the right to have a place to live (J. Oakes, 2011; Pargeter, 2012). Thus, free education, healthcare and welfare services were provided to all Libyan people. Gaddafi also revived the agricultural sector, constructing a massive irrigation project, known as the Great Manmade River project, making Libya an agricultural country that exported agricultural produce (Lobban & Dalton, 2014).

One of the major challenges that Gaddafi faced was to prevent the rise of any organization and social forces that opposed him and his way of governing his Jamahiriya (Sawani, 2013b). Accordingly, he banned private professional activities (Sawani, 2013a) in the 1970s in order to make his government the only provider and employer (Hilsum, 2012; Sawani, 2013a). Doctors and lawyers were forced to work just for public sectors (Pargeter, 2012). Moreover, retail and private trade was also prohibited, and there were no rights for any groups to organise anything without Gaddafi's consent (Anderson, 2011). The door for private sectors was opened in the late of 1980s, but with the imposition of fixed fees (Pargeter, 2012). To face down political opposition of any kind, Gaddafi also adopted a policy of repression and summary executions and extrajudicial trail (Sawani, 2013b). In 1987, Gaddafi faced a threat from an Islamic group who tried to overthrow him. Gaddafi publicly executed six members of the group while the others fled abroad (Lobban & Dalton, 2014). In 1996, the Gaddafi government was involved in a mass massacre of prison inmates against the Islamists who demanded better living conditions and the right to freedom of speech. Around 1286 prisoners were killed and buried in massive graves. This was considered one of the most dreadful crimes of the Gaddafi era, which was more closely linked to the 2011 revolution (Pargeter, 2012).

Two years later, another group emerged under the name 'Libyan Islamic Fighting Group' (LIFG), who were trying to overthrow Gaddafi. Some of them were killed, while 103 members were detained for a number of years at Abu Salim prison (J. Oakes, 2011). To retain control over the nation, Gaddafi protected his position in power by relying on his own tribe, Gaddadhfah, and other loyal tribes- Maghraha and Warfalla. Gaddafi appointed

his blood relatives to occupy sensitive positions in his political system (J. Oakes, 2011; St John, 2014; Vandewalle, 2006).

Turning to foreign policies, Libya was involved in many critical issues during Gaddafi's leadership. Gaddafi felt that he had the right to support any kind of liberal movement around the world (Pargeter, 2012). Gaddafi gave his support to the Palestinian Liberation Organization, Irish Republican Army in Northern Ireland, and the Red Army in Germany, among many others (Lobban & Dalton, 2014; Vandewalle, 2006). He also attempted to develop weapons of mass destruction and was involved in acts of international terrorism, such as attacks at the airports of Rome and Vienna, and a Berlin nightclub where some American people died. In response, the United States (under Ronald Reagan) imposed economic sanctions on Libya and there was a breakdown in their diplomatic relationship, followed by launching air strikes in 1986 (Pargeter, 2012; Simons, 2003). Two years later, Gaddafi was accused of the bombing of Pan-Am flight 103 over the Scottish town of Lockerbie, where more than 270 innocent people were killed in the attack. Because of these actions, Gaddafi was considered an international terrorist in the International Community (Simons, 1993, 2003). This led to a breakdown in diplomatic relationship between Libya and the West and with the members of the European Union in the late 1980s (Vandewalle, 2006) making Libya, internationally speaking, a pariah nation (J. Oakes, 2011; Simons, 2003). Gaddafi's relationship with the West was normalised after the 9/11 attacks when he offered to cooperate with the U.S. to eliminate terrorism and promise to dismantle Libya's nuclear programme. Furthermore, the Libya-UK relationship started again after Muammar Gaddafi agreed to hand over the Lockerbie bombing suspects to the Netherlands for trial and to pay compensation to the families of the victims in 2003 (Pargeter, 2012; Simons, 2003). In 2004, the British Prime Minister, Tony Blair, paid a visit to Libya and shook hands with Gaddafi, confirming new diplomatic relations (Pargeter, 2012). The historical conflict and transformations that Libya and Britain have been through will be explained in depth in section 1.2.

Soon after the West's sanctions were lifted and Libya rejoined the international community, the country noticed a rapid economic growth as Gaddafi was able to exploit its oil and benefited from international investment companies revitalising the oil and gas

sectors. At that time, Saif al-Islam, Gaddafi's son, emerged onto the political scene, discussing economic reforms (Pargeter, 2012). In conjunction with these calls for reform, Shukri Ghanem, a friend and ally of Saif Al-Islam, was appointed as the General Secretary of the General People's Committee. Shukri Ghanem introduced a plan to solve Libya's economic difficulties by moving towards the private sector as a way of increasing employment opportunities for Libyan people and reducing the number of employees in the public sector. Unfortunately, the hardline political elites within Gaddafi's government did not allow for such changes to decentralise the system, fearing it would affect their political position (Pack, 2013; Pargeter, 2012). Despite significant economic growth in oil production during the 2000s, there was no immense improvement in the living standards of the Libyan people (Sawani, 2013b), as the powerful elite exercised control over the whole economy. In particular, most of Libya's wealth and businesses were seized by Gaddafi's sons and his extended family (Pargeter, 2012). Furthermore, Gaddafi used the oil wealth to consolidate his power in the region. He had spent Libya's money in Africa, and on his own agenda in the area, while the infrastructure of his country collapsed (Hilsum, 2012). None of the reforms that the Gaddafi government talked about constantly were carried out. This made the Libyan people angry about a situation which had not changed over the years. In addition, Gaddafi's political system of *Jamahiriyah* remained unchanged (Pargeter, 2012).

Over the years, Gaddafi had the superior authority of *Jamahiriya* and he was the primary decision-maker (Vandewalle, 2006). Instead of having political parties and holding elections, Gaddafi appointed his sons to play important roles in his political system (St John, 2014). For instance, his son, Khamis headed the military brigade, Muatasim controlled national security, while Saif al-Islam acted as the political face and was involved in external and internal politics, without having an official position within the government. In addition, Gaddafi's other sons held prominent positions in other sectors. His son, Muhammed, controlled the communication sector, Sa'adi headed the sport sector as well as being involved in major construction projects across Libya, and Hannibal controlled the maritime transport sector (Pack, 2013; Pargeter, 2012). By occupying these sectors, it was difficult for the Libyan people to organise anything without involving Gaddafi's sons. In

practice, there was no real exercise of democracy, since Gaddafi kept tight control over the country (Schnelzer, 2015).

1.1.2 Libyan Revolution: Call for Change

In the late 2010 and early 2011, a number of revolutionary waves swept across the Arab world; known as the Arab Spring[1]. The Arab Spring began in Tunisia in late December 2010 when a twenty-six-old vendor, Mohamed Bouazizi, set himself on fire because of his difficult living conditions. His suicide led the Tunisian people to take to the streets, who demanded the immediate departure of President Ben Ali. This massive protest forced Ben Ali into exile on 14th of January. A few days later, an Egyptian revolution erupted across the country on January 25th, forcing President Mubarak to step down from power in early February. The swift overthrowing of the presidents of both Tunisia and Egypt encouraged people in other Arabic countries to take to the streets. The revolutionary uprisings swept through Libya, Syria, Yemen, and then Bahrain. The deteriorated social status and unstable economic conditions, combined with political repression and lack of political freedoms that the Arab people suffered under their ruling governments were the main reasons that motivated them to protest and call for change (Gelvin, 2012).

In Libya, people were undoubtedly influenced by the success of the Tunisian and Egyptian revolutions, which did not take long to topple the existing long-term regimes. On February 15th 2011, the Libyan government arrested the human rights activist Fathi Terbil, the lawyer representing relatives of those who were allegedly massacred by Libyan security forces at Abu Salim prison in 1996. This event triggered a revolution and caused citizens to call for a "day of rage" on 17 February in Benghazi, driven by their desire to protect their rights to dignity, freedom and social justice (Gelvin, 2012; Pargeter, 2012). Although the Libyan people had the same ambitions as the people who ousted the Tunisian and Egyptian presidents, the Libyan Revolution took an unexpected turn when Gaddafi refused to step down peacefully and responded by firing live ammunition to disperse the crowds

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[1] The Arab Spring refers to a series of anti-government revolutionary uprisings that have erupted in various countries in North Africa and the Middle East, including in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Bahrain, Yemen, Syria, Oman, Morocco, Algeria, Iran, Lebanon and Saudi Arabia (Cottle, 2011, p. 647; Seo, 2013, p. 790).

(Gelvin, 2012). On the next day, Gaddafi's forces fired at funeral processions for those killed on the "Day of rage" from the rooftops of the army barracks (A Bell & Witter, 2011). In retaliation, protesters attacked those central military compounds, which ended by forcing Gaddafi's forces to withdraw (J. Oakes, 2011). This marked a turning point by which the protest changed from a peaceful revolution into an armed resistance that spread rapidly throughout the country (Lobban & Dalton, 2014). This incident was followed by the dramatic defection of Abdel Fattah Younis, the interior minister and former Army officer within the Gaddafi government. This defection was considered a major victory for the opposition in Benghazi, by which the revolution gained some serious legitimacy. As Gaddafi's violence escalated against civilians, many other political and military leaders defected from the Gaddafi regime and joined the protesters. Those defectors played an integral role in leading the opposition movement by establishing the National Transitional Council (NTC) on 27 February 2011 (Pargeter, 2012).

The use of violence against civilians provoked a strong response from the UN Security Council, who passed a resolution demanding an immediate ceasefire. As Gaddafi's forces were on their way to launching an attack on Benghazi, France, UK with the U.S. and other members of the UN Security Council voted in favour of the use of all necessary means to protect the Libyan people (J. Oakes, 2011). The UN Security Council adopted Resolution 1970, implementing a no-fly zone over all Libyan territory on 17 March. As the violence escalated, even after the UN resolution, NATO forces, under the leadership of the United States, Britain and France, began its military intervention against Gaddafi on 19 March 2011 (Pargeted, 2012). This military action was taken in order to protect civilians and to support regime change (Kuperman, 2013; Lobban & Dalton, 2014).

Despite the UN Security Council's decision to undertake military operations in Libya, Gaddafi declared that he would fight until the bitter end and urged his loyalists to take to the streets and fight against the protesters, turning the revolution into a civil war with the government taking a part. Throughout April and May, the opposition forces, with the support of the coalition forces, kept fighting Gaddafi's forces, with city control constantly changing throughout. After retaking the city of Misarata in the west, the opposition forces advanced forward towards Tripoli, which was captured on 21st August. Then, the fierce

fighting moved towards Gaddafi's stronghold cites, Bani Walid, and Sirte, where Gaddafi's loyal tribes were still fighting alongside him. In those two cities, the fighting was pitiless, as the opposition forces carried out reprisals against Gaddafi's loyalists. The rebels completely destroyed everything in their path, and committed human rights violations against the residents. On October 20, Muammar Gaddafi was found hiding from NATO raids in a drain pipe during the battle of Sirte. The rebels dragged him out and beat him violently in the most brutal way. While some fighters wanted to keep Gaddafi alive, one of the young rebels shot him dead. After Gaddafi was killed, his battered body was dragged through the streets of Sirte and then taken to Misarata where he treated as a war trophy (Pargeter, 2012). This stage marked the end of Gaddafi's rule, which had spanned over four decades.

1.1.3 Libya in Post-Revolutionary Era

The Libyan people dreamt of a better future after the fall of Muammar Gaddafi; a rosy future with a mature democracy, equality for all and freedom. Paradoxically, this was not to be as Libya was thrown into a state of confusion and chaos marred with internal wars run by rebels and militia, dysfunctional economies and deteriorating social structures (Hove, 2017; Imam, Abba, & Wader, 2014). The National Transition Council (NTC) formation in 2011 was tasked with overseeing Libya's transitional phase, and endowed with enough sovereign legitimate power to administer Libya's transition. However, due to Libya's diverse dynamics in terms of religion, ethnic groups, region and subsequent institutional failures, transitional processes have led to the re-emergence of local identities and further fragmentation. Thus, the NTC failed to manifest any semblance of power in taking decisive actions in stirring Libya into social, political and economic stability. This baffling state of affairs was made worse by the fact that the NTC avoided calling itself a "government" and instead preferred calling itself "the political face of the uprising" (Sawani & Pack, 2013, p. 524).

After the revolution, the revolutionary brigades who were formed during the revolution refused to disband and hand in their arms. The NTC failed to disarm, reintegrate or demobilize them (Hove, 2017; Pargeter, 2012). Each armed group was linked to a city and

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became the power brokers controlling the situation. In the wake of their victory over Gaddafi, the armed groups from cities who had been suppressed under Gaddafi's forces carried out reprisal killings, torture and other abuses against Gaddafi's loyalists (Pargeter, 2012). During the revolution, Gaddafi's forces used Tawerga city as a base from which to attack Misurata. In retaliation, rebels expelled Tawerga residents, in addition to burning or looting their homes and properties. They also perpetrated scores of reprisal killings of thousands of innocent black African migrants, claiming that they had been mercenaries who fought for Gaddafi's forces. According to the Human Rights Watch, such abuses amounting to crimes against humanity still persisted until April 2012 (Hove, 2017; Kuperman, 2013). The inability of the NTC to institute societal and political processes and the emergence of militia groups and regional interests has worsened the already bad situation in Libya. This has caused untold suffering to Libya's citizens (Sawani & Pack, 2013).

Libya's chaotic and insecure situation did not allow the post-Gaddafi elections to go through peacefully and the elected officials were subjected to assassination attempts, kidnappings, and threats (Hove, 2017). Instead of enjoying democracy and stability, Libya became divided into fragments, with two governments having a Prime minister, parliament and army. On one the west side of the country, the Islamist-allied militias took control of Tripoli, the capital city and other cities and set up their own government. On the other side, Tobruk (the East of the country) the legitimate government became unable to govern. All the Western embassies left, and the south of the country became a breeding ground for terrorists and the Northern coast was turned into a migrant trafficking centre. The continuing dispute over who the legitimate government might be still persists (Erdağ, 2017). Moreover, the power vacuum makes Libya a fertile ground for the Islamic State (ISIS), along with both radical Islamist and terrorist groups. Libya's instability destabilizes even the region Regional Security. It has become a place for those who espouse terrorism and destabilisation activities (Erdağ, 2017; Hove, 2017).

All these bedeviling scenarios occur when the Libyan citizenry is faced with human rights violations such as torture, assassinations, kidnappings, and internal displacement which hit alarming levels. Due to the severity of the danger throughout Libya and increasing the

humanitarian crisis, more than 150,000 Libyans seek sanctuary in other countries. Furthermore, living conditions have become even more difficult for those who remained in Libya. With a deteriorating security situation, Libyan citizens face rolling power cuts and essential needs shortages. In addition, Libya, an oil rich country, faces an economic crisis after the revolution. Libya's economy is in shambles and is the perfect epitome of a failed state. The government's control is thinning out and the country's oil resources are slipping into the militia fighter's hands. A power struggle for control over oil resources has led to a significant decline in oil production (Hove, 2017).

Prior to the revolution, Libyans, under Gaddafi, enjoyed better living conditions because of the national oil that ensured that Gaddafi provided progressive social welfare that saw Libyans gain access not only to free education, health-care, and electricity but also interest-free loans. After the revolution, the institutions of higher learning were shut down, the health-care sector was collapsing and blackouts were common everywhere, even in the once prosperous Tripoli. The gains on women's empowerment were rolled back. In Gaddafi's regime, women had rights to education, own property and had access to equal employment opportunities. However, the new Libyan "democratic" government became busy with cracking down on women's rights. The tribes that began to rule several parts of the country hold onto traditions that are highly patriarchal and Libyan politics has bequeathed an excess of power to extremist Islamist forces, who believe gender equality is a perverse Western ideology that has made the conditions for women worse (Imam, et al., 2014).

Generally, the dynamics that have led to the suffering of the Libyan populace encompasses, firstly, a lack of security caused by the long protracted civil wars. The anti-Gaddafi militia groups turned into armed wings that threaten the establishment of a fully functional central government and thus the security of the masses has been left to the mercies of tribal lords and militias. This is a result of a failure of the current government to exercise real power over those groups. The fact that the international community who were actively involved in the intervention, have left Libya to its own recovery devices. Secondly, the porous borders and internal political conflicts between militias, Islamist extremist, tribal chiefs and the government has brought a state of chaos, lawlessness and lack of government

control. The social structures have completely collapsed. Lastly, the non-existent regional support has worsened Libya's disintegrated state (Chivvis & Martini, 2014).

1.2 Libya-UK Relations

Libya's relationship with Britain began during World War II, when Britain allied with France and defeated Italy in the fight for control of Libya in 1942. However, in 1951, Libya finally freed herself from this rule, when Emir Idris al-Sanusi took over power and became the king Idris of Libya and the head of state. Because Libya was economically poor, King Idris forged a close relationship with Britain and thus received substantial aid and military help in exchange for military bases for British army. However, after Gaddafi came to power in 1969, he immediately began radical changes in Libya's foreign policy, which included evacuating the British military air base in 1970 and taking back the companies and properties owned by the British (Ronen, 2006). Although the Western countries tried to forge a healthy relationship with the Gaddafi government in the years after his assumption of power, it quickly deteriorated because of the anti-colonialism and pro-nationalism foundations that marked his government. Gaddafi supported the pan-Arab ideology that all Arab countries should relentlessly fight all their enemies, Israel being top on the list (Zoubir, 2009). This ideology drove Gaddafi to forcefully evacuate all British and American bases as well as develop weapons of mass destruction to deter the Western powers, especially Britain and Israel, from any further subjugation of Libya (Wright, 1981; Zoubir, 2009). The Libyan leader, additionally, infuriated the British government by making the decision to supply arms to the Irish Republican Army (IRA), besides him outright endorsing them. Moreover, Gaddafi warmed towards the Soviet Union, thereby alienating the West. This put Britain in a rather uncomfortable zone of indecision, because Libya occupied an indispensable strategic position in the Mediterranean region, coupled with her natural endowments in terms of resources such as oil and gas. Between the years 1992-1995, this changed due to the fact that Libya reversed her decision and supported the British Government (Ronen, 2006; Zoubir, 2009).

The tension between Britain and Libya hit an unprecedented level in 1980 when Gaddafi, in his attempt to consolidate power, expatriated political opponents - even those exiled in

Britain. This caused Britain to protest against Libya turning its territory into a battlefield for Libya's internal power wrangles. The confrontation that ensued was later ameliorated when Libya reduced its activities on British soil, however Britain still retained a suspicion of Libya. In 1983, the bilateral relationship between Britain and Libya worsened. The cause of this revolved around Gaddafi's undying pursuit and persecution of dissidents who had been exiled in Britain. Libyan exiles staged a big demonstration outside the Libyan embassy in London against the brutal persecution of their colleagues in Libya and the despicable rule of Gaddafi. In 1984, the simmering tension that marked the mood of those exiled in Britain flared up when Gaddafi's henchmen announced the formation of a People's Committee that was to run the London embassy and advocate the goodness of the Libyan leader. This group was also a tool used by Gaddafi to criticise Britain for its involvement in the Middle East struggles, and also criticise its stand on the "*Jamahiriya*". This forced occupation of the London embassy confirmed Gaddafi's determination to crush the dissidents who were in Britain (Ronen, 2006).

In March, 11th 1984, a series of bomb explosions rocked London and Manchester. Britain accused Libya of being behind the attacks. However, Libya vehemently denied any involvement and accused London of running a malicious racist campaign. Libya, moreover, engaged Britain in a war of words, and this heightened the tension between Libya and Britain. Then, an attack on a Libyan embassy led to the killing of one British policewoman, and Britain blamed Libya for it, although again, Libya denied responsibility. In addition, Libya presented itself as a victim of terror attacks from the British government. This infuriated the British government, who retaliated by putting the Libyan embassy under siege, even after the 25 Britons that were held by Libya were released. In 1984, the final blow came when Britain announced that it was cutting ties with Libya. Libya's diplomatic leaders were ordered to go back to their own country and the British diplomatic staff were recalled (Ronen, 2006).

Libya, in retaliation, threatened revenge against the British citizens living in Libya, and harassed and locked them up without genuine reason. At this time, Gaddafi had completely crushed the dissidents and felt more confident. He then initiated a negotiation with the British government, offering the release of detained Britons if they would release Libyans

in prison in Britain - an offer which Britain refused. In 1986, the relationship did not get any better and deteriorated further when Britain allowed American aircraft to use its base for an attack on Tripoli in retaliation for the attacks on the airports of Rome and Vienna, and the Berlin nightclub attacks. In the same year, the British further mounted pressure on Libya by banning more than 300 Libyan pilots and aviation engineers from flying any aircraft and ordered them back home. Libya responded by repatriating more than 100 Britons. Britain, on the other hand, refused to renew the air services agreement it had with Libya on the grounds that Libya was supporting terrorists (Ronen, 2006).

The bombing of the Pan American Flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland, in 1988 resulted in a serious confrontation with the U.S. and Britain. Libya was accused and blamed for the attack and the U.S. and Britain demanded that the two suspected Libyan nationals must be extradited by Libya to face trial in either U.S. or British jurisdictions. Libya, however, denied any involvement in the explosion and refused to hand over the suspects. As a result, Britain and the U.S. mounted pressure on Libya and slammed punitive measures, which included sanctions on the sales of arms to Libya, air travel bans and reduced diplomatic associations. These sanctions were ratified by the UN in 1992. The U.S. even wanted to place an embargo on Libyan oil, which could have had detrimental effects on Europe (Ronen, 2006; Zoubir, 2002). These sanctions were most debilitating to Libya and led to social unrest, a stagnant economy and an atmosphere of political violence, especially from Islamist dissidents. This stand-off went on until the International Court of justice at the Hague in 1998 allowed Libya to request a trial to be held in a third country. The U.S. and Britain rejected Libya's proposal. Fortunately, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) came in support of Libya and threatened suspending UN's sanctions on Libya if the U.S. and Britain did not agree to a proposal to have the trial held in a third country. This, together with other intense diplomatic mediations, forced the U.S. and Britain to make a compromise and an agreement was reached in 1999, where Libya surrendered the two suspects to be tried in Netherlands under Scottish law. This resulted in the lifting of the earlier Lockerbie related sanctions, a great relief to Gaddafi (Ronen, 2006; Zoubir, 2002, 2006).

The process of normalization and a return to a cordial bilateral relationship between Libya and the Western countries was helped along by several factors. Libya, first of all, reduced its militancy stance and agreed to extradite the two suspects to face trial in Netherlands (Pargeter, 2012; Ronen, 2006; Zoubir, 2006). It can be noted that this was not brought about by reconciliation, but by Libya's deteriorating foreign policy frameworks. This was further compounded by the war in Chad, which was draining Gaddafi's energies and the country's resources. This shifting bilateral relationship towards the UK and the U.S. weakened the enforcement of sanctions against Libya and this gave Libya a lifeline and a return to the communities of the world. From 1999 onwards, Libya increasingly gained diplomatic respect. This desire by Tripoli to mend fences brought mutual benefits to both countries. Libya received political, diplomatic and technological support, while Britain obtained the desired commercial (oil and gas) and political respect. This return to normalcy was furthered by an agreement reached at a Euro-Mediterranean Conference (Third) held in 1999 in Stuttgart, which allowed Libya to develop a normal relationship with the EU. Unlike the U.S., which waited until 2003 to engage Libya in a more cordial process of normalization, Britain and other Western countries immediately initiated dialogue with Libya just after the suspension of the UN sanctions in 1999 (Zoubir, 2006).

Libya further won the confidence of the U.S. and Britain when it assisted them by sharing intelligence on al-Qaeda terrorists. In addition, Libya agreed to take responsibility for the Lockerbie bombing and paid compensation to the families of the crash victims. This boosted Gaddafi's image and offered him a generous acceptance abroad (Ronen, 2006). In 2003 and 2004, through a negotiation, Libya publicly denounced its development of nuclear weapons and opened its doors for the international inspection of its arsenal. This reinforced Gaddafi's image, which was marked by a visit by Tony Blair, the British Prime Minister in 2004. This visit was considered a landmark, since it opened doors to Libya being accepted by the European Nations. The U.S. also allowed a bilateral relationship with Libya, with Britain being instrumental in achieving this. This ended Libya's long protracted disagreements with the West and restored normalcy (Pargeter, 2012; Ronen, 2006).

In 2010, when David Cameron was in office as British Prime Minister, the bilateral relationship with Libya continued. Despite having many investments in Libya and a strong Libyan community in the UK, Cameron's intervention in Libya was not primarily motivated by economic gains - it was motivated by the government's support of the rebel's cause (Northern & Pack, 2013). Cameron's government's decision to take part in the military intervention was mainly based on the belief that Gaddafi had violated human rights and committed crimes against humanity. As a result, Cameron's government supported the intervention and regime change. Britain joined France and took a leading role in the military intervention in Libya (Davidson, 2013).

1.3 Objective of the Study

The tumultuous event of the Libyan Revolution[2] was receiving significant news coverage by the Western media (Seo, 2013). However, their coverage has been seen as overly biased towards one side of the conflict, the opposition side. Hilsum[3] (2011) has claimed that the Libyan Revolution has been represented as a 'temptingly reductive narrative: evil old dictator versus seemingly modern […] democracy-seeking rebels' (p. 5). Such representation is contested by the International Crisis Group (2011), which states that 'much Western media coverage has from the outset presented a very one-sided view of the logic of events, portraying the protest movement as entirely peaceful and repeatedly suggesting that the regime's security forces were unaccountably massacring unarmed demonstrators who presented no real security challenge' (p. 4). Therefore, the main objective of this study is to examine the linguistic representation and the discursive construction of the Libyan Revolution of 2011 in British newspapers. The aim is to provide linguistic evidence to substantiate the claim relating to the biased representation of the opposing groups and social actors that participated in the Libyan Revolution in a corpus of

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[2] One of the main reasons for describing the Libyan uprising as a revolution is because Libya had no 'constitution, and there are virtually no state institutions that could provide continuity' (Lacher, 2011, p. 148).
[3] Hilsum is a Channel 4 News International Editor on conflicts and political movements. She had covered some of the Arab conflicts in the last decades and some of the recent Arab revolts in the Middle East and North Africa, including the revolt in Libya. She is the author of *Sandstorm: Libya in the Time of Revolution* (Hilsum, 2012).

British broadsheet newspapers. These objectives will be interpreted in the following research questions of the study.

1.4 Research Questions

This study examines the linguistic representation and the discursive construction of the Libyan Revolution of 2011 in British newspapers. In addition, it aims to shed light on how the linguistic structures and the discursive choices play a role in upholding certain ideologies projected in discourse. Therefore, the analysis of this study will revolve around the following questions:

1. How is the Libyan Revolution of 2011 constructed linguistically in British newspaper discourse?

2. To what extend and in which ways do British newspapers represent events in support of one side of the conflict?

3. What are the underlying ideologies embedded in the ways in which the British newspapers represent the opposing groups and their actions?

In order to address the above research questions, I sought to combine Corpus Linguistics (henceforth CL) with Critical Stylistics (henceforth CS) (Jeffries, 2010). The integration of CL as a methodological framework and CS as a theoretical base of the current study is in order to reduce the possibility of bias and to be as objective and rigorous in conducting the linguistic analysis as possible. This issue is discussed in more detail in chapters 2 and 4.

1.5 Previous Linguistic Studies on the Libyan Revolution

Since the Libyan Revolution, extensive research on this event has been coming out. Most of these studies have focused on providing a detailed description of the revolution (Chorin, 2012; Gelvin, 2012; Pack, 2013), the history of Gaddafi's regime (Hilsum, 2012), and the role of the United States and NATO in the Libya Revolution (Chivvis, 2013). While far too little attention has been paid to analysing news discourse reports on the Libyan Revolution from a linguistic perspective, one study conducted by Seo (2013) focusses on

the linguistic construction of the battle for Tripoli within the headlines of British and Chinese newspapers. In this study, Seo aimed to investigate how two different national newspapers with different ideologies and style construct the same event linguistically. To achieve the aim of his study, Seo used Halliday's transitivity system to investigate the discursive choices used by these newspapers in their news headlines. The corpus consisted of 47 articles from the British daily newspaper *The Guardian* and 46 articles from the Chinese national daily newspaper *The People's Daily* covering the period from 21 to 25 August 2011. The study found that there were significant differences in the linguistic and discursive choices of headlines employed by both newspapers. It found that the British newspaper's reporting of the event supported the rebels' side. Furthermore, it used the discursive strategy of positive US representations to highlight the positive role of NATO in defeating Gaddafi's forces. In contrast, the Chinese newspaper represented the NATO action negatively through the use of the discursive strategy of negative other representation. It represented China as an observer rather than taking a part in the war, through the choice of verbal processes. The study also shows a difference in constructing the Gaddafi side in the British newspaper. Gaddafi supporters were negatively represented, while a positive image is depicted by *The People's Daily*. Seo concluded that the discursive strategies in these newspapers were adopted to justify and protect their policies and interests in relation to the Libyan civil war.

A year later, Chen (2014) provided comprehensive comparative analysis of the news coverage of the 2011 Libyan civil war by two different national media: *China Daily* and *The New York Times*. Similarly to Seo, Chen aimed to investigate how the same event is constructed by two different newspapers that have different ideological stances, namely socialism and liberalism. By employing Critical Discourse Analysis in conjunction with Corpus Linguistics, Chen carried out an analysis on a corpus consisting of 20 news reports randomly selected from each newspaper covering the major events of the conflict from 1 March to 23 October 2011. The empirical findings of this study are consistent with the results reported by Seo above. The results show considerable differences between the two newspapers on both the textual and the discursive level. It finds that *The New York Times* paid more attention to the rebels and their actions, while they are neglected in the *China Daily* as this newspaper focused on the future effect of the war on the geopolitics of the

Middle East. It also finds that *The New York Times* constructed Gaddafi negatively while providing clear support for the Libyan rebels and for NATO's military actions against Gaddafi. In contrast, the Chinese newspaper took a neutral political stand in its reporting, and it constructs Gaddafi as 'a neutral or even somewhat positive political figure who, despite some minor political errors in his home country, still received significant support from the Libyan people and bravely fought against NATO's military intervention' (S. Chen, 2014, p. 27).

So far, however, such studies remain narrow in focus, dealing only with a small amount of data and using a quantitative analysis method rather than a qualitative method. As yet, no study, to the best of my knowledge, has investigated the linguistic representation of the Libyan Revolution in British newspapers. This study seeks to begin to fill this gap in the body of literature, particularly in the context where not many studies of this nature have been conducted so far. It also aims to substantiate the claim relating to the bias of British newspapers in their coverage in favour of anti-regime forces.

1.6 Why British Newspapers?

The daily British newspapers are classified into two broad groups of publications: tabloids and broadsheets. The terms *popular* and *quality* were used to differentiate between tabloid and broadsheet newspapers respectively (Baker, Gabrielatos, & McEnery, 2013). Rather than essentially being best-selling, popular newspapers are classified as "populist", with the propensity of covering national stories, specifically when it comes to celebrities and sports, as well as entertainment. The quality press, on the other hand, are those publications that appear to push forward a tone and analytical approach that is more serious when dealing with international current affairs (p. 7). With the present study focusing on international events, four quality broadsheet newspapers were chosen to make data available for this study. These four quality broadsheet newspapers are - *The Times*, *The Guardian*, *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Independent.* The basis for this research to focus on British newspapers rather than other Western newspapers is due to their role within the UK and due to the influence they wield as discourse producers worldwide.

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1.6.1 Their Influential Role

No doubt, the news today has had a central role and influence in Western society, which goes far beyond its function in terms of being a primary source of information regarding national and international issues for readers. There is a strong conviction that a significant role is being played by news discourse in shaping and orienting public opinion towards important events, specifically in the present world. Balabanova (2007) draws attention to the fact that the press in the Western world has become the most powerful entity within Western countries, with its power surpassing that of the legislature, the executive, and the judiciary (p. 145). Newspapers in Britain delve into issues that are beyond the role of a simple news source for their audience. They play an important role 'in cultural and political life of their readers by having them become well informed, entertained, exasperated, delighted and infuriated' (Williams, 2010, p. 1). Campbell (2006), in addition, draws attention to the effective function of the British press as 'the principle opinion vehicle, conjecture, and debate' (p. 59). The British newspapers, akin to other national presses in Europe, have the characteristics of being 'highly distinctive,' thereby producing a serious issue within Europe in the degree to which the domination of the national newspapers published take place in only one city – the city of London (Tunstall, 1996, p. 2, cited in Cole & Harcup, 2010). The influence that newspapers have in shaping public life is reflected when it comes to the decisive influence they have on election results (Baker, et al., 2013). The *Sun* newspaper, for example, threw its support behind the Conservative Party in 1992 with the newspaper coming out with "It was the *Sun* Wot Won It" as its headline. Many newspapers, including the right-leaning *Sun* and the left-leaning *Guardian*, in 1997, threw their support behind Tony Blair's 'New' Labour Party. Nonetheless, years later, many newspapers became negatively inclined towards Labour, and by the time of the 2010 election, the Liberal Democrats received the backing of *The Guardian,* while the Conservatives received the support of *The Sun* (Baker, et al., 2013).

1.6.2 Their Circulation

Baker, et al. (2013) stresses the importance of taking the newspaper readership into consideration in order to see how society is influenced by them. The decision to select these four newspapers was, accordingly, based on each newspaper's printed and online

circulation, as well as the attraction that each of them has with their readers. The spread of a newspaper is largely an indication of the degree to which people have become exposed to the information that such newspaper carry. Williams (2010) reiterates that in terms of spread, the purchase per capita of daily newspapers is more in Britain compared to any other countries of the world. This is to say, the British people read more newspapers compared to any other people around the globe. The Broadsheet newspapers, which this study has focused on, are usually purchased by the middle class, referring to professionals. The introduction of online versions of newspapers at the start of the twenty-first century improved the significance and the distribution of British newspapers, resulting in the British press largely circulating out into an expansive world (Baker, et al., 2013). Based on the late 2012 statistics of media analytics service comscore.com, 42.6% out of exclusive internet users were gaining access to online newspaper sites. Three UK national newspapers, *Mail Online, The Guardian*, and *Telegraph Media Group*, were featured in the top 10 most popular of these sites, with *The Mail* beating the *New York Times* as the most popular newspaper website in terms of number of visitors, having over 50 million individuals accessing it, compared to 48.5 million individuals for *The New York Times*. *The Guardian* made it to the third position with an audience of 38.9 million accessing the site all over the world[4]. The following year saw *The Guardian* grabbing the first position of all UK national quality newspapers with 12.2 million readers, based on the National Readership Survey (NRS) (2013) Table 1.1 below. *The Daily Telegraph*, akin to *The Guardian*, had 11.6 million readers in print and online every month. This number is considered to be high, thereby intimating that it was among the most extensively read national newspapers in 2013.

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[4] Radwanick, Sarah (12/12/2012): 'Most Read Online Newspapers in the World: Mail Online, New York Times and The Guardian' retrieved from https://www.comscore.com/Insights/Data-Mine/Most-Read-Online-Newspapers-in-the-World-Mail-Online-New-York-Times-and-The-Guardian

Table 1.1 Monthly readership of the quality national newspapers Jan 2013 – Dec 2013

Daily Broadsheet newspapers	Print	Online	Print + Online
The Daily Telegraph	4,138,000	8,762,000	11,644,000
The Guardian	3,993,000	10,049,000	12,294,000
The Independent	3,957,000	4,817,000	8,032,000
The Times	4,551,000	519,000	4,963,000

Source: National Readership Survey.

The Times, with a readership of 4.55 million a month, in contrast, happened to be the most popular quality title in print when compared to a readership of only 0.5 million on its website. The fourth best-read quality title with 4.8 million readers accessing its website every month was *The Independent*. Such statistics are a reflection that the broadsheet newspapers in Britain have a readership that goes even beyond Britain due to making their broadsheets contents available in part online. Thus, these newspapers, which are regularly being exposed to readers, both printed and online, were in a position of influencing the majority of UK readers and beyond.

In order to attract a larger readership, the newspaper journalists follow a series of selection criteria that make the news stories newsworthy. This issue is pursued in more detail below.

1.6.3 News Discourse and its Newsworthiness

The journalists, in order to wield influence, have a criteria of events that make them become newsworthy, attributed to certain values and characteristics. The basis for this newsworthiness criteria is what are called 'news values' (Fowler, 1991). Scholars have defined news values in many different ways, as news values, in essence, are what determine if an event is worthy to be considered news. The typical definition of news values, in the Journalism Studies literature, is the application of properties of events or stories or criteria/principles by news workers as a way of selecting events or stories as news or selecting the structure and order by which reporting is made (Bednarek & Caple, 2014, p. 136). Van Dijk (1988a) and Fowler (1991), critical discourse analysts, came up with the concept of news value having a cognitive representation with the recognition of their social and broad dimension, while Richardson (2007) took into consideration news value as the

criteria which journalists use in measuring and making judgement on the newsworthiness of an event (p. 91). The term 'news values' was first coined by Galtung and Ruge (1973), who introduced twelve factors affecting the selection of news items. Such criteria includes frequency and threshold, as well as unambiguity, meaningfulness, and consonance. Others include unexpectedness, continuity, and composition, together with reference to elite nations, reference to elite people, and reference to persons, as well as negativity (Fowler, 1991, p. 13). Other studies echo the same criteria, although with slight changes made (Bednarek, 2006; Bednarek & Caple, 2012; Fairclough, 1995b; Fowler, 1991). Events are more likely to be registered as newsworthy if they highly satisfy the criteria of news value. There is a higher likelihood of an event to be selected for publication and prominent presentation if it is considered to be more newsworthy.

There has been a contention that media organisations have the tendency of reporting more events that involve conflict or 'bad' news (Negative aspect) (Baker, 2010b; Baum & Groeling, 2010). Graber (1989) discovered negativity or 'natural or man-made *violence, conflict, disaster,* or *scandal*' to be one of the most important ingredients in the verification of newsworthiness (Graber, 1989, pp, 84-86 [orginal emphasis] as cited in Johnson-Cartee, 2004, p. 126). The 2011 Libyan Civil War, in this regard, has certain negative features, drama, and importance, thereby fulfilling the criteria of being newsworthy. It is important to highlight that beyond making decisions on whether an event should be reported on the basis of its news value perception, journalists agree upon practical guidelines in writing news stories. The Press Complaints Commission (PCC) regulates newspapers, with a particular reference to the British context, since it sets out a code of practice that acts as a guideline for journalists in news construction. The PCC code for editors on discrimination, for example, has it that there must be an avoidance of making unnecessary references to a person's race, colour or religion (Baker, et al., 2013). This means that journalists follow certain guidelines in reporting news events.

1.7 Thesis Structure

Following on from this introductory chapter, theories of Critical Discourse Analysis (henceforth CDA) are reviewed in chapter 2. In that chapter I start by illustrating what

CDA is and its roots. I then go on to give an overview of CDA's theories, followed by criticism and how this criticism can be addressed. After that, the chapter provides a detailed explanation of Critical Stylistics (Jeffries, 2010), the theoretical framework for this study. I also explain how this theory meets the limitations of previous CDA theories and why I chose it to conduct this study.

In chapter 3 I introduce the background of Corpus Linguistics (CL) with an explanation of its key concepts and tools. I then proceed to explain the different corpus approaches to discourse analysis, followed by explaining how CL contributes to CDA. The chapter ends by summarising the most relevant studies that have combined CDA and CL to analyse news media discourse.

Chapter 4 deals with the data collection and methodological procedure. The chapter starts with a description of the corpus and how it was collected. I then go on to discuss the methodological procedure employed to analyse the corpus of the study. I discuss how the tools and methods in Corpus Linguistics are used as an entry point to data excluding pre-defined linguistic features to the analysis. Next, the chapter introduces the research focus resulting from the corpus analysis, and followed by explaining the integration of Corpus Linguistics and Critical Stylistics to carry out the qualitative analysis for this study. The chapter ends with a reflection on integrating CS and CL to carry out this research.

Chapters 5, 6 and 7 present the analytical findings of the study. Each chapter deals with one area resulting from the corpus analysis under a separate title. In more detail, chapter 5 examines the naming choices used by British newspapers to name the participants involved in the Libyan Revolution. Chapter 6 presents the textual analysis of keywords referring to the participants in the Libyan Revolution, explaining the linguistic representation of both sides of the Libyan Revolution in the British newspapers. Chapter 7 presents the textual analysis of keywords linked to violence and its consequences, illustrating what is happening on the ground during the Libyan Revolution.

Chapter 8 forms the final chapter of this thesis. Here, the findings are discussed in relation to the research questions with regard to the broad empirical aims of investigating the claims by Hilsum and the International Crisis Group about the biased representation of the

opposing groups and social actors that participated in the Libyan Revolution in a corpus of British broadsheet newspapers. Then, I interpret the findings in relation to the wider historical, social, political, and cultural contexts, highlighting the value of the analysis and reflecting on journalistic practices. The chapter continues with identifying the methodological and theoretical contributions made by this thesis, followed by a reflection on some of its limitations, and the chapter ends by suggestions for future research.

Chapter 2
Critical Approaches to News Discourse

2.1 Introduction

News is not just a way to report an event, it also plays an integral role in shaping our interpretation of the world and encoding certain ideologies through language manipulation. Fowler (1991) defines news as 'a representation of the world in language; because language is a semiotic code, it imposes a structure of values, social and economic in origin, on whatever is represented', thus it is not 'a value-free reflection of "facts"' (p. 4). In this sense, news representation is 'a constructive practice' by which 'events and ideas are not communicated naturally, in their natural structure, as it were' (p. 25). Over the last two decades, news discourse has been subjected to analysis and investigation from a critical discourse analytical perspective. Many approaches of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and its forerunner Critical Linguistics have been developed by researchers in order to investigate representation in news discourse, especially to explore how the media portray or present particular groups, identities, topics and ideas from an ideological point of view, as well as to unravel the underlying ideologies of representations. In the literature, the terms Critical Linguistics and CDA are often used interchangeably in critical practice studies (Wodak, 2001b, p. 1). However, Critical Linguistics is more linguistically oriented than CDA's approaches, which are 'more socio-political oriented than linguistics'(Jeffries & McIntyre, 2010, p. 193). Among CDA approaches are the socio-cultural approach (Fairclough, 1989), the socio-cognitive approach (Van Dijk, 1993), the discourse-historical approach (Wodak, 2001a) and the social actors approach (Van Leeuwen, 1996, 2008). In fact, Critical Linguistics and CDA approaches share the same concern of critically investigating ideological representation in discourse but differ in their multidisciplinary nature as well as in the rigour of the linguistic methodology applied. Although these approaches highlight the importance of textual analysis, they fail in applying this analysis systematically as they select certain linguistic features and ignore the others (Stubbs, 1997; Toolan, 1997; Widdowson, 1998, 2004). This eclecticism is also as a result of 'a dearth of analytical devices available' that should be used in the analytical process (Jeffries, 2010,

p. 12). In 2010, Jeffries developed Critical Stylistics (CS) in which she adds to the existing CDA theories a comprehensive set of analytical tools. Jeffries (2014) points out that:

> Developing CS was the answer to my feelings of frustration in the face of Critical Discourse Analysis's deliberate lack of methodology or framework and its apparent abandonment of many of the achievements of linguistics in its scientific phase of development. (p. 410)

In order to avoid bias in choosing linguistic features that fit the analyst's ideological interpretation, corpus analysis is suggested as it helps to provide a vast amount of textual facts for ideological interpretation (Stubbs, 1997; Widdowson, 2004). For the above reason, I choose Critical Stylistics (Jeffries, 2010) as a theoretical framework in conjunction with Corpus Linguistics in order to reduce the possibility of bias and to be as objective and rigorous in conducting the linguistic analysis as possible. The integration between Corpus Linguistics (CL) and CDA will be the focus of the next chapter, giving an overview of CL, its analytical technique, its approaches to discourse studies and its contribution to CDA studies.

This chapter is devoted to providing a background to the previous approaches of CDA in order to illustrate what these approaches have in common, how they differ, their interests in news discourse, their limitations and criticism and how CS compensates for the lack of methodological rigor that previous CDA theories were criticised for. It will start with illustrating what CDA is, and its roots, followed by a detailed overview of the Critical Stylistic framework and its main tools, which are known as 'textual-conceptual functions' (Jeffries, 2010, 2014).

2.2 Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) has been recognised as a discourse analytical approach that aims to 'critically investigate social inequality as it is expressed, constituted, legitimized and so on, by language use (or in discourse)' (Wodak & Meyer, 2009a, p. 10). CDA approach is 'critical' in the way that it aims:

to make visible through analysis, and to criticize, connections between properties of texts and social processes and relations (ideologies, power relations) which are generally not obvious to people who produce and interpret those texts, and whose effectiveness depends upon this opacity. (Fairclough, 1995a, p. 97)

Therefore, CDA is used to analyse texts in order to reveal what discursive structures and strategies play an integral role in reproduction of power relations (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Van Dijk, 1993). Unequal power relations are reproduced in text through ideological assumptions which are hidden within texts. Fairclough (1989) highlights the relation between language, ideology and power when he points out that 'ideologies are closely linked to power because the nature of ideological assumptions embedded in particular conventions, and the nature of those conventions themselves, depend on the power relations which underlie the conventions' (p. 2). He goes further saying that 'ideologies are closely linked to language, because using language is the commonest form of social behaviour and the form of social behaviour where we rely most on "common sense" assumptions' (p. 2). However, people are often unaware of the ideological mediation of power in language, thus CDA seeks to 'help to increase consciousness of language and power and particularly of how language contributes to the domination of some people by others' (p. 4).

For CDA, ideologies has been defined as '*a coherent and relatively stable of beliefs or values*' (Wodak & Meyer, 2009a, p. 8 [original emphasis]) which is 'communicated, reproduced, constructed and negotiated using language' (Jeffries, 2010, p. 5). Ideologies of dominant groups are naturalised as they are embedded in everyday discourse, thus they become treated as 'common sense' assumptions of the society. Giving ideologies a status of common sense makes them no longer visible (Fairclough, 1995a, p. 42). Thus, the primary aim of CDA is to 'elucidate such naturalizations, and more generally to make clear social determinations and effects of discourse which are characteristically opaque to participants' (p. 28). CDA goes beyond simply describing language to offer a critical view by considering the relation between social processes and the production of text. Indeed, as

Rogers (2004) puts it, CDA offers 'not only a description and interpretation of discourses in social context but also offers an explanation of why and how discourses work' (p. 2).

After explaining what CDA is, I will proceed to introducing its roots followed by providing a background to its different approaches.

2.2.1 The Roots of CDA - Critical Linguistics

The origins of CDA can been traced back to Critical Linguistics, which was introduced by Fowler and Kress in the late 1970s at the University of East Anglia in their seminal chapter *Critical Linguistics* published in *Language and Control* (Fowler, Hodge, Kress, & Trew, 1979). Critical Linguistics is seen by Fowler as 'an "instrumental" linguistics looking beyond the formal structure of language as an abstract system, towards the practical interaction between language and context' (Fowler, 1996, p. 10). It emerges from the belief that there is a strong connection between linguistic structure and social structure. Critical linguists view language as 'an integral part of social process' (Fowler, et al., 1979, p. 189) and its use is not random but rather it is 'to confirm and consolidate the organizations which shape it, being used to manipulate people, to establish and maintain them in economically convenient roles and statuses, to maintain the power of state agencies, corporations and other institutions' (p. 190). For Fowler and Kress, lexical items, syntactic structures and linguistic processes carry and express specific meanings which are socially constructed among groups. Beneath these linguistic structures, there are underlying ideologies that are expressed by the text producer. In order to detect those underlying ideologies, there was a need for linguistic analysis to be 'critical' (p. 186).

To realise this objective, the critical linguists Fowler and Kress proposed a Critical Linguistics which drew its theoretical roots from Halliday's systemic functional linguistics as a base for the interpretation of the text and to expose hidden ideologies. Based on Halliday, critical linguists view language as having three meta-functions: ideational, interpersonal and textual functions. The ideational function of language is concerned with representing the world by way of the text producers encoding their experiences of world phenomena. The interpersonal function expresses the social relationships between the text producers and the recipients, giving a free space for the text producers to express their

attitude towards and evaluation of the representing phenomenon, while the textual function is the function that enables the text producers to organise the communicated message in relation to the context in which it occurs (Fowler, 1991, p. 69). Within this system of language, there are different linguistic choices available to use for a representation, and the choices from the system made by the text producer are 'principled and systematic' (Fowler, et al., 1979, p. 188). Critical Linguistic analysts utilise the meta-functions of language as the heart of the linguistic analysis that aims to substantiate the social role of language in representing reality about the world.

Like stylistics, Critical Linguistics 'seeks to interpret texts on the basis of linguistic analysis' (Simpson, 1993, p. 5). This kind of text interpretation has been referred to as 'critical interpretation', which aims to recover 'the social meanings expressed in discourse by analysing the linguistic structures in the light of their interactional and wider social contexts' (Fowler, et al., 1979, pp. 195-196). The main analytical apparatus of Critical Linguistics are the grammar of transitivity, the grammar of modality, transformations, the grammar of classification and coherence, and order and unity.

One of the contributions to Critical Linguistics is the work introduced by Fowler (1991) in his published book *Language in the News: Discourse and Ideology in the Press* in which he elaborated the application of Critical Linguistics to investigate ideologies and power presentation in news discourse. In this work, Fowler argues that his central interest lies in discovering 'the role of linguistic structure in the construction of ideas in the press' (p. 1). He further asserts that news is constructed in a way to express opinions, values and reflect a particular ideological stance (p. 4). His theoretical assumption is based on the belief that everything reported in the news is reported from an ideological point of view of the text producer. Based on Halliday's suggestion that language consists of a network of linguistic options, Fowler argues that the selection of one linguistic feature from other available options gives the text producer an ability to communicate ideological meaning. In particular, he took the view that '*any* aspect of linguistic structure, whether phonological, syntactic, lexical, semantic, pragmatic or textual, can carry ideological significance'(p. 67 [original emphasis]). Based on this view, he carried out a detailed linguistic analysis of news text using linguistic tools of Critical Linguistics which were adopted from Halliday's

functional modal, including transitivity, passive construction, lexical structure, modality and speech acts. Fowler considers Halliday's functional modal as 'the best modal for examining the connection between linguistic structure and social value' (p. 68). However, Fowler's tools have been seen by Jeffries as 'lacking in comprehensive coverage of linguistic features' (Jeffries, 2010, p. 13).

After providing technical details of applying the above tools to some examples taken from news text, Fowler offers a clear insight to the power of linguistic features to express ideologies by elaborating his analysis to include news representation of major events when Margaret Thatcher was in power (from 1979 to 1990), such as the representation of women in newspapers. In his analysis of this representation, he found that women are attributed 'irrationality, familial dependence, powerlessness and sexual and physical excess' (Fowler, 1991, p. 95). He points out that terms referring to the occupational status of women are morphologically marked, e.g. "actress", "woman doctor", while such terms are not used to refer to men. In addition, women are addressed by diminutive forms, such as "Maggie", "Winnie". Women are also named by terms that dehumanise them: "piece", "skirt" or trivialise them: "pet", "chick" (p. 96). He further highlights that newspapers tend to characterise women in terms of family relationships while men are often depicted by their professional status. Furthermore, sexual stereotypes are also used to characterise women and promote the discourse of ideological discrimination between the two genders. Fowler concludes that different linguistic strategies are used to create discriminatory discourse between women and men and represent women as a marked group who are not professional in their occupations, unlike men.

He also investigated the coverage of the American bombing of Libya in 1986 in three different newspapers: two tabloids, one left wing, the other right, and one broadsheet newspaper: *The Guardian*. By carrying out critical linguistic analysis, Fowler found that the right-wing tabloid represents "Arabs" in general as non-human by using very negative nominal choices such as "rat" and "madman". It also tend to depict Gaddafi negatively by using an evaluative term, such as "Mad Dog". This nominal choice is also used by the Guardian journalists but it is attributed to others by representing it between scare quotes (the expression is quoted from Ronald Reagan's statement) in order to distance themselves.

Comparing *The Sun* and *The Guardian*, Fowler concludes that *The Sun* was more biased in its representation of the event than the Guardian, which was more critical (pp. 112-119).

Based on his empirical study, in his book Fowler concluded that 'news is not a natural phenomenon emerging straight from "reality", but a *product*. It is produced by industry, by the relations between the media and other industries and, most importantly, by relations with government and with other political organizations' (p. 122 [original emphasis]).

2.2.2 Various Approaches of CDA

In this part, I will give a brief account of the previous approaches to Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), illustrating what these approaches have in common, how they differ, and their interests in news discourse.

2.2.2.1 **Fairclough's Socio-Cultural Approach**

A decade after proposing Critical Linguistics, Fairclough develops it into an approach which in the early stage he called "critical language study" (Fairclough, 1989, p. 5). In this approach, Fairclough incorporates social theory and textual analysis to investigate societal power relations in discourse. Fairclough views the previous approaches to language study, including linguistics, sociolinguistics, pragmatics, cognitive psychology, artificial intelligence, conversation analysis and discourse analysis as having limitations in studying language. For instance, he criticised linguistics because it sees language as 'a potential, a system, an abstract competence, rather than attempting to describe actual language practice' (p. 7) and sociolinguistics for being informed by positivist notions of social science. He also points out that the notion of individualism is the main weakness of pragmatics, while he criticised conversation analysis as ignoring the wider social context (pp. 7-12). In response to these limitations, Fairclough proposed his approach as an 'alternative orientation' to language study that focuses on investigating the connection between language use and unequal relations of power (p. 13).

The essence of Fairclough's approach is grounded in considering language as a form of social practice and is influenced by Foucault's critical theory and its emphasis on the relationships between language as a form of social action and power. More precisely,

Fairclough believes that language is 'a socially conditioned process' that constitutes a part of society (p. 22). He further points out that there is an internal and a dialectical relationship between language and society which could be recognised via social events, social practices and social structures. He views the process of social interaction as consisting of a *process of production* and *a process of interpretation* in addition to the text. Consequently, he prefers to use the term *discourse* to refer to this process and avoids using the term *text* as it is seen by him as a product that constitutes a part of the social interaction process (p. 24 [original emphasis]). Discourse, according to Fairclough, consists of three levels: (1) text, which refers to either spoken or written text (2) interaction, which refers to the process of production and interpretation of the text and (3) context, which concerns the wider social conditions of production and interpretation.

In order to investigate the power relations in discourse, Fairclough (1989) highlights the importance of analysing 'the relationship between texts, processes and their social conditions' (p. 26). In order to carry out such analysis, Fairclough proposed three stages of CDA whereby each stage is linked to one of the discourse dimensions mentioned above. The first stage is the description stage, which is linked to the text. This stage focuses on analysing the formal properties of text which, according to Fairclough, serve as '*cues* in the process of interpretation' (p. 24 [original emphasis]). The analysis of the textual features helps to uncover ideological assumptions embedded in the text. To carry out this textual analysis, Fairclough gives a list of ten formal properties that deal with vocabulary, grammar and text, though he admits that they are 'highly selective, containing those which tend to be most significant for critical analysis.' (p. 110). The interpretation is the second stage and is linked to the process of production and interpretation (discursive practice) and it is 'concerned with participants' processes of text production as well as text interpretation' (p. 141). That is, the analyst, in this stage, should interpret a text based on the surrounding context as well as on the Members' Resources (MR)[5]. Regarding the context and the

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[5] Refers to what 'people have in their heads and Social conditions of production draw upon when they produce or interpret texts - including their knowledge of language, representations of the natural and social worlds they inhabit, values, beliefs, assumptions, and so on.' (Fairclough, 1989, p. 24).

interpretation of text, Fairclough points out that 'interpreters quickly decide what the context is, and this decision can affect the interpretation of text; but the interpretation of context is partly based upon, and can change in the course of, the interpretation of text' (p. 145). In order to be able to determine which MR must be taken into account in the interpretation process of a particular text, Fairclough introduces a list of four major elements of MR: phonology, grammar and vocabulary, semantics, cohesion, and schemata. Each is associated with a specific level of interpretation (pp. 142-146).

The third stage is the explanation stage, which is linked to context (social practice). It is concerned with investigating the relationship between interaction and the social context of production and interpretation in order to discover power relations in discourse. The main aim of this stage is manifested in portraying 'a discourse as part of a social process, as a social practice, showing how it is determined by social structures, and what reproductive effects discourses can cumulatively have on those structures, sustaining them or changing them' (p. 163). In doing so, Fairclough highlights the importance of analysing discourse in relation to two main concepts: ideology and hegemony (Fairclough, 1992). Fairclough adopted the concept of hegemony from the Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci, referring to 'the power over society as a whole of one of the fundamental economically-defined classes in alliance with other social forces' (p. 92). For him, ideologies in societies are controlled by relations of domination of those groups. That is, hegemony is linked to ideology in that the elite groups maintain power by causing their ideologies to be perceived as a common sense, thus, they are naturalised. Discourse reproduces those ideologies, embedding them within a particular society. The reflection of those ideologies in a discourse is affected by hegemonic struggle in society, which serves to impose social values, beliefs, norms and conventions, creating a hegemonic discourse.

Over the years, Fairclough developed his approach to CDA, and in his later publications he adds different aspects to his first version of CDA. In 1992, he shifted his focus towards developing a historical approach that aims to 'bring together linguistically-oriented discourse analysis and social and political thought relevant to discourse and language, in the form of a framework which will be suitable for use in social scientific research, and specifically in the study of social change' (p. 62). To achieve this aim, Fairclough adds the

concepts of intertextuality and hegemony as the central aspects of this approach; whereas the former has to do with investigating social change in discourse at the level of discursive practice, the latter aims to investigate power relations in discourse at the level of social practice. Later on, Fairclough (2003, 2005, 2009) developed his approach to be a transdisciplinary approach to carry out textual analysis. This version of CDA was developed through transdisciplinary dialogue by incorporating discourse and discourse analysis within social theories and methods of research, as well as developing the CDA theory and method of discourse to be consistent with a dialectical view of social reality (Fairclough, 2005, p. 68).

Throughout his work in the field of CDA, Fairclough, like Fowler, was interested in analysing media discourse and investigating hidden ideologies. Alongside the linguistic analysis at text level, Fairclough adds a new level of analysis called 'intertextual analysis' at discourse practice level (Fairclough, 1995b). Unlike Critical Linguistics, the analysis process in Fairclough's approach is concerned with participants' process of text production as well as text interpretation during the interpretation stage, while critical linguists tend to interpret the text 'without reference to the interpretative practices of audience' (pp. 27-28). Fairclough points out that Critical Linguistics focuses much more on linguistic analysis at text level 'with little attention to higher-level organization properties of whole texts' (p. 28). That is, Critical Linguistics ignores the intertextual analysis which aims to look at text from 'the perspective of discourse practice' (p. 61). Fairclough refers to these limitations of Critical Linguistics not to 'minimize the achievement of critical linguistics', but rather to 'reflect shifts of focus and developments of theory in the past twenty years or so' (p. 28). In response, Fairclough integrates the linguistic analysis and the intertextual analysis as complementary to each other in his analysis of media discourse. Carrying out a linguistic analysis of the linguistic features of the text provides evidence that is used in the intertextual analysis for the interpretation. Fairclough considers the correlation between those two levels as important in 'bridging the gap between text and language on the one hand, society and culture on the other' (p. 62).

2.2.2.2 **Van Dijk's Socio-cognitive Approach**

Van Dijk criticised the previous approaches of CDA and its forerunner Critical Linguistics for missing social cognition from their analysis of language (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Van Dijk, 1995a) which, according to him, allow the analyst to 'link dominance and discourse' and 'explain the production as well as the understanding and influence of dominant text and talk'(Van Dijk, 1993, p. 257). In response, he proposed a theoretical framework that triangulated between discourse, society and cognition in order to analyse ideologies involved in discourse. In this theoretical framework, he provides three levels to analyse ideology and discourse: (1) social analysis, (2) cognition analysis, (3) discourse analysis (Van Dijk, 1995a). That is, Van Dijk's approach to CDA is distinguished from Fairclough's approach in that it puts a great deal of emphasis upon social cognition as the interface between discourse and society (Van Dijk, 1993), while Fairclough perceives discourse practice as mediating between text and the sociocultural dimension (Fairclough, 1995b). According to Van Dijk (1993), his socio-cognitive approach offers 'a unique and necessary interface between the macro aspects of society and the micro aspects of discourse and interaction' (p. 87) via the model of social cognition. In this approach, Van Dijk perceives ideologies as 'the fundamental social cognitions that reflect the basic aims, interests and values of groups' (p. 258). Ideologies mainly function as mediating between 'the cognitive representations and processes underlying discourse and action, on the one hand, and the societal position and interests of social groups, on the other hand'(Van Dijk, 1995a, p. 18). Social cognition, according to Van Dijk, is 'the system of mental representations and processes of group members' (p. 18). The sociocultural shared knowledge of group members constitutes a part of this mental system that is influenced indirectly by ideologies. The mental representations of people's experiences have been referred to as *models* which constitute actions, events or situations they are involved in or read about. These models are not only controlled by the social actor's personal experience, but they are also controlled socially as the social actor is affected by the shared social cognitions of his group. For Van Dijk, this combination in the mental models gives the ability to individuals to understand the link 'between the micro and the macro analysis of society' and, more importantly, 'to make explicit the relations between general group ideologies and actual text and talk' (p. 20). From a cognitive perspective, construction

discourse is based upon social actors' personal experiences as well as social representations which 'form the link between the social system and the individual cognitive system'(Wodak & Meyer, 2009a, p. 25). That is to say, the way that the text producer creates the text and how the readers interpret it is influenced strongly by social cognition.

Similar to Fowler and Fairclough, Van Dijk's main interest lies in applying his approach to media discourse. However, his analysis of media discourse goes beyond Fowler's textual analysis and Fairclough's CDA to focus on analysing the discourse structures of news and the process of social cognition of production and interpretation as he stated that his main interest focuses on 'the analysis of the various contexts of discourse, that is, the cognitive processes of production and reception and in the sociocultural dimensions of language use and communication' (Van Dijk, 1988a, p. 2). He aims to link media text to context in order to 'show in detail how social relationships and process … are accomplished at a micro-level through routine practice', while Fairclough aims to 'show how shifting language and discourse practices in the media texts constitute social and cultural change' (Fairclough, 1995b, p. 29). Van Dijk analysed news discourse with regard to the structure of news, processes of the news production, and processes of news comprehension (Van Dijk, 1988a, 1988b). More precisely, he highlights the focus on the relations between discourse structures and the structures of social cognition which, according to him, must be analysed with a consideration to the broader social, political and or cultural theory of the situation, contexts, institutions, groups, and overall power relations (Van Dijk, 1993). In order to demonstrate the relationship between these three levels of news production, Van Dijk focuses on analysing news discourse at microstructure and macrostructure level, where the former is concerned with semantic relations between propositions, syntactic and lexical characteristic of news style and rhetorical features of news reports, while the latter concerns the thematic structure of news reports and news schemata.

Over the years, Van Dijk's major critical work on media discourse focused on the issue of racism and prejudice. He argues that CDA 'should deal primarily with the discourse dimensions of power abuse and the injustice and inequality that result from it' (Van Dijk, 1993, p. 552). In his book *Racism and the Press* (1991), Van Dijk focuses on the representation of ethnic groups and minorities. In this work, Van Dijk points out that the

news puts much emphasis on the negative role of minority groups and anti-racists. The news portrayed those groups negatively in association with illegal immigration, illegal work, conflict, crime, intolerance and problematic cultural differences. More recently, Van Dijk (2012) sheds light on the integral role of media discourse in producing ethnic racism and power abuse by dominant groups and elites. He points out that much of the previous empirical research on racism in the news, that was carried out in many countries, has demonstrated that 'the media play an important role in expressing and spreading ethnic prejudice', assuming that 'prejudice is one of the conditions of racist practices that define racism as the social system of ethnic power abuse' (p. 15).

Although Van Dijk's approach is seen as a powerful integrated framework for news discourse analysis, Fairclough is critical of this framework for its considerable emphasis on representations while giving little attention to the interpersonal function of language, for lacking intertextual analysis and for giving 'one-sided emphasis to news-making practices as stable structures which contribute to the reproduction of relations of domination and racist ideologies' (Fairclough, 1995b, p. 30).

2.2.2.3 Wodak's Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA)

At Vienna University, Wodak and her colleagues proposed an approach to CDA studies that integrated sociolinguistics with a discourse-historical approach. This approach is distinguished from other approaches to CDA in that it attempts to 'work with different approaches, multimethodically and on the basis of a variety of empirical data as well as background information' (Wodak, 2001a, p. 65). Furthermore, it is also distinguished by putting considerable emphasis on the historical contexts of discourse in the interpretation and explanation process. It is based on the assumption that 'all discourses are historical and can therefore only be understood with reference to their context'(Wodak & Meyer, 2009a, p. 20). The main concern of this approach is to 'integrate systematically all available background information in the analysis and interpretation of the many layers of written and spoken text' (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p. 266). To put it more precisely, DHA focuses on linking the micro-level of discourse to its macro-level of historical context in the analytical process; that is, linking the internal textual analytical level to the contextual

level, which is concerned with the historical period of discourse production and reception and the broad social context. In analysing the historical context, DHA takes into consideration how language is used in particular texts, intertextual and interdiscursivity relationships, social variation and institutional settings of a particular context of situation, and the wider sociopolitical and historical context in which discourse events are embedded. The main concern of intertextuality and interdiscursivity relationships in this approach is to investigate 'the ways in which particular genres of discourse are subject to diachronic change' (Wodak, 2001a, p. 65), where the former is concerned with how text are connected to other texts, while interdiscursivity focuses on how discourses are connected to each other.

In this approach, Wodak agrees with Fairclough in considering discourse as a form of social practice (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997). Wodak holds that there is a dialectical relationship between discursive events and situations, institutions and social structures in which they are placed. The analytical process of Wodak's DHA goes through three-dimensional levels, starting with identifying the topics of discourse, followed by investigating the discursive strategies, and then examining the linguistic means and the specific, context-dependent linguistic realizations of the discriminatory stereotypes (Reisigl & wodak, 2009; Wodak, 2001a) .

Similar to Van Dijk, Wodak was also interested in the representation of racism and prejudice in discourse in the news media. In investigating these issues, Wodak and her associates have further elaborated Van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach by 'assuming different types of schemata which are important for text production and text comprehension' (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p. 266). It has been argued that the main concern of DHA is to 'enable the analysis of implicit prejudiced utterances, as well as to identify and expose the codes and allusions contained in prejudiced discourse' (p. 266). Furthermore, they adopted many concepts and categories from Van Dijk, such as the concept of positive self-representation and negative other-representation, but without putting as much emphasis on socio-cognitivism as Van Dijk (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001, p. 31). In analysing racist discourse, they advocated five discursive strategies that help to define self and other representation. These strategies draw upon a combination of

argumentation theory; ethnography; and rhetoric and text linguistics, including referential strategies; predicational strategies; argumentation strategies; discourse representations; mitigation strategies; and intensification strategies (for more discussion of these strategies see Reisigl & Wodak, 2001, p. 45).

In relation to argumentation strategies, DHA focuses mainly on *topoi* 'plausible argumentation schemes' and *fallacies* 'fallacious argumentation schemes' as its main concepts (Reisigl & wodak, 2009, p. 110). When the argumentation that supports the claim is logical, it is referred to as a *topos (pl. topoi),* which has been defined as 'parts of argumentation which belong to the obligatory, either explicit or inferable premises. They are content-related warrants or "conclusion rules" which connect the argument or arguments with the conclusion, the claim' (Wodak, 2001a, p. 74). That is, *topoi* are used to provide justification for either political inclusion or exclusion, discrimination or preferential treatment (p. 73). By contrast, if the argumentation is fallacious or illogical, it is called a *fallacy*. This case can occur when 'the freedom of arguing, the obligation to give reasons, the correct reference to the previous discourse, the obligation to "matter-of-factness", the correct reference to implicit premises, the respect of shared starting points, the use of plausible arguments and schemes of argumentation, logical validity, the acceptance of the discussion's results and the clarity of expression and correct interpretation are flouted' (Wodak & Meyer, 2009b, p. 110).

2.2.2.4 **Van Leeuwen's Social Actor Approach**

The essence of Van Leeuwen's approach is grounded in the assumption that discourses are recontextualised social practices (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p. vii). Van Leeuwen took the view that 'all texts, all representations of the world and what is going on in it, however abstract, should be interpreted as representations of social practices' (p. 5). He was interested in the role that social actors could play in the representation of particular social practices in discourse. To realise this objective, he proposed an approach that is based on *socio-semantic* inventory in which the social actors can be represented (Van Leeuwen, 1996, p. 32; 2008, p. 23). Unlike the above approaches of CDA that start with textual analysis, Van Leeuwen's framework of discourse is distinguished by giving priority to sociological features rather than linguistic features as he believes that 'there is no neat fit between

sociological and linguistic categories' (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 24). In his approach, he set out a system network based on *socio-semantic* categories for investigating the representation of social actors in discourse and attempted to link these categories to their linguistic or rhetorical realisations. His *socio-semantic* system network of representation of social actors is built on two major categories: inclusion and exclusion of social actors, as he states that '[R]epresentations include or exclude social actors to suit their interests and purposes in relation to the readers for whom they are intended' (p. 28), each of which is further subdivided into subcategories. For example, the exclusion category is divided into suppression and backgrounding categories, and the inclusion category is divided into activation/passivation, and personalisation/impersonalisation (for an in depth explanation see Van Leeuwen, 2008).

2.3 Critics of Traditional CDA Theories

Although CDA's theories have been applied widely as comprehensive language approaches in humanities and social science studies, in which they play an integral role in revealing hidden ideologies, discovering relationships between language use and social context and exploring power relations behind texts, various criticisms have been levelled against them concerning their theoretical and methodological eclecticism. One of the most vociferous critics on this area was Widdowson (1998, 2004), who initiated criticisms of CDA for its lack of replicable procedures for analysing texts, based on Fowler's argument that 'critical linguists get a very high mileage out of a small selection of linguistic concepts such as transitivity and nominalisation' (as cited in Widdowson, 1998, p. 137; 2004, p. 97). In particular, Widdowson criticises critical discourse analysts for their unsystematic way of applying systemic functional grammar as a central model in their critical analysis (Widdowson, 2004). He further accused critical discourse analysts of selecting certain linguistic features that fitted their ideological purposes while ignoring others. This point in the critique is also echoed by Jeffries, who views CDA as stylistics that 'uses textual evidence to support certain interpretative conclusions' (Jeffries, 2007, p. 10). The selectivity of certain textual features, for Widdowson, leads to a bias in the interpretation and lack of rigorous analysis. The same denunciation is also voiced by Stubbs (1997) and Toolan (1997) who accused CDA of failing in analysing texts systematically because of

selective attention being paid to certain linguistic features. Stubbs (1997) argues that CDA 'has a strong tendency either to analyse just a few stylistic features … or to conceive of stylistic variation in terms of simple dichotomies' (p. 104). Toolan (1997) maintains that there is a need for critical discourse analysts to be more critical and demanding of their linguistic tools used in the analysis as well as providing strong and clear evidence for the claims they make (p. 101). In the same vein, Stubbs (1997) argues that the descriptive claims of CDA regarding the relation between formal features of the texts and their interpretation are often unclear.

For Jeffries, the lack of rigour and replicability of the analysis also occurred as a result of the unavailability of an 'agreed set of analytical tools that "should" be used' in critical practice studies (Jeffries, 2007, p. 12) and describes it as having 'a dearth of analytical devices available' (Jeffries, 2010, p. 12). Jeffries points out that CDA practitioners 'were often more interested in the contextual (and thus necessarily somewhat vague) features of powerful language, and were less concerned ... to provide a reasonably broad range of tools which would help to explain how texts are in a position to persuade the reader to alter or adapt her/his ideological outlook to match that of the text' (p. 1). In particular, she views the analytical devices offered by Fairclough (1989) as 'incomplete' (p. 12) and Fowler's five tools (1991) as 'lacking in comprehensive coverage of linguistic features' (p. 13). However, she considers Simpson's theoretical framework (1993) as a 'more satisfying methodology' with which to analyse a text and uncover hidden ideologies, but she argues that its focus is more directed to the 'ideology in literature' (p. 14). Moreover, Jeffries points out that the analytical tools of CDA are also problematic on the basis of Van Leeuwen's statement that 'there is no neat fit between sociological and linguistic categories, and if Critical Discourse Analysis … ties itself in too closely to specific linguistic operations or categories, many relevant instances of agency might be overlooked' (as cited in Jeffries, 2007, p. 13). Jeffries suggested that critical analysts need 'some *specific tools* of analysis to get a clear sense of how texts may influence the ideological outlook of their recipients' (Jeffries, 2010, p. 6 [orginal emphasis]). In response, she developed Critical Stylistics (CS), in which she offered a set of analytical tools for the investigation of ideological content in texts. A detailed explanation of these tools are introduced in section 2.5.

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CDA is also criticised for its restriction to small fragments of texts, as Stubbs argues: 'there is very little discussion of whether it is adequate to restrict analysis to short fragments of data, how data should be sampled, and whether the sample is representative' (Stubbs, 1997, p. 107). This problem of randomness of data is also addressed by Meyer (2001), who argues that 'there is no typical CDA way of collecting data. Some authors do not even mention data collection methods and others rely strongly on traditions based outside the sociolinguistic field' (p. 23). Because of the analysis of only a small number of texts, Stubbs is not satisfied with the results obtained from CDA studies. In his review of the critical study conducted by Fairclough, Stubbs (1997) criticises the results which claims that public language is becoming less formal. The heart of Stubbs's criticism is that Fairclough provides no quantitative findings, no comparisons between different texts, and no quantitative diachronic evidence for this claim (p. 104). In order to overcome these limitations, Stubbs stresses the need to use corpora, arguing that:

> […] the text analyses must, quite simply, be much more detailed. Analyses must be comparative: individual texts must be compared with each other and with data from corpora. Analyses must not be restricted to isolated data fragments: a much wider range of data must be sampled before generalizations are made about typical language use. And a much wider range of linguistic features must be studied, since varieties of language use are defined, not by individual features, but by clusters of co-occurring features: this entails the use of quantitative and probabilistic methods of text and corpus analysis. (p. 111)

Using corpus analysis in CDA studies is also suggested by Widdowson as way to avoid bias in selecting certain linguistic features over others. Corpus Linguistics (CL) offers a good starting point to carry out the qualitative analysis (Baker, 2006; Mautner, 1995, 2009a). Corpus analysis also helps to provide a vast number of textual facts that support the ideological interpretation (Widdowson, 2004, p. 123). Many critical discourse analysts have become aware of the need for the use of CL to provide a replicable procedure of analysis to CDA studies (Baker, 2006; Baker, et al., 2008; Mautner, 2005, 2007, 2009a, 2009b). They have started to ask more consistently for the integration of CL and CDA,

thus CL 'is becoming increasingly popular in critical approaches to discourse analysis' (Baker, et al., 2008, p. 275).

2.4 Critical Stylistics: A Complement to CDA's Theories

In attempting to overcome the lack of methodological rigour and compensate for the lack of coherent analytical devices that previous CDA theories and its forerunner Critical Linguistics have been criticized for, Jeffries developed Critical Stylistics (CS) (Jeffries, 2010). In her book *Critical Stylistics: The Power of English* (2010), she aims to 'give the reader a clear set of analytical tools to follow in carrying out critical analysis of texts, with the aim of uncovering or discovering the underlying ideologies of the texts' (p. 6). CS concerns the textual meaning, which is the core of stylistics, and how this meaning is promoted from Halliday's ideational function of language to represent a version of reality with ideological consequences. Relying on Halliday's suggestion that a language consists of a network of linguistic options that enable users to communicate a particular meaning (Halliday, 2004, p. 23), Jeffries' view is that textual meaning is encoded by the stylistic choice of linguistic features that are embedded in a text. For her, this choice is 'always ideologically loaded and may also be ideologically manipulative' (Jeffries, 2010, p. 3). In order to reveal the underlying meaning of a text using linguistic features, Jeffries offers a Critical Stylistic framework that 'combines the text analysis of stylistics with the ideological awareness of CDA' (Jeffries & McIntyre, 2010, p. 194). That is, CS integrates stylistics and CDA to critically analyse texts. Its framework draws much more on formal linguistic features that 'are already well-described in very many semantico-grammatical theories and models' (Jeffries, 2010, p. 14). That is to say, CS is more linguistically based than Critical Linguistics and many of CDA's theories, which are more socio-politically oriented than linguistics. In particular, CS is concerned with the description and interpretation stages of Fairclough's CDA model. (See section 2.2.2.1 above). However, there is nothing to prevent CS analysis also being contextualized in this way, as Jeffries points out, the power *behind* discourse which arises from socio-political relationships is taken into consideration in analysing and interpreting texts (p. 7 [orginal emphasis]). In this thesis, some of the linguistic analysis of the texts is interpreted based on the contextual background at some points in the analysis chapters and in more detail in the conclusion

chapter. Therefore, the investigation of the wider historical, social, political, and cultural contexts of Libya before and after the revolution were examined in chapter one. Furthermore, I examined the socio-political relations between Libya and Britain, as this will help me to explain the findings and the reasons behind a particular discursive representation of the Libyan Revolution in the British press. Based on Fairclough's Socio-Cultural Approach and Wodak's DHA, the findings of the linguistic analysis will be interpreted and explained in relation to these aspects.

2.5 Critical Stylistic Conceptual Tools

Adopting a mostly Halliday's systemic functional view of language (1985), CS offers a list of ten 'textual-conceptual functions' based on the ideational function that is concerned with how language represents the world. These 'textual-conceptual functions' are recognised as a combination of textual features (triggers) and the ideational functions. They have either a prototypical form or a set of more or less peripheral forms which carry the conceptual effect, though sometimes not consistently or not so obviously (Jeffries, 2014, p. 412). The list provided by Jeffries is not completely new, but rather it is a collection of previous tools used by critical discourse analyst Fairclough (1989), and critical linguists Fowler (1991) and Simpson (1993), in addition to new tools added by Jeffries which work in a similar way to the more traditional tools such as transitivity and modality (Jeffries, 2010, p. 15). However, this toolkit differs from the previous CDA and Critical Linguistic tools in that the tools are presented in the form of a list of functions that may be represented by more than one linguistic feature. The reason behind this is to overcome 'the lack of form-function mapping' (p. 15), as in CDA and its forerunner Critical Linguistics. These tools include the following functions:

- **Naming and describing:** is concerned with how language is used to name a referent in an ideological way. This textual function is linguistically realised by the selection of a particular ideological nominal reference from a range of alternative options, packaging up certain ideological content inside the noun phrase, and turning the elements of a proposition into a nominal.

- **Representing actions/events/states:** is based on the choice of the verb in a clause to describe the situation either as an action, an event or a state. Each of these choices can have an ideological effect according to how the recipients perceive the situation being presented.

- **Equating and contrasting:** is interested in how texts use the textual construction of equivalence and opposition to represent the world. Jeffries (2010) argues that the construction of certain synonyms or antonyms to construct a text around the world can produce an ideological effect.

- **Exemplifying and enumerating:** gives consideration to the potential ideological consequences that result from using the textual functions of exemplifying and enumerating by means of listing structures in the text.

- **Prioritising:** involves considering how ideological effects can be created by changing the position of the focal information in the sentence through using certain syntactic possibilities for prioritizing, including subordination, exploiting information structure, and transformations.

- **Implying and assuming:** is concerned with the ability to use assumptions and implications to produce naturalised ideologies which cannot be questioned as they are represented as common knowledge.

- **Negating:** relates to how a hypothetical version of reality can be produced by the textual practice of negation. This textual practice is based on 'the *pragmatic* force of negating', which plays an integral part in 'making the reader/hearer aware of scenario that are *not* taking place, but presumably might have done in other circumstances' (Jeffries, 2010, p. 106 [original emphasis]).

- **Hypothesising:** in a similar manner to negation but more explicitly, this textual function involves a consideration of how a hypothetical situation can be created through modality that reflects explicitly the text producer's point of view. This conceptual function draws on Simpson's modality model (1993).

- **Presenting others' speech and thoughts:** relates to the power of language in presenting others' speech and thoughts which are, according to Jeffries, 'potentially very manipulative of their ideologies' (Jeffries, 2010, p. 130).

- **Representing time, space and society:** deals with how the linguistic realisation of time, space, and human relations can have ideological consequences by attracting the readers' attention mentally towards a deictic centre representing the point of view of the text producer.

In the following sub-sections, I explain in detail the textual-conceptual functions that are referred to frequently when presenting the results. This includes an illustration of the relationship between form-function and the ideological consequence by drawing on examples from the corpus under investigation.

2.5.1 Naming and Describing

This textual-conceptual function is concerned with how language users use language forms to name the world in an ideological way (Jeffries, 2010, p. 17). Jeffries argues that the decision the text producers make to name a person or a thing can create an ideological effect based on her belief that any stylistic choice is always ideologically loaded. One of the possible ways to produce an ideological effect is by the selection of a particular ideological nominal reference from a range of alternative options. For instance, the UK press used three different naming choices to name the Libyan leader, Muammar Gaddafi. He has been named formally as *Colonel Muammar Gaddafi* or *the Libyan leader.* In some cases, they referred to him using his actual name *Gaddafi* but stripped of his presidential title. In addition, the UK press selected particular ideologically loaded lexical items to label Muammar Gaddafi in a negative way, such as *autocrat*, *tyrant,* and *despot.* The detailed explanation of the different nominal choices used by the UK press is introduced in chapter 5.

The other way of naming is by using noun phrasing which is considered by Jeffries as the 'basic unit of naming' practices (Jeffries, 2007, p. 63). Jeffries points out that 'the nominal part of English clauses and sentences may use syntactic and morphological techniques to name referents and produce ideological effects'(Jeffries, 2010, p. 21). This ideological effect is produced by packaging up certain ideological content inside the noun phrase, as illustrated in the example below:

(2.1)   The head of **a brutal regime that killed, stole and imprisoned at will, assassinating dissidents wherever they were**, Gaddafi was nevertheless seen as a comic book dictator: the absurd robes, Ruritanian uniforms, reflective sunglasses, Amazonian bodyguards and ludicrous utterances.

The highlighted part is a noun phrase with the head noun *regime*. The head noun *regime* names the Gaddafi government, which itself reflects the writer's negative stance toward the Gaddafi government as this nominal choice generally has a negative semantic prosody (Sinclair, 2003, p. 21). The negative evaluation is further emphasised by packaging up certain ideological content inside the noun phrase. The first evaluation is realised by the evaluative adjective *brutal* as a pre-modifier of the head noun *regime*. This phrase could be represented in the form of a full proposition *the head of the regime is brutal*, which could then be open to question and discussion. However, in order to minimise the possibility of raising potential arguments by the reader/hearer, the adjective *brutal* is packaged up in the noun phrase. This strategy has been considered by Jeffries as a kind of syntactic transformation used to create a structure for ideological prioritisation (Jeffries, 2010, p. 85). That is, the adjectival transformation is used in example 2.1 to prioritise the brutality of the Libyan regime. The other evaluation is established by using a restrictive relative clause as a post-modification of the noun regime *that killed, stole and imprisoned at will, assassinating dissidents wherever they were.* Within this relative clause, the processes of killing, stealing, imprisoning and assassinating are packaged up into the nominal components of the sentence and presented as presupposed information which is not contestable (p. 95).

Another possible way of packaging up certain ideological content 'in the head noun itself' (Jeffries, 2010, p. 25) is through nominalisation. For Jeffries, nominalisation is the third way of naming practice by which the elements of an evaluative proposition are converted into a noun to be introduced as a kind of an abstract thing. An example of the derived nominal is *suppression* from *supress*, *oppression* from *oppress*. This syntactic process is quite common in the English language and is considered by critical discourse analysts as 'a process which is often the significant choice in the production of texts' (p. 25). Jeffries and some critical analysts (Fowler, Hodge, Kress and Fairclough, among others) have

pointed out that nominalisation carries certain ideological functions within the text. One of the potential ideological purposes of nominalisation is to conceal or obscure the participant of the process, similar to agentless passive construction. However, in the case of nominalisation, the nominalised process is converted into a thing, thereby leaving out any information related to the participants and circumstances. For instance:

(**2.2**)   Minister Sergei Lavrov said that the Geneva Conventions had been breached with the **killing** of Colonel Gaddafi.

In the above example, the word *killing* is syntactically realised as a noun which is derived from the verb *to kill*. From a transitivity system perspective, the verb *kill* is a transitive material process which has to include two participants: the actor who performs the action of killing and the affected participants. However, the action of killing is expressed in the nominal form, thus the actor is being obscured and the responsibility for killing becomes disavowed through nominalisation.

The other ideological effect of nominalisation is creating existential presuppositions (Jeffries, 2007, p. 62; 2010, p. 28). It is well established that the noun that refers to a thing is treated as having existed in the real world and thus seen as an irrevocable fact that is less amenable to debate or question as Jeffries argues (2010). The following example from the corpus illustrates the point:

(**2.3**)   Nine months and one week after the violent **suppression** of a demonstration sparked a savage civil war, that was the most incendiary and vicious chapter of the Arab Spring, Libya yesterday celebrated Liberation Day.

Similar to example 2.2, this example also has a nominalised material process: *suppression* that results from converting the verb *to suppress* into its nominal form. Instead of using a propositional version, the action of suppression is packaged up inside the noun phrase *the violent suppression of a demonstration* and presented as a noun which is being existentially presupposed using the definite article *the*. The attention given to choosing a noun over a verb is because 'nominals are less susceptible to debate or question than other clausal elements (Jeffries, 2010, p. 22). It is also because nominalisation is 'not easily "converted"

back into a verb' (p. 27); thus, the reader/hearer will accept that what is presented here is true. Furthermore, the nominal form can be modified in different ways, thus allowing free space for evaluation (Halliday, 2004, p. 193). In the above example, the noun *suppression* is pre-modified by the adjective *violent* to add a greater sense of aggressiveness to the action of suppression that is being committed against the demonstrators.

These three ways of naming practice, explained above, have been used by the UK press in representing the Libyan revolution linguistically by which certain ideologies are communicated, as we will see in the analysis chapters.

2.5.2 Representing Actions/Events/States

The textual-conceptual function of representing actions/events/states is concerned with how the textual (ideational) meaning is expressed in the clause. It is the meaning that is related to 'what is being done (actions), what is happening (events), or what simply *is* (states)' (Jeffries, 2010, p. 38 [original emphasis]). In other words, the choice of the verb in a clause used to describe the situation either as an action, an event or a state is the central aspect of this function. Each of these choices can have an ideological effect according to how the recipients perceive the situation being presented (p. 37). This conceptual function is much related to Simpson's transitivity model (1993), which has its theoretical roots in Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) (1994). Jeffries considers Simpson's transitivity model as more suitable to her interest in bringing together the fields of Stylistics and CDA to detect ideology in text as this model 'combining the notion of ideology, which has tended to be the preserve of CDA, with that of point of view, which has often been seen more as literary-linguistic phenomenon' (Jeffries, 2010, p. 50). According to Simpson (1993), transitivity 'refers generally to how meaning is represented in the clause. It shows how speakers encode in language their mental picture of reality and how they account for their experience of the world around them' (p. 88). That is, transitivity is concerned with the ideational function, that which investigates how language is used to represent the experiential meaning, the representation of what is going on in the world. The representation of experience about the world through the transitivity system involves three main elements: *process*, which is realised by a verbal group; the *participants* involved in

the process, which is realised by a nominal group; and the *circumstances* attendant on the process, which express the spatial and temporal circumstances, as well as manner qualities in which the clause is expressed, normally realised by an adverbial group or prepositional phrase. Within this system, the processes are the main components of the clause, where the analyst starts analysing the ideational meaning. These processes could be divided into four major categories according to whether they describe the situation either as 'an action, speech, states of mind or simply states of being' (p. 88), including: 'material', 'verbal', 'mental' and 'relational' processes. Each of these processes has particular participant roles associated with them. For instance, a material action process is a process of doing that indicates something is done or happens. It could involve two participants, the actor (the doer/agent) and the goal (affected participant) if it is expressed by a transitive verb, as in the following example:

(**2.4**)   Libyan rebel forces launched offensives against Gaddafi loyalists yesterday.

The kind of process in the above clause is a material action process expressed by the transitive verb *launched*, in which *Libyan rebel forces* are the actor, while *Gaddafi loyalists* is the goal (affected participant) of the launched action. However, if the material process is expressed by intransitive verbs, the process will involve just one participant, who is described as the patient, 'meaning one that "suffers" or "undergoes" the process' (Halliday, 2004, p. 181), as the following example illustrates:

(**2.5**)   Scores of unarmed civilians died in the massacre, which precipitated Benghazi into full-scale revolution.

The material process in the clause above is realised by the intransitive verb *died*, with only one participant, while *Scores of unarmed civilians* are presented as affected participants (patients) of the process of *dying*. This type of material action verb is known as "Material Action Supervision" (MAS), as the action of dying is unintentional action (Jeffries, 2010, p. 41). The material action verbs are further divided into two types according to the type of actor performing the action: "Material Action Intention" (MAI), in which the doer of the action is animate, and "Material Action Events" (MAE), which are done by an inanimate actor (p. 41), as in the following examples:

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(2.6)   Yesterday, Gaddafi's forces bombed the rebel frontline in the east, at Ras Lanuf.

(2.7)   Libyan air force jets bombed the rebel-held city of Ajdabiya, 160 kilometres south of Benghazi.

In example 2.6, the material action verb *bombed* is MAI as *Gaddafi's forces* is an animate actor, while *Libyan air force jets* in example 2.7 is an inanimate object occupying the role of the actor categorising the material action verb *bombed* as MAE. In the data analysed, I found that the material action process is one of the most frequent processes used to represent the keywords under investigation. The verbalization process is related to the process of saying, which always has a human participant acting as the Sayer (who delivers the verbal process) and may involve a Target (the receiver, the one to whom the verbal process is directed) (Simpson, 1993, p. 90).

(2.8)   Colonel Gaddafi told the cheering crowd from the ramparts of the Red Castle, an old crusader fort, that he would not go without a fight.

The verbalisation process in the clause above is realised by the verb *told*, in which Colonel Gaddafi is assigned the participant role of the Sayer, and the cheering crowd is the Target or the addressee who receives Gaddafi's verbiage. The clause *that he would not go without a fight* is the verbiage which contains the communicated message.

The third category of transitivity processes is a mental process which is further divided into Mental Cognition (MC), Mental Perception (MP) and Mental Reaction (MR) processes (Jeffries, 2010, pp. 42-43; Simpson, 1993, p. 91). There are two participants associated with this process: the Senser (always a conscious thing) and the Phenomenon (the thing that is perceived, reacted to or thought about) (Jeffries, 2010; Simpson, 1993), as evident in the example below:

(2.9)   Daniel Howden sees the regime turn to guerrilla warfare in Jalo.

The mental process in the clause above is expressed by the verb *sees*, constructing the Perception Mental process (PM). In this process, Daniel Howden is presented as a Senser

of the seeing process, while the phrase *the regime turn to guerrilla warfare in Jalo* is the Phenomenon.

The last category of transitivity processes is the Relational process, which illustrates the existence of a relationship between two participants (Carrier and Attributes). This Relational process could be identified as an *intensive* relation process (RI), *possessive* relations (PR) or *circumstantial* relations (RC) (Jeffries, 2010, p. 43; Simpson, 1993, p. 91) as illustrated in the following examples:

	Carrier	**Process**	**Attributes**	
(2.10)	Gaddafi	is	an international terrorist on a grand scale and his crimes are legion.	RI
(2.11)	Gaddafi	has	tanks and trucks with missiles.	RP
(2.12)	France	was	in the forefront to strike Gaddafi's forces and prevent a massacre in Benghazi.	RC

In CDA studies, the transitivity system has been considered as a powerful tool to analyse the representation in discourse as this system:

> has the facility to analyse the same event in different ways … Since transitivity makes options available, we are always suppressing some possibilities, so the choice we make – better, the choice made by the discourse – indicates our point of view, is ideologically significant. (Fowler, 1991, p. 71)

By critical linguistic analysis of transitivity, the analyst will able to identify which type of process is used to represent the experiential meaning, the participants' role(s) and under which circumstances. Furthermore, it will be possible to discover whether particular social actors engaged in the process are represented as actors or patients in material processes, as Sayer or Target in verbal processes, or as Senser or Carrier in mental and relational processes, respectively. This also includes the possibility of relating the transitivity patterns chosen at the clausal level with the ideological effects encoded within texts. In the corpus under investigation, I found that the British writers used transitivity pattern choices in the

representation of participants of the Libyan conflict, and their actions, as a way to encode certain ideological effects in the text, as we will see in the analysis chapters.

2.5.3 Equating and Contrasting

The third textual function is equating and contrasting, which concerns how texts use the textual construction of equivalence and opposition to represent the world (Jeffries, 2010, p. 51). Jeffries introduced this tool to Critical Discourse Analysis based on the fact that there is 'a possibility for words to be semantically similar or semantically opposed' in texts (p. 52), which can create some kind of equivalence and opposition relations between concepts which are not normally treated as synonymous or as opposites. These relations could be instantiated in a text by a range of syntactic triggers and structures. There are three syntactic triggers that create textual equivalence relations within a text, including a noun phrase apposition, parallel structure, and an intensive relational transitivity pattern, while there are eight types of opposition triggers: negated opposition, transitional opposition, comparative opposition, replacive opposition, concessive opposition, explicit opposition, parallelism, and contrastives (for an in depth explanation see also Davies, 2008, 2012). Each of these triggers has a common syntactic frame (see Jeffries, 2010, pp. 58-59). The following sentences provide examples of creating equivalence and opposition relations between concepts in a text:

(**2.13**)   So ended the career of Muammar Mohammed Abu Minyar Gaddafi, mercurial leader of Libya, patron of international terrorism, desert mystic, narcissist, figure of fun, one-time great survivor, Ronald Reagan's mad dog. [X, Y, (Z)].

(**2.14**)   Col. Muammar Gaddafi **offered an amnesty** to Libyan rebels yesterday, but **threatened a bloodbath** if the West tried to intervene in his fight to stay in power. [X, but Y]

In example 2.13, there is an appositional equivalence which is triggered by the juxtaposition of nine noun phrases without co-ordination. These NPs occupy the same syntactic role, thus referring to the same referent (Jeffries, 2007, p. 104), *Muammar Mohammed Abu Minyar Gaddafi*. In the first NP, the text producer represented the identity of the social actor by his actual name *Muammar Mohammed Abu Minyar Gaddafi*, while

s/he used the other juxtaposition NPs to constitute different ways of referring to him in terms of his personal characteristics and qualities, giving more elaboration and information about his negative characteristics. Example 2.14 constructs opposition relations between the positive action *offered an amnesty* and the violent verbal action *threatened a bloodbath*, which has been triggered by the co-ordinating conjunction *but.* These are not conventional opposites, but the semantic opposition relation between them relies on the syntactic frames *X but Y.* In this example, the contrastive *but* is used to indicate that the opposite of the expected circumstance will present as Davies (2008) points out that the syntactic frame *X but Y* is 'often relating the unexpectedness of what is said in the second conjoin in view of the content of the first conjoin' (p. 158). The use of contrasting between these two concepts in example 2.14 helps to illustrate that the unexpected event *threatened a bloodbath* will take place in the future in contrast with *offered an amnesty.*

There are few cases where the textual practice of contrasting occurred in the analysis, while equating, in particular appositional equivalence, occurred as a frequent pattern to construct the identity of the National Transitional Council chairman, Mustafa Abdal Jalil (see section 6.3.1.2).

2.5.4 Exemplifying and Enumerating

This conceptual function gives consideration to the potential ideological consequences that result from using the textual functions of exemplifying and enumerating in the text. These two related textual functions, as equating and contrasting, were not considered as the usual tools of analysis in previous CDA theories, but they are introduced by Jeffries as they could construct semantic relations textually (Jeffries, 2007). These relations are instantiated either by giving examples or listing, using certain textual markers which are more structurally defined and easier to identify in many cases. In the case of the textual construction of exemplification, there are certain phrases giving examples, such as *for example*, *for instance*, *to exemplify*. These textual markers indicate that few cases are listed from a large category, while in the case of enumerating, all members of the category are listed. The lists could be two-, three-, four-part lists or more. However, for Jeffries (2010) the most interesting list that has significant potential for ideological effect in a text is the

three-part list, which indicates a sense of completeness without being comprehensive. It is also one of the most effective rhetorical and persuasion techniques used by politicians (Atkinson, 1984, as cited in Jeffries, 2010, p. 70). Political speakers use three-part statements in order to build a strong argument for their claims and to establish particular ideologies for the listener (Charteris-Black, 2005). The following example illustrates the ideological effect of this device:

> **(2.15)** Cameron said: 'Six months ago, this country took the difficult deision to commit our military to support the people of Libya. I said at the time that this action was **necessary, legal and right** - and I still believe that today.'

In the above statement, Prime Minister David Cameron talked about how it was necessary to take military action against the Libyan regime. He described the action taken in the form of a three-part list: *necessary, legal* and *right.* Here, the Prime Minister used the first part to initiate his argument and the second part to emphasise the first, while the third is used to reinforce the first two parts in order to indicate that the argument is complete (Charteris-Black, 2005). Accordingly, presenting the argument in a group of three will achieve strong approval from the listeners/readers in believing that using military action against the Libyan regime was the right choice. In the data analysed, the three-part list is not recognised as frequently as other textual functions. However, it has been referred to in some examples when it is overlapping with other frequent features. For reasons of clarity, detailed explication of its ideological effect was presented here.

2.5.5 Prioritising

The textual function of prioritising involves a consideration of how the ideological effect can be created by changing the position of the focal information in the sentence by using certain syntactic possibilities for prioritising, including, exploiting information structure, transformation and subordination. The choice of either making particular information salient or making other information less salient through these syntactic possibilities can produce an ideological effect in a text (Jeffries, 2010). In the case of exploiting information structure, certain information can be prioritised by using a fronting process by which the

main clausal element of a sentence is placed at the beginning of the sentence, making it the focus of the information provided as evident in the example below:

(2.16) It's **a weapon of mass destruction** that <u>Col. Gaddafi is willing to train on his own people.</u>

In the above clause, the text producer prioritises the existence of weapons of mass destruction by using a cleft sentence: he placed it at the beginning of the sentence, making it the theme of the sentence and perceived as a "given" knowledge (Jeffries, 2010, p. 83). This structure helps to avoid any potential argument about the information placed at the lower level of subordination as the reader will pay more attention to the information expressed in the main clause than to the information expressed in the lower level. In the above example, the subordinate clause *Col. Gaddafi is willing to train on his own people* is less accessible for a debate, but rather it is taken for granted. Prioritising information by subordination is discussed further below.

The other possible way of prioritising certain information is by transforming it from active to passive or vice versa. This transformation allows writers and speakers to make a decision about what to include and what to exclude, as well as to express or suppress the agent of the acts. In the corpus under study, the text producer tends to use passive constructions either to highlight or focus on the goal of the action or those affected by the action or to put the actor in a less dominant position or even conceal him/her. On the contrary, the active construction was used to highlight the causal relationships between the involved participants in the process, thus responsibilities are clearly indicated. For instance, in my analysis of how Gaddafi was represented, I found that active construction is used more frequently in presenting his acts than the passive in order to highlight his responsibility for the violent acts and consequently to give a more negative representation of him (see section 6.2.1.1), while passive contraction is being used to represent Gaddafi's death in order to conceal the responsibility of the doer of the action as in *Gaddafi has been killed* (see section 6.2.1.3).

The ideological effect of prioritising could also occur as a result of the structural subordination options. Jeffries argues that placing information at a low level of

subordination in a sentence makes it less susceptible to debate or question (Jeffries, 2010, p. 86). There were some cases where the writer used this syntactic process for creating a structure for ideological prioritisation in representing Gaddafi's violent acts (see section 6.2.1.1). The following sentence provides an example of the use of this technique:

(**2.17**)   David Cameron and other Western leaders were on the brink of ordering military action against Col. Muammar Gaddafi last night amid fears **that the Libyan dictator could use chemical weapons against his own people.**

The priority, in example 2.17, is given to the military action decision to be taken against Gaddafi by David Cameron and other Western leaders as it is placed at the highest level of subordination, while the possibility of using chemical weapons by Gaddafi against his own people is embedded at a lower level of subordination. Although the embedded clause *that the Libyan dictator could use chemical weapons against his own people* is expressed using a low-value epistemic modality of possibility, *could use* heightens the possibility of using chemical weapons against people, placing it further from the main proposition, thereby making it less susceptible to debate or question.

2.5.6 Implying and Assuming

This textual-conceptual function gives attention to the power of using language to create assumptions and implications 'to make ideologies appear to be common sense' (Jeffries, 2010, p. 93). These ideologies cannot be questioned as they are represented as common knowledge rather than structuring them into the propositional element of the sentence. The ideological effect of the implicit meaning is related to two concepts: presupposition and implicature, which have their theoretical roots in semantics and pragmatics respectively. Presupposition concerns building an assumption into the text while implicature aims to imply pragmatic meanings within a text.

An assumption could be as a result of either existential or logical presupposition that could be triggered in a text by certain textual markers. The definite noun phrases that have a definite article or a demonstrative or a possessive are the main triggers of an existential presupposition that presupposes the existence of an entity. Logical presupposition, on the

other hand, could be borne out in a text by a number of triggers, including: factive and change-of-state verbs, cleft constructions, iterative words, comparative constructions, and embedded relative clauses. The implied pragmatic meaning, which is related to implicature, could be embedded in a text as a result of flouting the Gricean maxims of cooperative principle: the maxims of quality, quantity, relation and manner (Grice, 1975, 1978 as cited in Jeffries, 2010, p. 98). These principles could be flouted by giving false, irrelevant or unclear information or by giving more information than is required. Jeffries states that the assuming and implying meanings have a potential impact on the reader because of their relatively "hidden" nature, thus they are less accessible to scrutiny or questioning (p. 102). While the data analysed provides many examples of presupposition that aims to provide this kind of ideological underpinning, I did not find instances of implicature. The following example shows how two kinds of presupposition can be used for an ideological effect:

    (2.18)   The Gaddafi regime **continued** to use **its** air force against the opposition yesterday.

The sentence above contains the iterative verb *continue*, which logically presupposes that the use of the air force by the Gaddafi regime against the opposition side was not for the first time but has been used before. Within this sentence there is also an example of existential presupposition borne out by the possessive pronoun *its*. The use of this possessive pronoun with the NP *air force* presupposes its existence. Both logical and existential presuppositions in the example above present the presupposed information as facts that cannot be denied by the reader; rather, it is taken for granted that they are facts as they are presented as background assumptions (Jeffries, 2010, p. 95). Many other examples of this kind of presupposition that are used ideologically in representation have been found in the analysis, as we will see in the analysis chapters.

2.5.7 Presenting Others' Speech and Thought

This textual conceptual function gives consideration to how the speaker/ writer uses the power of language to present others' speech and thoughts, which is considered by Jeffries as 'potentially very manipulative of their ideologies as well as those of the reader' (Jeffries,

2010, p. 130). In the data analysed, I find that presenting others' speech is more common than presenting others' thought, therefore, the detailed explanation of this type is given here. Jeffries draws on Leech and Short's model (1981; 2007) of speech representation. According to this model, there are five choices available to represent the speech of others: narrator's report of speech (NRS), narrator's report of speech act (NRSA), free indirect speech (FIS), indirect speech (IS), and direct speech (DS) (for detailed explanation see Leech & Short, 1981; 2007). The last two were the main two categories of speech representation that were used ideologically by the British press in representing news sources and encoding different viewpoints and meanings in the data analysed. Direct speech (DS) that presents the actual words of the speaker being quoted is used by the writer either to express truthfulness of the utterance, or to distance himself from what the source said. Indirect speech (IS), on the other hand, which contains the rewording of the actual utterances of the reported speaker, is used to encode the journalist's point of view. The use of indirect quotes in news stories enables the journalist to reformulate the words of the speaker and report them in the news article in a way that fits his voice and opinion (Fairclough, 1992; Jeffries, 2010). In this case, the reader/hearer can access only what is reported in the news and thus is influenced by the journalist's attitude. The following are some examples indicating how the two cases are used:

(**2.19**) Farida, a lawyer, said: 'I was sorry that his life ended so easily. He should have been brought to justice and faced the families who suffered because his troops raped their women or killed their men, or made to explain how he used money to manipulate people. Forget the 42 years, I'm just talking about what happened since February 17 [when the revolution began].'

(**2.20**) NATO said yesterday that about 200,000 Libyan civilians were still threatened by Gaddafi loyalists, mainly in Sirte and Bani Walid.

In example 2.19 the writer quotes directly the actual utterance of the Libyan lawyer, Farida, in which her voice and her opinion are represented only in relation to Gaddafi's end and the suffering of the Libyan families during the revolution. What those families suffered is represented as background information as it is packaged up inside the NP in *families who suffered because his troops raped their women or killed their men, or made to explain how*

he used money to manipulate people. Therefore, this information cannot be denied by the reader, but rather it is taken for granted. DS is used here in order to make the readers perceive the information provided as incontrovertible facts and influence their perception of the real suffering of the Libyan people during the revolution and believe that the acts Gaddafi's troops committed against them were true.

In example 2.20 the writer uses indirect speech to reword the utterances of NATO regarding the situation in Libya. As stated above, the use of IS enables the journalist to encode his point of view by manipulation. Linguistically, the journalist's opinion is expressed through syntactic and lexical choices. In the NATO verbiage, the writer attempts to focus on the number of Libyan civilians who are under threat by using passive construction. This syntactic choice leads to foregrounding the Libyan civilians as the victims of Gaddafi loyalists' actions, thus highlighting them in the reader's mind. The other interesting choice is the lexical choice *civilians*, which implies that Gaddafi loyalists violated human rights by threatening civilians. In addition, the act of threatening civilians is logically presupposed by the iterative adverb *still*, which implies the existence of the previous threat by Gaddafi loyalists.

In addition to modes of discourse representation, the writer's opinion could be expressed through the choice of reporting verbs that help in understanding the reporter's attitude towards the social actor whose words were reported (Fairclough, 1992; Floyd, 2000; Piazza, 2009; Richardson, 2007; Thetela, 2001). Piazza (2009) points out that:

> [r] representing other voices involves a process of selection of information and the choice of the form the citation will take. The decisions made at the level of voice representation may reflect the way journalists feel about the events reported and the emphasis they decide to place on them in their professional contexts. (p. 171)

In introducing others' speech and thought presentation as a tool for investigating ideologies in texts, Jeffries did not refer to how the selecting of reporting verbs could reflect the writer's point of view. As this aspect is important, I drew on previous studies (Caldas-Coulthard, 1994; L. Chen, 2005; Fairclough, 1992; Floyd, 2000; Piazza, 2009; Richardson,

2007; Thetela, 2001) to analyse the reporting verb where it is needed. The reporting verbs are classified as natural, positive or negative based on the classification of Caldas-Coulthard (1994), Thompson (1996) and Chen (2005). In the data analysed, I found that in reporting Gaddafi's utterances, negative reporting verbs (e.g. warn, vow) are the ones frequently used, while neutral (said) and positive (announce) reporting verbs are used in reporting the utterances of the chairman of the National Transitional Council (NTC), Mustafa Abdal Jalil, as we will see in the analysis chapters.

2.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I introduced a summary of the previous approaches of CDA, illustrating how they differ from each other, what they share in common and what their weaknesses are. Then, Critical Stylistics, the theoretical based of the current study, was introduced with outline its tools. This is followed by a detailed explanation of the Critical Stylistic tools that are referred to frequently when I present the results, with drawing on examples from the corpus under investigation.

The list of analytical tools offered by Critical Stylistics helps to deal with one of the criticisms of CDA regarding the lack of methodological rigour and the dearth of analytical devices (Jeffries, 2010). As Critical Stylistic analysis is qualitative in nature in that it focuses only on close textual analysis, the lack of objectivity in selecting texts and the way to interpret them cannot be counteracted. Therefore, many scholars in this area have begun to call for corpora and Corpus Linguistics to be consistently drawn on as a tool to support CDA and overcome its limitations. The major contribution of CL to CDA studies will be elucidated in the next chapter, also giving an overview of CL, its analytical technique and its approaches to discourse studies.

Chapter 3

Integrating Corpus Linguistics CL and Critical Discourse Analysis CDA

3.1 Introduction

In an effort to face the frequent CDA criticisms regarding the inadequacy of data analysed and the way it is interpreted, which is discussed in the previous chapter, many scholars have become aware of the need to integrate CL with CDA studies (Baker, et al., 2008; Baker & McEnery, 2005; Gabrielatos & Baker, 2008; Mautner, 2005; Orpin, 2005) following Widdowson and Stubbs' recommendation. In practice, there are several contributions that CL offers to CDA to overcome its limitations (Baker, 2006, 2010a; Baker, et al., 2008; Baker & Levon, 2015; Mautner, 1995, 2009a) which I will discuss further below.

The purpose of this chapter is to gain a better understanding of the integration of CL and CDA. I start, therefore, by introducing the background to CL. This is followed by an overview of one of the computer linguistic software packages, *WordSmith Tools* (Scott, 2004), the main tool used in this study, with an explanation of its toolkit, including: *Wordlist*, *Concord,* and *Keywords*. Each of these tools is explained drawing on examples from the existing literature, demonstrating its impact in critical discourse studies. As I also used *Wmatrix* software (Rayson, 2009), I give a brief overview of *Wmatrix* (Rayson, 2009), explaining how and why I use it along with *WordSmith Tools*. After that, I proceed to explaining the different corpus approaches to discourse analysis, namely the *corpus-based approach* and the *corpus-driven approach*. This is followed by introducing the major contributions that CL methodology offers to CDA. The chapter ends by summarising the most relevant studies that have combined CDA and CL to analyse news media discourse.

3.2 Corpus Linguistics

In contemporary linguistics, the term corpus refers to 'a collection of *machine-readable*, *authentic* texts […] which is *sampled* to be *representative* of a particular language or language variety' (McEnery, Xiao, & Tono, 2006, p. 5 [original emphasis]). Within the

scope of discourse analysis, corpora have been classified into three types based on the purpose they were collected for, including specialised corpus, diachronic corpus and reference corpus (Baker, 2006, pp. 26-30). The specialised corpus (also known as *study* or *target* corpus), according to Baker, is the most important type in discourse analysis in that it is built for the investigation of a specific issue or topic, such as refugees and asylum seekers (Baker, et al., 2008; Baker & McEnery, 2005) or Islam and Muslim (Baker, 2010a; Baker, et al., 2013) in newspaper articles. According to this definition, the corpus of British broadsheet newspapers reporting on the Libyan Revolution used in this study is obviously a specialist corpus built in order to investigate the representation of the Libyan Revolution in British newspaper articles. In building this kind of corpus, Baker focuses on the representative aspect of the corpus being collected to investigate a particular topic rather than its size. More precisely, he argues that 'the quality or content of the data takes equal or more precedence over issues of quantity'(Baker, 2006, p. 29). In constructing the corpus of the current study, a criteria suggested by Sinclair (2005) has been followed as a way to make sure that the corpus is representative of the issue under investigation and meets the research aim, which I will discuss further in the methodology chapter (see section 4.2). A diachronic corpus contains texts collected from different time periods, such as the Helsinki corpus of English. A corpus of this kind is collected to trace changes in language. The reference corpus (hereafter RC), on the other hand, consists of a large amount of data that represents a particular language variety, such as the British National Corpus (hereafter BNC) and the Freiburg-LOB Corpus. The RC is mainly used in Corpus Linguistics as a comparative corpus in order to 'identify words that are unusually frequent or unusually infrequent or, in other words, keywords' (Culpeper, 2009, p. 33). I will return to this issue later in the methodology chapter (section 4.3.1), illustrating how it is used for the current research, along with an explanation of the considerations to be made when deciding which reference corpus is to be used.

Analysing a corpus using computer linguistic software packages is referred to as Corpus Linguistics, which is considered as a methodology[6] for carrying out linguistic research

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[6] Some scholars consider it as a new paradigm in linguistics which has a theoretical framework (Leech, 1992; Mahlberg, 2005; Stubbs, 1993; Teubert, 2005).

rather than a recognised branch of linguistics (McEnery & Wilson, 2001; McEnery, et al., 2006; C. Meyer, 2002). There are a variety of software packages that have been designed to analyse corpora. Some packages can be downloaded free of charge, such as *AntConc* and *WordSmith Tools*, which are the most commonly used amongst researchers (Tribble, 2012, as cited in Anthony, 2013). However, in order to have access to the full program in *WordSmith Tools*, the researcher needs to purchase a registration code. Other software packages are web-based tools such as *Wmatrix* (Rayson, 2009) and *SketchEngine* (Kilgariff, 2013). Although *WordSmith Tools* and *AntConc* offer the same functions, including word frequency list, keyword list, concordance, distribution plots, clusters and N-grams, and collocates, I used *WordSmith Tools* version 4.0 (Scott, 2004) to analyse my corpus because of its functionality to save and export the concordance output in different file formats, allowing me to adjust different kinds of settings and various options that fit a particular research interest, as well as because it provides important utilities such as a *Splitter*[7] facility. I also use *Wmatrix* (Rayson, 2009) in this study because of its grammatical and semantic analytic capability, which is not available in *WordSmith Tools*. In the following section I provide an overview of the *WordSmith* and its toolkit that is used in this study, including: *Wordlist*, *Concord,* and *Keywords*, followed by an explanation of what considerations and parameters should be heeded in generating a keyword list.

3.3 WordSmith Tools

The first version of *WordSmith Tools* was developed in 1996 by Mike Scott at the University of Liverpool in order to investigate how words behave in texts. This software has undergone regular improvements and updates, with new features in the later versions. At the time of starting this research, *WordSmith* version 6 was the latest, being released in 2012; however, the current study uses *WordSmith* 4.0 because it is available for free from the university. This software package consists of three main toolkits: *Wordlist*, *Concord,* and *Keywords*, which is where I now turn my attention.

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[7] It is a sub-program for splitting large files into lots of small ones (Scott, 2004 help menu).

3.3.1 Wordlist

The wordlist function in *WordSmith Tools* allows the user to generate a list of all the words in a corpus based on their raw frequency. It has been used in corpus analysis as the basic quantitative technique in order to reveal how often a word occurs in the corpus. Scott and Tribble (2006) state that wordlists could provide 'an ideal starting point for the understanding of a text in terms of its lexis' (p. 31). Moreover, based on Baker's discussion, the highly frequent words can reveal an ideological stance and attitude of the language users and provide an indicator of a particular bias (Baker, 2006, 2010a). Baker (2006) points out that the ideological stance can result because of the preferred use of one lexical item over another. In illustrating how frequency counts indicate bias, Baker (2010a) offers a case of the word *man* and the word *woman*, which occurred 58,860 times and 22,008 times respectively in the BNC corpus. According to Baker, the higher frequency of use of the word *man* over *woman* gives an indication of the existence of male bias in general English language. In proving that, Baker carried out the qualitative analysis of the word *man* and found that this word had been used as a generic reference to both man and woman, suggestive of a sexist discourse in general English (p. 126). The value of the frequency information in discovering beliefs and attitudes is also illustrated in the case study conducted by Mautner (2009b) in which she analysed a collection of emails exchanged between the former UK Prime Minister, Tony Blair, and the columnist Henry Porter, in 2006, which focused on *Anti-Terrorism Legislation.* One of the interesting results she found was the different frequency of use of the word *law* in both corpora, where it occurred more frequently in Porter's corpus (0.74 timers per 100 words) than in Blair's corpus (0.27 times per 100 words). This preferred use of the word *law* in Porter's corpus implies that this is one of the ways in which he tries to illustrate that Blair's government acts against the rules of law. Mautner goes further and argues that the infrequent use of the word *law* by Blair reflects his unwillingness to become involved in Porter's argument (p. 39).

In some studies, the word list function is used by the analyst to calculate the frequency of particular lexical items of interest. For instance, Baker and McEnery (2005) used raw frequency information to look at the frequency of the words *refugee*, *refugees*, *asylum seeker* and *asylum seekers* in the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees corpus

(UNHCR) compared with their occurrence in a newspaper corpus. They found that the occurrence of the words *asylum seeker* and *asylum seekers* is nearly the same in both corpora, while there was a higher frequency of use of the words *refugee* and *refugees* in the UNHCR corpus than in the newspaper corpus. Baker and McEnery conclude that the frequent use of these lexical choices indicates that the main focus of UNHCR's website is on refugees. Baker and McEnery also concluded that the UNHCR's website considers both identities - refugee(s) and asylum seeker(s) - as they 'share a common ground' (p. 201).

Despite the usefulness of the word list, it only offers a statistical description that supports a particular expectation about the genre of a text (Baker, 2006) rather than identifying what the text is about. In discourse studies that focus on a particular topic, it is more useful to start with a keyword list because it identifies words that are good indicators of the propositional content of a text (Baker, 2010a), and I will address this issue below (section 3.3.3).

3.3.2 Concord

The concord function is the feature that provides the total list of occurrences of a word in its context, known as "key word in context" (KWIC) (Baker, 2006, p. 71). It is the main function in CL that enables the analyst to start carrying out the qualitative analysis by presenting the search word (known as *node* word) in the middle of its co-text on the left and right side in each of the concordance lines. In corpus software like *WordSmith Tools*, the length of context surrounding the word in focus can be specified to include a small number of words on each side and can be expanded up to the whole context, depending on the researcher's inquiry. In addition, the left and right side of the search word can be sorted alphabetically, allowing the analyst to detect observable patterns easily. Using sorted concordance lines to discern patterns has been demonstrated in detail by Baker (2006, pp. 77-84) and was applied by him and his co-author McEnery (2005) in their earlier study of the representation of *refugees* and *asylum seekers* in newspaper discourse. For instance, applying this procedure in their study revealed that one of the most common patterns around the word *refugee/s* points to representing the *refugee/s*. in terms of their number by the use of pre-modifying quantification, such as *3m/four million/ up to 100 refugees*. These

patterns suggest an underlying discourse concerning the significant increase in the number of refugees (p. 203). Another revealed pattern focuses on representing the refugees in terms of their movement using evaluative verb phrases, such as *fleeing refugees*, *refugees trudge aimlessly*, *hunched against biting wind*, thus helping to construct the refugees as 'victims or a collective group undergoing suffering' (p. 204). Beyond this general pattern, however, more specific patterns construct the refugee movement as a natural phenomenon through using a number of water metaphors, such as *the floods of refugees*, *refugee are streaming home*, *overflowing refugee camps.* Besides these, other discernible patterns represented the refugees as tragic victims, as recipients of official attempts to help, and as criminal nuisances. For a detailed summary of these findings see Baker and McEnery (2005) and Baker (2006).

In the current study, the same procedure has been conducted to discern patterns around the words being focused upon, after which the output result highlighted via the corpus-based processes is connected to Jeffries' theoretical framework (2010) in order to carry out the textual analysis.

3.3.3 Keywords

The keywords tool has been designed to identify the most prominent words in terms of their unusual frequency by comparing two corpora quantitatively. Scott (2004) defines keywords as 'those whose frequency is unusually high in comparison with some norm' (help menu). In order to calculate the keyword list, two wordlists are required. One of these wordlists has to be created from the corpus under investigation, the *study corpus* (henceforth SC). The other list has to be created from the *reference corpus* (RC) in order to be used as a norm for a statistical comparison during the analysis. The WordSmith keyword function identifies words which are significantly more (positive keywords) or less (negative keywords) frequent than in the RC. The keyness of keywords within this program is computed automatically on the basis of both the statistical test of significance and level of significance (the probability value). Choosing the RC is of great importance in the keyword calculation that must be taken into consideration by the analyst. This issue is pursued in more detail in the following section.

The keyword list, according to Scott (2004), identifies three kinds of words as key: proper nouns, lexical words that human beings would recognise including nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs, and grammatical words which indicate text style. The current study focuses on the content keywords as they 'give a good indication of the text's aboutness' or content of a text (Scott, 2004, help menu) and they are 'most interesting to analyse' (Baker, 2006, p. 127). Because of its ability to identify the content of a text, corpus keyword analysis has become a popular analytical technique in both literary studies (Culpeper, 2002, 2009; Mahlberg & McIntyre, 2011; Scott & Tribble, 2006; Tribble, 2000; Walker, 2010) and non-literary studies (Baker, 2006, 2010a; Gabrielatos & Baker, 2008; Jeffries & Walker, 2012). It has been used mainly to trace important concepts in a corpus as Baker (2004a) rightly points out that keywords can 'direct the researcher to important concepts in a text [...] that may help to highlight the existence of types of (embedded) discourse or ideology' (p. 347). It is also used as a way to reduce the researcher's bias, 'paving the way for more complex analyses of linguistic phenomenon' (p. 348). This could be considered one of the most important contributions of CL to critical discourse studies. Accordingly, the current research used keyword analysis as an entry point to the data in order to extract the interesting linguistic features in the corpus that are worth further investigating. The application of this technique in this research will be discussed in detail in the methodology chapter.

Despite the valuable contributions of keyword analysis mentioned above, there are three issues regarding this technique raised by Baker (2004a). The first issue is related to the differences. Baker points out that keyword analysis focuses only on lexical differences and ignores lexical similarities (p. 349). However, this limitation in keyword analysis is not always a problem: it depends on the researcher's interest. The second issue is the sense of the keywords, that is, the keyword analysis focuses on lexical differences rather than on semantic, grammatical and functional differences (p. 354). In his case study, Baker points out that a word might be a key because of its occurrence within a restricted set of meanings, and the other word is not identified as a key because of including all its meanings together, ignoring the fact that one of these meanings is a key when considered separately. In order to overcome this limitation, Baker suggests that the corpus should be lemmatised or annotated before generating keyword lists. The last issue that must be taken into

consideration is frequency. Baker points out that a word that is identified as key may only occur in limited sections of the corpus when the corpus consists of multiple files. For this particular problem, Baker suggests the researchers take into account the dispersion of the word in order to be sure of how many files of the corpus the keyword occurs in so as to be considered as a representative word in the corpus under consideration (p. 351). To measure the dispersion of the linguistic items, the researcher could use a visual *dispersion plot* that can show where each word in a corpus occurs in relation to the separate files (Baker, 2010a). The *dispersion plot* in *WordSmith* is one of the functions in concord tools that can be used to check whether a word is 'globally spread' across the entire corpus or 'locally concentrated in bursts' within certain sections of the corpus (Scott & Tribble, 2006, p. 66). The figure 3.1 below shows an example of the dispersion plot of the keyword *rebels*.
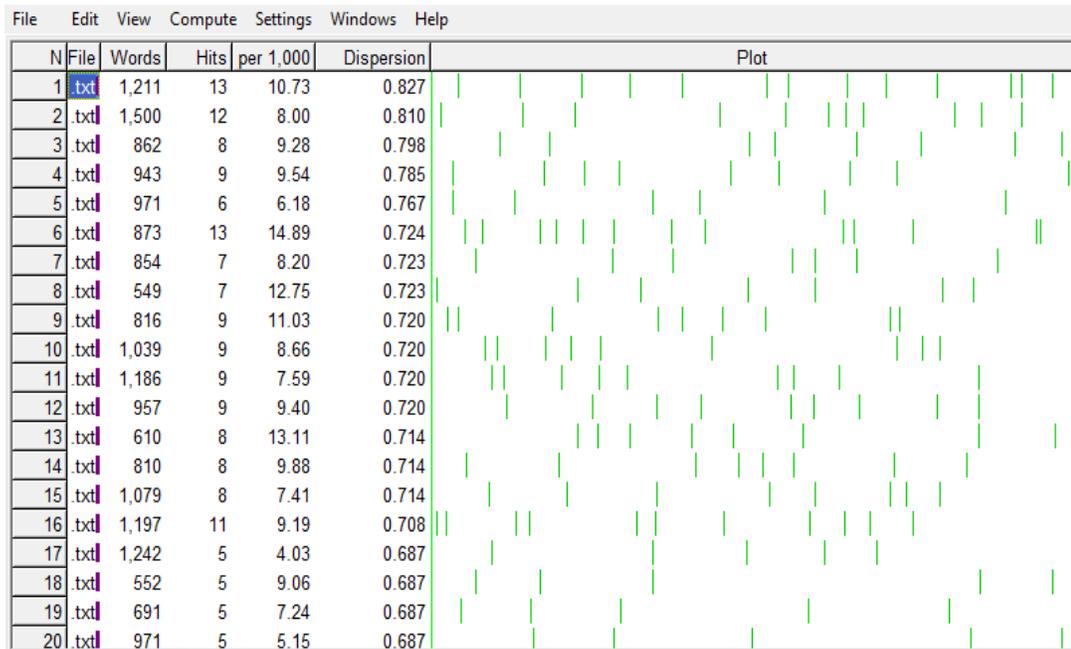
Figure 3.1 Screenshot of the visual dispersion plot of the word *rebels* in the study corpus

This figure shows only the first twenty files of the corpus, each of which is represented by a single row. Each file '.txt' contains one newspaper article. The hits column represents the number of occurrence of the word in each single file. Then, each single occurrence of the word is represented visually by the vertical green line in the plot column. This visual representation shows where each occurrence of the word *rebels* occurs in the corpus.

Looking at the plot, it is obvious that the word *rebels* is not limited to a few files or occurs in localised concentrations, but rather it is well distributed across the corpus.

Alternatively, the dispersion of the word can be measured using a procedure that Scott (1997) calls key keywords (KKWs). Scott has defined key keywords as 'words which are key in a large number of texts of a given type' (p. 237). This procedure can be used when calculating keywords by specifying that a word can be classified as key only if it occurs in a percentage of texts in our corpus (Baker, 2010a, p. 28). Generating a key keywords list will reveal in how many texts a keyword appears as key. In the current research, I have used the dispersion plot to make sure that the keywords selected for the qualitative analysis are the representative words for the whole corpus. I will return to this issue in more detail in the methodology chapter (section 4.3.2.3).

3.4 Considerations in Generating a Keyword List

According to Scott (1997) and Culpeper (2009), to compute the keyness of keywords the analyst should first determine the following parameters as they are crucial for keyword extraction: (1) level of significance (2) type of statistical test (3) minimum frequency of words in order to consider key (4) comparative corpus "norm". I will now discuss these further.

3.4.1 Level of Significance (P Value)

In generating keywords using WordSmith's Keyword function, the analyst has to impose a level of significance (probability value: p value)[8]. The p value determines the robustness of keyword results and the cut-off point at which the results can be trusted as Biber, Connor, Upton, Molly, & Gladkov (2007) points out that 'the significance (p value) represents the probability that this keyness is accidental' (p. 138). This means that the p value plays two main roles regarding keyword calculation:

1. The number of keywords produced, and

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[8] P value is that used in standard chi-square and other statistical tests. This value ranges from 0 to 1. A value of 0.01 suggests a 1% danger of being wrong in claiming a relationship, 0.05 would give a 5% danger of error. In the social sciences a 5% risk is usually considered acceptable. (Scott, 2004, help menu).

2. The statistical significance level: robustness of the keyword (p value used as a benchmark of keyness score).

Within the literature of Corpus Linguistics, there is no standard cut-off point of statistical significance as stated by Baker (2004b). However, Butler (1985), in his book *Statistics in Linguistics*, stated that the p value of ≤ 0.05 is very popular in linguistics and social science studies (p. 71). This level has been used by Culpeper (2002) based on the fact that $p \leq 0.05$ is familiar in social science and that 95% of the results can be trusted. Working with large corpora using $p \leq 0.05$, however, will give such a huge number of keywords that it would be not feasible for the analyst to investigate all of them in detail. Butler (1985) suggests two possible options to determine the level of significance, depending mainly on what the researcher is looking for. First, for the researcher who aims to prove a theory, it might be convenient for him/her to choose a 'stringent significance level of 1 per cent or even 0.1 per cent' (p. 71). Second, setting the p value at 0.05 % or 0.01% could be adequate if the analyst is 'looking for suggestive evidence on which to decide whether further work may be useful' (p. 71).

Scott (2004), on the other hand, proposes a different view in determining the level of significance as he points out that 'with keywords where the notion of risk is less important than that of selectivity, you may wish to set a comparatively low p value threshold such as 0.000001 (1 in 1 million) so as to obtain fewer keywords' (help menu). This quote confirms that $p \leq 0.05$ will produce a huge number of keywords that cannot be managed by the researcher to investigate them qualitatively. Scott, with his co-author Tribble (2006), used the p value of 0.000001 in their study as a way to manage the keyword size. Baker (2004a) points out that cut-off points can be different according to both corpus type and the research questions the analysts are interested in, thus specifying consensus cut-off could be unacceptable to other researchers for those stated reasons (p. 352).

3.4.2 Types of Statistical Test

In the *WordSmith* software there are two statistic test options: the Log-Likelihood: LL[9] test (Dunning, 1993) and Pearson's chi-square X^2, which have been already implemented within the software in order to calculate the unusual significance of keyword. The analysts should first determine which test they want to use in keyword calculation (Culpeper, 2009, p. 36). It has been argued that the log-likelihood (LL) statistical test is more reliable and valid than the chi-square in generating keywords. Kilgarriff (2001) emphasises the validity of LL as he argues that 'G^2 is a mathematically well-grounded and accurate measure of surprisingness, and early indications are that, at least for low and medium frequency word such as those in Daille's study, it corresponds reasonably well to human judgements of distinctiveness.' (p. 239). Scott (2004) also reiterated this position, arguing that the log-likelihood test 'gives a better estimate of keyness, especially when contrasting long tests or a whole genre against your reference corpus' (help menu). Leech, Rayson, and Wilson (2001), in their study of *Word Frequencies in Written and Spoken English: based on the British National Corpus*, chose LL at the expense of the chi-square test based on three practical reasons:

1. The 'normal distribution' of data does not require using the LL test.
2. LL does not 'over- or under-estimate the significance of a difference between two samples'.
3. The LL test is 'insensitive to the difference between two samples'. (p. 16)

Rayson (2003) is in the same position as Leech et al. (2001). Rayson (2003), in his study, evaluated the reliability of different statistical tests. He conducted a series of experiments using different corpus sizes and found that the LL is better than the chi-square 'in general' (p. 152). Later on, Paquot and Bestgen (2009) carried out a study on how the type of statistical test influences the results obtained in keyword extraction. They compared three tests, including: log-likelihood ratio, the t-test, and the Wilcoxon-Mann-Whitney (WMW) test. Similarly to Rayson, they also show that the LL test is better than the two other tests

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[9] Some studies refer to the Log-Likelihood test (LL) as G^2 as in Kilgarriff (2001).

in the case in that the distribution of words across the corpus under study is not required. McEnery and Hardie (2011) mention that some linguists preferred to use LL (Dunning, 1993) 'as it makes no assumption of a normal distribution' (2011, p. 52) (see also McEnery, et al., 2006; Rayson, Berridge, & Francis, 2004). Based on previous research and the reliability of the LL test[10], the current study used it to test the statistical significance of keywords.

3.4.3 Minimum Frequency

Baker (2004a) states that for a word to be a key it has to 'occur[s] in a text at least as many times as a user has specified as a minimum frequency' (p. 346). This point is also made by Scott and Tribble (2006) when they assert that 'for a word to be key, […] must occur at least as frequently as the threshold level' (p. 59). This is to say that minimum frequency is of high importance, like other criteria in keyword extraction. Like the p value, there is no standard number within previous literature to use as a minimum frequency as each study needs different requirements (Culpeper, 2009). Based on Baker's words (2004a) stated above, the analysts themselves should determine this level.

3.4.4 Reference Corpus (RC)

The last and perhaps the most important parameter in generating keywords is the choice of the reference corpus (RC), which has received much attention from researchers (Berber-Sardinha, 2000; Goh, 2011; McEnery, et al., 2006; Scott, 2009; Tribble, 1999). The reason for paying great attention to the RC is that the keyword list is computed on this basis, where each word of the study corpus (SC) is compared statistically to its equivalent in the RC.

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[10] Gabrielatos and Marchi (2012) criticise the LL due to the fact that it gives the probability that a word is a keyword, but does not give the strength of a keyword. They point out that LL is affected by frequency and corpus size, thus, it can skew the analysts towards some high frequency words where the difference is not that significant. In response, Gabrielatos and Marchi recommended using the effect size measure (%diff), as this test is not dependent on sample size and can tell the analysts whether or not the relationship between two words is strong or weak. Similarly, Hardie (2014) suggested the Log Ratio test, which also has the ability to show the analysts to what extent the difference between two lexical items is significant or not. However, I was unable to use these tests, as they were not implemented in the WordSmith software at the time of carrying out this research.

According to previous studies, four main factors of the RC are likely to affect keyword results, including size, genre, historical period and varietal differences.

Although each factor is of high importance, greater attention was given to size. This justifies why most of the previous studies take this factor into consideration in choosing the RC while ignoring the others. There are different views on how the size of RC influences keyword results. For example, McEnery et al. (2006) with Tribble (1999) consider the size of the RC as unimportant in keyword results. After conducting a series of tests, Berber-Sardinha (2000) stated that the size of the RC is important, and he concluded that the RC should be about five times bigger than the size of the SC. In his article *In Search of a Bad Reference Corpus*, Scott (2009) contends that there is not a significant difference in the nature of keyword results using RCs of various sizes. In the same paper, the genre and the date of the RC received some attention from Scott when he pointed out that genre and date of the RC can cause some effects in KW results.

There is some criticism levelled against these previous studies by Goh (2011). Firstly, they have been criticised for generalising their claims based on small samples of text. For instance, Berber-Sardinha (2000) used five SCs that constitute about a 2,000 word long text, and Scott (2009) used just two SCs in conducting his study. This means that in order for the results to be reliable and acceptable, the data should be large enough to generalise a certain claim. Secondly, the previous studies pay greater attention to the size of the RC than the other factors. However, Scott pays some attention to the genre factor and time period of the RC but without proof that they have a particular effect on KWs. Scott has been accused of being subjective as he fails to show 'whether "different" keyword results generated by genre-specific RCs can be considered really different' (Goh, 2011, p. 243).

Accordingly, Goh (2011) conducted a study to determine what factors of the RC can affect the keyword results significantly. He examines the potential effects of four factors: size, genre, varietal difference and historical period (Diachrony), on a keyword calculation. In the investigation of the differences in the keyword results, Goh used a quantitative

comparison using the R program[11] to determine the statistically significant differences between keyword results. Unlike previous studies, he concludes that genre and the historical period of the RC are the most important factors to be taken in consideration in choosing the RC for keyword calculation. In his conclusion, Goh's finding is also consistent with Scott's claim (2009) that there is no standard consensus that could be followed to determine which RC is better than any other. Although Goh's study (2011) is the most comprehensive one so far, it limits its focus to quantitative analysis and ignores the composition of keyword results. This leaves this issue in question. I return to these considerations in Chapter 4 and discuss the filtering processes of the keyword list during my analyses of the corpus under study.

3.5 Wmatrix Software

Wmatrix is web-based corpus software tool developed by Paul Rayson at Lancaster University. Its first version was released in 2003 and it has been developed and updated over time (2008, 2009 and 2012). The latest version (Rayson, 2012) includes new features that help to discern and expose various aspects of language. Like *WordSmith Tools*, *Wmatrix* has the same main features including frequency lists, keyword and concordances. However, the distinctive function of this software is that it enables the users to annotate their corpus with its grammatical and semantic categories automatically as it has the CLAWS[12] (part-of-speech tagger) and the USAS[13] tagger. As the *WordSmith* package does not have the capability to tag words to part-of-speech (hereafter POS) or USAS categories, I used *Wmatrix[14]* to support the analysis when required. It is used in this research for just two purposes: first, I used it to annotate the corpus at the grammatical level to extract all the nominal choices that refer to the participants in the Libyan Revolution. Secondly, *Wmatrix* is used to extract the key semantic domains to check whether the key domains provided by the USAS tagger are different from the *ad-hoc* categories that are created from

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[11] R is a type of software that is used for statistical analysis.
[12] Constituent Likelihood Automatic Word-tagging System.
13 UCREL Semantic Analysis System.
[14] The version used in this study is *Wmatrix2*

the context usage of keywords. A more detailed discussion of how this procedure has been applied, along with the findings, is presented in the next chapter.

3.6 Corpus Approaches to Discourse Studies

After the frequent criticism levelled at CDA studies, many scholars in CDA have begun to draw on corpora and CL as a way to strengthen and improve their analysis in different ways. The term *corpus assisted discourse studies* (CADS) was first coined by Partington (2004) in referring to such integration of CL and CDA. The CADS approach has been influenced by the work of Mautner (1995) and Stubbs (1996, 2001) (as cited in Morley, 2009). Studies applying CADS analyse the corpus in two different ways: by a *corpus-based approach* or a *corpus-driven approach* and in some cases carry out triangulation between the two as they are not completely independent (McEnery, et al., 2006, p. 11; Morley, 2009, p. 9). The distinction between the two approaches was proposed by Tongnini-Bonelli (2001). She defines the *corpus-based approach* as the method that uses corpus data 'to expound, test or exemplify theories and descriptions that were formulated before large corpora became available to inform language study' (p. 65). That is, corpus-based analysts tend to adopt a theory and then use the corpus to extract the evidence that fit the theory and 'insulate', 'standardise' and 'reduce' the ones that do not (p. 67). Because of the tendency to dismiss inconvenient evidence, this approach is criticised for being not entirely restricted to corpus data (McEnery & Gabrielatos, 2006). The *corpus-driven approach*, on the other hand, was described as being committed to 'the integrity of the data as a whole, and descriptions aim to be comprehensive with respect to corpus evidence' (Tognini-Bonelli, 2001, p. 84). In this approach, the analyst relies on the emerging evidence from the corpus data to build a theoretical claim without bringing any prior assumptions and expectations. However, Tognini-Bonelli admits in this regard that 'there is no such a thing as pure' (Tognini-Bonelli, 2001, p. 85): the analyst's intuition and introspection cannot be fully excluded in linguistic research. Morley (2009) points out that *corpus-based* and *corpus-driven* approaches are related to what Ellis (1986) calls the "theory-then-research approach" (deductive approach) and the "search-then-theory approach" (inductive approach), respectively (p. 9).

The proposed dichotomous relationship between *corpus-based* and *corpus driven* explained above is not acknowledged by other corpus linguists (Baker, 2010a; McEnery, et al., 2006; Xiao, 2008). For instance, McEnery et al. (2006) and Xiao (2008) argue that this proposed distinction between the two is in reality fuzzy and overstated. Xiao goes further and argues that there is no 'real difference between the corpus-driven demand to re-examine pre-corpus theories in the new framework and corpus-based linguists' practice of testing and revising such theories' (p. 995). McEnery et al. (2006) consider the corpus-based approach as the wider field, which includes both *corpus-based* and *corpus-driven* approaches, positioning *corpus-driven* within the broad sense of *corpus-based* approach.

In relation to discourse studies that integrate CL in their analysis, the distinction between the two approaches falls between the way the linguistic features are determined and identified (deductively or inductively) for further investigation. In corpus-based discourse studies, the analyst starts the analysis with pre-defined linguistic features (either lexical, grammatical or semantic features) that they want to analyse and then uses them as search nodes within the corpus in order to identify the patterns that these pre-chosen items fall into (e.g. Baker & McEnery, 2005; Mautner, 2007). Corpus-driven discourse studies, on the other hand, use the corpus as an entry point without bringing pre-defined linguistic features to the analysis. It has been described by Baker as the approach that 'drives the analyst to account for patterns that he/she had not considered, rather than the analyst deciding in advance which hypotheses to investigate' (Baker, 2012, p. 255). In actual practice, the difference between *corpus-based* and *corpus-driven* approaches is difficult to recognise (C. Meyer, 2015) as most corpus studies adopt the two approaches, as in Baker et al. (2013).

Although the decision about choosing what to analyse remains with the analyst's interest as pointed by Partington (2010), the *corpus-based* approach could be seen as being subjective as there might be other linguistic features that are worth further investigating. Therefore, within this study I used a *corpus-driven* (inductive) approach as a way to reduce the possibility of bias and be as objective as possible in selecting what to analyse and illustrate how CL can guide the researcher towards items that are worth investigating in more detail. The items chosen for further analysis are extracted using keyword techniques.

3.7 Contributions of CL to CDA

It has been argued that combining CL and CDA is a good way to counteract the frequent criticism levelled at CDA studies. The potential impact of CL on CDA has already been demonstrated in literature (Baker, 2006, 2010a; Baker, et al., 2008; Baker & Levon, 2015; Mautner, 1995, 2009a) One of the main contributions of CL to CDA lies in enhancing the objectivity of CDA research and reducing researchers' bias by allowing them to work with large-scale textual data (Baker, 2006, 2012; Baker, et al., 2008; Baker, et al., 2013; Baker & Levon, 2015; Mautner, 1995, 2009a, 2009b). This helps to overcome the common criticism of CDA regarding the cherry-picking of texts that fit the researchers' agenda (Baker, 2006; Mautner, 2009a). It also allows the analyst to generalise their claims based on a large sample and quantitative patterns (Baker, 2012; Mautner, 1995). Furthermore, the statistical techniques of CL enable the analyst to check the reliability and credibility of analysis and its findings (Baker, 2006, p. 16). The statistic results provided by corpus tools 'allow us to see which choices are privileged, giving evidence for mainstream, popular or entrenched ways of thinking' (Baker, et al., 2013, p. 25). This particular advantage of CL is quite effective in studying media discourse as the corpus analysis of large amounts of news articles allows us to identify particular repetitive patterns, which in turn helps to uncover the hidden power of media discourse in shaping a certain stereotype in society through discourse (Baker, et al., 2013, p. 26). Furthermore, CL provides a good entry point where further investigation could be carried out, thus reducing the subjective bias of the researcher (Baker, 2006; Baker, et al., 2008; Mautner, 1995). Baker (2006) argues that using corpus analysis in CDA studies allows the analysts to start 'from a position whereby the data itself has not been selected in order to confirm existing conscious (or subconscious) biases' (p. 12). Baker et al. (2008) reiterate this position, suggesting that corpus linguistic techniques could offer pattern-mapping of the data based on statistically reliable techniques (p. 295). Therefore, it is possible 'to indicate the commonly realised (and less popular or minority) discourses in societies' (Baker & Levon, 2015, p. 2). This demonstrates the benefits of the *corpus-driven* approach (Tognini-Bonelli, 2001) which drive the analyst towards interesting linguistic items that are valuable for further qualitative analysis based on their salience or frequency in the corpus, as described in the previous section. This particular impact of CL helps to deal with the accusation that CDA analysts

tend to select certain linguistic features that fit their ideological purposes and ignore others (Widdowson, 2000, 2004).

The integration of CL into CDA studies has been described by Baker et al., (2008) as 'the useful methodological synergy', whereby 'each approach can be used to help triangulate the findings of the other, taking into account the coherence, or lack of it, of the findings and the theoretical frameworks informing CDA and CL' (p. 295). In this sense, the multidisciplinary study of the representation of the Libyan Revolution in British newspapers proposed in the present thesis will be enhanced by the integration of CL and Critical Stylistic (CS), a recent development of CDA, to conduct the analysis.

3.8 Overview of literature in Corpus-based CDA studies of News Discourse

As stated above, using corpus linguistics in discourse studies has received considerable attention by many CDA scholars. There have been an increasing number of research studies that have combined CDA and CL to analyse news media discourse. In this section, I will review some of the studies that are more relevant to the current research.

Among the previous research relevant to the present study is the work of Baker et al. (2008) who examined the discursive representation of refugees and asylum seekers (RASIM) in the UK newspaper articles. In their study, they complied a corpus of 140 million words collected from the major daily newspapers, twelve national and three regional newspapers, for the period between 1996 and 2005. They used the keyword technique to extract the words that occurred more frequently in broadsheets and tabloids. The keywords that were selected for qualitative analysis were those that were related to the issues of asylum and migration, including, *refugee(s), asylum seeker(s), immigrants(s),* and *migrant(s)*. Then, the concordance lines of these words were generated and qualitatively examined in order to identify semantic/discourse prosodies. The frequent patterns were grouped by the use of *topoi,* based on Wodak's discourse historical approach (DHA). Additionally, common collocates of these keywords were subjected to qualitative analysis, with regard to diachronic change. The same procedure of keyword categorisation is also applied to the collocation patterns, taking into consideration the CDA concept of *topos*, topics and metaphors (p. 286).

In their corpus-based analysis, the authors found that RASIM were represented negatively in the UK press. In particular, these minority group were constructed as illegal and undesirable commodities, who cause economic problems to the British society. They were frequently portrayed by the use of water-related metaphors, by which they are constructed as a threat and a natural disaster. However, the comparison between the tabloids and broadsheets shows that tabloids took a more negative stance towards these minority groups, while broadsheets tended to be more neutral/positive in their reporting (p. 290). The study has demonstrated the advantages of CL in reducing subjective bias by enabling the researcher to look at the corpus without having previous perceptions about its content. It also points out that 'CL processes can help quantify discoursal phenomena already recognised in CDA' (p. 285). In addition, the study also illustrates how CDA acts as a complement to CL in the interpretation of the existence of certain linguistic devices and patterns extracted using CL (p. 293). The authors conclude that both CL and CDA equally contribute to the analysis of the corpus. They can be used by the researcher to help triangulate the findings of the other by creating a 'virtuous research cycle' (p. 295). In this respect, the authors suggested some stages, including iterative analysis between quantitative and qualitative techniques as needed, taking a cyclical framework. These suggested stages can be applied by other researchers in conducting corpus-based CDA study in the future. Baker and the co-authors provided a useful methodological synergy, combining CL and CDA in general and the discourse historical approach (DHA) in particular. The current research has some affinity with their methodological approach through its focus on keyword analysis, but differs in the use of Critical Stylistics (Jeffries, 2010), a recent development in CDA, as the main theoretical framework. Furthermore, Baker et al. (2008) acknowledged the importance of considering the social, political, historical, and cultural contexts of the data in carrying out corpus-based CDA analysis. In the present study, the contextual background of Libya before, during and after the revolution and the Libyan-UK relations were considered in interpreting and explaining the results.

Another example of a larger scale analysis of newspaper is Baker (2010b), who also integrate CL and CAD to investigate the representation of Islam and Muslims in the British newspapers. His corpus consists of 87 million words collected from twelve daily British

newspapers, including their Sunday counterparts, published between 1999 and 2005. He used Lexis Nexis in order to collect the corpus, using terms that referred to Islam and Muslims. Similar to the RASIM project, the corpus methodology involves the use of a keyword tool generated by the software package WordSmith 4. In order to ensure that the keywords identified occurred across the corpus, not just in one of its parts, Baker divided the corpus into subsections, then compared all the word frequencies in the tabloid and broadsheet sub-sections of the corpora against each other. In the keyword list, Baker found that there are many words that are not relevant to the topic he is investigating, but rather indicating the style of the newspapers. These keywords were eliminated from the list. Having established which keywords to examine qualitatively, the author grouped these words into categories of similarity based on their meaning. This step was taken in order to examine as many words as possible. His qualitative analysis shows that there was one point of similarity between tabloids and broadsheets in defining Islam as a religion, which sets restrictions that are imposed upon Muslim people. However, in terms of differences, the author found that more emotive language is employed by the tabloids than the broadsheets. In particular, the tabloids focused on referring to Muslim terrorists, extremist, and fanatics, while the broadsheets focus on referring to Muslims as moderates or progressives. The study also shows that the tabloids focus on Islam due to it is direct relation to the events that affect the UK. On the other hand, the broadsheets discuss world news about Muslims who are involved in conflicts. This study is another good guide in combining CL and CDA. It exemplifies how a very large corpus can be approached using keyword analysis, supported by close analysis of the concordance lines.

A good recent example of a relevant study is again the work of Baker, and his colleagues, Gabrielatos and McEnery (2013), who investigated the representation of Muslims and Islam in British newspapers. Building on the grounds of Baker's study above, Baker et al (2013) extended this study focusing on a greater time period, from 1998 to 2009, and investigated in detail the main issues that were raised by the earlier study. Therefore, a corpus of 143 million words of 200,037 articles about Muslims was collected using the online Nexis UK database. In this study, the authors tackle the representation of Muslims from different perspectives. First, they started to examine the overall representation of Muslims in the whole corpus by looking at the words *Muslim, Muslims, Islam* and *Islamic.*

Although this study applied the same stages of integrating CDA and CL that were suggested by the authors in their earlier article (Baker, et al., 2008), this study differs in the way it carries out the CL analysis. Instead of using WordSmith, the authors used Sketch Engine (Kilgariff, 2013) as an analytic tool, which has the ability to extract common patterns of a word within different grammatical structures. Using the word Sketch function in Sketch Engine (by grouping the common resulted patterns under particular semantic categories) reveals that Islam and Muslims were frequently reported in the context of war.

After examining the overall picture of Muslims in the whole corpus, the authors, secondly, moved to focus on the differences between "quality" and "popular" newspapers in their representation of this issue. Similarly influenced by their earlier study (Baker, et al., 2008), the authors carried out a corpus-driven approach, starting with keywords, in order to extract the representative words for the whole corpus, and at the same time, reducing the subjective bias in selecting which items are to be subjected for qualitative analysis. At the beginning, the keyword list was extracted by comparing the tabloid against the broadsheets newspapers. Then, variation between newspapers was considered. Therefore, the unique keywords that are characteristic of each newspaper was extracted by comparing each single newspaper against the rest of the corpus. This step was taken in order to reveal how each individual newspaper represents the topic. The analysis reveals that British newspapers employ a different stance in their reporting, resulting from the selectivity of news stories. Furthermore, other differences resulted in using different styles. For instance, the Daily Mirror newspaper preferred to write the full name of *Osama Bin Laden,* while the Times tend to use words such as *zealotry* and *peaceable* (Baker, et al., 2013, p. 93 [original emphasis]). Other differences between the newspapers resulted in terms of the focus of the newspapers. For instance, tabloid newspapers paid more attention to Muslim news stories that were in relation to the UK, while the broadsheets discuss all world news covering stories about Muslims.

Thirdly, the authors changed their focus to diachronic variation in the representation of Muslims and Islam. In this regard, they divided the corpus into subsections, with each sub-corpus representing a year. As the 9/11 attacks happened in the year of 2001, the corpus of this period has been divided into two parts - before and after 9/11 attacks. Then, they again

carried out a keyword analysis, which was supplemented by analysing sets of similar keywords that are key in multiple time periods. The most frequent words identified before (*Muslim, Muslims, Islam* and *Islamic)* were also subjected to diachronic analysis. After grouping the keywords into groups of similarities, the analysis reveals that keywords are related to nationality, immigration, hate/tolerance, sexuality/gender, veiling and extremism. Overall, the diachronic analysis reveals that there is a gradual increase in reporting stories about Muslims, rather than Islam, and in reporting stories about Muslims who live in the UK. Also, the analysis reveals that stories linked to extremism remain fairly stable over the time period. Finally, the common emerging patterns from the above three empirical corpus-driven analyses are later subjected to a more detailed analysis, using both corpus-driven and corpus-based methods. This study could be considered the most recent and comprehensive study that integrates CL and CDA, and could be taken as a good example to carry out corpus-based CDA from different perspectives. It also shows how corpus linguistic techniques can be utilised to facilitate the analysis.

Also of relevance here is a recent study by Al-Hejin (2015), who combined CL with CDA to investigate the representation of Muslim women in a 1.9 million word corpus of BBC News articles. Similarly to the above studies, Al-Hejin carried out a keyword analysis using WordSmith (Scott, 2008). To generate the keywords, he used an Arab News corpus as a reference corpus, which collected in his project (Al-Hejin, 2012). For the word to be a key in the corpus, the p value was set at < 1.0E-11, and the minimum frequency was set at ≥ 3 occurrences, using the log likelihood statistical test, which was set at ≥ 38.4. The keywords generated were 695 in total, of these, 268 were manually grouped to meaningful semantic categories, including GEOGRAPHY, WAR/ VIOLENCE/ CONFLICT, SOCIAL ACTORS, CRIME, HIJAB, and RELIGIOUS SPECTRUM. On the other hand, the remaining words were grouped under the OTHER category, as they did not fit with the major categories (Al-Hejin, 2015, p. 25). The reliability of his manual categorizations was checked using the key semantic tagger USAS, provided by *Wmatrix* (Rayson, 2009). The keywords grouped under these categories were then examined using the concordance analysis. The emerging patterns were then interpreted using three CDA approaches, including the discourse-historical, socio-cognitive, and socio-semantic approach. The analysis reveals that there was no equal representation of Muslim women in terms of geographical location, as the

BBC gave 53% of its reporting to only seven out of 48 Muslim majority countries. The study also found that CRIME and WAR were the predominant semantic macrostructures, where Muslim women were portrayed as passive victims. In regards to HIJAB, the BBC journalists often were unable to specify the form of hijab. Additionally, they represented HIJAB frequently as imposed on Muslim women, while there were few cases where the journalist acknowledged that wearing the *hijab* is the woman's choice. The present research is similar to Al-Hejin' work in its methodology. After I extracted the keywords, I grouped them thematically into three different themes that were suggested from their contextual usage. However, I used the key semantic tagger USAS for reliability, in order to see which approach was appropriate for the current study, the manual grouping or the automatic semantic tagging (see section 4.3.2.2).

In addition to their similarity in using CL and CDA, the overall argument of the above studies are similar. Through the CDA analysis, they illustrate that the examination of news discourse can reveal underlying ideologies and attitudes towards particular issues. Similar to these studies, the present study also aims to examine news corpora by employing a Critical Stylistic Framework (Jeffries, 2010), in conjunction with CL. In particular, it aims to investigate linguistically how the Libyan Revolution of 2011 is constructed within a corpus of British broadsheet newspapers. Thus, the present study fits into and contributes to the existing literature of Critical Discourse Analysis and media representations, corpus-based CDA studies, as well as adding a practical contribution in combining Critical Stylistics and Corpus Linguistics.

3.9 Conclusion

In this chapter I started with a brief introduction about Corpus Linguistics in general, presenting the software package *WordSmith Tools*, the principal tool used in this study and its prime functions that were used mainly in this study. In the section relating to generating keyword lists, I explained the main considerations that must be taken into account when calculating the keyword lists. I then went on to give a brief introduction to *Wmatrix* and how it is used in this study.

This chapter also discussed the different corpus approaches to discourse analysis (*corpus-based* and *corpus-driven* approaches) and how they have been used by the researchers. Of particular importance in this chapter was the argument putting forward the advantages of CL to CDA which result in minimising the researcher's bias by allowing the analyst to work with large amounts of textual data and enhance the rigour and replicability of the analysis based on reliable statistical techniques. The growing interest in this area serves to highlight the important potential impact of Corpus Linguistics on critical discourse studies. The chapter ended by summarising the most relevant studies that have combined CDA and CL to analyse news media discourse.

The following chapter discusses the methodology for the study, starting with providing a description of the corpus under study and the adherence to the procedures and selection criteria to collect it. This is followed by an explanation of the utilisation of corpus linguistic tools for the current study and how they are integrated with Critical Stylistics to carry out the analysis.

Chapter 4
Data Collection and Methodological Procedure

4.1 Introduction

This chapter begins with a description of the corpus under study and the way it was collected (section 4.2). The second part of the chapter consists of an explanation of the analytical procedures to be carried out on the corpus, with a description of the main findings that identified the roadmap for the research focus for the qualitative phase analysis. As the aim of this study is to use corpus linguistic tools as an entry point to data excluding pre-defined linguistic features to the analysis, the keyword linguistic tool is utilised to suggest which linguistic features should be investigated further. In section 4.3.1, I introduced the procedure for generating the keyword list using *WordSmith Tools* 4.0. This is followed by explaining the procedure that has been taken to determine which lexical items from the keyword list are worth further investigation. Then, I explain the integration of Corpus Linguistics and Critical Stylistics to carry out the qualitative analysis (section 4.5). Section 4.6 concludes the chapter with a reflection on integrating CS and CL to carry out this research, highlighting their limitations.

4.2 The Corpus

As has previously stated, this study focuses on analysing the linguistic representation of the Libyan Revolution of 2011 in British mainstream newspapers. The corpus consists of British broadsheet newspaper articles collected from *The Times*, *The Guardian*, *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Independent*. The decision to focus on just broadsheets is due to their detailed content of news stories and their concern with political and government issues. They were also selected because of their popularity in the UK, according to the National Readership Survey (NRS) (2013).

Before starting the compilation, I identified the main criteria to build my corpus in order to make sure that the corpus was representative of the issue under investigation and met the research aim (Flowerdew, 2004). In this sense, Sinclair (2005) highlights the

importance of determining the external criteria[15] in the selection process of the text, including: the text mode, text type, the domain, language varieties, the location of the texts and time period. In the present context, the external criteria that determine the selection of newspaper articles for the current data are:

1. Only electronic forms of newspaper articles from UK broadsheet newspapers are collected, with the exclusion of headlines[16.]
2. That the articles were reporting the Libyan Revolution of 2011.
3. That the selected reports fall within the time period of 11 months, from the first day of reporting the Libyan uprising in the UK press on 17 February 2011 until December 2011[17].

The data was collected using the ProQuest newspaper database[18]. In order to identify news articles that reported the Libyan Revolution in British newspapers, two basic search terms were used initially, *Libya* and *revolution*. Those query terms had been suggested on the basis of the research aim (Gabrielatos, 2007) Then, a number of sample articles were skim-read in order to identify further terms in order to restrict the articles that reported the Libyan Revolution. The final search terms were: *Rebels* AND/OR *Libya* AND/OR *Gaddafi* AND/OR *revolution*. The initial news search yielded 603 articles from the four newspapers: *The Times* (271), *The Guardian* (158), *The Daily Telegraph* (102) and *The Independent* (72). After conducting a skim-read of each article, it was noticed that there were some articles that concerned irrelevant topics, such as the Arab Revolution in general. These articles were discarded from the current data. Other articles were discounted because they were either talking about a particular person, such as Colonel Gaddafi's spokesman,

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[15] External criteria are 'nonlinguistic' features of a text (Clear, 1992, p. 29).

[16] Despite the importance of news headlines in conveying ideological assumptions about news stories (Van Dijk, 1988a, 1991), the corpus of the current study excludes them as they form a discrete genre of news discourse (Allan Bell, 1991).

[17] The Libyan Revolution started on 17 of February and ended when Libya's National Transitional Council announced the end of revolution on 20 October 2011. I included two months after the declaration that Libya was free because there are main events happens during these two months including: the capture of Saif al-Islam, Muammar Gaddafi's son, on 19 November 2011, and fighting against troops loyal to Gaddafi who control some Libyan cities.

[18] ProQuest newspaper database is a newspaper digital archive which provides full-text access, by subscription, of articles collected from popular newspapers.

or talking about President Obama's reaction to the Libyan Revolution. Having set aside the reports that did not directly report the Libyan Revolution and deleted the duplicated articles, the research retained 325 articles in total, as illustrated in the following table:

Table 4.1 A Summary of the data collected for investigation

Newspaper	No. Articles	Total words
The Daily Telegraph	57	36,896
The Guardian	121	102,912
The Times	82	69,329
Independent	65	63,612
Total	325	272,749

The current corpus of 272,749 words can be classified as a small-scale corpus. The issue of distinguishing a small corpus from a large one has been addressed by Flowerdew (2004) in saying that researchers in the field agree that a corpus of 250,000 words can be considered as a small corpus. In the same vein, a corpus of 20,000-200,000 words is also classified as small (Aston, 1997, as cited in Flowerdew, 2004). It has been pointed out that there is no standard corpus size. The size is based mainly on the way the corpus is constructed to be representative, and what is of high importance is its content to meet the purpose of the research (Flowerdew, 2004). Moreover, researchers should take into consideration the importance of having a corpus size that gives them a high enough amount of linguistic features in order to test a certain phenomenon and enable them to generalise the results in a wider context (Gavioli, 2002).

4.3 The Corpus Analytical Framework: the Starting Point for the Analysis

This study aims to use CL as the starting point to carry out critical stylistic analysis. This part of the research was done with a twofold purpose:

1. To show how CL can be used as a starting point to carry out critical stylistic analysis rather than its use in assisting the analysis.
2. To illustrate how corpus linguistic keyword technique can direct the analyst towards interesting discursive items that have an ideological representation and are worthy of

further analysis based on Baker's argument that keywords 'act as lexical signposts, revealing what producers of a text have chosen to focus on. An analysis of keywords […] should help to reveal some of the most important embedded discourse traces or assumptions within a text' (Baker, 2004b, pp. 90-91).

This study has some affinity with the RASIM project's[19] methodological approach (Baker, et al., 2008) through its focus on keyword analysis, but it differs in the using of Critical Stylistics (Jeffries, 2010), a recent development in CDA, as the main theoretical framework instead of the Discourse-Historical Approach of CDA. The most up-to-date study combining Corpus Linguistics with Critical Stylistics was conducted by Jeffries and Walker (2012), which I have also drawn heavily on, and Tabbert (2013). The next section is devoted to explaining how keywords have been extracted using *WordSmith 4.0* (Scott, 2004) and how the above goals are achieved.

Before moving to the next section, I would like to review the methodological approach used in these previous studies and highlight in which way it influences the present study. Jeffries and Walker (2012), in their study of keywords in the press, used the keyword technique in order to discover the socio-political keywords that characterised the Blair years. They compiled a corpus of 2 million words collected from British broadsheets newspapers, including *The Guardian*, *The Times* and *The Independent*, for the period of 1998 to 2007, when Tony Blair was prime minister of the UK. In order to generate the keyword list, they compiled another corpus, which is approximately 4 million words, collected from the same newspapers. This comparative corpus covers the six years (from 1991-1996), when Conservative John Major was prime minister. As their aim was to 'find words that were culturally significant during the whole New Labour period' (p. 217), they went through different stages to reduce the number of keywords. For instance, they first used a raw frequency cut-off and the log-likelihood cut-off, in order to focus only on significant and relatively frequent keywords. After applying this figure, they still had a

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[19] The RASIM project is a large project carried out at Lancaster University's Linguistics and English Language department under the title of *Discourses of refugees and asylum seekers in in the UK press, 1996-2006.* One of its aims was to demonstrate a useful methodological synergy between Corpus Linguistics (CL) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) .see, http://ucrel.lancs.ac.uk/projects/rasim/

long list of statistical keywords. They excluded words that were not related to their focus, such as proper nouns and grammatical words, and words that related to specific stories. At the end, they selected five keywords that were either used politically in an interesting way or those that were most typical of the Blair period. One of these words was examined qualitatively as a case study by generating its concordance lines. Then, the patterns identified were tagged for a variety of linguistic features central to critical stylistic conceptual tools (Jeffries, 2010) in order to carry out the qualitative analysis.

Similary, Tabbert (2013) used the keyword technique in her analysis of the linguistic construction of offenders, victims and crimes in the British and German press. However, she did not use corpus software to extract keywords that refer to offenders. Rather, she used the word list function to extract the most frequent words that were used to name offenders. In order to extract the specialised keyword list, she applied certain criteria. First, she counted the number of sentences where each of the words that referred to the offender occurred seven times. Then, she considered the percentage of the occurrences of the target words in relation to their total occurrence. This is followed by considering the dispersion of a word across the corpus. Finally, she used the log-likelihood ratio as the last criterion which was set at 30. Although, her procedure involved subjective choices in setting the limits, Tabbert was able to create a keyword list based on frequency considerations. Instead of examining the keywords in their context, Tabbert extracted the most significant sentences from both corpora, in which offenders and victims' names occur. Then, these sentences were examined qualitatively using the tools offered by Critical Stylistics (Jeffries, 2010).

The present study's approach is similar to these two previous studies in that it uses a corpus linguistic keyword technique as the starting point and Critical Stylistics to carry out the corpus-based analysis. It uses keyword techniques to extract the representative keywords and as a way of reducing the bias in selecting the words that are worth further investigation. I will explain this process in more detail in the next section. In reducing the keyword list to a manageable size, I am inspired, to some extent, by Jeffries and Walker's procedure (2012). For instance, I discarded undesired items (such as proper names and grammatical words) using a stop-list approach as the first step. However, I applied two other steps

recommended by Baker (2004a), which involves thematic grouping and dispersion. Then, the selected keywords were examined in context and the identified patterns were tagged for a variety of linguistic features central to critical stylistic conceptual tools. This step was followed by mapping between form and function and the ideological consequences based on the context. I will address these steps in detail in the following sections.

4.3.1 Keyword Extraction

As I explained in section 3.3, *WordSmith Tools 4.0* (Scott, 2004) was used to extract the keyword list. In order to compute the keywords using *WordSmith Tools*, first the following parameters should be set: (1) type of statistical test (2) level of significance (3) minimum frequency (4) the reference corpus (Culpeper, 2009; Scott, 1997), which I elucidated in the previous chapter. Culpeper (2009), in his review of the possible decision to be taken regarding these parameters, concludes that 'each individual study tends to use its own settings and sometimes different reference corpora' (p. 53). Based on the discussion presented in the previous chapter (section 3.4), I have selected the log-likelihood (LL) (Dunning, 1993) test to calculate the keyness score as this test is more reliable and valid than the chi-square in the generating of keywords. It has been preferred by many linguists (Leech, et al., 2001; Rayson, 2003; Scott, 2004). Regarding the second and third parameters, I mainly based my decisions on practical considerations and the research requirements. With the p value, for instance, I used the lowest p value 0.000001 (1 in a million) in order to get the most robust keyword results and to manage the size of the keyword list. This selection is based on Scott's recommendation (2004) and because it has been used before by researchers (Scott & Tribble, 2006). However, this level was inadequate for the data under study as many items of location names were occurring among those at the top of the list. In order to solve this problem, I conducted a series of tests using different levels of p value (cf. Baker, 2004a, p. 352) based on the idea that much consideration must be given to the practical aspects in determining statistical significance as asserted by Rayson et al. (2004) and 'then settling on one which was felt to be a good compromise' and was 'giving enough words to analyse' (Baker, 2004a, p. 352). After these considerations, the p value was set at 0.001, and the minimum frequency for the word to be a key in the corpus under scrutiny was set at 50 occurrences per 1 thousand words.

The last and most important factor is the RC. Based on the discussion (section 3.4.4), the RC is still a controversial issue that needs further study and it was worth devoting time to it in this study. Based on Goh's limitation, I carried out an experiment in a similar way to that of Goh (2011), but mine differed from his in that it focused on two parameters, qualitative and quantitative, to determine the differences between keyword results. In terms of a qualitative perspective, the classification of keywords (KWs) according to Scott[20] (2000, 2008, as cited in Culpeper, 2009, p. 38) has been used in order to detect the differences in the keyword results and identify which keywords are important for the content of the data under investigation (see section 3.3.3). Scott's classification of KWs is used to detect the differences between KW lists in terms of *aboutness*; words that are important for the content of the data, thus discovering which of the RC is the most appropriate to use for the current study. The second parameter, quantitative in nature, is based on the keyness value of keywords and is used to qualify statistically the effect the RC has on the keyword processing. The keyness score is used as a second criterion because 'it provides an indicator of a keyword's importance as a content descriptor for the appeal' (Molly & Gladkov, 2007, p. 138). The main aim of this experiment was twofold: (1) to determine which RC is appropriate for the current study and (2) to examine which factors of the RC affect the composition of keyword results. In order to achieve these goals, different reference corpora in terms of size, genre and diachronic differences were used:

Newspaper Political Corpus: This corpus had been collected in an earlier project undertaken at University of Huddersfield (Jeffries & Walker, 2012). It consists of all newspaper articles in which the focus was on a specific political issue: keywords in the press in the Blair years (1998-2007). This corpus was made up of 7 million words in total and has been named, in this study, as Newspaper Political Corpus (NPC). In order to examine whether the size of the reference corpus can cause a significant difference in the number of keywords results, this study used this corpus twice: as a whole, referring to it as NPC1 (7 million words) and a part of it, which consisted of 2 million words, referring to it as NPC2.

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[20] Key word lists tend to includes three different types: proper nouns, aboutness-words and stylistic words.

LOB Corpus: is a British corpus designed by researchers at Lancaster, Oslo and Bergen, as a counterpart of the Brown Corpus of American English. It is made up of one million words of written texts that were published in 1961. Similar to its counterpart American corpus, the LOB corpus consists of 500 text samples of about 2000 words each. These texts includes 15 different genres of writing - nine of them are informative, and the rest are imaginative (Baker, 2010a; Kennedy, 2014). This study selected just the basic three press categories A, B, and C as a directly comparative corpus of the same genre with the corpus under investigation. This corpus has been selected in order to examine the effect that the diachronic differences of the RC has over keyword results.

British Corpus (BE06 Corpus): contains 1 million words and the samples are mainly taken from British English texts. The majority of these texts (82%) were published between 2005 and 2007, and the rest (18%) were published between 2003 and 2004, including some texts gathered from early 2008. The size and sampling frame of this corpus is carefully constructed as a counterpart of the LOB corpus. That is, the BE06 corpus includes text categories following that of the LOB Corpus (Baker, 2009b)**.** For the purpose of this study, press categories have been chosen as they are homogeneous with the target corpus. Similar to the LOB Corpus, the BE06 has been selected in order to examine the possible effect the diachronic differences and genre of the RC have over keyword results. The academic prose and fiction discourse categories are also used in order to examine how the genre differences affect the keyword results.

The following table shows how these different reference corpora (RCs) are used as a comparator to the study corpus (British Newspaper Corpus of the Libyan Revolution).

Table 4.2 Reference corpora chosen regarding specific factors

Factor	RCs
Size	NPC1 (7 million) vs. NPC2 (2 million)
Time period	LOB A,B,C (1961) vs. BE06 (2006)
	LOB A,B,C (1961) vs. NPC2 (1998-2007)
Genre	BE06 Corpus: News vs. Fiction vs. Academic Prose

In examining the possible effect the size of the reference corpus could have on the results of keyword calculation, I found that there was not much difference between the keyword lists obtained from the study corpus (SC) in comparison with RCs of different sizes. The most outstanding point in the keyword results is that more keywords are obtained when the size of the RC is increased. These results are consistent with those presented by Berber-Sardinha (2000), who found that the number of keywords increased as the size of the RC is increased. In addition, I found that the composition of those keyword lists is almost the same. In other words, the same aboutness and grammatical and proper nouns are in both lists. Most of the words had a very slight change, with some exceptions, in their rank and their keyness score but the difference was negligible (see Appendix A, Table A.1).These findings are also consistent with the findings reported by Scott (2009), who asserts that there is not a significant difference in the nature of keyword results using RCs of various sizes. Moreover, these results are also in agreement with Berber-Sardinha (2000) who stated that 'a larger reference corpus is not always better than a smaller one' (p. 7). He argues that using a very large reference corpus does not give a significant change in the number of keywords produced.

In contrast, the keyword results are affected by using a RC from a different time period. The comparison between two keyword lists drawn from the LOB and the BE06 corpora as RCs shows that the lexical items *the*, *said*, *we*, *to*, *they* are identified as being among the top 20 keywords when the LOB corpus is used as a RC, while these items do not appear among the top 20 key items when the RC is the BE06 (see Appendix A, Table A.2). The occurrence of these items at the top of the list affects the keyness score of aboutness words and their appearance as keywords. For example, the word *fighters* appeared at position 15 when the BE06 was the RC, while it ranked at position 27 when the RC was the LOB corpus. In addition, the lexical items *strikes* and *opposition* have been identified as being among the top 30 keywords when the BE06 is the RC while they are not identified among the top 30 when the LOB corpus is used as a comparator. These items appeared far down the list at rankings 37 and 55 respectively. The appearance of grammatical words at the top of the list when the LOB corpus is used as a RC affects the occurrence of these lexical items among the topmost in the list. In addition, the results show that more keywords that indicate the style of the text are identified as key items when the LOB corpus is used as a

RC in contrast to fewer keywords from this category when the comparator corpus is the BE06 (see Appendix A, Table A.3). The same findings were concluded in comparing the lists obtained using the LOB corpus as a RC with the keyword list resulting from using the NPC2 corpus as a RC. Using the LOB corpus as a RC identifies more keywords that indicate the style of the text, while these categories are relatively few in the comparison between the target corpus and NPC2 (see Appendix A, Table A.4). These results suggest that diachronic differences of RC can cause a difference in keyword results, indicating that the time period should be considered as an important factor in keyword generating.

In investigating whether the genre factor has an effect upon keywords calculation using three basic genres of written English, including news discourse, academic prose and fiction discourse taken from the BE06, the results show that the verb *said* turns up as the first key item when the RC is academic prose. The appearance of this word as a dominant lexical item in the SC can be explained by stylistic differences between academic articles and newspaper articles, where the word *said* is much more likely to feature in newspaper discourse than in any other genre (Johnson, Culpeper, & Suhr, 2003, p. 35). In addition, the personal pronouns *he* and *his* also crop up at the top of the list at positions 2 and 5, with keyness scores 1156.95 and 739.96 respectively (see Appendix A, Table A.5). The unusually high frequency of these pronouns reflects the personal style of the study corpus compared with the more impersonal focus of the RC, indicating that personal pronouns are relatively more common in media text. These results contrast rather sharply with the results of all keyword lists using different RCs, where the most key items are *Gaddafi*, *Libya* and *Gaddafi's*, which are in the first three positions. This sheds light on how the genre of the reference corpus affects keyword results and allows us to say, at this point, that the reference corpus should be homogeneous with the search corpus.

When the RCs consists of fiction and academic prose texts, certain grammatical words, such as *has*, *we*, *is*, *but*, *are* , *by* and *had,* are foregrounded among the top 30, while these items are not identified among this list when the comparator corpus is drawn from news discourse (see Appendix A, Table A.5). Although the RC consisting of fiction texts is bigger in size than the RC consisting of academic prose, 167 keywords are obtained when the fiction corpus is used as a RC, while 226 words are obtained when it is compared with

a list drawn from academic prose. Conversely, this list decreases to just 145 items from the comparison of the SC with news discourse. This indicates that the use of the RC which is nearly lexically homogeneous with the data in question will decrease the number of keywords identified. Furthermore, the results show that when the word list of the target corpus was compared with one derived from a corpus consisting of academic prose, particular linguistic features of newspaper text *yesterday*, *said* and personal pronouns are foregrounded in keyword results. However, when the RC is homogeneous with the research corpus used, these keywords disappear from the original word list, indicating that they are relatively more common in media discourse.

To sum up, the results of this experiment show that diachronic and genre differences of the RC can indeed cause differences in the keyword list, while the size does not cause such difference. It is interesting to consider these findings in connection with the results of Goh (2011), who examines the potential effect of the RC over KW calculation statistically (see section 3.4.4). In this study, the composition of keyword results and their keyness score is also influenced by diachronic and genre differences of the RC; therefore, it could be said that the choice of the reference corpus for any study corpus (SC) should be based on its content and its time period in order to identify the most relevant and robust lexical items for the data analysed. The results also indicate that the comparator corpus forms a lexical frame for items that are generated as keywords. For instance, the comparison between the study corpus and a corpus of academic prose is more likely to generate words that reflect news-specific language. Such a finding is supported by Culpeper (2009), who points out that '[t]he closer the relationship between the target corpus and the reference corpus, the more likely the resultant keywords will reflect something specific to the target corpus' (p. 35).

This confirms that only words that are not prevalent in the reference corpus are identified as key for the data in question. Consequently, the analyst should give careful consideration to the RC s/he uses for the keyword calculation. Based on the findings obtained from this experiment, I find that the Newspaper Political Corpus (NPC) is more appropriate to use as a comparator corpus for the keyword calculation, arguably for three reasons drawn from the experiment: its genre, its size and its time period. Using NPC as a reference corpus

allows for the identification of keywords that are more relevant to the data under investigation. It is worth mentioning here that the British Corpus (BE06) A, B and C is also homogeneous with the target corpus, and its time period is more relevant than the time period of the Newspaper Political Corpus (NPC); however, this corpus cannot be used as a reference corpus for the current project due to its small size.

Having determined the main parameters for keyword analysis, the keyword list was generated, limiting the total number to the standard default of 500 words in *WordSmith*. The keyword list yielded 346 positive keywords. The analysis of all of these words will not be possible in the qualitative phase. This is one of the practical concerns about this approach, as pointed out by Berber-Sardinha (1999). In many corpus studies the analysts consider just the highest-ranking keywords, usually the top 20, 50 or 100 (Groom, 2010), for deeper analysis without explaining why they are chosen. For instance, Rayson (2008): in his study of how keyword analysis can be extended to key semantic domains analysis selected the top 20 keywords; however, the reasons for choosing just those items is not justified. Similarly, Mahlberg and McIntyre (2011) chose the first 150 keywords without explaining why they were chosen. Though, in fact, choosing the topmost lexis could be reasonable as 'the words at the top of the list have the highest ''keyness'' scores, and are therefore statistically the most strongly associated with the discourse in question' (Groom, 2010, p. 60). Although the highly ranked keywords tend to be the important representative words for any corpus, it is not always the case for the topmost to have an ideological meaning within a particular text. In addition, by paying attention to those items there would be a risk of research bias as the keywords appearing lower down the list might nevertheless be representative keywords. This issue was addressed by Groom (2010) when he pointed out that the researchers who applied the top-slicing approach found that the keywords that appeared lower down the cut-off point were more interesting than the top ones. Therefore, using this procedure of giving priority to the topmost keywords may turn out to be insufficient.

Baker (2004a) suggests two solutions to identifying manageable keywords for deeper analysis: considering their distribution across the whole corpus or by grouping them into

'conceptual' categories, a point also suggested by Mahlberg and Smith (2010, p. 452)[21]. In terms of the first option, Baker (2004a, p. 351) states that those key lexical items should be determined as key according to their occurrence throughout the entire corpus. Stubbs (2005, p. 12) takes the same position as Baker, pointing out that it is not always the case that the frequency of items is sufficient for analysis, and the word distribution should be counted as this can reveal something about the structure of the whole text.

For the second option, grouping Keywords into particular semantic categories, Baker (2004a) suggests that keywords should be grouped 'according to the purpose that they serve in contributing to particular discourses'(p. 352). There are three basic approaches of keyword thematisation that have been introduced in literature. The first one is to group the keywords into *ad-hoc* categories created from the keywords' context usage. Although the *ad-hoc* approach seems to be an intuition-based approach that might be criticised for being subjective, it is the content of the data that leads to creating these semantic categories, as in this study. The main aim of this procedure is to determine which words in the corpus are representative of its content. The second method of keyword categorisation is to use pre-formed categories that are suggested by existing theories. For instance: in McEnery's study of *Keywords and Moral Panics* (2009) he assigned his keyword list within moral panic categories that are derived from Cohen's theoretical framework of moral panic (2002) (as cited in McEnery, 2009, p. 95). The third possible option is to use the automatic semantic tagging, *Wmatrix USAS tagger* (Rayson, 2008).

Based on the discussion above, I refined the keyword list using three main steps, which I address below.

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[21] Mahlberg and Smith (2010, p. 452) stated that keyword items can be treated as individual entities or thematised to certain semantic categories.

4.3.2 Filtering the Keyword List

4.3.2.1 Step1: Stop-List Approach

There are some lexical items that have been discarded from the list from the very start based on both the analysis objective and the research questions. The process of eliminating unwanted words from the keyword list has been described as the stop-list approach (Bianchi, 2012; McEnery, 2005). In this study, a stop-list was used to discard undesired items that I presumed were not representative keywords. First, grammatical words (including determiners, prepositions, pronouns, conjunctions, modal verbs) were removed from the list as the main aim of using keyword analysis in this thesis is to access the text's aboutness of the British newspaper corpus on the Libyan Revolution. As Partington (2010) points out, the selection of key items for analysis can vary according to the researcher's interest (p. 90). For instance, McEnery (2005) and Tribble (1999) found that functional keywords had an important meaning in their study. McEnery (2005) considered the coordinator *and* a keyword as it related directly with 'forcing convergence in the text— bringing together objects of offence in a grammatical structure' (p. 150). Taking one instance from McEnery's study, the word *swearing* is collocated strongly with the coordinator *and* as well as with words that have a negative meaning, such as *cursing*, *lewdness*, *damning*, *profanation*, *common*, and *blasphemy.* Based on his study, McEnery points out that functional keywords, on certain occasions, can lead to informative results of the text under analysis.

The second key items that are excluded from the list are location names (such as *Libya*, *Benghazi*, *Tripoli*, etc.). These are one of the basic items of content in any news report that explains where the event is taking place. Similarly, other lexical features of news discourse were eliminated from the list, including the reporting verbs *said*, *reported*, *claims*, *claimed* and adverbials of time *yesterday*, *today*, and *ago*. Similar to Jeffries and Walker (2012)[22] in excluding words, the words *oil* and *tanks* were disregarded as they are related to economic issues.

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[22] Jeffries and Walker (2012) discount words that related to specific political and cultural interests or that related to certain periods of time, such as: the words *greenhouse gas*, and the word *petrol.*

When violence escalated quickly between the opposing groups, the Libyan Revolution received a serious foreign policy response from the Arab league, African Union, European Union (EU), Cooperation Council for the Arab Gulf States, and the UN Security Council. Moreover, after providing evidence that atrocities were committed by Gaddafi loyalist troops during the early stage of the Revolution, the Arab League invited the UN Security Council to implement a no-fly zone over the Libyan landscape, with a military intervention by NATO forces as a way to protect civilians and to support the regime change. Therefore, it is not surprising to find some lexical items referring to this action. These words include:

- **The EU, the UN, and NATO members:** *France*, *Britain*, *US*, *Western*, *Obama*, *Sarkozy*, *Cameron.*
- **Arab League members:** *Arab*, *Tunisia*, *Egypt*.
- **Cooperation Council for the Arab Gulf States:** *Qatar.*
- **African Union:** *Africa*, *African*.
- **Other words:** *security*, *intervention*, *NATO*, *official(s)*, *resolution*, *coalition*, *diplomatic*, *international (criminal court) (community) (society)*.

These words were also excluded from the list. Although the NATO played a part in the Libyan conflict and it might be of interest to investigate the way it has been represented and the way its response to the revolution has been constructed, I dismissed it from the current study based on the aim of this study, which is to focus on establishing linguistic evidence to substantiate the claim relating to the biased representation of the opposing groups participating in the Libyan Revolution. It was, therefore, reasonable to exclude NATO forces in order to concentrate on the opposing groups that belong only to Libyan society.

After excluding key items that are not the focus of the current study from the original keyword list, the list of 346 was reduced to 173 items. These items are shown in table 4.3 below.

Table 4.3 The 173 keywords in the Libyan revolution corpus

Gaddafi, Gaddafi's, rebels, Libyan, rebel, colonel, al, forces, regime, revolution, fighters, Muammar, NTC, Saif, military, col, fighting, uprising, killed, transitional, civilians, revolutionary, regime's, dictator, Jalil, army, captured, council, fighter, Abdul, aircraft, commander, Abdel, compound, loyalists, civilian, revolutionaries, guns, fire, men, Mustafa, artillery, Jibril, Islam, fled, dead, son, soldiers, bombing, mercenaries, trucks, Mahmoud, stronghold, armed, snipers, Younis, fired, assault, missiles, resistance, Ibrahim, jets, rocket, fight, troops, vehicles, wounded, firing, sons, weapons, loyalist, shot, prisoners, injured, prison, gun, capture, port, residents, heavy, held, killing, Islamist, arrest, control, die, diplomatic, tribal, battle, opposition, arms, Islamic, crimes, cars, destroyed, attack, death, anti, hit, command, arrived, bodies, died, kill, appeared, pro, shooting, pick, violence, loyal, rule, supplies, came, started, people, brother, intelligence, advance, officers, head, tried, headquarters, taken, blood, continued, family, carried, base, fear, young, sent, officer, conflict, attacks, car, population, took, journalists, body, group, fought, father, attacked, protesters, families, protect, freedom, groups, court, several, saw, sides, food, trying, man, main, using, happened, old, sign, including, fall, added, used. national, led, human, victory, justice, sources, situation, leading, charge, help.

Having filtered out the statistically significant keyword list to aboutness keywords that are most relevant for the research focus, the analysis of 173 words was still not feasible. Therefore, other two criteria were considered as a way to make the keyword list manageable and show a sense of objectivity in selecting lexical items for further analysis.

4.3.2.2 **Step 2: Thematic Grouping of keywords**

The second step in reducing the list to a manageable size is grouping keywords into *conceptual* categories (Baker, 2004a). As I stated above, the thematic grouping could be done either by using pre-formed categories suggested by existing theories (such as in McEnery, 2009), *ad-hoc* categories (Baker, 2004a) or using automatic semantic tagging, *Wmatrix* USAS tagger (Rayson, 2008). In corpus studies, analysts choose the approach that will fit their study and their interest. In addition, two approaches can be combined as shown in Mahlberg and McIntyre's (2011) analysis of Ian Fleming's novel *Casino Royale*. Mahlberg and McIntyre used both *ad-hoc* categories and the automatic semantic analysis

that *Wmatrix* provides. However, in their study, they did not use the USAS semantic tagger to confirm what they found in an *ad-hoc* grouping or to show the most objective classifications of words into categories, but rather they focussed on 'discussing where categories usefully take into account subjective interpretations' (p. 208). In my study, I used both of the approaches used by Mahlberg and McIntyre but with a different aim. I compared the two approaches:

1. To see which approach is appropriate for the current study that can provide a useful starting point for further analysis.
2. To see whether the key domains provided by USAS tagger could confirm the ad-hoc categories I created from the keyword list based on their context usage or not.

A. Grouping Keywords: Ad-hoc Categorisation

Following Baker's suggestion, the remaining keywords were grouped thematically into three different themes that were suggested from their context usage (Baker, 2004a). The three broad themes found to be recurrent in the list are: (1) opposing groups in the Libyan conflict (2) military operations (action, method of violence and its consequence) and (3) victims of the conflict. Similar keywords have been grouped together in these broad themes as illustrated in the table 4.4 below. In doing such categorisation, concordance analysis of 173 words which had been left after refining the keyword list using the stop-list was first carried out thoroughly in order to make sure that their contextual appearance fitted the categories into which they fell. The 173 words were then reduced to 95 words after discarding words that did not seem to fall into dominant categories with other keywords, such as *prison*, *port*, *heavy*, *tribal*, *arrived*, *appeared*, *pick*, *supplies*, *started*, *headquarters*, *continued*, *base*, *sent*, *food*. This can be considered as a way to manage the keyword list using thematic categorisation. This list was then reduced to 82 words after discarding words that indicated the method of military action used.

Table 4.4 Grouping keywords using Ad-hoc Categorisation

Theme 1	
Opposing groups in the Libyan conflict	
Gadhafi's side	**Opposition side**
(col)(Muammar)(colonel) Gaddafi, *(Gaddafi's)(regime('s))* *(Gaddafi)(government)(loyalist)* forces, *(Gaddafi's)(Gaddafi) (Libyan)* regime, fighter, fighters, Saif *(Al-Islam)*, dictator, *(Gaddafi's)* army, loyalists, *(Gaddafi's)* son, *(Gaddafi's)(regime/'s)* *(Gaddafi)(government)(loyalist)(dictator's)* soldiers, mercenaries, snipers, *(Moussa)* Ibrahim, *(Gaddafi/'s)* *(regime) (loyalist)* troops, *(Gaddafi's)* sons, loyalist, pro-*(Gaddafi, regime, government)*, *(Gaddafi/'s)* men, *(Gaddafi, his)* family**.**	rebels, *(rebel)(opposition)* *(revolutionary)* forces, *(rebel)* fighters, national transition council (NTC), *(Mustafa Abdul/ Abdel)* Jalil, *(rebel)* army, *(rebel)* fighter, *(rebel) (military)* commander, revolutionaries, *(Mahmoud)* Jibril, *(rebels)* soldiers, *(Abdul Fatah)* Younis, Islamist *(fighting-group, rebels, protesters, opposition, leader)*, opposition, Islamic *(fighting-group, extremists, militants, fighters)*, anti-*(Gaddafi, government)*, protesters.
Theme 2		
Military operations		
violent action	**Method**	**consequence**
military *(action)* fighting, fire, bombing, fired, assault, fight, firing, shot, battle, attack, shooting, violence, fought, conflict, attacks, attacked	aircraft, guns, artillery, trucks, tank, missiles, jets, rocket, vehicles, weapons, gun, cars, car	killed, captured, dead, wounded, injured, killing, capture, held, arrest, control, die, crimes, destroyed, death, died, kill, blood, fear, took, protect, freedom, fall, victory.
Theme 3		
Victims of the conflict		
civilians, civilian, men, prisoners, residents, bodies, *(Libyan)* people, brother, families, man.		

B. Automatic Semantic Tagging Process

The key semantic domains using *Wmatrix* USAS tagger (Rayson, 2008) are generated using the same reference corpus that is used to generate the KW list in *WordSmith Tools* and with the same p value (0.001 at 10.83 cut-off point). The screenshot below shows the first semantic domains:

Table 4.5 Screenshot of the key semantic domains using the USAS tagger in Wmatrix

Item	O1	%1	O2	%2		LL	
G3	6980	2.74	7323	0.35	+	12886.80	Warfare, defence and the army; weapons
Z99	6158	2.41	22587	1.08	+	2686.63	Unmatched
A4.1	2359	0.92	4986	0.24	+	2407.94	Generally kinds, groups, examples
O1.1	1023	0.40	1028	0.05	+	1939.89	Substances and materials: Solid
L1-	1183	0.46	1932	0.09	+	1565.27	Dead
M7	2819	1.10	10016	0.48	+	1313.98	Places
E3-	2092	0.82	6527	0.31	+	1242.87	Violent/Angry
Z2	6168	2.42	32133	1.53	+	975.05	Geographical names
G3-	285	0.11	207	0.01	+	644.71	Anti-war
M3	1024	0.40	3151	0.15	+	622.84	Vehicles and transport on land
S8-	1213	0.48	4111	0.20	+	620.49	Hindering
O1.3	316	0.12	385	0.02	+	527.98	Substances and materials: Gas
M5	467	0.18	935	0.04	+	505.99	Flying and aircraft
S6++	204	0.08	128	0.01	+	493.48	Strong obligation or necessity
M6	4015	1.57	23161	1.10	+	397.58	Location and direction
H3	208	0.08	277	0.01	+	325.62	Areas around or near houses
M1	3076	1.21	18141	0.86	+	270.02	Moving, coming and going
S4	954	0.37	4334	0.21	+	242.56	Kin
T3---	288	0.11	750	0.04	+	226.25	Time: New and young
I3.1-	380	0.15	1199	0.06	+	221.42	Unemployed
N1	3384	1.33	20971	1.00	+	219.21	Numbers
B1	1187	0.47	5941	0.28	+	218.81	Anatomy and physiology
M4	335	0.13	1009	0.05	+	211.16	Sailing, swimming, etc.
O1.2	343	0.13	1048	0.05	+	211.13	Substances and materials: Liquid
G2.1	1284	0.50	6636	0.32	+	209.53	Law and order
S9	709	0.28	3156	0.15	+	191.46	Religion and the supernatural
S2.2	558	0.22	2304	0.11	+	184.83	People: Male
W3	619	0.24	2721	0.13	+	173.28	Geographical terms

In terms of the overall picture, I found that there is a similarity between the semantic groups that were suggested from the keyword list and the key semantic domains that *Wmatrix* USAS tagger provided. However, the USAS tagger in *Wmatrix* provides more specific categories that can be assigned to the broad *ad-hoc* categories. Table 4.6 below illustrates the matching between the first key semantic domains provided by *Wmatrix* and key conceptual categorisation created following the *ad-hoc* procedure. Due to space constraints, the first key semantic domains are presented for purposes of illustration only, with some examples in each category:

Table 4.6 Semantic tagging results vs. ad-hoc categorisation

Semantic Tagging Using Wmatrix[23]	Ad-hoc Categorisation
Warfare, defence and the army; weapons: rebels, forces, rebel, military, war, weapons, army, uprising, troops, Col, soldiers, bombing, guns, armed, shot, anti-aircraft.	Military Operation (identified by the word level comparison).
Unmatched: Gadhafi, Sirte, NTC, Misrata, Saif, no-fly, Ajdabiya, Al-Islam, Lanuf, Brega, pro-Gaddafi, Walid, Benghazi, Zintan, anti-Gaddafi.	The words in this category have already been identified at the word level. (Some were deleted from the KW list using the stop- list approach.)
General kinds, groups, examples: Gaddafi, Benghazi, sense, kind, sides, side, case, came to, Gaddafi's, cases, elements, Mubarak.	Not in the list.
Substances and materials: Solid: Tripoli, mortars, sand, mortar, soil, plastic, metal, gold, glass, dust, wooden, string, brimstone, iron.	Not in the list.
Dead: killed, dead, death, died, killing, die, kill, killings, murder, massacre.	Military operation (its consequence).
Places: city, town, foreign, international, zone, countries, local, area, areas, towns, place, national, cities.	Deleted from the KW list (words in this category already been identified at the word level.
Violent/Angry: fighters, attack, attacks, fighter, assault, force, hit, violence, attacked, rebellion, fierce, threat revenge, brutal, violent.	Military operation
Geographical names: Libya, Libyan, British, Libyans, Britain, Arab, French, France, Iraq, Egypt, Tunisia, West, London, UK, Qatar, Algeria,	These are identified in the list. Some of them were deleted from the keyword list as they indicated foreign policy.
Anti-war: civilians, civilian, unarmed, disarmament, demobilisation, plain-clothes.	Victims.
Vehicles and transport on land: streets, road, vehicles, trucks, cars, street, car, convoy, truck, pick-up, driven, drove, drive, highway, driving, path, vehicle, roads.	Some of them indicate method of violence (military operation).

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[23] I have given only some examples for each category as each one has a long list.

After comparing *ad-hoc* categorisation with USAS tagger, I came up with the following important points:

1. **Accuracy**: *Ad-hoc* manual tagging is context-based as the categories are suggested from context usage of the keywords supported by concordance analysis of each lexical item in order to make sure that their contextual appearance fits the categories in which they fall. In contrast, the semantic analysis using *Wmatrix* USAS tagger (Rayson, 2008) is word-based in that it mainly relies on the general meaning of a word. That is why some tagging errors occurred (e.g. underlined words in the above table). Each time the tagger is used, the analyst must check that each lexical item has been tagged correctly as this is a machine-based tagger that has the accuracy of 91% (p. 529).

2. **Practical limitations:** Semantic categorisations using *Wmatrix* USAS tagger need a complete check. This would be the same process as going through each individual lexical item at the word level in order to create the *ad-hoc* groups of meaning. However, the latter is less time consuming as the analyst has specific words that need to be checked through concordance lines, while the first (*Wmatrix tagging*) identifies even lower frequency words that cannot be identified as key at the word level by grouping them into the dominant semantic fields. Although such a procedure was considered as an advantage by Rayson (2008), this would increase the number of keywords that will be subjected to detailed qualitative analysis.

While the USAS tagger confirms what I found in the keyword list to some extent, I consider the thematic groups that are created manually to be more appropriate to my research for the above reasons. As a result, the *ad-hoc* groups show that the participants in the Libyan conflict and military operations and their consequences are the predominant key themes in the corpus of the Libyan Revolution and more prevalent than the victim category. This indicates that the keywords which are a part of these categories are of high importance to the whole corpus and therefore they are worthy of further analysis. As the number of lexical items in these categories is 72 keywords, the detailed analysis of this number is still not feasible. In order to reduce this list to a manageable size, the distribution, suggested by Baker, of the remaining words has been considered as a final criterion, which I address below.

4.3.2.3 **Step 3: Considering Keyword Distribution for Final Selection**

The final step that I used to reduce the keyword list to a manageable size was dispersion or, as named by Baker, "*consistency*" (2010a, p. 27 [original emphasis]). Applying this procedure helps to see whether the words that occur as key have a high dispersion throughout the corpus or not. According to Baker (2006), considering the dispersion plots of the lexical item 'can reveal the development of discourses over the course of a particular text' (p. 22). Moreover, Baker (2010a) points out that 'introducing some kind of dispersion is a good way of ensuring that our findings are robust' (p. 28). *WordSmith Tools* provides different ways of measuring the consistency of the linguistic items. One of these is by considering the consistency of the linguistic item while generating the keywords. This procedure can be done by calculating Key keywords, whereby the analyst has to specify from the beginning in how many texts the word has to occur in order to consider it key (as in Scott & Tribble, 2006). However, the key keywords (KKWs) procedure cannot be applied to the corpus under study due to its small size. In order to do a keyword database (KWDB) analysis, the corpus must contain many hundreds, and preferably thousands, of text files. With just 325 text files, the results from KWDB will not be useful (Scott, personal communication, September 9, 2013). Another measuring tool that is provided in *WordSmith Tools* is the visual dispersion plot, which shows graphically how specific items spread throughout the whole corpus. However, the analyst must take into account that the *dispersion plot* differs when the corpus is not divided into separate files. In other words, the visual distribution plot that is introduced along with the keyword list *(keyword dispersion plot)* is based on the dispersion values[24] of the word. This will give the words that have a high dispersion value without guaranteeing that they occur in all files of the corpus, so these words will not be considered as representative for the whole corpus. For instance, the word *Muammar* has the highest dispersion value of 0.95 (figure 4.1 below) but it occurs in 246 out of 325 files. In contrast, the word *rebels* has a dispersion value of 0.91 less than the word *Muammar*, with occurrence in 262 files. That is, a dispersion value introduces the words that are well dispersed across the whole corpus but ignores the fact that they occur in each text file. Despite this drawback, it has been applied before by O'Halloran

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[24] The dispersion value is the degree to which a set of values is uniformly spread. The dispersion value is a number between 0 and 1, with 1 having the greatest dispersion (Scott, 2004, help menu).

(2009, p. 30; 2010, p. 571) as a way to select the final keywords from a long list without aying attention to such a concern in using the dispersion value.

Figure 4.1 The arrangement of KWs according to dispersion value

For this reason, I carried out this procedure in another way: first, I split newspaper articles into individual text files by using the *Splitter* facility provided by *WordSmith Tools* 4.0. I then checked how evenly each word in the keyword list was spread throughout the corpus. Ensuring that the selected words are representative for the whole corpus helps to identify regularly recurrent discursive strategies throughout the whole corpus. One aspect that needs to be taken into consideration here is choosing the cut-off point at which the word could be considered widely distributed across the whole corpus. How large a number should be is not identified in the previous literature 'for the reason that different research purposes and contexts have different requirements' (Culpeper, 2009, p. 36). Some studies have estimated or determined the cut-off point arbitrarily based on the corpus under study. For instance, in considering the distribution of keywords using the KKWs procedure, Scott and Tribble (2006) selected a cut-off point based subjectively on the number of texts under investigation. They chose a cut-off point of 5% based on 4,000 texts without justifying why such a point was chosen (p. 78); that is, the decision was partly driven by the size of the corpus being examined. Conversely, Oakes and Farrow (2007) estimated arbitrarily the cut-off point using both range[25] and Juilland's D[26]

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[25] The simplest measure of dispersion that refers to the number of subsections of the corpus the word appears in (M. P. Oakes & Farrow, 2007, p. 91).
[26] A more sophisticated measure of dispersion (Juilland et al., 1970) that takes into account not only the presence or absence of a word in each subsection of the corpus but the exact number of times it appears.(M. P. Oakes & Farrow, 2007). See Gries (2010) for more discussion of the dispersion measure.

as the main measure of dispersion. In their study, they followed the procedure that has been developed by Lyne (1985) (for more detail see M. P. Oakes & Farrow, 2007). They divided their corpus into 5 balanced corpora (2,000 words each), and then they checked in how many subsections each noun (typical of British texts as they classified them) occurred by looking at the Juilland's D measurement of each noun. They found that most of the proper nouns that are typical of British texts had a range of 4 or 5, while the range of the rest falls between 1 and 2. On the other hand, Juilland's D was 0.44 or more for those proper nouns (typical of British texts), while for the other proper nouns it was 0.18 or less. Based on these results, Oakes and Farrow chose a combined cut-off point of 3 for range and 0.3 for Juilland's D in determining the distribution of the linguistic item across the whole corpus for their ongoing work. Although Oakes and Farrow's procedure is based on practical considerations to estimate the cut-off point, it is still arbitrary, as they point out (p. 92).

The corpus under study has 325 text files that have unequal numbers of words as I saved each article in a separate file. In considering the distribution of keywords, each word has to occur at least in 20% of the whole corpus to be a representative one. The selection of this percentage is not based on any statistical test. It is based on practical considerations bearing in mind the recommendations suggested in Culpeper (2009) about choosing '(1) a sufficient number to meet one's research goals, and (2) a not overwhelming number of words to analyse and (3) an adequate dispersion of at least some keyword instances' (p. 36). The cut-off point of 20% was chosen as words falling within this point will be interpretively useful in the qualitative analysis phase and meet the research aims. This is because considering 50% or 75%, for instance, as a cut-off point gives fewer keywords and would not be sufficient to meet the research goals. In addition, choosing less than 20% will give more words than it is possible for the analyst to investigate qualitatively. So I decided that selecting words that occur at a point of at least 20% would give a sense of balance with regard to the research goals and a sufficient number of words to analyse. In addition, this decision is based on the limitation of the thesis in terms of time and space as each word selected will be subjected to detailed qualitative analysis.

Whilst applying this figure (20%) to measure the distribution of the remaining keywords, consideration was given to the keywords that are mainly associated with or occurred as a basic modified form of other words in the same category. For instance, the key words *Gaddafi's*,

Muammar, *Colonel*, *Libyan* and *armed* mainly occurred as a basic modified form of other keywords in the same category as illustrated in tables below. For instance, table 4.8 shows collocates of the word *Muammar*. The L1 and L2 give its left collocates while R1 and R2 shows its right collocates. The right collocates show that word *Muammar* tends to collocate (co-occur) with the words *Gaddafi, forces, Gaddafi's*. That is, it is functioning as a modifier to these words. As a result, detailed analysis of these keywords will not provide any additional findings as they will already be covered by analysing the other words.

Table 4.7 Collocates of the word *Muammar* and the word *Colonel*

Word	Its collocates
Muammar	Gaddafi (137 times) Gaddafi's (114 times)
Colonel	Gaddafi (179 times) Gaddafi's (166 times) Muammar (60 times)

Table 4.8 Pattern[27] of word *Muammar*

L2	L1	Centre	R1	R2
TO	COLONEL	MUAMMAR	GADDAFI	FORCES
OF	OF		GADDAFI'S	AND
2011	COL		IS	THE
THAT	TO		LIBYA	IS
LEADER	FOR		AND	REGIME

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[27] In the Wordsmith software, 'Patterns' is one of the tab windows that occurs when you have a collocation window open.

Table 4.9 Pattern occurrence of word *Gaddaf's*

L2	L1	Centre	R1	R2
OF	COLONEL	GADDAFI'S	FORCES	AND
TO	MUAMMAR		ARMY	IN
BY	OF		TROOPS	WERE
COLONEL	COL		SON	OF
THAT	BY		REGIME	HAD
ONE	THAT		SOLDIERS	HAVE

Applying a cut-off point of 20% to the words grouped in the main themes of the corpus under study, I found that just 29 words occurred in 20% of the whole corpus. Table 4.11 below shows these final keywords.

Table 4.10 Final keywords for further analysis

Opposing groups			
Gaddafi side		**Opposition side**	
Assigned area	**Keywords**	**Assigned area**	**Keywords**
Political figures on the Gaddafi side	Gaddafi, dictator, regime	Political figures in the opposition party	National Transitional Council (NTC), Mustafa Abdul (Abdel) Jalil
Gaddafi armed forces	forces, army, troops, loyalists, soldiers	Opposition armed forces	rebels, opposition, fighters, army, forces
Action related words			
Violent action words		**Violence consequence**	
fighting, attack, fight, fire, attacks, assault, bombing, shot, hit, fired		killed, dead, control, held, captured, death	

Before moving to the next section, I would like to shed some light on the overlap between the selected keywords. The Keywords *army* and *forces* refer to the participants on both sides of

the conflict. For instance, the keyword *forces* is used to refer to *the Gaddafi forces*, *regime forces* and *opposition forces*, as illustrated in the pattern below 4.12, so there was a need to start to refine the searches. The concordance lines of both words were manually inspected and tag each line to the side it refers to.

Table 4.11 Pattern occurrence of the word *forces*

L1	Centre	R1
GADDAFI'S	FORCES	IN
REBEL		HAVE
GADDAFI		AND
REGIME		WERE
HIS		HAD
SPECIAL		THE
SECURITY		ARE
GOVERNMENT		LOYAL
ARMED		TO
OPPOSITION		ON
LOYALIST		OF
REVOLUTIONARY		FROM
COALITION		BUT
REGIME'S		AS

4.4 The Research Focus in the Qualitative Phase

Having decided which words would to be subjected to detailed examination, this part summarises the research focus that will be addressed in the qualitative phase of the analysis. The research focus has been guided by the main research findings from the corpus analysis as Baker et al. (2008) points out that Corpus Linguistics can provide a "map" of a large volume of data (p. 284). Before applying the distribution cut-off point to the keywords that have been grouped into broad categories, I noticed that within the category of opposing groups, there are different nominal choices used by the reporters to refer to both sides of the Libyan conflict, some of them negative, some neutral, others positive (e.g. regime[28] vs. protesters). The way identities are named can have significant impact, implying certain

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[28] The term *regime* has a negative semantic environment (Sinclair, 2003: 17-21).

ideologies and influential people perception (Matheson, 2005). The nominal choice can have an ideological effect in cases where it is chosen with 'pejorative or ameliorative connotations', which in turn 'shows the speaker's opinion of that referent' (Jeffries, 2010, p. 20). Consequently, the questions that immediately arise at this point are: what are the other naming choices used by British newspapers to refer to both sides alongside the key nouns appearing in the KW list? What is the ideological consequence of using one name over another? In order to explore these questions, I decided to slightly change my research focus, concentrating on how the main participants in the Libyan conflict (opposing groups) have been named and referred to linguistically. Therefore, chapter 5 of this thesis has been devoted to investigate this issue. In parallel, the thematic grouping of the remaining keywords identifies two main areas of interest: participants in the conflict (opposing groups) and military action and its consequence. Accordingly, the analysis will focus on the discursive construction of opposing groups and how their action was represented. The focus areas of the qualitative phase are summarised in the following table:

Table 4.12 Research Focus in the Qualitative Phase

Research Focus in the Qualitative Phase			
Naming the opposing groups in the Libyan Revolution			
Naming Gaddafi's side		Naming the opposition side	
The Linguistic Construction of Opposing Groups			
Representation of Gaddafi's Side		Representation of the Opposition Side	
Libyan Leader/ His Government	Gaddafi's supporters/ armed forces	The key political figures	Opposition Armed Forces
Construction of Violence			
Acts of violence		Outcomes of Violence	

4.5 Corpus-based Critical Stylistic Analysis

Having established the entry point into the data, the analytical process moved from keyword tools to the concordance analysis, which is one of the main tools used in Corpus Linguistics to carry out the qualitative analysis; therefore, the next stage is concerned with starting the corpus-based analysis using Jeffries' theoretical framework of CS (2010). CS focuses on the description and interpretation stages of Fairclough's (1989) three-dimensional framework of analysis (p. 11). In particular, Jeffries, in applying her framework, asserts that '[T]he focus should be on linking the textual features, through the analysis of textual-conceptual functions, to the ideological landscape of the text' (Jeffries, 2014, p. 418). Accordingly, the analysis of selected keywords goes through two levels of analysis. The first level focuses on extracting the textual features that are used to represent the selected keywords, while the second level focuses on the interpretation of this representation by linking the textual features (triggers) and the ideational functions to the context, by which means the underlying ideologies could be revealed.

In order to detect the textual features, the concordance lines of each keyword were generated using the *concord* function in *WordSmith*, in order to uncover linguistic patterns that the node word falls in, following Baker (2006) who points out that the main function of generating a concordance analysis is 'to look for patterns of language use' (p. 77). At this point, in order to discern the salient patterns, I followed the same procedure of sorting the concordance lines alphabetically to the left and right as used by Baker (2006, pp. 77-84) and Baker and McEnery (2005), which I discussed in section 3.3.2. Then, the output results of repeated patterns highlighted via the corpus-based processes are tagged for a variety of linguistic features central to critical stylistic textual-conceptual functions (Jeffries, 2010, 2014). Afterwards, the analysis moves on to the interpretation stage by mapping between form-function and the ideological consequence based on the context.

In carrying out the corpus-based analysis of the keywords used to refer to the participants in the Libyan Revolution, the procedure that I employed to output concordance lines is similar to the procedure applied by both Baker and McEnery (2005) and Prentice and Hardie (2009). Baker and McEnery (2005) developed a strategy to deal with concordance lines in their study

of the representation of refugees. In their study, they grouped the concordance lines into categories of similarity. This procedure later gave inspiration to Prentice and Hardie (2009) to create a way to deal with the concordance lines in their study of the presentation of actors and groups in the Glencairn Uprising. They created a set of discourse semantic categories presenting recurrent themes defined from the concordance line contents of the keywords they looked at (p. 34). Next, each concordance line was grouped manually under the semantic categories that it represented. The main reason for identifying this procedure was to make their study as comprehensive as possible by going through all of the concordance lines of each group in the Glencairn Uprising. In a similar way, the resulting concordance lines of each word that refers to the participants in the Libyan Revolution were examined in context to determine the discursive themes manifested in the content of the concordance lines. This point will be further clarified when presenting and interpreting the results of the linguistic construction of opposing groups in chapter 6.

4.6 Reflections on Corpus Linguistics and Critical Stylistics

Although the current research has benefited considerably from the 'methodological synergy' between of Critical Stylistics and Corpus Linguistics, each has certain limitations. Whilst this research was based on keyword techniques in order to avoid the bias in selecting what terms to look at, its subjectivity can never be entirely removed. The subject involvement comes into play at each stage. For instance, in generating KWs, the choice of the cut-off points, such as minimum frequency, p-value and the distribution, were made subjectively based on practical considerations and the research requirements. However, my decisions were not made in a way that could influence the results and interpretation. There is a distance between the subjective decisions and the analysis. These decisions are a practical necessity. Another important issue for the methodology used in this research is the way of reducing the KW list to a manageable size. The use of a stop-list approach to discard undesired items could be accused of being subjective in selecting items for deeper analysis, claiming that some items could be interesting. However, decisions to discard these items were based on both the analytical objectives and the research questions. Another concern is related to the corpus results. Instead of wasting time looking for the frequent patterns, concordance functions do this task instantly. However, the patterns identified were partly decontextualized. Thus, there was a need for

frequent access to the context in order to uncover the underlying ideologies that are triggered by certain linguistic features. In some cases, reading through the concordance lines is not sufficient, since what the analyst is looking for does not occur within the immediate co-text of the node word. For instance, such a problem occurred in carrying out the corpus-based analysis of the keywords related to violence. One of aims in analysing these words was to reveal to whom the responsibility for these actions is attributed (chapter 7). Focusing just on the patterns around the node word did not lead to discover the doer of the action as, in some cases, it is not mentioned in the immediate context. Therefore, there was a need to analyse each concordance line individually, including the fuller context by accessing the source texts. This process was time consuming. Furthermore, during the process of integrating CL and CS, what I notice is that some of the textual-conceptual functions were either rarely identified or missed due to the fact that the KWIC technique shows only the immediate co-text of the node word under investigation. For instance, I found very few cases of the textual practice of contrasting in the analysis, because some of the syntactic triggers of this contextual-conceptual function are likely to occur beyond the sentence boundaries and even the paragraphs.

Although CS, unlike other CDA theories, provides a coherent set of analytical devices that enables the analyst to carry out a systematic analysis and avoid selecting certain linguistic features, it gives a priority to the text in the investigation of ideology. It is more text-based than other CDA approaches, which are more socio-politically oriented than linguistics. As mentioned earlier, CS is concerned with the description and interpretation stages of Fairclough's CDA model. However, Jeffries (2010) clearly states that power relations and socio-political contexts have been considered at various points in the analysis, based on previous CDA approaches. Due to the importance of this aspect to CDA studies (and to this research), I examined the wider contextual background of the country before, during and after the revolution, as well as the socio-political relations between Libya and Britain in chapter one. Based on Fairclough's Socio-Cultural Approach and Wodak's DHA, I will interpret and explain the findings in relation to these contextual aspects at some points in the analysis chapters and in more detail in the conclusion chapter. Such a step is crucial in order to explain the reasons behind a particular discursive representation of the Libyan Revolution in the British press.

4.7 Conclusion

In this chapter I first described the corpus used for the current research. I went on to explain how the keyword procedure was used as an entry point to the data. The main challenge that I faced was how to reduce the keyword list to a manageable size and determine the key items that are valuable for further analysis. In this regard, a large portion of the chapter was devoted to explaining the procedures employed to solve this issue and identify the research focus. In using a thematic grouping into *conceptual* categories as one of the steps to refine the keyword list, I assessed the difference between creating *ad-hoc* categories, suggested by the data, and using the automatic semantic tagging in order to identify which was the more appropriate for the current study. An important aspect of this chapter was moving from quantitative to qualitative analysis. In section 4.5, I outlined the procedure for integrating Corpus Linguistics and Critical Stylistics which was the process followed in carrying out the corpus-based critical stylistic analysis in the following analytical chapters. The chapter concluded with a reflection on integrating CS and CL to carry out this research.

In the next part of the thesis I analyse nominal choices used by UK newspapers to label the participants in the Libyan conflict (chapter 5), keywords referring to the participants in the conflict (chapter 6) and action-related words (chapter 7). In these analytical chapters I put into practice the procedure of integrating Corpus Linguistics and Critical Stylistics discussed in this chapter.

Chapter 5
Naming the Opposing Groups in the Libyan Revolution

5.1 Introduction

This chapter examines how the main participants in the Libyan conflict (Gaddafi's side and the opposition side) have been named and referred to linguistically. It also seeks to explain the ideological function of the naming strategies used. As this research is informed by Critical Stylistics (Jeffries, 2010, 2014) as a theoretical framework, the textual-conceptual function, naming and describing, was chosen to investigate the naming strategies used by the UK press to identify the opposing groups participating in the Libyan Revolution. As I pointed out in chapter 2 (section 2.5.1), Jeffries (2010) introduced three different ways of naming that can be used as a naming practice: nominal choice, noun group and nominalisation (p. 20). Within CDA studies, the naming strategy is not a new aspect: it has been known as 'referential strategies' in the Discourse Historical Approach (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001, p. 47). However, the most remarkable difference in Jeffries' approach is the feature of considering the nominal group as a basic unit of naming practices (Jeffries, 2007, p. 63); therefore, this tool can be considered the most comprehensive one in analysing naming in discourse. In this chapter I will focus on the choice of nouns used to name the main participants in the Libyan conflict (Gaddafi's side and the opposition side) and how these nominal choices are constructed in the noun phrase to discover if there are any positive and negative descriptions associated with them. Furthermore, the chapter also attempts to address whether or not any ideological messages are communicated by the use of certain naming processes.

This chapter will start by illustrating the importance of naming choices in conveying ideological meanings from a critical perspective (section 5.2) and continue with a detailed explanation of the analytical procedure used here (section 5.3). This will be followed by a presentation of the analysis of naming practices used by the UK press to name the opposing groups in the Libyan Revolution, drawing on actual examples from the corpus under study (sections 5.4 and 5.5). Furthermore, the analysis is integrated with an explanation of the ideological function of choosing one name over another. I then go on to conclude, in section

5.6, with a brief summary of the overall findings, illustrating how these findings from the critical stylistic evidence produce bias in the representation of the identity of opposing groups in the UK press (section 5.5).

5.2 Naming Choices and Ideological Significance

As already pointed out, news is not a value-free representation of facts (Fowler, 1991) but rather it manipulates language in a way that constructs opinions and values and expresses particular ideological stances. Fowler asserted that 'anything that is said or written about the world is articulated from a particular ideological position: language is not a clear window but a reflecting, structuring medium' (p. 10). This claim is also acknowledged by Reah (1998) when he argues that printed media 'are not simply vehicles for delivering information. They guide the ideological stance of the reader' (p. 50). The main vehicle to express ideologies in media discourse lies in 'the selection of word meaning through lexicalization' (Van Dijk, 1995b, p. 259). Many scholars in CDA studies highlight the relation between choosing certain linguistic items from a range of alternative options and expressing the ideological attitude (Clark, 1998; Fowler, 1991; Jeffries, 2007, 2010; Van Dijk, 1995b). Naming is one of these lexical choices, which is, according to Jeffries (2007), 'one of the potentially most influential choices any writer makes' to refer to particular referents (p. 63). The choice of a noun to indicate a referent has ideological meaning in its selection in that the text producer can 'project meaning and social values onto the referent' (Richardson, 2007, p. 50). The ideological significance of choosing a name from other available options is illustrated in a well-known example given by Van Dijk (1995b) where he points out the difference between calling a group of people *terrorists* rather than *freedom fighters* (p. 259). Van Dijk asserts that the choice of such nominal references is not based only on evaluative identification of the referent but that its selection reflects the ideological decision of the writer or speaker. It has been further asserted by Jeffries (2010) in stating that the nominal choice can have an ideological effect if the nominal choice carries 'pejorative or ameliorative connotations'; this, in turn, 'shows the speaker's opinion of that referent' (p. 20) as we can see in Van Dijk's example. The way people are referred to 'can have significant impact on the way in which they are viewed' (Richardson, 2007, p. 49) and determine 'how members of the society can understand and judge any action done by that person and allows them to generalize about them'

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(Matheson, 2005, p. 24); that is, the particular construction of social identities can be expressed through nominal reference by which their actions are judged and evaluated. For instance, the UK press used the nominal choice *regime* to refer to the Gaddafi government, which implies a negative stance toward Gaddafi's side as this term has a negative semantic environment (Louw, 1993; Sinclair, 2003). Therefore, the choice of a particular name in defining social identity is a crucial factor in shaping attitudes and views toward a referent and serving certain ideologies.

5.3 Analytical Procedure

To compile the list of all nominal choices referring to the key figures in the Libyan conflict, I used *Wmatrix* (Rayson, 2009), web-based corpus analysis software, which has the ability to automatically tag each word in the target corpus with its part of speech (POS) (see section 3.5). In using *Wmatrix* to search for naming choices, I looked at the following POS categories: NN1: singular common nouns, NN2: plural common nouns, NN: common nouns and NP1: singular proper nouns. After extracting all the nominal choices, the concord function in *WordSmith Tool 4.0* (Scott, 2004) was used to produce the concordance lines for these nominal choices in order to extract the nominal group, with the consideration that these nouns function as a head word in these nominal groups. I used *WordSmith* as it has the function of sorting the concordance lines within a specified span to the left and right of the search term, thus make the extraction of all noun phrases much easier.

In determining the evaluative meaning of certain nominal choices, such as the words *dictator* and *fighters*, I mainly based my reasoning on their use in the BNC corpus for the following three reasons:

1. 'a corpus can give very useful information allowing intuition about the evaluative force of particular lexical items' (Hunston & Thompson, 2000, p. 18).
2. In many cases, the dictionary meaning alone does not specify the evaluative meaning of the word, 'the polarity of a word' (Channell, 2000, p. 54).
3. '[E]valuative language is concerned with […] socially defined notions of good and bad' (p. 43). Thus, it is important to consider how the word is used within British culture.

In considering the evaluative meaning of these words, I mainly focus on the semantic prosody of the words in question by examining their collocational behaviour (semantic prosody) within the BNC corpus[29] using the online corpus analysis interface Sketch Engine (Kilgariff, 2013). The importance of the collocation patterns lies in the idea that what might affect the readers' memorisation and understanding of what they read is 'the frequency of specific collocations and the semantic/discourse prosodies they communicate' (Gabrielatos & Baker, 2008, p. 20) The collocates were calculated using the MI statistic test to indicate the strength of the collocation based on words occurring in a +5 to −5 span of the node. A word was accepted as a collocate if the MI score was ≥ 4. Although the MI test has been criticised for giving importance to very low frequency, this low frequency 'can more clearly indicate semantic/discourse prosodies' (p. 11).

5.4 Naming Gaddafi's Side

5.4.1 At the Lexical Level: Noun Choices

In naming the Libyan leader, Muammar Gaddafi, British newspapers used three different naming choices ranging from extreme formality, to neutral, to negative descriptions. The first mentioned type, extreme formality, is conveyed by using the official title before his name: *Colonel Muammar Gaddafi* (39 times) or *Colonel Gaddafi* (179 times). In 66 occurrences Gaddafi was called a *leader* pre-modified by his national identity *Libyan.* Other ways of naming involve using his actual name but stripped of his presidential title.

The other predominant naming referent used for the Libyan leader in the British press is *dictator* (117 times). The choice of the noun *dictator* in preference to his actual name, for example, makes this noun stylistically (ideologically) loaded as it is employed pejoratively by the text producer. In order to confirm this claim and prove that this nominal choice encodes

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[29] Although the BNC corpus was considered as 'a repository of cultural information about [British] society as a whole' (Hunston, 2002, p. 117), it is out of date (Pearce, 2008, p. 6) and therefore a caution to be considered. With this in mind, I looked at the British English 2006 corpus (BE06) (Baker, 2009b) but I got very low-frequency patterns of the words in question (not more than 4 occurrences in the whole corpus), and so due to lack of choice, I based my work on the BNC.

evaluation in its use, I investigated the semantic prosody of this word in the BNC: I found its collocates were inherently negative, including: *corrupt*, *ruthless*, *brutal*, *hated*, *evil*, *military* and *mad*[30]. It also occurred as a modifier of politically hated figures who abused personal power, such as Stalin, Noriega and Saddam Hussain. In particular, those dictator leaders are represented in the context of criminality, brutality and oppression. This leads me to say that by using the nominal choice *dictator* to name Gaddafi, the news places him in the same category as those figures who are generally hated in Western society. Moreover, in the corpus under study, the concordance lines of this word revealed that the negative use is confirmed by the use of the phrase *iron-fisted* in combination with the noun *dictator*, conveying that Gaddafi is exercising power in an oppressive and ruthless manner:

(5.1) The people of Libya are showing that the universal pursuit of dignity and freedom is far stronger than **the iron fist of a dictator.**

The negativity towards Gaddafi becomes more evident when referring to him as *autocrat*, *tyrant*, and *despot*. However, these noun choices were less dominant throughout the corpus. Furthermore, British newspapers dehumanised Gaddafi's identity metaphorically and made him appear as non-human when they call him *Mad Dog*:

(5.2) **"The mad dog of the Middle East"** was how President Reagan described the self-appointed colonel when unleashing air strikes against Libya in the 1980s.

The British press here reminds the reader of Gaddafi's madness and terror history by referring back to how Ronald Reagan famously labelled him in 1986. The exploiting of this nominal choice seems to strengthen the idea that Gaddafi was indeed a "mad dog". Metaphorically, this nominal choice is an animal related name (conceptual metaphor PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS) (Kovecses, 2002, p. 125), whereas salient features of this animal are mapped onto Gaddafi, thus influencing the conceptualisation of Gaddafi's identity. In this case, the conceptual metaphor PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS structures the reader's thoughts about the

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[30] These collocates are ordered according to their strength associates with the node word, measured by MI score.

behaviour of the Libyan leader. A similar conceptual metaphor is conveyed when the writer represents criminals as HUNTED ANIMALS:

(5.3) Defecting generals from Colonel Gaddafi's eastern army units claimed yesterday to have moved 1,000 troops towards the capital as well as a special unit with orders to **hunt down the Libyan leader.**

The hunting metaphor SEARCHING FOR A CRIMINAL IS HUNTING FOR PREY rhetorically degrades Gaddafi to the level of an animal and has a potentially ideological effect on the reader, who may believe as a result that the Libyan leader does not deserve to be treated as a human. An inhuman feature of Gaddafi is also conveyed by other nominal choices: *murderer*, *butcher*, *Killer* and *criminal.* The nominal choices *murderer*, *butcher* and *Killer* are examples of nominalisation where the text producer used a nominalised verb itself to name the Libyan leader, thus leaving the statement less open to debate.

When the political system of the Libyan state is the referent, the UK press uses the nominal choices *regime* and *government*. Although both of those nominal choices refer to the same political institution, the UK press shows its negative stance toward Gaddafi's side through the use of the term *regime* more frequently (648 times) than the word *government* (26 times) as the term *regime* has a negative semantic environment[31] (Louw, 1993). As Channell (2000) states, 'within Britain, regime is used to attack one's political opponents' (p. 46). The occurrence of the word *regime* in the corpus under study further emphasises the negative political meanings of this word as it is associated with negative evaluative adjectives such as *cruel*, *destructive*, *despotic*, *brutal*, *defiant* and *murderous*. This is further discussed in analysing the nominal choice at noun phrase level (section 5.4.2).

Turning now to nominal choices that are used to refer to the pro-Gaddafi group and supporters, the analysis reveals that they are predominantly represented by reference to their military activity: *soldiers*, *army*, *gunmen*, *troops*, *forces* and *snipers.* These nominal choices are

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[31] Such meaning was also emphasised by Sinclair (2003) when he analysed the context of the word *regime* in the Bank of English Corpus. Sinclair concluded that, with the exception of the cases where the word regime is modified by the adjective 'new', this word generally has a negative semantic prosody (pp. 17-21).

standard terminology used to refer to any military personnel and their use is contextually driven, free of any connotations or ideological loading. What might be of interest in these nominal choices is the representation of Gaddafi's side as having strong military forces, which in turn points out the great differences in power between Gaddafi's side and the opposition side. This representation might create a sense of sympathy towards the opposing side by making the reader imagine how they are facing such a strong and professional army.

The most interesting naming that is used to refer to Gaddafi's group is the nominal choice *mercenaries* (63 times). This indicates that Gaddafi's group also consists of people who are not Libyan. This means that alongside the strong army the Libyan government has, they also brought in other people from other countries to fight on behalf of Gaddafi's forces to kill Libyan protesters, as we will see in its representation in the noun phrase below. Such a nominal choice creates a negative[32] attitude towards the Gaddafi side as using mercenaries in the conflict strongly violates human rights and international law.

5.4.2 At the Syntactic Level: NP Level:

In considering the noun phrase as a basic unit of naming practices (Jeffries, 2007, 2010), the analysis reveals that the negative evaluation of the Libyan leader and his group is also realised within the noun phrase structure, as we will see below. After extracting all the noun phrase patterns where the nominal choices used to label the Libyan reader function as a head noun in the noun phrase, recurrent patterns have been grouped together according to the concordance lines' contents and the theme they convey.

The first theme focuses on the negative evaluation of the Libyan leader, which is conveyed by using a pre-modified negative evaluative. Gaddafi was described as *defiant* and a *dictator* as evident in the examples below:

(5.4) Libya's official name is the Jamahiriya, or "state of the masses", but 41 years after seizing power, a **defiant Muammar Gaddafi** still rules through secretive decision-making and as a family enterprise in which his sons play leading roles.

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[32] In the BNC, it is strongly associated with verbs that indicate they are paid men: *hire*, *hired*, *employed*, *paid*.

(5.5)   The West's response to a **defiant Colonel Muammar** Gaddafi was in disarray last night with NATO allies divided over armed intervention Libya's official name is the Jamahiriya, or "state of the masses", but 41 years after seizing power,

(5.6)   […] where deposed **dictator Muammar** Gaddafi was captured and killed last month.

(5.7)   **Dictator Gaddafi** sent a message to the Libyan people from hell, saying 'I am staying here.

Apart from the negative evaluation of the word *dictator*, as I pointed out above, the word *defiant* could have positive or negative connotations. In this context it is employed pejoratively to convey a negative attitude towards Gaddafi since it suggests that Gaddafi refused to obey the UN Security Council's orders to stop violence against protesters. Consequently, by using these evaluative adjectives, the writer was able to assign negative characteristics to the Libyan leader. Linguistically, the packaging up of adjectives within the noun phrase structure makes these adjectives less questionable by the reader and rather taken for granted (Jeffries, 2010, pp. 22-23).

The Libyan leader's negative representation was emphasised in the UK press with other naming choices, such as with the noun *dictator*. This nominal choice has been modified by phrases that have negative descriptions, as seen in the examples below (highlighted phrases):

(5.8)   There is, however, **deep hatred of the dictator** and his family among the supporters of the revolution

(5.9)   The defiance of the rebel civilians who took up arms against their **murderous dictator**

(5.10) There was a mood of triumph and certainty that the overthrow of **Libya's hated dictator** was close

(5.11) United only in their desire to be rid of **a hated dictator.**

(5.12) Freedom from oppression, democratic self-determination and the defenestration of **a hated dictator** could take second place to western imperatives.

(5.13) What role the US and its allies will play in **the brutal and mercurial dictator**'s removal.

(5.14) because of the allies' desire to see the international community meting out exemplary justice to a **notorious dictator**

(5.15) It was a humbling and anonymous end for one of **the world's most notorious dictators**.

In the above example, it is clear that the text producer packages ideological content inside the nominal component, which reflects their attitude toward the Libyan leader. The British press focus on representing the Libyan leader as being not only a dictator but also as a cruel, brutal murderer and notorious dictator who is hated by his own people. In addition to this description, the Libyan leader was also portrayed as an abnormal person who displays erratic behaviour that is mainly reflected in his rule:

(5.16) Is it really possible to imagine a credible scenario in which **the erratic tyrant** is suffered (or suffers himself) to inhabit a shady Medside villa ("Dundictatin") for the remainder of his days,

(5.17) **The erratic leader** who recruited them, just over a week ago, yesterday seemed to be at the verge of losing total control of the country.

(5.18) The spectre of **the erratic dictator** at the behest of charges he ruled over for more than four decades motivates the rebel rank and file.

Here, the writers employed the adjective *erratic* as a pre-modifier of the nouns used to label the Libyan leader. As pointed out earlier, the packaging up of this adjective in the noun phrase helps to minimise the possibility of the reader raising objections to the implicit evaluation. Moreover, the pre-modifying definite article *the* generates an existential presupposition that supposes the existence of this reality about Gaddafi.

The second theme that is represented in the nominal group highlights for how long Gaddafi was in power, as illustrated in the following examples:

(5.19) Leaders were trying to establish just what **the veteran dictator** was aiming for

(5.20) One rebel commander suggested **the veteran autocrat** and some of his sons might be holed up in the building

(5.21) Such a plan would have allowed **the 69-year old dictator** to hand over power to one of his seven sons.

(5.22) **The Middle East's longest ruling autocrat** seems disinclined to do that, or to go quietly

(5.23) The beginning of the end for **the world's longest-surviving dictator**.

In the first two examples, the writer pre-modifies the words *dictator* and *autocrat* by using the adjective *veteran*, which is, according to its literal meaning, used to refer to a person who has had long experience in a particular field. Its use highlights that the Libyan leader governed Libya for a long time. Interestingly, in the last two examples above, the pre-modifiers in both noun phrases have the superlative adjective *longest*, which presupposes that the lengthy period of dictatorship will be taken for granted by the reader. In addition, the writer seems to express an evaluative meaning as the adjective *longest* has a graded sense[33]. Furthermore, some noun choices, such as *dictator* and *leader*, are also post-modified by either a prepositional phrase or a subordinate clause that indicates the longstanding restrictions of Gaddafi's dictatorship:

(5.24) Gaddafi's been **a dictator for 42 years.**

(5.25) In no time much of the country had risen against **the dictator who had suppressed them for 41 years.**

(5.26) Burnt-out cars and tanks litter the streets, alongside effigies of **the dictator who has ruled Libya for 42 years.**

(5.27) **A leader who had regarded himself as a cult figure for the past 42 years.**

By using a restrictive relative clause to post-modify the noun phrase in the above excerpts, a logical presupposition is created as the writer presents the information embedded in the relative clause as given knowledge that is not contestable. Further, the action of suppression by Gaddafi of his own people, in example 5.25, is presupposed here as the sentence containing this piece of information is presented as a subordinate clause *who had suppressed them for 41 years*. Interestingly, in this noun phrase, the writer combines the action of suppression and the length of time over which this action has taken place, highlighting the long-sufferance of the

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[33] Hunston and Sinclair (2000) stated that '[a] n adjective which has comparative and superlative forms, and which is sometimes or often used with a grading adverb, such as rather, fairly, more, most, so too, or very, is likely to be evaluative' (p. 92).

Libyan people exposed to Gaddafi's repressive system of dictatorship. Such textual representation might be used as a way to make the reader empathise with the plight of the Libyan people or to legitimise the Libyan uprising against their leader.

Turning now to the nominal choice *regime*, the analysis shows that it has been pre-modified by negative evaluative adjectives such as: *cruel*, *destructive*, *despotic*, *brutal*, *defiant* and *murderous* that are likely to influence the reader, prompting them to believe that the Libyan regime is very bad. The following extracts (5.28) to (5.33) exemplify how the writers use this grammatical form:

(5.28) But he [US senator John McCain] says the rebels must behave in "positive contrast" to **the cruel Gaddafi regime**.

(5.29) The violent death of Colonel Muammar Gaddafi brought to an end **a cruel and destructive regime** that had lasted 42 years.

(5.30) The NTC faces a uphill struggle establishing a new government after **42 years of a despotic regime** that was still refusing to give up.

(5.31) The head of **a brutal regime** that killed, stole and imprisoned at will, assassinating dissidents wherever they were […]

(5.32) He has ruled Libya for 42 tumultuous years. But **Muammar Gaddafi's defiant regime** was last night entering its final hours.

(5.33) Even **the most murderous regime** cannot survive mockery.

In these noun phrase structures, each clause's proposition is packaged up within the noun phrase structure so that it is taken for granted rather than questioned by the reader (Jeffries, 2010, pp. 21-22). For instance, instead of presenting these ideas about Gaddafi's regime in the form of clause structures such as: *The [Gaddafi] regime is cruel/ destructive/ despotic/ brutal/ defiant or murderous regime*, the elements of the propositions are presented in the noun phrases by the packaging up process. Such noun phrase structures assume the existence of these ideologies in presenting them to the reader. The negative semantic environment of the word *regime* in the current corpus coincides with the previous findings of Sinclair (2003) and Louw (1993) and confirms that this word has a negative load in its use.

In examining how Gaddafi's armed forces *forces, army, troops, loyalists*, *soldiers* are constructed in the noun phrase, the analysis showed that these groups are mainly pre-modified by words that indicate that they belong either to Gaddafi himself or to the ruling government. Such representation is evident from the L1 collocate of these words, as illustrated in the table below:

Table 5.1 The L1 collocates of *forces, army, troops, loyalists*, and *soldiers*

Referential nouns used to refer to Gaddafi's armed forces	Forces	Fre.	Army	Fre.	Troops	Fre.	Loyalists	Fre.	Soldiers	Fre.
Its association / modifying word L1	Gaddafi's	141	Gaddafi's	37	Gaddafi's	32	Gaddafi's	70	Gaddafi's	17
	Gaddafi	67	Libyan	12	Gaddafi	17	Regime	9	Government	5
	Regime	37	Loyalist	2	Loyalist	9	His [Gaddafi]	4	Regime	4
	His [Gaddafi]	35	Regime's	2	Regime	9	----------		Gaddafi	4
	Government	28	Gaddafi	2	Government	6	----------		His [Gaddafi]	2
	Armed	25	His [Gaddafi]	2	Libyan	3	----------		----------	
	Loyalist	19	----------		His	5	----------		----------	
	Regime's	11	----------		----------		----------		----------	
	Military	2	----------		----------		----------		----------	
	dictator's	3					----------		----------	

The most frequent L1 collocates of these words are *Gaddafi's*, *Gaddafi* and *regime*. Such representation suggests that these groups are owned and controlled either by Gaddafi himself or his regime. As a result, the actions that are committed by these groups reflected directly onto him. In addition to such representational identity, these groups are identified by referring to their nationality as Libyan just in 15 cases, *Libyan army* (12 times) and *Libyan troops* (3 times). By contrast, there are only two cases in the whole corpus where the word *army* is named negatively when referring to them as *a big army of mercenaries* and *a mercenary army*, as evident in the examples below:

(5.34) "He has been recruiting from Africa and he is massing a big **army of mercenaries** to the south," said Belkhair.

(5.35) But rebel leaders continue to insist that the Sabha air base in southern Libya is being used to mass a **mercenary army** that Gaddafi could use in a full-blown assault on Benghazi.

Identifying Gaddafi's army as *a big army of mercenaries* or *a mercenary army* could imply a negative attitude towards the Gaddafi side as using mercenaries in the conflict strongly

violates human rights and international law. In 5.35, above, the noun phrase *a mercenary army* is post-modified by the relative clause *that Gaddafi could use in a full-blown assault on Benghazi* illustrating the reason for the mercenary army being assembled. Although this clause has a low-value epistemic modality of possibility *could use* heightens the possibility of using this mercenary army in his assault on Benghazi city, packaging up this information inside the nominal components makes it less questionable by the reader as it is passed as assumed knowledge. Within this embedded clause, the writer's ideological attitude toward Gaddafi is reflected through the use of a modalised proposition and the description of the assault by the nominal choice *a full-blown assault.*

In representing the *mercenaries* group in the nominal phrase, the writer highlights their nationality. The nominal choice *mercenaries* is either pre-modified by the word *African* (9 times) or *foreign* (3 times), which indicate they are not Libyan people, as evident in the examples below:

(5.36) Colonel Gaddafi still probably has access to tens of billions of cash inside the country to pay his troops and **African mercenaries** to ensure their loyalty as they attempt to put down the revolution in the east.

(5.37) The International Federation for Human Rights estimated in February that **6,000 African mercenaries** were working for Gaddafi but the figure could be far higher.

Furthermore, the writer presupposes the existence of this group by using the demonstrative pronoun *these*, as seen in example 5.38:

(5.38) These mercenaries who are hired by Gaddafi lurking in the shadows.

The post-modifying clause *who are hired by Gaddafi* confirms that Gaddafi recruited foreign mercenaries to supplement his forces. Such truth about this group is also expressed by using non-finite clauses that function as post-modifying the head noun *mercenaries*, as illustrated in the following:

(5.39) There had been much publicity about **foreign mercenaries being employed by the Gaddafi regime,** including, supposedly, a crack team of female Ukrainian snipers,

but, myths aside, his few hired guns were never remotely a match for Western firepower.

(5.40) Reports that **black African mercenaries fought for Gaddafi forces** have sent many remaining blacks into hiding, fearful of lynching by revolutionary forces.

By these syntactic structures, the writer is able to avoid the potential argument about whether the mercenaries were *being employed by the Gaddafi regime* or *fought for the Gaddafi forces* by packaging these clauses inside the nominal components and passing them as non-negotiable assumptions.

5.5 Naming the Opposition Side

5.5.1 At the Lexical Level: Noun Choices

The British newspapers tend to construct the opposition in a different way compared to the way Gaddafi's side is represented. More specifically, the opposition side is neutralised by giving it either nominal choices that are less negative or presenting it in a positive way. In the majority of cases, the British newspapers represent the opposition side by referring to their military activity, which is conveyed by using the nominal choice *rebels* (629 times). Rebel movements have been defined by Okumu and Ikelegbe (2010) as 'organisations that essentially engage in armed opposition and resistance, and particularly insurrection or insurgency against governments and ruling regimes' (p. 9). In the BNC the word *rebels* is strongly associated with violent actions such as *seized*, *executed*, *fighting*, *killed*, *attacked*, *retreat*, *collapsed*, *invasion*, *threating*, *attack* and *destroyed*, which might have a negative effect on the reader. I expected to find these collocates based on the literal meaning of the word *rebels*. However, there are two collocates that I had not expected to find: *liberation* and *insurgent*, which indicate the types of rebel movement[34]. In considering the Libyan situation, the UK press used the word *rebels* to refer to the insurgent rebel movement, which involves the use of arms or weapons in order to resist and overthrow the regime:

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[34] Liberation rebel movements aim to decolonise towards independence from foreign government, while the insurgent aims towards resistance, reform struggles and overthrow of a regime (see Okumu & Ikelegbe, 2010, p. 10 for more detail).

(5.41) NATO and the coalition would be hard put justifying air strikes to help the **insurgents** take a town which has not revolted against Gaddafi.

This is evident in the fact that the word *rebels* was rarely used by British newspapers in the first days/month of the Libyan Revolution, as illustrated in the figure 5.1 below. It seems that it was substituted with the nominal choice *protesters* when the uprising changed from a peaceful movement to an armed political one (Lobban & Dalton, 2014); that is, the UK discourse on the Libyan uprising named the protesters rebels to indicate such a change in the Libyan Revolution because there was no other word to use.

Figure 5. 1 Difference in the distribution of the words *rebels* and *protesters*

The second predominant nominal choice used by the UK press to refer to the opposition side is the word *fighters* (360 times), which also indicates the military activity of this group. Within the corpus under study, this word is mainly used to refer to the opposition group, except for six times where it is used to refer to the Gaddafi side. Such a minimal choice is more neutral than the previous nominal choice. In order to reveal a writer's negative or positive use of the word *fighters*, I have examined its collocation behaviour within the BNC corpus as

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Gabrielatos and Baker (2008) argue that what might affect the readers' memorisation and understanding of what they read 'is the frequency of specific collocations and the semantic/discourse prosodies they communicate' (p. 20). Scrutinisation of its collocation patterns within the BNC corpus reveals that it has either positive or negative semantic prosody. For instance, amongst the adjective patterns the most prominent are positive *freedom*[35], *resistance*, *effective*, *best*, *great* and *good*. However, *fighters* is often pre-modified by a negative word: *crime*, *guerrilla(s)*, *enemy*. This word also collocates exclusively as the subject of verbs that indicate violent action, such as *attacking*, *shoot*, *attacked*, *fire*, *destroyed*, *hit* and *attacks*, which might impose a negative impression upon the reader; in contrast, *fighters* has fewer associations with verbs that indicate good actions: *combat*, *protect*. Other strong collocates identify the social groups that were engaged in the political conflicts: *Hezballah fighters* and *Fatah fighters*. From these findings I was able to conclude that this noun could be used either with negative concepts (violence) or positive ones (freedom) depending on how it is framed in certain situations by the text producer. Accordingly, within representation of the Libyan situation, the nominal choice *fighters* is used with positive concepts - freedom and democracy - which in turn reveal the purpose of the Libyan Revolution, as we will see below.

Furthermore, UK newspapers continue to refer to this side by either a neutral noun such as *revolutionaries* or a positive noun such as *protesters*. The word *revolutionaries* may have negative connotations within British and American culture as it is associated with the Bolsheviks of the Russian Revolution. However, considering that the recent Arab revolutions came about to make changes for the good, to change from undemocratic to democratic societies, we could argue that the meaning of the word *revolution* in the twenty-first century is used to signify a positive change. So it is important to understand the global and historical context in which the word is used; as Baker (2006) points out, it is important for the analyst to consider 'the historical context of the subject under discussion' as it is 'paramount in supporting the more linguistic-informed analysis of the corpus' (p. 92). Furthermore, using

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[35] It is clear that the lexical noun *fighters* is represented from the literal sense of freedom and fighting *freedom fighter*; however, the modifier of this pattern seems to imply some sort of negativity as it occurs exclusively (10 times with MI score of 13.133) in the context of breaking the law 'the outlawed Ulster Freedom Fighters'.

the nominal choice *protesters* could influence the reader to take a positive view towards the opposition group.

5.5.2 At the Syntactic Level: NP Level:

The analysis of how the naming choices of the opposition side have been constructed within the noun phrase reveals five recurrent patterns. One of the most common ways of representing the opposition side in the British press is by providing a pre-modifying quantification: *many*, *crowds*, *groups*, *mass*, *thousands*, *hundreds and dozens*, as evident in the following examples:

(5.42) Libyan security forces fired on **crowds of protesters** in Tripoli last night as Muammar Gaddafi struggled desperately to hold on to power in what has become the bloodiest crackdown yet on pro-democracy protesters in the Arab world.

(5.43) Gaddafi's reported use of mercenaries appears to have tipped the hand of **many protesters** and armed forces

(5.44) By allowing **hundreds of rebel fighters** into the Nafusa mountains, Nato has established a vital new pressure point on the regime

(5.45) **A group of fighters** then expressed their feelings in verbal form: "Fuck you Gaddafi," they shouted.

(5.46) **Dozens of young fighters** sat quietly on the side street, each clutching a weapon

(5.47) As the sun went down, the sound of government artillery was drawing close to Ras Lanuf and another **mass of rebel fighters** began a hurried flight east,

(5.48) **Groups of revolutionaries** are starting to move towards western Libya in an attempt to link up with opposition militias near Tripoli.

This naming strategy highlights the regime's isolation and implies that many Libyan people are against the Gaddafi government. This meaning was also conveyed when this group was pre-modified by their national identity as Libyans, as evident in the examples below:

(5.49) In the sky above Tripoli, NATO planes flew sorties. The coup de grace to the Gaddafi regime was left to **Libyan rebel fighters** on the ground

(5.50) This, I believe, will happen too among young **Libyan revolutionaries**, who could have been proselytisers for democracy

(5.51) Libyan rebels may be low on weapons needed to topple the forces of Col Muammar Gaddafi.

This use of their national identity constructed the opposition side as a unified group who stood together against Gaddafi's authoritarian government. Within the corpus, the UK newspapers represent Gaddafi's supporters as Libyan people in just a few cases (Libyan army: 12 times and Libyan troops: 3 times), which might raise the question of who is standing with him. Such meaning is further enhanced by naming the Libyan Revolution as *unrest* (14 times), which indicates that it is seen by the British newspapers as popular discontent:

(5.52) The British and French leaders compared notes on the evidence that the regime was crumbling and over the **unrest** in Western Libya.

In other cases the opposition side is named as *young protesters*, *young revolutionaries*, *young fighters* and *al-Shabaab fighters*[36]. The portrayal of this group as young is perhaps an attempt at a call for sympathy from the reader. In addition, using this word can create a positive attitude toward this group as the word *young* indicates hope, optimism, future and idealism (of the right kind; i.e. liberal, democratic):

(5.53) He said that defecting had been a difficult decision but he had made the fateful choice on February 20, when relatives in Benghazi phoned him and asked him to identify the weapons they could hear being used by the regime's forces against **young protesters**.

(5.54) By the regime's forces **against young protesters.**

(5.55) The young revolutionaries follow each twist of the diplomatic wrangling, scoffing at western professions of support for their cause when no practical help is forthcoming.

(5.56) This, I believe, will happen too among **young Libyan revolutionaries**, who could have been proselytisers for democracy.

(5.57) The young fighters, the "shabab" as they proudly proclaim themselves.

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[36] An Arabic phrase meaning *the Youth*.

(5.58) **Shabaab fighters** claimed infiltrators had come into the city but it seemed more likely that some ammunition had detonated**.**

The call for sympathy from the UK press is also implied where the writer refers to the opposition side as *unarmed protesters* and *peaceful protesters*, as illustrated in the following examples:

(5.59) Yet it began as the <u>brutal suppression</u> of **unarmed civilian protesters**, and the subsequent mass arrests, torture of detainees and indiscriminate attacks on residential areas entirely justify the charges that Gaddafi faces

(5.60) He [Gaddafi] insisted that the authorities, accused of <u>using warplanes, tanks and artillery</u> against **unarmed protesters**, had not unleashed their real firepower.

(5.61) Amnesty offers harrowing testimony of the war crimes, <u>killings</u> of **unarmed protesters** and arbitrary detentions by Gaddafi's security forces.

(5.62) Ibrahim Dabbashi has called for Colonel Gaddafi to step down and called its <u>attacks</u> on **peaceful protesters** "genocide".

Using the positive evaluative adjectives *unarmed* and *peaceful* as pre-modifiers of the protesters indicates the positive judgement of the UK press toward this group, which in turn may evoke the readers' positive judgment. It is apparent that the adjectives *unarmed* and *peaceful* are used just as collocates of the word *protesters*. This highlights the point that the Libyan uprising started as a peaceful movement. What may be of further interest in the examples above is the aggressive actions *brutal suppression*, *using warplanes*, *tanks and artillery*, *killings and attacks* (underlined phrases) of the Gaddafi regime, which were taken against unarmed protesters. The integration of Gaddafi's violent acts with the unarmed/peaceful protesters does not only call for the sympathy of the readers but also illustrates the brutality of this regime against the innocent people.

The British newspapers presented another positive view of the opposition side when they depicted them as people standing for freedom and democracy:

(5.63) But eventually the prospect of the US standing idly by as Gaddafi, the man who gave the world Lockerbie and a hundred other evils, crushed Libya's would-be **democratic revolutionaries** and wreaked his revenge on Benghazi was too much to bear.

(5.64) Libyan security forces fired on crowds of protesters in Tripoli last night as Muammar Gaddafi struggled desperately to hold on to power in what has become the bloodiest crackdown yet on **pro-democracy protesters** in the Arab world.

(5.65) "I saw a guy in a car, he had put freedom fighter flags inside, but then he started shooting at the **freedom fighters** randomly," he said.

The positive evaluation is reinforced by the pre-modifying adjectives *democratic*, *pro-democracy* and *freedom* used in connection with the nominal choices *protesters* and *fighters*. These adjectives indicate that the Libyan people suffered under an authoritarian government and they revolted for democracy and for their freedom. This discursive representation from the UK press, which appears to have developed a positive attitude towards the opposition's side, is likely to generate further positive evaluation by the reader.

5.6 Concluding Remarks

This chapter has provided the results of analysing the naming choices used by British newspapers to name the participants in the Libyan Revolution. The aim of this analysis is to discover whether there is a bias in representing the participants through naming choices. Furthermore, and most importantly, the chapter also attempts to address whether or not any ideological messages are communicated by the use of certain naming processes.

The discussion of naming strategies in this chapter shows differences in the naming of each side of the Libyan conflict in the UK newspaper discourse, as evident in table 5.2 below. In particular, the analysis has offered sufficient linguistic evidence that illustrates the positive representation of the opposition side in contrast to the negative representation of the Gaddafi side; the UK press select particular ideologically loaded lexical items that construct the opposition side positively and Gaddafi's side in a negative way. Furthermore, this image is reinforced by using the nominal group as a process of naming, where certain ideological contents are packaged inside it. British newspapers construct Gaddafi and his regime with an identity of cruelty, oppressive, repressive, destructive and murderous. Gaddafi's side, in

particular Gaddafi himself, has been assessed entirely negatively in terms of murderous ideology, ideology of hate, ideology of dehumanisation and ideology of violating human rights. By contrast, the opposition side has been represented in terms of ideology of freedom and democracy, and ideology of peace, optimism, and idealism. The analysis also reveals that certain ideological aims have been communicated through the naming process in order to manipulate the reader. This means that, as Van Dijk asserts (1995b), the use of certain nominal choices by the writer reflects his/her evaluation of the referent and also his/her ideological stance.

Table 5.2 Comparison of nominal choices of each side of the conflict

Referent	categories	Nominal choices	Freq.	Adjectival and pre-modifies
Gaddafi	Officially	Colonel Muammar Gaddafi	39	Defiant, dictator.
		Colonel Gaddafi	179	
		Libyan (leader)	66	Erratic.
	Negative	Dictator	117	Hatred, murderous, hated, brutal, mercurial, notorious, erratic, veteran, the 69-year old, the world's longest-surviving.
		Autocrat	4	Veteran, the Middle East's longest ruling, third.
		Despot	4	Libyan, deposed, fugitive.
		Tyrant	15	Erratic, mad.
Gaddafi's government	Neutral	Government	26	Libyan, Tripoli, Gaddafi.
	Negative	Regime	648	Cruel, destructive, 42 years of a despotic, brutal, defiant, murderous.
Opposition Side	Less negative	Rebels	629	Hundreds, Libyan.
	Neutral	Fighters	360	Group, Dozens, young, rebel, mass, Libyan, Shabaab, freedom.
		Revolutionaries	82	Groups, Libyan , young, democratic
	Positive	Protesters	23	Many, crowds, young, unarmed, civilian, peaceful, pro-democracy.

To understand the reason behind representing Gaddafi and his government in this way, the findings of the analysis should be analysed in relation to the socio-political and historical contexts, as recommended by Baker et al (2008) and Wodak (2001). As shown in chapter one, Gaddafi ruled with an iron fist and he commanded absolute authority over the Libyan people. Furthermore, Gaddafi had a history of human rights abuse, which was well known to all. Thus, the description of Gaddafi in this way could be interpreted as a reflection of his excessive power over the Libyan people. The analysis also shows that the writers frequently used the word *regime* to refer to Gaddafi's political system. Considering the historical context, the use of this nominal choice could be seen as a reflection of Gaddafi's authoritarian political system and highlights that his ruling system is indeed a non-democratic one. Internationally, Gaddafi supported terrorism and was involved in terror acts around the world, such as attacks at the airports of Rome and Vienna and the Berlin nightclub. After the Berlin nightclub's attack in 1986, Ronald Reagan labelled Gaddafi "Mad Dog". As illustrated in the analysis above, this nominal choice was used by the British press, perhaps as a way to evoke the reader's memory of Gaddafi's terror history. Furthermore, this negative description could be a reflection of the tense relations between Gaddafi and Britain, who was known for his support for the Irish Republican Army, the Lockerbie bombing, the series of bomb explosions that rocked London and Manchester, and many other acts of terror. Accordingly, this historical background may influence the way Gaddafi was represented in the British press.

The next chapter examines how both sides of the conflict are constructed linguistically in newspaper discourse by analysing keywords referring to the participants in the conflict.

Chapter 6
The Linguistic Construction of Opposing Groups

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the analysis that was carried out on the selected keywords. Having categorised the keywords into broad categories (participants in the conflict and construction of violence), the current chapter focusses on presenting the analysis of keywords grouped under participants in the conflict categories; the construction of violence will be discussed in chapter 7. According to the keyword results, the participants in the Libyan Revolution consist of the Gaddafi side and the opposition side. Starting with the Gaddafi side, the keywords include words that refer to (1) the political figures on the Gaddafi side: *Gaddafi*, *dictator* and *regime*, and (2) Gaddafi's forces: *forces*, *army*, *troops*, *loyalists* and *soldiers.* Regarding the opposition side, the keywords include (1) the political figures in the opposition side: *national transitional council (NTC)* and *Mustafa Abdal Jalil (the chairman of the NTC)* and (2) the opposition forces: *rebels*, *opposition*, *fighters*, *army* and *forces*.

As I mentioned in chapter 4, the procedure that I applied to the output concordance lines is similar to the procedure applied by both Baker and McEnery (2005) and Prentice and Hardie (2009), thus the resulting concordance lines of the above keywords are grouped under discursive themes manifested in the content of the concordance lines. The concordance line output of each keyword was then subjected to textual analysis using Jeffries' theoretical framework (2010), outlined in chapter 2. This was followed by revealing and establishing the underlying ideologies by mapping between form-function and the ideological consequence.

This chapter aims to investigate the linguistic structures that are used to create representations of the opposing groups as well as discover the underlying ideologies of the British newspapers' discourse for the construction of sides of the conflict. I will start by presenting the analysis of the linguistic representation of the Gaddafi side (section 6.2) and follow this with the representation of the opposition side (section 6.3). A further discussion, at the end (section 6.4), introduces the summary and general discussion of the main points resulting from the analysis, highlighting the underlying ideologies of the representation.

6.2 Representation of the Gaddafi Side

6.2.1 The Libyan Leader: KWs: *Gaddafi* and *dictator*

In investigating how the Libyan leader has been constructed linguistically in the British press, the two keywords *Gaddafi* and *dictator* were analysed as these two lexical items refer to him. In carrying out the concordance analysis of these two words, I found that both words, in particular the word *Gaddafi*, occurred as pre-modifiers of other keywords, such as *regime*, *loyalists*, and *forces* (Table B.1 in Appendix B), which were also subjected to qualitative analysis. A search of the words *Gaddafi* and *dictator* in the concordance lines yielded 1,768 and 117 occurrences, respectively. The concordance lines of these words were manually inspected to clean up lines that did not represent the Libyan leader. After the cleanup of the concordance lines to include just the lines that refer to Gaddafi, the total lines left for investigation were 1,325 lines of the word Gaddafi and 108 lines of the word dictator, giving a total of 1,433. The main themes that emerge from a detailed analysis of the concordance lines of these words focus on representing violence, violation and the criminal nature of Gaddafi's acts, his power and control, and his demise. Each one will be treated separately below and illustrated with examples from the concordance lines.

6.2.1.1 Violence and Human Rights Violations

The theme of violence and human rights violations is the salient theme in representing the Libyan leader in the British media. The British press constructs Gaddafi as a violator of human rights, criminal and brutal, whose violent acts amount to crimes against humanity. An in-depth analysis of the linguistic patterns of the words *Gaddafi* and *Dictator* reveals that Gaddafi was represented as actively involved in violent actions in 55 instances out of 144[37]of the total active material processes in which Gaddafi was the actor. However, given the length of the table, only a few concordance lines are reproduced here to illustrate this point. (All instances can be found in Appendix B, Concordance B.1.)

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[37] Counting the material processes that occur in the immediate environment of the node word.

Concordance 6.1 Gaddafi as an actor in material processes of violence

1.	the latest claims and rumours. Who is winning? Will	Gaddafi	**attack** <u>Benghazi</u>? Surely not, said some of the men. He does
2.	quarters as Libya's interim Prime Minister. However,	Gaddafi	**fought back,** *ruthlessly deploying* his country's armed forces against its
3.	no-fly zone, said that, according to US intelligence,	Gaddafi	**had launched** *attacks* <u>on the rebel-held western city of Misurata,</u>
4.	court issued arrest warrants for the two men and	Gaddafi	in June for their role in the *bloody attempt* to **suppress** <u>the Feb 17 revolution.</u>
5.	claim by Susan Rice, US ambassador to the UN, that	Gaddafi	is "**slaughtering** <u>his people</u>". The military standoff inside Libya i
6.	Loyal supporters of Colonel Muammar	Gaddafi	**launched** a *surprise attack* on an <u>oil refinery</u> in rebel-held
7.	to have 1,200 prisoners shot in Abu Salim prison.	Gaddafi	**responded** *with brutal repression* -- and his regime became the targe
8.	about his family or his legion and that's it." When	Gaddafi	**responded** to the February protests *by sending in tanks*, Abdo and
9.	"And the youths joined them. And then when	Gaddafi	**started killing** <u>them the people rose up.</u>" That version of Libya'
10.	, an opposition official, said. "We are worried that	Gaddafi	wants to just **kill** as <u>many people</u> as he can before
11.	US forces in Libya said yesterday that Col Muammar	Gaddafi	was **continuing to attack** <u>civilians</u> despite the allied military
12.	I still believe that today. It was necessary because	Gaddafi	was going **to slaughter** <u>his own people</u> - and that massacre of
13.	he believes that the world cannot stand by while a	dictator	**brutalises** <u>his own people</u>; fears that Colonel Gaddafi would use
14.	In no time much of the country had risen against the	dictator	who had **suppressed** <u>them</u> for 41 years. Colonel Gaddafi teetered

It is apparent from the table above that the Libyan leader is the main agent; that is to say, he is the one who takes control of what is happening. He is constructed as an active agent who performed various violent actions (bold words) ranging from attacking, fighting, launching attacks, playing a part in aggressive responses to the protest, killing, slaughtering, brutalising, and suppression. In some cases, the experiential violent meaning of the processes is not encoded in the verb process itself, but rather it is encoded in the scope that follows the verb. That is, the scope works together with the verb to express the process (Lock, 1996, p. 81; Thompson, 2004, p. 107). Such a case is evident in lines 3 and 6, where the verb *launched* is used to express the process. Literally, the verb *launched* indicates the beginning of something or sending something out, here the *attack/s* does not indicate any violent meaning in itself. The violence of the process is expressed by the scope: *attacks* (line 3) and a *surprise attack* (line 6). In other cases, the aggressive nature of Gaddafi's acts is strengthened further through illustrating the circumstances of manner that are associated with the process, as in lines 2 and 4. The circumstances attendant on the process *ruthlessly* (circumstance) *deploying* (MAI) and *the bloody attempt* (circumstance) *to suppress* (MAI) are further emphasising the extent to which Gaddafi's acts are extremely aggressive and cruel, thus encoding his negative image. The same ideological representation runs through lines 7 and 8, where the material process is expressed by the verb *responded*, which means to react to something. The violent nature of the process of responding is evident in the circumstance element (manner) *with brutal repression* (line 7) and *by sending in tanks* (line 8) that is expressed in the clause.

Ideologically, the selection of active material processes in which Gaddafi is the agent is not random but rather highlights his responsibility for those ferocious actions, consequently producing a more negative representation. Downing and Locke (2006) point out that 'agent' refers to an 'entity having energy, volition and intention that is capable of initiating and controlling the action' (p. 128) .

Moreover, the above structures enable the writer to highlight the focus on affected participants/goal, the underlined words in the above concordance lines. Gaddafi's violent acts are conducted against non-human goal: *Benghazi* (line 1) *the rebel-held western city of Misurata* (line 3) *oil refinery* (line 6), and human goals: *his people* (line 5*) many people* (line 10) *civilians* (line 11) and *his own people* (lines 12 and 13). It is obvious that it is not just the armed rebels who are the target of Gaddafi's aggressive acts, but even Libyan civilians were victims of his acts. Using such representation helps to establish Gaddafi's blame and responsibility for civilian suffering. Moreover, the attacking of civilians by Gaddafi is represented as a continuous action, as evident in line 11: *continuing to attack civilians*. Here, the action of the attack is logically presupposed by the iterative verb *continuing*, which implies the existence of the previous attacks on civilians. The characterisation of the victims as civilians further emphasises the brutality of the Libyan leader and indicates clearly that Gaddafi has violated international norms.

One more point I would like to highlight is that all the material processes in which the Libyan leader is an actor are in an active voice except in 6 cases where he is constructed as a doer of the action in a passive structure as evident in the lines 6.2 below:

Concordance 6.2 Gaddafi as an actor in passive construction

1.	pronounced him dead. "These mercenaries who are **hired**	by Gaddafi	are lurking in the shadows."
2.	groups already inside, to prevent them being **sabotaged**	by Gaddafi	as he leaves, or wrecked and
3.	gang and the terrorists Abu Nidal and Carlos were **funded**	by Gaddafi	who also shipped tonnes of w
4.	Pocket of resistance that has withstood an **attack**	by Gaddafi	using tanks. But up to 40 people
5.	at the time was that the men were mercenaries **hired**	by Colonel Gaddafi	But many were innocent migrant
6.	defected to Britain earlier this week has been **seized**	by Col Muammar Gaddafi	and is being interrogated by his

The passive construction in the above lines is used as a way to shift the focus onto who is being hired and funded by Gaddafi, here *mercenaries* (lines 1 and 5) and *terrorists* (line 3). By contrast, Gaddafi is the subject of passive constructions only when the writer presents Gaddafi's capture, killing and death, which will be discussed later under the theme of Gaddafi's demise (section 6.2.1.3).

Representation of Gaddafi's violence is also established throughout the corpus using nominalisation of his aggressive action. Concordance 6.3 provides textual evidence of using a nominalised material process of violent actions that are committed by Gaddafi (words in bold).

Concordance 6.3 Gaddafi's violent acts in nominalised form

1.	as the rebels were forced back in the face of	Gaddafi	's **attack**. What it was not was aimed at was the
2.	the Arab League supported it initially because of	Gaddafi	's **attacks** *on civilians*. The league's response, however,
3.	"We have not been able to stop all of Col	Gaddafi	's **attacks**, but we would never pretend that we could," he
4.	population of eastern Libya had been waiting for	Gaddafi	's **counter-attack** after hundreds of their family and friends
5.	must "help to protect Libya's people from	Gaddafi	's **assault** and help put an end to his war
6.	Benghazi, which took the brunt of Colonel	Gaddafi	's **assault** , when tank fire hit the building
7.	of intervention, but the momentum behind	Gaddafi	's **fightback** seems undeniable. The Benghazi-based rebel
8.	. The phrase was an ironic and triumphal echo of	Gaddafi	's **own threat** to quell the uprising alleyway (zanqa) by alleyway.
9.	they hoped would be their deliverance from Colonel	Gaddafi	's **threat** that they would be shown "no mercy". Then came
10.	still simmering anger within Libya at the	dictator	's **brutalities**, including his order in 996 to have 1,200 prisoners shot
11.	resistance that has withstood **an attack** by	Gaddafi	using tanks. But up to 40 people are believed
12.	no-fly zone, said that, according to US intelligence,	Gaddafi	had launched **attacks** on the rebel-held western city of Misurata,
13.	Loyal supporters of Colonel Muammar	Gaddafi	launched a surprise **attack** on an oil refinery in rebel-held
14.	said in his submission to the court that Col	Gaddafi	had personally planned "a policy of widespread and systematic **attacks** *against civilians*
15.	strongholds such as Misurata and Zintan. Col	Gaddafi	has a history of using Scud missiles in response to attacks.
16.	UN security council resolution requiring	Gaddafi	to halt **his** *attacks on civilians*. "Colonel
17.	ambassador, Ibrahim Dabbashi has called Colonel	Gaddafi	to step down and called *its attacks* on *peaceful protesters"genocide"*
18.	court in the Hague, however, issued a warrant against	Gaddafi	this year, charging him with using brutal force while **suppressing** *demonstrations*
19.	about his family or his legion and that's it." When	Gaddafi	responded to the February protests by sending in tanks, Abdo and
20.	"And the youths joined them. And then when	Gaddafi	started **killing** *them the people rose up*." That version of Libya'
21.	Qatar, the newspaper Al-Raya said Col Muammar	Gaddafi	bore sole blame for **the attacks**. It wrote: "He insisted on
22.	and western greed. Qatar's al-Raya newspaper said	Gaddafi	bore sole blame for **the attacks** *on Libya*.
23.	of this battle has yet to be decided, and Colonel	Gaddafi	is unlikely to relinquish Sirte without a **fight**. Many rebels acknow
24.	unchallenged dictatorial rule these months gave	Gaddafi	a chance to practise his favourite habit -- **killing**, **terrorising** and **spreading fear**

Instead of presenting Gaddafi's violent acts *attack*, *assault*, *threat*, *brutalities*, *fightback*, *killing*, *fight*, *suppressing*, *terrorising* and *spreading fear* in the form of a clause, the writer used nominalisation, which turns the elements of the proposition into a nominal, leaving any questions about the process aside as they are constructed as given facts. In concordance lines 1 to 10, Gaddafi is constructed as the underlying subject of the nominalised verbs. The possessive relation is expressed internally in the nominal constituent by the genitive marker ('s), which helps to ascribe these acts to Gaddafi. The emphasis on Gaddafi's responsibility for these violent acts is also evident in lines 16 and 17 where the writer used the possessive

pronoun *his* and *its* with the noun *attack.* The use of the possessive structure presupposes the existence of those violent acts as they are presented as background assumptions, thus it cannot be denied by the reader but rather it is taken for granted (Jeffries, 2010, p. 95). In a similar way, the writer used the definite article *the*, which triggers existential presupposition in reference to the attacks that were committed by Gaddafi in lines 21 and 22: '*bore sole blame for the attacks*'. In line 24, the nominalised violent acts are represented in the form of a three-part list *killing*, *terrorising* and *spreading fear*, thus implying a sense of completeness (Jeffries, 2010, p. 70). Moreover, a detailed analysis of the above concordance lines reveals that the aggressive nature of the acts is also represented within the nominalised phrase. In lines 11, 15, 18 and 19 (underlined) the writer refers to the method used in carrying out these acts *using tanks*, *using Scud missiles*, *using brutal force*, and *sending in tanks*. The act or process of using these military methods is grammatically realised through nominalisation, thus leaving any questions about the nature of the process and who was involved aside.

The same ideological representation also runs through lines 25 to 29, where the writer uses the abstract noun *violence*, which is derived from the adjective *violent*, to refer to Gaddafi's aggressive action. In a case similar to the above, the existential presupposition of this violence is also evoked by the possessive structure using the genitive marker ('s) (lines 25 and 26) and the possessive pronoun *his* (line 28), allowing the writer to pass off the statements as non-negotiable assumptions.

Concordance 6.4 Co-occurrence of *Gaddafi/dictator* with violence

25.	that Qatar has a clear stance in condemning	Gaddafi	**'s acts of violence** and **murder**," said the al-Qana news
26.	's most powerful countries last night condemned Col	Gaddafi	**'s use of violence** against *the Libyan people*. After an
27.	the need for an end to **violence** and for Colonel	Gaddafi	's departure from power, but included only a passing
28.	caught on the wrong side of history, watching as a	dictator	unleashed **violence** against *his people*, but the US has
29.	The murderers will aim for impunity. And the	dictator	has some grounds for optimism, for **his violence** has met

More interestingly, the victims of those acts are also packaged up inside the nominalised phrase as evident in the lines 2, 14, 16, 17, 18, 20, 22, 26 and 28, above (italicised words). In these lines, the nominalised violent acts were targeted against *civilians*, *peaceful protesters*, *demonstrations, the people rose up, Libya, Libyan people,* and *his people.* By such structures,

the writer is willing to blame the suffering of civilians on Gaddafi's cruel acts, thus emphasising his responsibility for human rights abuse.

Further on, Gaddafi's violation is established clearly throughout the corpus by constructing him in the context of war crimes, illustrating his direct responsibility. In this context, Gaddafi is represented as guilty of war crimes and crimes against humanity. Linguistically, this representation is established through packaging up the noun *crimes* in the NP, as can be seen from the concordance lines 6.5 below.

Concordance 6.5 Constructing Gaddafi as a guilty of war crimes

1.	issuing a statement denouncing "*the hideous*	**crimes**	of **Gaddafi** and his regime
2.	**Gaddafi** is an international terrorist on a grand scale and *his*	**crimes**	are legion; no one is more deserving of
3.	However, *one of the major*	**crimes**	for which **Gaddafi** has been investigated
4.	suits their interests to go after **Gaddafi** now because *the*	**crimes**	he committed cannot be defended by anyone. But
5.	that Gaddafi could no longer be made to answer for *the numerous*	**crimes**	committed during his 42 years in power. Richard Dickler,
6.	Human rights groups have accused **Colonel Gaddafi** of **war**	**crimes**	and the International Criminal Court requested
7.	to bring charges against **Colonel Gaddafi** and his sons for **war**	**crimes**	The Yarmouk yard had been used since June as

The word *crimes* is packaged up inside the NPs and passed as a background assumption that is not open for debate. Furthermore, these crimes are constructed as fact by being existentially presupposed by using the definite determiner *the* alongside the descriptive adjectives *hideous*, *major*, and *numerous* (lines 1, 3, 4, 5 respectively), and the possessive pronoun *his* (line 2). In line 5, the phrase *the numerous crimes* is placed in a prominent opening position and gives a clear implication of Gaddafi's criminal behaviour, which, in this context, it is difficult to dissociate from Gaddafi.

The representation of Gaddafi as guilty of war crimes committed against humanity is also constructed by textual priorities, in particular by subordination and exploiting information structure, creating a structure for ideological prioritisation, as evident in the following examples:

(6.1) Gaddafi fought back**,** ruthlessly deploying his country's armed forces against its citizens. His use of heavy weaponry against the population made him the subject of an arrest warrant from the International Criminal Court, **accusing him of crimes against humanity.**

The Times, 21 October 2011

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(6.2)   THE INTERNATIONAL Criminal Court has ramped up the pressure on Libyan leader Colonel Muammar Gaddafi by issuing a warrant for his arrest, **accusing him of mass murder of his opponents.**

The Independent, 28 June 2011

In example 6.1 the writer prioritises Gaddafi's violation of international norms by using heavy weapons against the population (underlined phrase), which is nominalised as *his use*, and subordinates the accusation for his crimes against humanity as a result of using such military methods against civilians (highlighted part). Example 6.2 prioritises the international court's decision taken against the Libyan leader at the highest level of subordination and places his guilt of mass murder further down the subordination. In these two cases, the reader will pay more attention to the information expressed in the main clause than to the accusation against Gaddafi as it is further subordinated, making it less susceptible to debate or question by the reader (Jeffries, 2010, p. 86).

In a similar way, Gaddafi's cruel acts and his violation of societal rules are also prioritised by the subordination structure. In 13 sentences, the lower level of subordination structures is used to prioritise Gaddafi's brutal acts and his violation. Because space is limited, however, I present only three sentences for detailed analysis here. (Others are reproduced in Appendix B, Table B.2)

(6.3)   The Nato spokeswoman Oana Lungescu said that there were no indications **that Colonel Gaddafi would stop attacking the opposition.**

The Times, 8 June 2011

(6.4)   **Col Gaddafi** has resorted to rocket bombardments and placing snipers on the rooftops along the main thoroughfare **to try to bring the town to heel.**

The Daily Telegraph, 12 April 2011

(6.5)   Washington was determined not to be caught on the wrong side of history**, watching as a dictator unleashed violence against his people.**

The Independent, 22 March 2011

The priority in example 6.3 is given to the NATO spokeswoman's verbalisation processes *Oana Lungescu said*, and what she said was downgraded to a subordinate clause which

contains a relative that-clause at the lower level, which in turn backgrounds Gaddafi's acts against his opposition. In example 6.4 the writer prioritises the material action intention processes *resorted* and *rocket* in which Gaddafi is the actor and places the reason for using these violent acts at the lower syntactic level. The example 6.5 prioritises an attribute of Washington in the main clause and places the brutality and inhumanity of the Libyan leader further down the subordination. As stated above, the further subordination of such information makes it less susceptible to question.

The brutality and inhumanity of the Libyan leader is further enhanced by packaging up the adjective *brutal* inside the noun phrase *Gaddafi's brutal*, as evident in the lines below:

Concordance 6.6 Co-occurrence of *Gaddafi* with the word *brutal*

1.	themselves by revolting against Muammar	Gaddafi	's *brutal* 42-year rule, euphoria at the
2.	time for freedom," said the analyst. But	Gaddafi	's *brutal* response to the rebellion has
3.	period was shortlived. The Arab Spring and	Gaddafi	's *brutal* response to it blew away any illusion
4.	Libyans and diplomats by siding fully with	Gaddafi	's *brutal* crackdown against the uprising

Instead of using a propositional version of these phrases, the brutality of Gaddafi's rule and response are packaged up inside NPs and passed as assumed information that cannot be questioned by readers (Jeffries, 2010, pp. 21-22). This representation could be interpreted as true, given Gaddafi's historical background. Considering the whole picture, the analysis reveals that there was uneven treatment of the two sides of the conflict. Much of coverage was devoted to representing Gaddafi as a brutal man in order to create Gaddafi's worst negative image and portray that to overthrow him is the right choice. In contrast, the opposition was portrayed positively and no space was given to report their violation of human rights against the Gaddafi loyalists who were not involved in the fighting, as we will see later in the linguistic analysis of the opposition.

Gaddafi's violent response to the demonstration is also constructed in the corpus through discourse representation of his verbiage. In the whole corpus, Gaddafi is represented as being the Sayer in verbal processes in 45 cases: 34 of them are in indirect speech (IS) and just 12 cases are in a direct mode (DS). In these utterances, Gaddafi has been constructed as a violent

person using military forces in his response against the demonstrators. Examples of direct speech are given in the following sentences:

(6.6) "We will not surrender," **Col Gaddafi said.** "We are not women and we are going to keep on fighting. If they want a long battle, let it be long. If Libya burns, who can govern it? So let it burn."

The Daily Telegraph, 02 September 2011

(6.7) In a television address, **Col Gaddafi said** "we are determined to crush the enemy".

The Daily Telegraph, 16 March 201

The sentences above construct Gaddafi as a person who does not want to step down peacefully, but rather he wants to fight to stay in power. The ideological stance of the journalist is implied in positioning Gaddafi as being the exclusive owner of the words as Seals (2012) pointed out that 'choice of what to directly quote allows the author to position the quoted speaker in a particular ideological stance' (p. 236). Furthermore, quoting Gaddafi directly helps to represent the information being quoted as credible fact, thus highlighting in the reader's mind that Gaddafi indeed calls for guerrilla war; he wants to burn Libya as well because he considers the Libyan protesters to be an enemy force.

In reporting Gaddafi indirectly, the writers insert some of his original utterances using scare quotes for certain ideological purposes. The following sentences demonstrate the power of this:

(6.8) It was hardly surprising that the opposition rejected the government offer: renewed talk of dialogue rang hollow hours after Gaddafi **vowed** to capture the city and to show *"no mercy, no pity"* to those who had taken up arms against the state.

The Guardian, 19 March 2011

(6.9) Colonel Gaddafi addressed more than one from the castle walls, **vowing** to drive out the *"rats".*

The Times, 01 September 2011

In examples 6.8 and 6.9, what Gaddafi said is represented as a strong commitment by using the reported verbs *vowed* and *vowing*, thus putting more emphasis on the verbal message communicated. Here, the choice of those verbs by the writer serves to evaluate the content of

Gaddafi's verbiage, reflecting the writer's subjective opinion of what Gaddafi has said. These reporting verbs are used in a negative context, relating Gaddafi to violent behaviour and negative intentions. This representation is further emphasised through the DS, which is embedded in the IS to indicate that they are Gaddafi's actual words. For instance, the inclusion of the phrase *no mercy*, *no pity* in 6.8 as direct speech conveys Gaddafi's aggressive tone towards his nation, illustrating that his goal goes beyond just a takeover of the city - he also warns protesters that he will punish them aggressively and violently. In 6.9, the inclusion of the word *rats* as an actual utterance by Gaddafi serves to emphasise that Gaddafi treats his people like animals. Therefore, the inclusion of theses scare quotes here could be seen as a way of creating a credible aggressive image of Gaddafi.

Negative opinion about Gaddafi is also constructed through quoting international political figures directly. An example of such is given below:

(6.10) "In brutally repressing a popular uprising by his own people, it is clear [**Gaddafi**] is isolated and ignoring the will of the international community. The Arab League call for a NFZ [no-fly zone] is significant and provides important regional support to the option," he [William Hague] said.

The Guardian, 14 March 2011

The speaker whose words are quoted above is a British Conservative politician, William Hague. In his utterance, he prioritises the brutality and inhumanity of the Libyan leader *in brutally repressing a popular uprising by his own people*, which is pre-modified by a negative adverb *brutally*. Fronting the adverbial phrase in this way allows the information included in it to be passed as assumed knowledge that is unlikely to be questioned. In addition, the remaining structure of the utterance also prioritises Gaddafi's ignorance and breaking of societal rules by use of a cleft sentence structure: *it is clear*, thus making it the focal point of the statement expressed. The same ideological evaluation is also evident in reporting on Luis Gabriel Moreno Ocampo, the Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court (ICC):

(6.11) He said the ICC had evidence that Mr **Gaddafi** was "critically important in organising the killing of civilians" as he and his father tried to quell the Libyan revolution.

The Guardian, 29 August 2011

In the above example, the writer combines DS and IS in reporting on the ICC Prosecutor. By using this combination the writer is able to construct the utterance more manipulatively, using ideological priorities that are reflected in the structure of the sentence. The claim of having evidence proving that Gaddafi killed civilians is placed at a higher level of subordination, while the reason for this act *tried to quell the Libyan revolution* is embedded at a lower level of subordination, thus it cannot easily be questioned. The writer included the original verbiage of the speaker here in order to make readers perceive the killing of civilians by Gaddafi as a fact. The truth of the action is also established within this original verbiage of Moreno Ocampo by packaging up the action of killing *the killing of civilians* inside the nominal components, thus allowing this information to be introduced as a non-negotiable assumption.

6.2.1.2 Gaddafi's Power and Control

In the corpus, the word *Gaddafi* occurred in patterns that reveal the ideological evaluation of Gaddafi's projected avaricious desire for power and his obstinate insistence. This ideological evaluation is sustained by the nominalisation of evaluative propositions such as *grip* (3 times), *seize(ing)* (2 times), *siege* (twice), *repression* (once), *oppression* (twice), and *control* (4 times) that are packaged up inside the headword of the noun phrase, thus allowing the information to be introduced as non-negotiable assumptions, as evident in the lines 6.7 below:

Concordance 6.7 Gaddafi's power and control

1.	n the capital remains just that - talk.	Gaddafi	is strengthening **his grip** on Tripoli, partly by terrorising its citizens.
2.	to stay in power for so long.	Gaddafi	is very clever. He could keep Libya under **his grip** with a
3.	In the west, by contrast, Col	Gaddafi	is reasserting **his grip**, apparently taking the town
4.	but 41 years after **seizing** power, a defiant Muammar	Gaddafi	still rules through secretive decision-making
5.	Square when colonial rule ended in 1951. Colonel	Gaddafi	renamed it Green Square after **seizing** power in 1969, and
6.	to having broken **the siege** of the bitterly contested	Gaddafi	heartland and seek a prominent role in the new Libya's a
7.	to have 1,200 prisoners shot in Abu Salim prison.	Gaddafi	responded with **brutal repression** -- and his regime became the targe
8.	the toughest and longest engagements of the war.	Gaddafi	's **siege** of Misrata was brutal and lasted for many months.
9.	the radicalisation had less to do with religion than	Gaddafi	's **oppression** and deliberate neglect of the town. "There were
10.	training for those who have risen up against Colonel	Gaddafi	's **oppression** on how to defend themselves against attacks by his
11.	encourage fresh popular uprisings in cities still under	Gaddafi	's **control**. But it may find it hard to persuade Libyans
12.	-west province next to Algeria, is said to be firmly under	Gaddafi	's **control**. Darrat said the security situation in Tripoli was now
13.	down with him." There are other cities still under Col	Gaddafi	's **control**, notably Al Khums just east of Tripoli, the southern
14.	public protest in the hope that Libyans in cities still under	Gaddafi	's **control** will seize the opportunity to rise up. The British

In the above concordance lines, Gaddafi is constructed as the underlying subject of the nominalised verbs by using the possessive pronoun *his*, as in lines 1, 2 and 3, and the genitive

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marker ('s), as in line 8 to 14, by which means these actions are ascribed to Gaddafi. Yet again, these possessive structures presuppose the existence of those acts. In addition, the writer used the definite article, which triggers existential presupposition, in reference to the siege that was exercised by Gaddafi: line 6: *the siege of the bitterly contested Gaddafi.* Also of particular interest is the negative evaluation that is encoded through the connotative meaning of those nominal choices *grip*, *seize(ing)*, *oppression* and *repression*, reflecting a British negative attitude towards Gaddafi and his response to the protesters.

In a similar way, the writer packaged up the ideological content inside the nominal component of the sentence in representing the cruel way Gaddafi ruled his country:

Concordance 6.8 Gaddafi ruled with an iron-fist

15.	rebel bases that less than a fortnight ago were pillars of	Gaddafi	's **iron-fisted rule**. Amid the charred ruins that serve as
16.	consequence. Jihadism, long kept in check under Colonel	Gaddafi	's **iron rule**, is now emerging as a problem in the
17.	will be small. After decades of **ruling with an iron fist**,	Gaddafi	spent his last days on Earth running for his life,

The use of the phrase *iron-fisted* tends to cement an authoritarian and oppressive image of Gaddafi. Furthermore, Gaddafi's power is expressed in the corpus through representing the military equipment he has. This representation occurs 37 times in the corpus; however, due to space limitations, only a few lines are reproduced here to illustrate this point. (All instances can be found in Appendix B, Concordance B.2.)

Concordance 6.9 Gaddafi's military means

1.	been demonstrated by the rebel capture of	Gaddafi	's **abandoned tanks**. It might take only one concerted
2.	as creating a more level battle field by removing	Gaddafi	's **advantage of heavy armour**. "There must be more
3.	's army is a spent force because of the air strikes. "	Gaddafi	's **advantage was tanks and rockets**. That was what was
4.	zone, the US and its allies would first have to destroy	Gaddafi	's **air force and air defences** - in effect, declare war.
5.	revolutionary leadership made the appeal as	Gaddafi	's **airforce** *bombed* Ajdarbia, a town of 135,000 people
6.	action began had destroyed much of Muammar	Gaddafi	's **armour and artillery**, Admiral Harding said
7.	a no-fly zone over Libya and began air strikes against	Gaddafi	's **armour, artillery and his military command and control facilities**
8.	disciplined rebels firing wildly into the air or Col	Gaddafi	's **artillery and bombers**. "We did not ask for this," said
9.	vehicles, which sporadically peeled back as Colonel	Gaddafi's	's **artillery** checked progress. In the village of al-Wassad,
10.	wedge. By yesterday morning -- just before	Gaddafi	's **jets** *bombed* Benghazi airport -- they were pointing out
11.	rebels' greatest fear - the remaining loyalist pilots of	Gaddafi	's **powerful air force**. Even as they spoke, all along the
12.	has been reshaped by the western air strikes against	Gaddafi	's **tanks and guns**. But as the rebels move closer to
13.	COL Muammar	Gaddafi	's **tanks and missile launchers** *pummelled* the centre of town of Zawiyah
14.	"Nato has done a very good job, they neutralised	Gaddafi	's **war machine**... but I think their role will be over
15.	night, the battle for Benghazi had begun. Col	Gaddafi	's **warplanes** *carried out several strikes* on the city as

As can be observed from the concordance lines above, the word *Gaddafi* occurs in grammatical patterns that reveal Gaddafi's powerful armed forces as well as the nature of his attacks. This information is packaged up inside the nominal component in order to minimise the possibility of raising any potential challenge about the truth of Gaddafi having this equipment. Here, the use of the genitive case does not necessarily highlight that Gaddafi is the sole actor who owns this power. This representation is a kind of metonymy by which Gaddafi is seen as the leader of a government who is standing in for the country. The more interesting point is the use of this power in his response to the uprising. This is clearly evident in lines 5, 10, 13 and 15 where the military methods function as the subject in the Material Action Events (MAE) process *bombed*, *pummelled*, *carried out several strikes* which were used to attack the Libyan cities and places (goal) *Ajdarbia*, *Benghazi airport*, *the centre town of Zawiyah,* and *the city.* Using such representation helps to establish Gaddafi's responsibility for undertaking violent acts against his own people.

6.2.1.3 Gaddafi's Demise

In searching for how the Libyan leader has been constructed in the British corpus, I found that among the repeated patterns are patterns that convey his demise. After taking a closer look at these patterns, I found that Gaddafi's death was represented ideologically by being backgrounded/concealed through certain linguistic devices, such as an intransitive material process, passivisation and nominalisation, the last being the most frequent. Although Gaddafi was killed and didn't simply die, the British press talked more frequently about his death rather than his killing; in the corpus, the writers chose to use the intransitive verb *die* over the transitive verb *kill.* There are 36 uses of the nominalised form *death* and just 5 instances of the intransitive material process *die* (giving a total of 41). To illustrate this point, below are some concordance lines 6.10 that provide textual evidence of the two cases. (All the concordance lines can be found in Appendix B, Concordance B.3)

Concordance 6.10 Gaddafi's death

1.	former justice minister under Col	**Gaddafi**	- at the time of **his death** on Thursday
2.	are brothers." Then, once more: "**Death to**	**Gaddafi**	" A rebel fighter shinned up an elegant art
3.	out In the end **the death of Muammar**	**Gaddafi**	, the Libyan dictator who had seemed to
4.	**The death of Muammar**	**Gaddafi**	avoids a potentially fraught legal process
5.	father Abdeladim, who in the Eighties was pursued by	**Gaddafi**	**death** squads on the streets on London,
6.	. In Brussels, Nato hinted that the **death of**	**Gaddafi**	could signal the beginning of a
7.	of reconciliation can begin," Hartwell said.	**Gaddafi**	**'s death** also ends months of speculation as
8.	coastal city of Sirte, where, last Thursday,	**Gaddafi**	**'s sensational death** triggered an explosion
9.	directly responsible for **the death of the former**	**dictator**	But the decision to carry out the
10.	were in formation again, this time to celebrate the	**dictator**	**'s death** and rejoice in a future free from his
11.	getting to the truth of what happened when	**Gaddafi**	**died**. It has also stated that the public
12.	autopsy carried out secretly on Saturday showed	**Gaddafi**	**died** after being shot in the head and
13.	suggested that he was beaten and abused.	**Gaddafi**	**died** from a gunshot wound to the head,
14.	I thought it might have to be something like: "	**Gaddafi**	**has died** of old age"; a terrible sentence, not

In the first ten lines, Gaddafi's death is realised linguistically through the nominalised form *death*. In lines 11 to 14, Gaddafi's death is represented using an intransitive material process *die*, in which Gaddafi is constructed as patient. This intransitive material process discursively represents the action as something that just happens. Both syntactic choices help the writer to focus the reader's attention on his death without talking about the circumstances or the agent/s of the action.

In reporting his killing, the writer conceals the responsibility of the doer of the action by using passivisation and nominalisation in relation to the verb *kill*, as illustrated in the lines below:

Concordance 6.11 Gaddafi's Killing

1.	n and death," a spokesman said. He called **Colonel**	**Gaddafi's**	**Killing** a "great victory" but added that all
2.	been breached with **the killing of Colonel**	**Gaddafi**	. "We have to lean on facts and
3.	the capture and **killing of Colonel Muammar**	**Gaddafi's**	yesterday, opinions elsewhere were
4.	last week's **killing of Muammar**	**Gaddafi**	, as officials in the coastal city of Misrata
5.	he NTC must be enormously relieved that	**Gaddafi**	**had been killed**. Viewed from a "realpolit
6.	weapons and return to civilian life once	**Gaddafi**	**had been killed**. A minority politely insi
7.	s organisations. On Thursday, Jibril claimed that	**Gaddafi**	**had been killed** from a bullet to

As stated before, the verb *kill* is a transitive verb and using it in an active material process will involve both the actor who performs the action of killing and the affected participants. In the

first four lines above, Gaddafi's killing is realised through the nominalised form of the transitive verb *kill*. One of the ideological functions of nominalisation is to obscure the actor in the process, thus obfuscating his responsibility (Fairclough, 2003; Fowler, 1991; Jeffries, 2010; Richardson, 2007). When the writer uses a propositional version, s/he chooses to use the passive construction whereby Gaddafi is passivised as patient, as evidenced in lines 5, 6 and 7 above. In these lines, the actor in the original material process is left unspecified (Fowler, 1991, p. 78), which is to say that the responsibility for the killing was disavowed through the use of passivised agent deletion. The deletion by the British press of the doer of such an unpleasant action encodes their ideological bias in favour of the opposition side (Simpson, 1993, p. 114). Such a point is also supported by Van Dijk as he argues that 'the news bias can even be expressed in the syntactic structures of sentences, such as the use of active or passive constructions, which allow the journalist to express or suppress the agent of the news acts from subject position' (Van Dijk, 1985, p. 73). Here, the writer tries to avoid blaming the rebels for killing Gaddafi in an unlawful way.

6.2.2 Gaddafi's Regime: KW: regime

The word *regime* is one of the words that is highlighted from the British corpus as a keyword, with a total occurrence of 648. Similar to the keywords *Gaddafi* and *dictator*, this word is not just referring to Gaddafi's regime itself; in some cases it occurs as a modifier of other keywords, such as *forces*, *loyalists* and *troops*, which are also subjected to qualitative analysis (Table B.3. in Appendix B). Consequently, the concordance lines of this word were manually inspected to clean up lines that do not refer to the regime itself, leaving a total of 534. A close inspection of these lines revealed that the main theme that emerged focused on representing the Gaddafi regime as a violator, which I will discuss in the subsequent section.

6.2.2.1 Regime as a Violator

Similar to Gaddafi's representation above, the Libyan regime was depicted as a violator of human rights and brutally carrying out violent actions during the revolution. The analysis reveals that the journalists utilised certain syntactic structures in representing these actions, such as the use of active construction and nominalisation. In just 7 cases the regime is

constructed as the doer in active sentences, thus its responsibility for the actions is clearly indicated:

Concordance 6.12 Gaddafi regime as an actor of violent actions

1.	The Gaddafi	regime	**carried out** *an extraordinary clandestine lobbying operation* to try to
2.	source said. The Gaddafi	regime	continued **to use** *its air force* against <u>the opposition</u>
3.	had the upper hand in Benghazi, the	regime	**mounted** *a new assault* <u>on Misrata</u>, 150km
4.	after it emerged that his beleaguered	regime	**had fired** *a Scud missile* <u>at rebel territory</u> as opposition
5.	THE Libyan	regime	*escalated its ferocious military campaign* throughout <u>the country</u>
6.	had the upper hand in Benghazi, the	regime	**mounted** *a new assault* <u>on Misrata</u>, 150km east of
7.	assault on the town of Ajdabiya, as the	regime	moved **to crush** <u>the revolution</u> once and for all before f

As stated before, the scope (italicised words) in the above clauses works with the verb (highlighted words) to express the violent experimental meaning of the processes in the first 6 lines (Thompson, 2004, p. 107). For Halliday (2004, p. 193), such discursive strategy gives the writer free space for evaluation, as clearly evident in the phrases *an extraordinary clandestine lobbying operation* (line 1) and *its ferocious military campaign* (line 5). It also allows the writer to minimise any potential questions about these actions as they are constructed as given facts. Moreover, avoiding a potential argument is strengthened further through existential presupposition and logical presupposition. The actions are presupposed by using structures that include the possessive pronoun *its* in *its air force* (lines 2) and in *its ferocious military campaign* (line 5), the iterative verbs *continued* (line 2), *escalated* (line 5), the state verb *moved* (line7) and the adjective *new* (line 3). Those acts were targeting non-human goals *the opposition*, *Misrata*, *the country* and *the revolution.*

Furthermore, raising a potential objection about the existence of the actions committed by the Libyan regime is also avoided through the nominalised material processes of violent actions. An example of this representation runs through lines 8 to 13 below:

Concordance 6.13 Violent acts of Gaddafi regime in nominalised form

8.	Gaddafi's fortress and the symbol of the	regime	's **bloody resistance** in <u>Tripoli</u>. The fighters
9.	that was withdrawn after the start of the	regime	's **bloody crackdown** against <u>demonstrations</u>
10.	with a machine-gun mounted on the back. The	regime	's **assault** on <u>Brega</u> came after it seized
11.	Libya's beleaguered revolution, driving the	regime	's **assault** on <u>the rebel stronghold</u> westward
12.	him not to be implicated in some of the	regime	's **crimes** .
13.	examine Libya was intended to deter the	regime	from ordering *more* **attacks** on <u>civilians</u>

In lines 8 to 12, the Libyan regime is constructed as the underlying subject of the nominalised verbs. The possessive relation is expressed internally in the nominal constituent by the genitive marker ('s), thus the actions are ascribed directly to the Libyan regime. As stated before, the possessive structure presupposes the existence of those acts as they are presented as background assumptions (Jeffries, 2010, p. 95). In the last line, the attacks on civilians are borne out by the lexical trigger of the presupposition: *more*, which logically presupposes that the attacks have been conducted before against civilians. This representation could help to create the worst possible image of Gaddafi's side, given that the British newspapers gave much space to report the violation carried out by this side. By contrast, the British newspapers avoid reporting any violation of the other side, but rather they constructed a relatively good image on this side, as we shall see later. In lines 8 and 9, the resistance and the crackdown actions are being described using the adjective *bloody*, which is packaged up inside the NP and passed as assumed information that cannot be questioned by the reader. The affected goals are packaged up inside the nominalised phrases *Tripoli*, *demonstrations*, *Brega*, *the rebel stronghold* and *civilians.*

The violence carried out by the Libyan regime is also established through the discourse representation of other people's verbiage in which they construct the regime negatively. The text producers recontextualise the voices of Arab and Western officials as an attempt to establish credibility and truthfulness. In their verbiage, they construct the Libyan regime as a violator of international norms. The following examples illustrate this point:

(6.12) Following RAF rescue missions over the weekend, **Cameron** raised the possibility of further British military involvement in Libya. "We do not in any way rule out the use of military assets, we must not tolerate **this regime** <u>using military force against its own people</u>," he said.

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The Guardian, 01 March 2011

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(6.13) "The Libyan **regime** <u>committed crimes against humanity and killed civilians</u>," **said Mahmoud Othman, a Kurdish MP.** "<u>He used military means to attack protesters</u> and that led to reactions for the Arab League and the UN, which are legitimate. But I am not convinced that an international attack will solve the problem."

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The Guardian, 17 March 2011

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In example 6.12 it is David Cameron whose words are quoted directly. He constructed the Libyan regime negatively, as a violator of international principles, as it uses military force against its own people. In Cameron's verbiage, the use of military force by the Libyan regime is presupposed and presented as background knowledge as the sentence containing this piece of information is presented as a subordinate clause *using military force against its own people.* The same ideological evaluation is also evident in reporting a Kurdish MP, Mahmoud Othman, in example 6.13. In his utterance, he constructed the Libyan regime as the main actor who committed crimes against humanity, killed civilians and used military means to attack protesters. In both examples it is obvious that the news writers use discourse representation to serve their ideological purpose. The use of DS can manipulate the reader as the speakers are regarded as reliable sources of information, thus influencing the reader's perception of the real suffering of the Libyan people during the revolution and their taking for granted that the Libyan regime violated the international norms. It seems that the British journalists attempted to create the worst possible image of this side by placing too much focus on constructing the Gaddafi regime as criminal and brutal. By contrast, no attempt seemed to be made to report any violation of the other side, as we shall see later.

In another case, a news writer for *The Daily Telegraph* newspaper reported indirectly (IS) the voice of Lt. Gen. Charles Bouchard, the commander of NATO's operations in Libya:

(6.14) While Libyan officials were attempting to capitalise on the deaths of civilians, Lt Gen Charles Bouchard, the commander of NATO operations in Libya, said the mission had dealt an important blow against **regime** efforts to suppress civilians.

Daily Telegraph, 21 June 2011

Within this example, Lt. Gen. Charles Bouchard's verbiage is communicated only by the voice of the writer using IS, thus only his opinion is represented. Here, the journalist's viewpoint is expressed through syntactic choice. He represents the action of the suppression of civilians, committed by the Libyan regime, as background knowledge as the clause *efforts to suppress civilians* is embedded as a post-modified relative clause of the word *regime*, thus it cannot be denied by the reader. Within this clause, the action of suppression is represented in the active voice in order to construct the Libyan regime as the responsible actor. This representation could be taken as factual given the historical background of Gaddafi and his regime. However, it seems that too much space was given by the journalists to report the violations of Gaddafi and his regime while the same representation was overlooked by the opposition, as we shall see later on.

6.2.3 Gaddafi's Armed Forces and Supporters: KWs: *forces*, *army*, *troops*, *loyalists* and *soldiers*

From the keyword list, the keywords that refer to Gaddafi's armed forces and supporters who stood with him during the Libyan uprising include five keywords: *forces*, *army*, *troops*, *loyalists* and *soldiers.* As these words refer to the same group of participants and they are used by the journalist interchangeably, I grouped them together under the shared discursive themes that emerged from their concordance lines. This step was taken in order to avoid unnecessary repetition. During the discussion, the noun *Gaddafi's forces* is used as a nominal referent to all of these words in the following analysis part. Carrying out the corpus-based analysis of these words, I found that these words occur in patterns indicating that they belong to the Gaddafi side. For instance, the most frequent L1 collocates of these words are *Gaddafi's*, *Gaddafi* and *regime.* This representation has already been discussed in the previous chapter under the nominal reference used to name both sides of the conflict (section 5.4.2.) and therefore will not be discussed any further here. Considering the content of the concordance lines of these words, the prominent discursive theme that emerged focuses on

aggression and violation of international law, which I will address below.

6.2.3.1 Aggression and Violation of International Law

Similar to Gaddafi's representation, Gaddafi's forces are constructed as aggressors and as human rights violators. This ideological representation is signalled in the corpus through transitivity pattern choices. Gaddafi's forces are assigned the actor role performing military actions against not only the armed rebels but even against civilians. However, the material processes in some cases do not tend to have human goals but rather they act upon Libyan cities. As mentioned before, since the amount of data is substantial, it is impossible to illustrate all the concordance lines here. Therefore, only a few representative lines will be given to support the argument and highlight the discursive theme. (All lines are reproduced in Concordance B.4, Appendix B.)

Concordance 6.14 Gaddafi's forces as actors of violent actions

1.	Yesterday,	Gaddafi's forces	**bombed** <u>the rebel frontline</u> in the east, at Ras Lanuf
2.	AS COLONEL	Gaddafi's forces	**carried out bloody assaults** <u>on rebel-held towns</u> yesterday,
3.	In Ras Lanuf, Colonel	Gaddafi's forces	**have stood** their ground, *using tanks, artillery and missiles* to **halt** <u>the rebel</u>
4.	until a few days ago, that Muammar	Gaddafi's forces	were **launching a fresh assault** <u>on the edge of Ras Lanuf</u>. They were
5.	station Al Arabiya also reported that	Gaddafi forces	were **shelling** <u>the oil town of Zuara</u> near
6.	But the jubilation subsided somewhat as	Gaddafi forces	**carried out a series of ambushes** before **launching** *an assault* yesterday
7.	s of Zawiya and Misrata. And in the east,	Gaddafi forces	**launched one of the fiercest, sustained bombardments of the campaign**
8.	by the former rebels. Tawargha, where	Gaddafi's soldiers	**staged a bloody assault** <u>on Misrata</u>, has been ransacked and its inhabitants
9.	line, 30 miles west of the city.	Gaddafi loyalists	**resisted** *with artillery, mortars and long-range Grad rockets*, but frontline
10.	In Ajdabiya, a city under siege where	loyalists	**are launching indiscriminate strikes**, Kim Sengupta witnesses a dirty war
11.	about 500 miles from Tripoli, where	loyalists	**launched Scud missiles** <u>at the rebel stronghold of Misurata</u>. Nato aircraft
12.	Gaddafi's birthplace, where loyalist	troops	**fired Scud missiles** <u>at Misrata</u>. It was unclear whether the fighting was a
13.	fighters claimed some pro-	Gaddafi troops	**fought**, others hid. Two were killed. Two boatloads of officers tried to
14.	pounding the sites from where	Gaddafi's troops	had been *imprudently* **launching Grad missiles**. "We will win this war,"

In the concordance lines above, it is obvious that Gaddafi's forces are discursively constructed as the central participants in MAI structure[38] who enact the processes of *bombing*, *carrying out bloody assaults/a series of ambushes*, *halting the rebel*, *launching a fresh assault/indiscriminate strikes/ Scud missiles/Grad missiles*, *shelling*, *staging a bloody assault*, *resisting with artillery*, *mortars and long-range Grad rockets*, *firing Scud missiles* and

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[38] In **bold**: violent material process, <u>underlined</u>: affected participants/goal, *italic*: circumstances

frighting. In lines 1 and 3, the military actions are acting upon the rebels as a goal (human goal). However, the affected goals also include Libyan cities. For instance, Misrata city is the affected goal which is described as the rebels' town - *on rebel-held towns* (line 2) and *at the rebel stronghold of Misurata*[39] (line 12), thus implying that the rebels are the goal in this case. In lines 8 and 12, it is the same city that the military action was committed against. However, just the name of the city has been given, which might indicate that even the civilians are affected in this case. In addition, the Libyan cities around which are oil fields are also the goal of Gaddafi's forces' action, as in line 4: *on the edge of Ras Lanuf*, and line 5: *the oil town of Zuara*. Beside the transitivity structure, the clauses in lines 8 and 14 are post-modifying relative clauses of the preceding noun phrases. As a result, the process of *staging a bloody assault on Misrata* (line 8) and *launching Grad missiles* (line 14) are passed as given knowledge rather than questionable propositions. In line 4, the clause *Muammar Gaddafi's forces were launching a fresh assault on the edge of Ras Lanuf* is not open to debate because it is placed at a lower level of subordination, as illustrated in the extended context below:

(6.15) It was too late. Word had swept through the ardent, inexperienced rebel fighters, many of whom had not handled a weapon until a few days ago, **that Muammar Gaddafi's forces were launching a fresh assault on the edge of Ras Lanuf.**

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The Guardian, 09 March 2011

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As I have pointed out above, the brutality and cruelty of the actions is not always encoded in the literal meaning of the verb choice itself but rather it is indicated by the scope. This case is evident in lines 2 and 8, where the verbs *carried out* and *staged* work with the scope *assaults* to express the experiential violent meaning. Using the word *assault* in a nominal form gives the writer a free space to evaluate the action negatively using the adjective *bloody*. The same ideological representation runs through line 7 where the violent meaning is expressed in the scope element *campaign* which is described as *one of the fiercest, sustained bombardments of the campaign.* Here, the military activity of launching a campaign is portrayed as the most frightening and physically violent act, which is unstoppable. Further, the use of the word

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[39] The same city but it is spelled differently by some newspaper producers.

bombardments implies that this action was performed using a different kind of military equipment such as bombs, shells or other missiles. In line 10, the brutality of the action is enhanced in describing the strikes as *indiscriminate strikes*, leaving the impression that those forces do not recognise against whom these actions are acting upon.

In other cases, it is the circumstances attending the process that encode the aggressiveness and cruelty of these actions and reflect the writer's evaluation. Such ideological representation is evident in line 14, where the launching of Grad missiles is described as a reckless action that is performed by Gaddafi's troops. Here, the adverb choice *imprudently* (circumstance) that is used to modify the verb *launching* in *Gaddafi's troops had been imprudently launching Grad missiles* illustrates that the doer of the action, Gaddafi troops, does not care about the consequences of the action. In a similar way, the violent nature of the processes *stood their ground* (line 3) and *resisted* (line 9) is encoded in the circumstance element (manner: means) in the clause *using tanks, artillery and missiles* and *with artillery, mortars and long-range Grad rockets*, which specify how the actions are performed. Also of particular interest is that the writer uses three-part lists to enumerate the qualities of the military means and invites the reader to conclude that the list covers all military means (Jeffries, 2010, p. 70), leaving an impression of the strength of Gaddafi's forces in comparison to the rebel forces.

The representation discussed above reveals that Gaddafi's forces are represented as aggressors and are evaluated negatively in relation to the processes that they performed. Even more negatively, Gaddafi's forces are portrayed as violators of universal principles as they committed actions that are tantamount to crimes against humanity. Such representation runs through lines 15 to 26 where Gaddafi's forces are assigned the role of actors who are performing criminal and brutal acts against innocent people:

Concordance 6.15 Civilians as the goal of Gaddafi's forces' acts

15.	. In their attempt to end the uprising,	Gaddafi's forces	have **killed** at least <u>1,000 people</u>. Around 90% are civilians who have died
16.	about the consequences of losing, as	Gaddafi's forces	**use tanks and artillery** to **crush** <u>the revolutionaries' takeover of the city</u>
17.	ashes with a stick in a container where	regime forces	**had burnt** <u>prisoners</u> *alive* and coming across charred and broken bones; a litt
18.	country. He switched sides after seeing	regime forces	**kill** <u>protesters</u> when he was sent to Benghazi to try to end the unrest.
19.	changed on 21 February, when Gaddafi	loyalists	**began cutting down** <u>demonstrators</u> *in Tripoli with anti-aircraft weapons.* "
20.	the chaotic final hours of the war, Gaddafi	loyalists	**had conducted bloody reprisals** <u>against the local civilian population</u>. There
21.	the shooting started. Witness accounts of	loyalists	**opening fire** <u>on prisoners</u> are likely to be presented to the International
22.	been cleansed" but residents said regime	loyalists	**had fired** <u>on unarmed people</u> and were using civilians as human shields
23.	and an uprising began inside it. Gaddaf	loyalists	**shot** <u>17 detainees held in an internal security building in the Gargur area</u>. The
24.	On Friday, February 18, loyalist	troops	and secret police **opened fire** <u>on the funeral procession for the 17</u> as it
25.	It was there in 1996 that Colonel Gaddafi's	troops	**massacred** <u>1,200 prisoners who had protested over living conditions</u>. The
26.	faced the families who suffered because his	troops	**raped** <u>their women</u> or **killed** <u>their men</u>, or made to explain how he used money

The above representation clearly illustrates that Gaddafi's forces enact the process of *killing people/ protesters*, *crushing revolutionaries*, *burning prisoners*, *cutting down revolutionaries*, *firing on prisoners/ unarmed people, massacring prisoners* and *raping women*. All the affected participants of the process are innocent people. The characterisation of the victims highlights the criminal nature of Gaddafi's forces' acts of violence and helps to induce the sympathy of the reader toward the Libyan people in such plight.

In addition to the negative meaning that is encoded in the process itself, the above lines contain discursive strategies and lexical choices that enhance the criminal behaviour of Gaddafi's forces' actions. In lines 15 and 25, the victims are quantified by high numbers (*killed at least 1,000 people*, *massacred 1,200 prisoners*). Such a discursive strategy serves to enhance the appalling savagery of these actions. Van Dijk (1988a) views enumeration in news discourse as 'predominantly meant as signals of precision and hence of truthfulness' (p. 87). Also of particular interest in these representations are the victims who are affected by these brutal acts. In all these cases, the affected participants are Libyan civilians rather than the armed rebels. In a similar way to the previous ideological representation, it is the circumstance element *alive* in the material process that enhances the criminality of the action *burning* in line 17. The use of the adverb *alive* illustrates that the prisoners who were burned inside the container were not dead people but that they were burned alive.

The ideological representation of Gaddafi's forces as criminals performing violent actions against human goals is also sustained by the passive transformation structure by which the human goals are placed in a focal prominent position, as illustrated in the lines below (underlined words):

Concordance 6.16 People passivised as patient in MAI acted out by Gaddafi's forces

1.	questioning on the progress of the campaign, and suggested <u>he</u> **had been killed**	by "pro-Gaddafi" forces
2.	thousands of Libyan families. He is still waiting to hear from <u>relatives</u> who **were seized**	by Colonel Gaddafi's forces
3.	spoke to <u>Haytham Abdullah, a Libyan freedom fighter</u> who **was captured**	by Gaddafi forces
4.	since the conflict began. <u>Many</u> **have been hit** by shrapnel from indiscriminate shelling	by Gaddafi's forces
5.	<u>Iman al-Obeidi, a Libyan woman</u> who claimed she **had been repeatedly raped**	by Gaddafi's forces
6.	ago. <u>109 The number of people</u> doctors believe **have been killed** in attacks	by Gaddafi's forces
7.	ago had been a <u>civilian</u> deeply fearful of Gaddafi and who had now **been killed**	by government forces
8.	In addition, <u>four journalists for The New York Times</u> who **were detained**	by government forces
9.	, like those marking the remains of <u>Khalid Abushahma</u>, the first protester **to be shot dead**	by Muammar Gaddafi's forces
10.	civilians who Sky reporters saw at the hospital. In Misrata, <u>rebels</u> **resisted a fierce attack**	by pro-Gaddafi forces
11.	snipers' alley for the regime, where <u>civilians, including quite a few children,</u> **have been shot**	by regime forces
12.	past seven weeks and where <u>revolutionaries</u> **have resolutely repulsed repeated attacks**	by regime forces
13.	, a Libyan in London who was waiting to hear from <u>two uncles</u> who **were arrested**	by regime forces
14.	"Until that point it was just <u>unarmed demonstrators</u> **being shot**	by security forces
15.	treating the injured. Some are presumed dead. <u>Others</u> **have been seen taken** *alive*	by the Gaddafi forces
16.	a dozen bullets and an ammunition case. <u>Three members of his family</u> **had been killed**	by Gaddafi's army
17.	with cuts and bruises, said that <u>250 revolutionary prisoners</u> **had been held**	by Gaddafi loyalists
18.	r-designate. Nato said yesterday that about <u>200,000 Libyan civilians</u> **were still threatened**	by Gaddafi loyalists
19.	of migrants early last month, <u>around 15</u> **have been killed** by shells fired	by Gaddafi's troops

In the lines above, the affected participants are not just fighters or rebels (lines 3 and 10) who fight against Gaddafi's forces, they are also innocent people who are not involved in the fighting: *he* (line 1), *relatives* (line 2), *Many* (line 4), *Libyan woman* (line 5), *109 The number of people* (line 6), *civilian* (line 7), *four journalists* (line 8), *Khalid Abushahma, the first protester* (line 9), *civilians, including quite a few children* (line 11), *revolutionaries* (line 12), *two uncles* (line 13), *unarmed demonstrators* (line 14), *Others* (line 15), *Three members of his family* (line 16), *250 revolutionary prisoners* (line 17), *200,000 Libyan civilians* (line 18) and *around 15* (line 19). These human goals are victims of *killing*, *seizing*, *capturing, hitting, rape, detaining, attacking, shooting, holding, arresting* and *threatening*. The use of the passive structure leads to foregrounding the victims of Gaddafi's forces' action, thus highlighting them in readers' minds. Those victims are quantified by high numbers: *109 the number of people* (line 6), *250 revolutionary prisoners* (line 17), *200,000 Libyan civilians* (line 18), so creating an air of tragedy which would elicit a negative reaction from the reader towards Gaddafi's forces.

The same image of Gaddafi's forces is also depicted in the corpus through nominalisation, by which means the violent acts are introduced in a form of noun instead of using a propositional clause. The most frequent nominalised material process used is the nominal choice *attacks*, with 12 occurrences, as evident in the concordance lines below (bold words):

Concordance 6.17 Gaddafi's forces' attack in nominalised form

1.	the midst of what appeared to be a concerted **counterattack** by	Gaddafi's forces	. Despite claims of a string of decisive victories by the
2.	where a doctor treating the wounded said **attacks** by Col	Gaddafi's forces	since March 18 had killed 109 people and wounded 1,300.
3.	, regime no longer posed **a threat attacks** by Colonel	Gaddafi's forces	had increased over the past 24 hours. The
4.	other team's attacks by any means," he said. **Those attacks** by	forces loyal to Colonel Gaddafi	, have included rape, indiscriminate shelling and sniper attacks
5.	including revenge killings, for their role in **attacks** by	Gaddafi forces	*on the city of Misrata.* While Gaddafi employed some fighters f
6.	two weeks ago Misurata Reports say **attacks** by	Gaddafi forces	since March 18 killed 109 people and wounded 1,300 others.
7.	for diesel just to run our power plants." **Rocket attacks** by	Gaddafi's troops	in March *damaged electrical engines and pumps* at the rebels'
8.	109 number of people doctors believe have been killed in **attacks** by	Gaddafi's forces	*on the city of Misurata* since March 18 HOW THE
9.	. **A wave of suicide attacks** by	loyalists	or retaliatory killings by rebels could ignite even
10.	Rebels reported **attacks** by pro-	Gaddafi loyalists	*in an area close to the hotel,* which for months had
11.	*revolutionaries* have resolutely repulsed **repeated attacks** by	regime forces	. The equipment has instead stayed in Benghazi and eastern
12.	the under-armed rebels fight off the **attacks** by	regime forces	in the first days of the fighting, and command of this

What is noticeable in the above lines is that the nominalised element *attacks* is linked to Gaddafi's forces. The attack is packaged up in the nominal components and followed by a by-phrase indicating clearly that Gaddafi's forces are the group responsible for those attacks. Further, the brutality of those acts has been highlighted by illustrating the consequences, the affected goals and the severity of the attack. For instance, in lines 2 and 6, the attacks resulted in the killing of 109 people and the wounding of 1,300 others in Misurata, thus serving both to underpin the suffering of Misurata's citizens during the revolution and point out the criminal behaviour of this group. In those two lines, the consequences of the attacks presented in the proposition clause *had killed 109 people and wounded 1,300 others* gives greater prominence to the attacks undertaken by Gaddafi's forces by placing it in the thematised position. However, in line 8, the civilian victims are prioritised to be the focus of the expressed clause by passive construction and highlighting that they were killed in attacks by Gaddafi's forces. In line 7, the impact of the attack leads to *damaged electrical engines and pumps* at the rebels' key oilfields at Misla and Sarir. In addition, the severity of attack in line 9 is described as *a wave of suicide attacks* that are undertaken by Gaddafi loyalists. In this example, the text producer was able to introduce evaluative elements by means of adjectives modifying the head noun *attacks*, making it less open to debate and likely to be taken for granted as it is represented as background information. What I find interesting in the extended line 5 is that blaming of Libya's Tawerga for their role in attacks against Misrata city is embedded further from the main clause, thus making it less easy to be questioned by the reader:

(6.16) Ban said that sub-Saharan Africans accounted for many of the detainees, while **members of Libya's Tawerga** community had faced reprisals, including revenge killings, <u>for their role in attacks by Gaddafi forces on the city of Misrata.</u>

The Guardian, 24 November 2011

A similar nominalisation of evaluative propositions occurs in the nominalised material processes of other military and violent actions that were undertaken by Gaddafi's forces, including *shelling* (3 times), *bombing* (twice), *rape* (once), *launching* (once), *assault(s)* (3 times), *using* (twice), *siege* (twice), *threat* (twice), and *killings* (twice), as evident in the lines below (bold words):

Concordance 6.18 Gaddafi's forces' actions in nominalised forms

1.	town after **fresh assault** by	army	units moving west. **Shelling** kills 21 people, including a child,
2.	' favour. They prevent Colonel	Gaddafi's forces	*using* the tanks and heavy armour that he
3.	pattern with Tripoli's	forces	first **bombing** then **shelling** *the town*.
4.	**Those attacks** by	forces loyal to Colonel Gaddafi	, have included **rape**, **indiscriminate shelling** and **sniper attacks** on Friday worshippers
5.	subsided somewhat as	Gaddafi forces	carried out a series: of ambushes before **launching** an assault
6.	including revenge **killings**, for their role in **attacks** by	Gaddafi forces	on *the city of Misrata*. While Gaddafi employed some fighters from ne
7.	out throughout the day, with	Gaddafi's forces	**bombing** *the rebels*, who appeared to be cut off after
8.	. In Ras Lanuf, Colonel	Gaddafi's forces	have stood their ground, **using** tanks, artillery and missiles to halt the
9.	the war crimes, **killings of** *unarmed protesters* **and arbitrary detentions** by	Gaddafi's security forces	But it also lifts the lid on a catalogue of reprisal attacks that
10.	Muammar Gaddafi and launch military strikes against	his forces	to protect rebel-held cities from **the threat of bloody assault**.
11.	the desert. **The assaults** by	regime forces	come amid claims last night by the rebels that they had taken control of
12.	hstood **a bloody siege by** the	regime's forces	, lies the body of Muammar Gaddafi. He brought disparate
13.	of Ajdabiya, under **siege** by	the Libyan dictator's forces	five miles down the road. Minutes later the charge was
14.	formed to deal with **the threat** from Gaddafi's	troops	to *Libyan civilians*, but would not confirm that meant it was taking part

The re-structured processes as nominals presupposes the existence of these actions. Such a point is also enhanced through presupposition triggers. For instance, the use of the definite article *the* in *the assaults* and *the threat* and the demonstrative *those* in *those attacks* presupposes the existence of those acts and allows the writer to pass them as non-negotiable assumptions. As discussed above, using nominal elements enables the writer to evaluate them by means of adjectives modifying the head noun. The assault and the siege are described as *bloody assault*, and *a bloody siege*, lines 10 and 12 respectively. Furthermore, the killing and detention of unarmed protesters is described as arbitrary in *killings of unarmed protesters and arbitrary detentions by Gaddafi's security forces* (line 9). Packaging ideological content inside the nominal component of the sentence will minimise the possibility of potential debates about

whether Gaddafi's forces committed these crimes or not. It is well known that Gaddafi committed a crime against humanity. However, there is a great deal of focus on creating a strong negative image of Gaddafi's side, whereas the opposition side received neutral and even positive representation, as well will see later.

Giving consideration to the whole phrase in the above lines, what I find interesting is that the targets of those acts are also packaged up inside the nominalised phrase, as evident in lines 3, 6, 7, 9, and 14 above (italicised words). In these lines, the nominalised violent acts were targeted not just at the rebels (line 7) and Libyan towns (lines 3 and 6) but they were committed against civilians: *killings of unarmed protesters* (line 9), and *Libyan civilians* (line 14). By using this construction, the writers are willing to blame the suffering of civilians on Gaddafi's forces and thus accentuating their responsibility for human rights abuse. In considering the extended line, I found that the nominal phrase *the threat of bloody assault* in line 10 functions as a complement in the non-finite clause *to protect rebel-held cities from the threat of bloody assault*, which is placed at the lower level of subordination:

(6.17) Libya's revolutionary leadership is pressing western powers to assassinate Muammar Gaddafi and launch military strikes against his forces **to protect rebel-held cities from the threat of bloody assault.**

The Guardian, 15 March 2011

Placing such information further down the levels of subordination makes it less susceptible to question (Jeffries, 2010, p. 86). In line 4, on the other hand, the nominalised violent acts are represented in the form of a three-part list: *rape*, *indiscriminate shelling* and *sniper attacks*, thus inviting the reader to conclude that the list covers all the actions committed by Gaddafi's forces.

In searching the concordance lines of words that refer to this group, I found that the image of Gaddafi's forces was also depicted through the use of discourse representation of other people's verbiage. The main sources quoted are authorities of Western countries (6 times), an international organisation known as Human Rights Watch (twice), ordinary Libyan people (6 times), a spokesman for the opposition side (twice) and rebel fighters (twice). Below, some

evidence is introduced showing how this strategy is used by way of an illustration of how news writers use it for ideological purpose.

In representing Westerns officials' utterances, the writer used DS four times, while ID is used twice. An example of DS can be found in the following sentences uttered by NATO commanders:

(6.18) "This strike will greatly degrade **Gaddafi regime forces' ability to carry on their barbaric assault against the Libyan people**," he said.

Daily Telegraph, 21 June 2011

(6.19) "It's my judgment that, despite our success, Gaddafi and his forces are not yet complying with the UN resolution due to **the continued aggressive actions his forces have taken against the civilian population of Libya**," he said.

Daily Telegraph, 23 March 2011

The speakers of the words quoted above are Lt. Gen. Charles Bouchard (example 6.18) and Adm. Samuel Locklear (example 6.19). In both cases, the speakers portray Gaddafi's forces negatively by constructing them as a group whose action is aggressive and violent. Their evaluation is clearly evident in the syntactic and lexical choices they use. For instance, the action committed by this group is described as extremely cruel and violent by using the lexical choice *barbaric* in *their barbaric assault* and *aggressive* in *the continued aggressive actions*. Furthermore, in both cases, the existence of these actions is borne out by the lexical triggers of presupposition. In example 6.18, the existence of the barbaric assault is triggered by the possessive pronoun *their*, while the definite article *the* presupposes the existence of the aggressive actions in example 6.19. Another point of interest is the syntactic structure in Locklear's words. Here, the words in bold show that Locklear prioritises Gaddafi's forces' actions and syntactically gives them a position of greater prominence by exploiting the information structure that is manifested in the phrase *the continued aggressive actions*, thus they are represented as given knowledge (Jeffries, 2010, p. 83). In addition, both speakers represent Gaddafi's forces as being responsible for the actions using active structures. The chosen construction leaves the impression that Gaddafi's forces are violating international

norms and that such violations are tantamount to crimes against humanity. Choosing to quote the voices of powerful elites in news stories, especially in direct mode, makes them newsworthy (Van Dijk, 1991) as well as enhancing credibility as the information given by such authorities will be considered by the reader as irrevocable facts that are unlikely to be contestable (Jeffries, 2010). In addition, this representation highlights the need for military intervention in Libya and presents it as legitimate action.

The same portrayal of Gaddafi's forces is also established through reporting Human rights' verbiage. In one case, the news writer used direct speech in representing the voice of this source:

(6.20) "The evidence we have been able to gather so far strongly suggests that **Gaddafi government forces went on a spate of arbitrary killing as Tripoli was falling**," Sarah Leah Whitson, Human Rights Watch's North Africa director, said in a statement.

The Guardian, 29 August 2011

In the above example, *the Guardian* writer quotes directly what the director of Human Rights Watch has written in her statement regarding the investigation of war crimes committed by Gaddafi's forces. In this example, only the voice and the opinion of the speaker are represented. Her opinion is expressed through syntactic and lexical choice. The use of the adverb *strongly* in describing the verb *suggests* can leave an impression on the reader that prompts them to take for granted the information expressed. In addition, she uses the words *spate* and *arbitrary*, which convey a negative description of the action of killing. The packaging up of this information in the noun phrase makes it less debatable as it is passed as a non-negotiable assumption. The other interesting choice is the ideological priorities that are reflected in the structure of the sentence. At the highest level of the sentence is the evidence that Human Rights Watch gathered, and what Gaddafi's forces did is embedded at a low level of subordination, thus it is not open to question. On the other hand, in the example below, a news writer for *The Daily Telegraph* newspaper reported indirectly the voice of the Human Rights Watch director with an insertion of some particular words or expressions within quotation marks:

(6.21) Human Rights Watch **said it had gathered evidence that pro-Gaddafi forces had carried out "arbitrary executions of dozens of civilians" before Tripoli fell to the rebels**.

Daily Telegraph, 29 August 2011

Within this example, the voice and opinion of both the speaker and the writer are represented. The news writer has incorporated scare quotes "*arbitrary executions of dozens of civilians*" within the indirect reported speech. This scare quotation is used as a way to separate their voices from others' voices or to support their position and argument (Fairclough, 1992; Jeffries, 2010). Within this context, the short stretch of DS enhances the credibility of the information presented by the speaker and creates convincing news articles as Richardson points out that such kinds of quotations allow the writer to indicate a 'contentious truth claim' (Richardson, 2007, p. 87).

From the content of the quotations above, the ideology that the British news writers attempt to pursue becomes obvious in this regard. The news writer tends to include the voice of Human Rights Watch to show that Gaddafi's forces are criminals and that the Libyan people are the victims of Gaddafi's forces. Taking into consideration readers who read such news, the reporting of high status international institution such as Human Rights Watch would probably give the reader the impression that what is written is truthfully reported. This is to say, the news writer attempts to establish the credibility of the information by quoting such sources. As Van Dijk (1991) points out, the use of such sources 'suggests what credible news participants say about the events' (p. 152).

In addition to these sources, what Gaddafi's forces did is also represented through the verbiage of ordinary Libyan people. Their voices are quoted as a way to convey eyewitness reports within news stories. Within the corpus, there are just six occurrences of such discourse representation (i.e. regarding Gaddafi's forces): direct speech is used four times and indirect speech occurred twice. One example of each discourse representation is given below:

(6.22) Faiz al-Beidi, who was driving by in his pick-up truck, had attempted to retrieve the corpses but had to flee when **regime soldiers** arrived. "**They were just firing, at**

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everyone, for no reason," he said. "We are Muslims, I wanted to see these poor people were given proper burial, but they stopped even that."

The Independent, 19 March 2011

(6.23) Marwan **said** that in the chaotic final hours of the war, Gaddafi loyalists **had conducted bloody reprisals against the local civilian population. There are several haunting massacre sites across Tripoli; bringing the perpetrators to justice will be an almost impossible task.**

The Guardian, 29 August 2011

The example 6.22 shows the actual utterance of Faiz al-Beid, an ordinary Libyan citizen. The DS, marked by quotation marks, constructs regime soldiers as being exclusively responsible for the action of firing through using material process in active voice. In this sense, the speaker constructed Gaddafi's forces as the doers of the action, while the Libyan people are the affected participants *everyone.* The use of the lexical choice *everyone* indicates that Gaddafi's forces intentionally fired at Libyan civilians indiscriminately, whether civilians or rebel fighters. Considering the context of where this quote is included in the news story, I find that the inclusion of this quotation confirms what is being reported by the writer of the article. The writer recontextualised this DS within the news story context as an attempt to establish credibility for what the news writer is providing in the rest of the news article. Furthermore, in the rest of the speaker's utterance, Gaddafi's forces are constructed in binary opposition to the Libyan people, using the conjunction *but* as a syntactic trigger. The speaker constructs the Libyan people *we* as Muslims, who treat dead people with respect in accordance with Islamic tradition, while Gaddafi's forces do not. Such representation could enhance the negative perception of the reality of this group in the readers' minds.

In example 6.23, the news writer indirectly reports the voice of an ordinary Libyan person instead of using direct speech. This indirect speech provides the reader with a thorough description of what was happening when Tripoli fell. Such discourse representation enables readers to understand what has been said by the Libyan civilian but they are unable to recognise whether this reported speech truly belongs to the speaker or is manipulated and included in the news as the original speech of one of the Libyan people (Fairclough, 1992;

Jeffries, 2010). The use of indirect quotes in news stories enables the journalist to reformulate the words of the speaker and report them in the news article in a way that fits his/her voice (Jeffries, 2010). Within this example, the writer attempts to criminalise Gaddafi loyalists by constructing them as the main actors who committed the act of revenge *reprisals* against civilians. Also of particular interest are the lexical choices used in this example: the writer describes Gaddafi's forces action as *bloody reprisals* and the affected participants as *local civilians*. In the rest of the quote, what Gaddafi loyalists did is described as *haunting massacre sites* and the selection of such a description implies that they committed indiscriminate and brutal killing of many people. The clause that contains this information starts with *there are* in order to place the phrase *several haunting massacre sites across Tripoli* in the focal position and attract the readers' attention. Furthermore, the criminalisation of this group is also manifested in the nominal choice that is used to refer to them; they are named as *perpetrators* to indicate that they committed war crimes. The indirect representation in this example gives the news writer enough space to manipulate the original utterance in a way that expresses their own ideological purposes.

Through the analysis of how the reported voice is used to represent Gaddafi's forces, it is clearly exploited for certain ideological purposes, whether consciously or not. In this way, the British press portrays Gaddafi's forces as criminals and the Libyan civilians as the victims of their actions. This is clearly shown through the inclusion of the voices of internationally authoritative people and international organisations that condemn Gaddafi's forces' action against civilians. In addition, the reporting voice is used as a tool to provoke the readers' emotions, and in doing so, the British press introduces the violations of this group through reporting real testimonies from real people on the scene, which intensifies the tragic impression.

Thus far, I have presented the results of the linguistic analysis of the Gaddafi side of the conflict. In the following section, I will proceed with presenting the results of the linguistic analysis of the opposition side.

6.3 Representation of the Opposition Side

As I pointed out in the introductory section of this chapter, the keywords that refer to this group of participants consist of its political figures: the *NTC* and *Mustafa Abdal Jalil*, and its opposition forces: *rebels*, *opposition*, *fighters*, *army* and *forces*. Following the same procedure outlined in the methodology chapter, each word is subjected to a corpus-based process in order to ascertain the overall representational patterns across the corpus. The resulting concordances of each word were then examined in context to determine the discursive themes manifested in the content of the concordance lines. Next, the output results highlighted via the corpus-based processes were tagged for a variety of linguistic features central to critical stylistic conceptual tools. I will start by presenting my analysis of the political figures of the opposition side (section 6.3.1) and follow this with the analysis of its forces (section 6.3.2).

6.3.1 The Key Political Figures in the Opposition side:

The political body of the opposition party that was identified from the keyword list is *the National Transitional Council (NTC)* and *Mustafa Abdal Jalil* (the chairman of the NTC). The NTC was formed shortly after the Libyan Revolution started in order to act as the political face of the revolution and to provide political and military leadership to the opposition side. *Mustafa Abdal Jalil* had been the former justice minister in the Libyan government but defected from the Gaddafi regime and joined the revolution in its early days. In carrying out a corpus-based concordance analysis, I found that the prominent discursive themes that emerged from the concordance lines focused on constructing these actors as official and legitimate political figures representing the Libyan people. The discussion of this representation is presented in the following sections.

6.3.1.1 NTC: National Transitional Council

In British newspapers, the NTC has been represented as a legitimate governing authority of Libya. In the corpus, the nominal choice *government* (lines 1 and 2 below) is used to refer to the NTC, which could evoke in readers a sense that the NTC was an official institution that had international recognition. This recognition is further enhanced by using the noun phrase

the legitimate authority and *the legitimate government*, as evident in lines 3 and 4, respectively.

Concordance 6.19 NTC as a legitimate governing authority of Libya

1.	It has so far refused to recognise the provisional	NTC	**government** in Tripoli. For its part, the NTC is
2.	At the National Transitional Council (	NTC	), a fledgling **government** of returning exiles, local
3.	he said. China recognised the	NTC	as **the legitimate authority** of Libya yesterday,
4.	Hague, said that Britain would recognise the	NTC	as **the legitimate government** of Libya and

The NTC's legitimacy and its international recognition are further enhanced by the NTC being syntactically represented as a recipient of the material action *lend*, as evident in the examples below:

(6.24) In Doha, Qatar, *members of an international "contact group"* on Libya offered **to lend** the rebel National Transitional Council more funds through a temporary finance mechanism to help pay salaries for civil servant and police, to help keep the threat of chaos and looting at bay.

The Guardian, 25 August 2011

(6.25) *Germany and the Netherlands* have agreed **to lend** the NTC $144m for its immediate needs, on the understanding that it will be recouped later.

The Guardian, 25 August 2011

From a transitivity system perspective, the NTC is the recipient, the one that benefits from the process of lending (Halliday, 2004, p. 192). In the above clauses, the main actors who provide the action of lending funds are international: *members of an international "contact group"* and *Germany and the Netherlands*. Obtaining financial support from the international community helps to prove that the NTC is internationally recognised. Hence, this could create in the reader's mind a positive impression of the NTC. Further on, the NTC authority is also established by representing it as a Sayer of positive verbal processes such as *announces*, *announced*, *authorised* and *declares:*

Concordance 6.20 NTC as a Sayer of positive verbal processes

1.	As the National Transitional Council (	**NTC**	) **announced** it had sent a delegation to Niamey to discuss how to stop "any kind of infiltration" by
2.	However, the countdown to elections cannot begin until the	**NTC**	**announces** victory, and delaying this means the hierarchy remains in power. As the British and French
3.	as an intermediary between Libya and France, and says the	**NTC**	**authorised** "brother Mahmoud" to sign the deal with France - a reference to Mahmoud Shammam, the interim
4.	holding of elections should start once the	**NTC**	**declares** Libya's "liberation". Also in Tripoli yesterday, the capital's military commander, Abdul Hakim

According to Chen (2007), the use of such positive verbal processes will 'cast the sayer in a positive light, as authoritative, benign, decisive, or perhaps in some way seeming to occupy the moral high ground' (p. 32). Using these verbal processes helps to represent the NTC as an authoritative body that holds a powerful position, thus enabling it to make important announcements and declarations.

6.3.1.2 Mustafa Abdal Jalil: The NTC Chairman

Mustafa is officially represented as a political actor who held a position of power in Gaddafi's government and in the interim NTC. In 31 instances out of 45, he is mainly constructed as the chairman of the National Transitional Council (NTC) and the opposition leader. However, due to limitations of space, only a few manageable concordance lines are reproduced here to illustrate this point. (All are shown in Appendix B, Concordance B. 4.)

Concordance 6.21 Mustafa as a political figure in the opposition side

1.	agreed signal was a televised speech by	Mustafa	Abdal Jalil, **the council chairman**, broadcast via
2.	world," she said. **Libya's interim chairman**,	Mustafa	Abdel Jalil, and interim prime minister, ,
3.	**The Transitional National Council (TNC) chief**	Mustafa	Abdel-Jalil announced last night he would seek
4.	and talks towards a political settlement. But	Mustafa	Abdul Jalil, **the revolutionary council chairman**, said the
5.	by the ragtag but better-equipped rebel brigades.	Mustafa	Abdel-Jalil, **the widely respected president of the National Transitional**
6.	a mystery last night, with **the opposition leader**,	Mustafa	Abdul Jalil, telling a news conference the hunt
7.	of the 42-year regime emerged. **The NTC leader,**	Mustafa	Abdel Jalil, said his forces had found huge
8.	promised after meeting **the Libyan rebel leader**	Mustafa	Abdel Jalil in Paris yesterday that Nato would
9.	Ahmed Jabreel, an aide to **the rebels' leader**	Mustafa	Abdel Jalil, said that any talks with the regime in

In the first 7 lines, the writer used appositional equivalence[40] structure to represent Mustafa's identity: *the council chairman, Libya's interim chairman*, *The Transitional National Council (TNC) chief*, *the revolutionary council chairman*, *the widely respected president of the National Transitional*, *the opposition leader* and *The NTC leader.* In the last two lines, the writer used attributive adjectives *Libyan rebel leader* and *the rebels' leader* to identify the noun *Mustafa*. One concordance line that is of interest here is that which identifies Mustafa positively as someone in the National Transitional Council who is widely respected (line 5). The positive attributive adjective *respected*, which is modified by the adverb *widely*, is packaged up inside the NP *the widely respected president of the National Transitional*, thus closing it to question by the reader as it is passed as background knowledge. Such representation clearly serves to paint a positive picture of this man and thus influencing the reader's perception of him. In the other 5 instances, Mustafa is identified as *Gaddafi's former justice minister*, as can be seen in the following lines:

Concordance 6.22 Mustafa as a political figure in Gaddafi's government

1.	were, until recently, regime officials. Its leader	Mustafa	Abdel Jalil, **a former justice minister under Colonel Gaddafi**
2.	headed by **Gaddafi's former justice minister,**	Mustafa	Abdel-Jalil. He is perhaps the only member with.
3.	-Gaddafiregime a face to rally around in the form of	Mustafa	Abdel Jalil, **the former justice minister** whose defection a week ago
4.	The protesters are calling for the NTC, led by	Mustafa	Abdul Jalil, **Muammar Gaddafi's former justice minister**, to make its
5.	. **Gaddafi's former justice minister,**	Mustafa	Mohamed Abud Ajleil, will run the national

Identifying Mustafa as *Gaddafi's former justice minister* helps to illustrate that he held a powerful position even in Gaddafi's government. In just 3 cases, Mustafa is identified as Gaddafi's former justice minister and the chairman of the NTC at the same time:

Concordance 6.23 Mustafa as a political figure in Gaddafi's government and in the NTC

1.	the head of the de facto **opposition leader,**	Mustafa	Abdel Jalil, **a former Gaddafi minister**. In the
2.	bounty for the capture of **the council's chairman,**	Mustafa	Abdel Jalil, **the former justice minister** who defected to the rebels
3.	arrest on the orders of **the chairman of the TNC,**	Mustafa	Abdul Jalil - **a former justice minister under Col Gaddafi** - at the

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[40] For Jeffries (2007:104), appositional equivalence is 'the juxtaposition of two or more noun phrases in the same syntactic role' which has the same referent.

All the above representation seems to represent Mustafa officially as a political actor who held a position of power in Gaddafi's government and in the interim NTC. The same ideological representation is also conveyed by constructing Mustafa as a Sayer. Most of his actions are represented in terms of speech acts. In 27 cases, he was assigned the participant role of Sayer in verbal processes expressing the revolutionary principle, describing the situation or illustrating the opposition forces' needs. Below is a sample of concordance examples:

Concordance 6.24 Mustafa as a Sayer

1.	other secrets of the 42-year regime emerged. The NTC leader,	Mustafa	Abdel Jalil, **said** his forces had found huge supplies of food,
2.	Fattah Younes was shot dead along with two of his aides, **said**	Mustafa	Abdul-Jalil, the leader of the Transitional National Council [TNC],
3.	or his resignation. Ahmed Jabreel, an aide to the rebels' leader	Mustafa	Abdel Jalil, **said** that any talks with the regime in Tripoli "will be
4.	and to at least strike some balance on the ground," **said**	Mustafa	Abdel Jalil, the NTC chairman. "But the fact is that we haven't
5.	to food supplies, medicine supplies and fuel," NTC chairman	Mustafa	Abdel Jalil **told** a news conference. The NTC is also to try to track
6.	and lived under a culture of dependency for 40 years." As	Mustafa	Abdel-Jalil, head of the National Transitional Council, **told** the UN
7.	warning came as the head of the National Transitional Council,	Mustafa	Abdul Jalil, **told** crowds in Tripoli that Sharia would be the "main

Through the inclusion of his voice in the news articles and by presenting him frequently as a Sayer of such statements, he is given an international legitimacy. Therefore, it seems that the British press attempts to present him as an internationally recognised and legitimate representative of the Libyan people and the NTC. In representing his words, the journalist reports him using either neutral reporting verbs *said*, *told/telling* or positive ones *announce*/d, *declare* (L. Chen, 2005, 2007; Floyd, 2000):

Table 6.1 Reporting verbs used in representing the voice of NTC chairman

Reporting Verbs	No. Occurrence
Said	10
Told/Telling	7
Announce/d	7
Declared	1
Claim	1

The choice of reporting verb can reflect the reporter's stance towards the person whose words are being reported and their evaluation of the reported speech, as well as manipulating the reader's perception (L. Chen, 2005, p. 36). In reporting the NTC chairman, the journalist

frequently used the neutral reporting verbs *said*, *told/telling* (17 times), as evident in the table above. The choice of these reporting verbs indicates that the writers do not hold any particular view of the NTC chairman and are simply describing what is happening. However, the journalist's positive stance is reflected in using the positive reporting verbs *announce*/d (7 times) and *declared* (once) as these verbs could promote in the readers' minds that 'the person whose words are being reported is wise, authoritative, benign or in some other sense positive' (p. 39). Consider the following examples:

(6.26) This week Mustafa Abdul Jalil, chairman of the governing National Transitional Council, **announced** before cheering crowds in Tripoli's Martyrs' Square **that "women will be ambassadors, women will be ministers".**

The Guardian, 17 September 2011

(6.27) Mustafa Abdel Jalil, the head of the opposition National Transitional Council (NTC), **announced** a reward for Gaddafi's capture of 2m Libyan dinars (pounds 1m), funded by a businessman in the rebel stronghold of Benghazi, and an amnesty for past crimes for anyone in his entourage who killed or detained him.

The Guardian, 25 August 2011

In example 6.26, the NTC chairman spoke on behalf of the interim NTC and his words were quoted directly using the positive reporting verb *announced*. To make an important announcement, such as *women will be ambassadors, women will be ministers* implies that he is powerful, determined and confident, as it represents a verbal action committed by the Sayer. In addition, the reporting of an announcement from an official source inclines it towards being taken for granted as true. Through this quotation, the British newspapers highlight the positive image of the NTC chairman by quoting his words, which clearly establishes the good actions that will be taken in the new Libya. Paradoxically, this was not to be, as the gains on women's empowerment have now been rolled back, and women's rights are declining in the post-revolutionary era (Imam, et al., 2014). In contrast, women, under Gaddafi's government, had the right to work, educate, and have an income, just like the men**.** It seems that the British newspapers are selective in what they report and how they report it. There is a big difference in how Gaddafi and the NTC chairman are being quoted. In most cases, the British press tend in their coverage to quote Gaddafi verbatim, which reflects his avaricious desire for power

and his intention to use military means in his response to demonstration (see example 6.6 and 6.7 above), while they tend to quote the NTC chairman's words where he talks about positive things, as in these examples and in example 6.28 and 6.29 below.

The positive representation of the NTC chairman is also represented through speech representation mode. Although his verbiage is quoted either directly (13 times) or indirectly (14 times), the direct mode is mostly used to represent his words that manifested the revolutionary principle: justice, freedom, democracy and human rights, as evident in the following examples:

(6.28) Mustafa Abdul Jalil, head of the Transitional National Council **"[Libya is] on the threshold of a new era... of a new stage that we will work to establish the principles that this revolution was based on, which are freedom, democracy, justice, equality and transparency... the real moment of victory is when Gaddafi is captured".**

<div align="right">

The Independent, 23 August 2011

</div>

(6.29) "We have all waited for this moment," **Abdel-Jalil** declared solemnly from a flower-bedecked podium in the city's Kish square, near to where the old regime security forces claimed their first victims and set Gaddafi's "state of the masses" on the path to destruction. **"This revolution began peacefully with the demand for justice,"** he told the cheering crowd, "but it was met by excessive violence."

<div align="right">

The Guardian, 24 October 2011

</div>

The ideological attitude towards the NTC chairman is conveyed in positioning him as being the exclusive owner of the words being quoted (Seals, 2012, p. 236). He is represented as the man who stands for positive values, such as: *freedom*, *democracy*, *justice*, *equality and transparency*. Furthermore, the journalist quoted the NTC chairman's words directly in order to indicate that the quoted words are unquestionable facts (Allan Bell, 1991, p. 207; Richardson, 2007, p. 102). More interestingly, the NTC chairman is constructed as a legitimate political actor who spoke on behalf of the Libyan people by using the inclusive *we* in *that we will work to establish the principles* (e.g. 6.28). Using such inclusive pronouns implies his authority as a powerful leader who has a responsibility to speak for others.

Ideologically, as I have pointed out above, quoting powerful elites in news reporting, especially in direct mode, could be considered as newsworthy by the readers (Van Dijk, 1991). In addition, information given by such authorities will undoubtedly be considered by the reader as authentic and truthful (Jeffries, 2010).

6.3.2 Opposition Armed Forces: KWs: *rebels, army, opposition, fighters,* **and** *forces*

This sections aims to introduce a corpus-based critical stylistic analysis of the keywords that refer to the opposition forces (*rebels*, *army*, *opposition*, *fighters* and *forces).* In investigating the concordance outputs of these words, I found that the British press tends to focus on the opposition's active role on the ground. Although there was a violent clash between the two conflicting groups during the Libyan Revolution, the opposition forces are represented in terms of being involved in situations that describe their gains and control; their progress in the battlefield; their battle against the rigid regime; and getting international help and support. I will address these in detail in the following sections.

6.3.2.1 Making Gains and Imposing Control

The WordSmith concordance of the key participants in the opposition forces reveals that they are represented as involved in active material processes that describe their achievements and domination of the situation. For example, the verbs that are assigned to this group are *access*, *control/ing/ed*, *capture/d*, *gain/ed/ing*, *sealed off*, *seize/d*, *take*, *held/hold/ing*, *occupied*, *retook* and *took/take.* For purposes of illustration, some of these are presented in the lines below (All of the instances can be found in Appendix B, Concordance B.5). The discursive practice of assigning such verbs to these agents indicates that they are constructed as having control of the situation.

Concordance 6.25 Opposition forces as actors in material processes of domination

1.	Sirte is likely to dictate the outcome of the conflict.	Rebels	**captured** <u>Bin Jawad</u> on Saturday, but were
2.	areas, where they could be accessed once the	rebels	**gained** control of <u>the areas</u>. The missiles found
3.	jutting out of the windows. When we arrived	rebels	**had sealed off** <u>the area</u> by parking their war
4.	only destroy." Such fighting tempered claims that	rebels	now **hold** up to 90 per cent of <u>Tripoli</u>. Many
5.	the grip of the post-revolutionary regime.	Rebels	**occupied** <u>the airport</u> at Sirte, a symbolically
6.	by the fact that his body was not found after the	rebels	**retook** <u>Ras Lanuf</u> at the weekend. The corpses of
7.	three parts. To an extent, this has already happened. In	opposition	**control** virtually <u>all of eastern Libya</u>. Life has returned to
	the former Cyrenaica,	forces	some n

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As can be seen from the lines above, the key participants in the opposition forces are constructed as a powerful group who master the situation as they are assigned the actor role in relation to active material processes that highlight their ability to controlling the situation: *capture*, *gained*, *sealed off*, *hold*, *occupied*, *retook* and *control.* What is of particular interest in the example above is that these material processes do not tend to have any human goals but rather they act upon places and Libyan cities *Bin Jawad*, *the area(s)*, *Tripoli*, *the airport*, *Ras Lanuf* and *all of eastern Libya.* What is of interest in the above representation is the use of the phrase *took/taken/gained control of* and *hold,* which implies that violence took place, but has been backgrounded. During the revolution, the opposition side also carried out violent actions and committed human rights violations against innocent people who were loyal to Gaddafi when they took control of Gaddafi's stronghold cites, Bani Walid, and Sirte (Pargeter, 2012). However, most of the news centred on violations by Gaddafi's side and no attempt seemed to be made to report the reprisals, which were committed by the opposition side against Gaddafi's loyalists.

The opposition forces' domination and their control of the situation is also expressed through the nominalisation of material processes *control* (10 times).

Concordance 6.26 Opposition forces' control action in nominalised form

1.	where they could be accessed once the	rebels	gained **control** of the areas.
2.	drawn from towns and cities under the	Rebels'	**control**, out of concern for the safety of
3.	HEAVILY outgunned	rebels	ought a desperate battle to retain **control** of vital energy supplies yesterday
4.	remains sporadic and undirected. After the	rebels	' early successes in seizing **control** of Benghazi,
5.	forces come amid claims last night by the	rebels	that they had taken **control** of the airport in the
6.	of their military commander came after the	rebels	took **control** of Libya's consulate in London
7.	at around 8pm local time a group of	rebels	seized their chance and took **control** of the Ben Nabi Mosque close to the
8.	and traffic returned to the once-deserted streets.	rebels	appear now to be in full **control** a week of fierce fighting in which they
9.	we really will have problems." Though the	rebels	have nominal **control** of oil fields at Misla and
10.	them to a base in Malta. Areas where	opposition forces	have consolidated **control** TUNISIA HMS Cumberland has sailed back to

The nominalised form *control* is packaged up inside the nominal component and makes it less open to debate and likely to be taken for granted as it is constructed as non-negotiable assumptions. Again, the action of control is acted upon places, cities, and energy supplies (underlined words above), i.e. not a human goal is directed. The same ideological representation also runs through lines 11 to 20 where other evaluative propositions occur as nominalised material processes such as: *hold (twice)*, *holding (twice)*, *take (once)*, *takeover*

(once), *capture (once)*, *siege (once)* and *grip (once)*, which are also packaged up inside the headword of the noun phrase, thus introducing the information as given facts:

Concordance 6.27 Opposition processes of domination in nominalised form

11.	for Colonel Gaddafi is intensifying as the	rebels	tighten *their* **hold** on the capital, trying to
12.	consolidating *their* **hold** on most residential parts of Brega, the	rebels	are also just 30 miles from Tripoli
13.	LIBYA'S	opposition	consolidated *its* **hold** on the country's east
14.	has been unable to crush the few thousand	rebels	**holding** the centre of the town. On Tuesday,
15.	status quo of Gaddafi holding the west and the	rebels	**holding** the east is going to change,
16.	Gaddafi's forces have managed to stop the	rebels	**taking** ground quickly. It's a slow and deadly
17.	urged them to rise up and rid the country of "devils and traitors".	Rebels	attempting to complete *their* **takeover** of Tripoli faced stubborn
18.	consolidating their grip on the Libyan capital. A day after the	rebels	had celebrated *their* **capture** of the regime's stronghold at Bab al-Aziziya,
19.	Gaddafi's fearsome son Khamis reported dead as Tripoli falls to	rebels	laid **siege** to Colonel Muammar Gaddafi's compound in central Tripoli
	rebels Emboldened		last night
20.	a city where the government had just collapsed and the	rebels	were only slowly asserting *their* **grip**. I asked him if he would come

Similar to the above representation, these nominalised material processes are also acting upon places and cities (underlined words above), i.e. non-human goals. Within the clauses above, the opposition forces are constructed as agents of these nominalised verbs through using the possessive relations, which are expressed by the possessive pronoun *their*, as in lines 11, 12, 17,18 and 20, and the possessive pronoun *its* in line 13. As already pointed out elsewhere, these possessive structures presuppose the existence of those acts, thus making them less questionable by the reader. I noted earlier (section 6.2.1.2), in representing Gaddafi's exercise of power, the writer used lexical items with very violent and brutal connotations, such as *seize*, *oppression*, *repression* in comparison with these lexical choices.

6.3.2.2 Progress in the Battlefield

In line with the above observation, the British press also favoured constructing the opposition forces through actions which describe their progress on the ground during their fight against the Libyan regime. In these cases, their acts are portrayed as acts of movement. It was found that this group were assigned the actor roles in material processes of motion, which might also imply that they are highly successful in their fight against the rigid regime. These processes are exemplified in the following verb choices: *abandon*, *advanced*, *close(ing) in*, *move/ing*, *chase*, *edge closer*, *enter(ed)*, *come/came*, *get into*, *go/went*, *sweep/ing/swept*, *driven*, *overreach*, *reached*, *push forward*, *converged*, *overrun*, *served*, *marched*, *poured*, *surged*, *surrounded*, *turn out/up*, *broke through*, *swarmed*, *headed back*, *march* and *stalled*. What is

of particular interest in these processes is that they are all intransitive material processes which do not involve another participant (i.e. non-goal-directed). Using this representation helps to establish that the action performed by this group does not affect others. For purposes of illustration, I am presenting only a few lines here. (All lines can be found in Concordance B.6, Appendix B)

Concordance 6.28 Opposition forces as actors of material processes of motion

1.	of their spacious enclosure. As Libya's	rebels	**advanced** inexorably <u>towards Tripoli</u>, Saadi reass
2.	-storey blocks of flats in north Tripoli.	Rebels	also **closed in** <u>on pro-Gaddafi strongholds</u> in Sirte a
3.	and tortured during interrogations. The	rebels	**came** for us in the early hours of Monday morning.
4.	rambling rant to an adoring crowd. Since the	rebels	**converged** <u>on Tripoli</u> on Sunday night, the rumours
5.	"The moment that the Libyan	rebels	**entered** <u>the Gaddafi compound</u> was astonishing and
6.	injuries. He escaped two weeks ago when the	rebels	**marched** <u>into Tripoli</u>. Mr Saadi said he would be
7.	Libya is not yet free of violence.	Rebel fighters	**moved** <u>to the front</u> but they said they were
8.	many were taken aback by the speed with which	opposition forces	**had swept** <u>through dictator's stronghold</u>. They remarked
9.	of bleak and passive future it promises. Now	rebel forces	**have reached** <u>Tripoli</u>, we can say we have snatched
10.	Nato bombing on Thursday and Friday.	Rebel forces	to the east had been **stalled** <u>at the oil town of Ras</u>

The verbs that are assigned to the opposition forces in the above lines are *advanced*, *closed in*, *came*, *converged*, *entered*, *marched*, *swept*, *reached* and *stalled.* What we can see in the clauses above is that these verbs function as pure intransitives, as in the verb *came* (line 3), or be followed by a locative complement (underlined words), as evident in the other lines. Grammatically, they cannot take objects or express an effect, actions or results. Rather, they are used to represent processes of movement. These types of verbs are categorised as verbs of process rather than verbs of action as they do not have an effect on another participant (Fowler, 1991, p. 73), which is to say that here the opposition forces are portrayed as groups of people who are involved in processes that do not affect others.

6.3.2.3 Battling the Rigid Regime

Like the Gaddafi side, the opposition forces are also presented as involved in a number of violent actions. However, most of their actions either do not intend to have any human goals or do not ostensibly affect others. For instance, the key participants in the opposition forces are assigned the actor roles in relation to intransitive material clauses, which discursively represent their action as something that does not affect the world, as evident in the lines below:

Concordance 6.29 Opposition forces as actors in intransitive material clauses

1.	course very bad, but the	rebels	**are still fighting**. They are brave men and they have held
2.	Muammar Gaddafi disguised themselves as	rebels	as they **fought** <u>a desperate battle</u> yesterday *to regain control of the flashpoint*
3.	. HEAVILY outgunned	rebels	**fought** <u>a desperate battle</u> *to retain control of vital energy supplies* yesterday
4.	Sengupta reports from Tripoli The	rebels	**had fought** their way in through the narrow streets and a
5.	extra precautions now that the	rebels	**had started to use** <u>SAM-7 surface-to-air missiles.</u> He
6.	. The Misrata rebels Misrata's	rebels	**have fought** <u>the toughest and longest engagements of the war</u>.
7.	Square, formerly Green Square.	Rebels	in pick-up trucks **fired** <u>anti-aircraft guns</u> out over the Mediterranean and
8.	believed to be concealed,	rebels	**opened up** <u>with anti-aircraft guns</u>. The shooting stopped
9.	once we got there the	rebels	**were fired** on. So they became angry and shot me in rage."
10.	whatever the UN has said, the	rebels	**were still fighting** on their own last night. The young
11.	that Gaddafi forces had retreated.	Rebel fighters	**continued to fire** <u>anti-aircraft</u> rounds into the air despite
12.	dictator." In the east,	rebel forces	**were fighting** their way into the oil town of Ras Lanuf last
13.	saw heavy fighting last week as	NTC forces	**battled** *for control of the town.* "This requires the

The opposition forces' military activities in the above lines do not involve another participant (i.e. non-goal-directed). Rather, the processes are followed by the scope[41]: *a desperate battle* (lines 2 and 3), *SAM-7 surface-to-air missiles* (line 5*), the toughest and longest engagements of the war* (line 6*), anti-aircraft guns* (line 7), *with anti-aircraft guns* (line 8) and *anti-aircraft* (line11). Also of interest in the above constructions are the lexical choices made by the writers which function as indicators of their points of view (Simpson, 1993, p. 109). Such ideological representation is evident in the lexical choice *battle* in *desperate battle* (lines 2 and 3) and *battled* in (line 13), which carry positive evaluations of the activity. Examining the co-texts of the word *battle* as a noun and as a verb in the BNC revealed that it is normally interpreted favourably in most contexts. For instance, the most frequent verbs associated with the word *battle* when it functions as an object are *fight*, *win* and *lose battle* against something bad, as in *fighting an uphill battle against prejudice*, *to win the battle against inflation*, *lost her battle against brain cancer.* For Van Dijk (1995b), the selection of lexical items can give a clear insight into the ideological representation of a particular event, and he emphasised that 'the major dimension of discourse meaning controlled by ideologies is the selection of word meaning through *lexicalization*' (p. 259 [ioriginal emphasis]). This means that the choice of the lexical item *battle/d* to represent the opposition forces' action could reflect the positive stance of the British press towards them.

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[41] Halliday (2004) 'Semantically the Scope element is not in any very obvious sense a participant in the process — it is not directly involved in the process by bringing it about, being affected by it or benefiting from it; but grammatically the Scope is treated as if it was a participant' (p. 194).

In other cases, the opposition forces are also represented as undertaking a number of military actions that target inanimate objects. They are acting upon Libyan cities (i.e. non-human goals affected). Such ideological representation runs through lines 14 to 21 below

Concordance 6.30 Opposition forces' acts targeting inanimate objects

14.	of Tripoli's port and corniche - the	rebels	**fired** on the old city. There didn't seem to be.
15.	and denied other equipment. When	rebels	**launched a surprise attack** on the village the following
16.	to retake the oil town of Brega. The	rebels	**launched an assault** on Brega in a bid to *prevent Muammar Gaddafi's forces from threatening Ajdabiya*
17.	A fourth day of combat inside the city saw	rebels	**launch attacks** against loyalist units fortified around Ouagadougou hall,
18.	.11.30pm on 20 August 2011, as	rebels	**launched their first attack** on the Libyan capital, 20
19.	left after the uprising. The	rebels	were poised **to strike** at Tripoli before, but then had to fall
20.	pro-Gaddafi bastions fight ow Libyan	rebel forces	**launched** a three-pronged attack on the last remaining pro-Gaddafi stronghold on the country's northern coastal strip
21.	. It did not quite feel like that yesterday. Instead, the	opposition	**rained down fire** all day on Gaddafi's fortified Bab al-Aziziya compound,

The military actions of *firing*, *launching attacks* and *striking* are represented as undertaken by the opposition forces and directed towards inanimate objects, i.e. *the old city*, *the village*, *Brega*, *loyalist units*, *the Libyan capital*, *Tripoli*, *the last remaining pro-Gaddafi stronghold* and *Gaddafi's fortified Bab al-Aziziya compound.* Although the above representation confirms that the opposition side carried out military actions, there is no mention of any violation and revenge killings committed by this side against Gaddafi's supporters and loyalists. Rather, their actions (as illustrated above), either do not appear to affect others, or do not have any intended human goals.

There are somewhat fewer (five) cases in the whole corpus in which the actions of this group are discursively constructed as acting upon human goals, as evident in the lines below:

Concordance 6.31 Opposition forces' acts targeting Gaddafi and his forces

22.	Africa -- was ablaze last night as	rebels	**fought** Colonel Gaddafi's army *for control of a key coastal highway.*
23.	-up trucks. Many of the	rebels	had never fired a gun before they **fought** against Colonel Gaddafi. One
24.	." And a roundabout in Tripoli where the	rebels	**had killed** regime soldiers at a field hospital, clearly marked with the
25.	also complained that the Benghazi-based	rebels	**were now attacking** Libyan forces under cover of coalition air strikes.
26.	Libyan	rebel forces	**launched offensives** against Gaddafi loyalists yesterday but fierce resis

The processes of *fighting*, *killing*, *attacking* and *launching offensives* are performed against the key participants of the Gaddafi side: *Gaddafi's army*, *Colonel Gaddafi*, *regime soldiers*, *Libyan forces*, and *Gaddafi loyalists.* However, a number of opposition forces' actions are

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represented as mutual acts in which both sides of the conflict (the Gaddafi side and the opposition side) are involved:

Concordance 6.32 Violent actions as mutual acts

27.	Libya's	rebels	**were trading intense fire** with <u>forces loyal to Colonel Muammar Gaddafi</u> late
28.	, and <u>Gaddafi forces and the</u>	opposition	**are preparing for fresh clashes** *to extend their control.* The
29.	earlier, he said. <u>The regime <u>and the</u>	rebels	**are fighting** a war of attrition, in which the regime sends small army

In line 27, the engagement of both sides in the action expressed in the clause is manifested in the lexical choice *trading*, which signifies that both sides perform the same action. In lines 28 and 29, both sides play the actor role of the material processes *preparing for fresh clashes* and *fighting*. They are placed in a grammatical subject position in coordinated noun phrases connected by the coordinating conjunction *and: Gaddafi forces and the opposition*, *the regime and the rebels*. In other cases, their acts are represented as a reaction and as a potential response to the violence of the Gaddafi side as evident in the lines below:

Concordance 6.33 Opposition acts as a potential response to the Gaddafi side's violence

30.	in helping the under-armed	Rebels	**fight off** the attacks by regime forces in the first days of the
31.	streets around Bab al-Aziziya. The	Rebels	**responded** with every weapon in their possession artillery, mortars and rocket
32.	moving too fast into Tripoli, the	Rebels	**responded** with the heaviest weapons at their disposal.
33.	Behind them, in Bin Jawad, 300 Shabaab	Rebel	desperately urged their commanders to **mount another counter-attack** *to save*
	fighters were cornered.	fighters	*their comrades.*
34.	. Brega Key oil town where	opposition	**fended off** government attack last week.

The material processes *fight off*, *respond*, *fended off* and the lexical choice *counter-attack* indicate that this group did not start the military actions but were prompted to retaliate and fight back. Such processes potentially lead the reader to perceive the opposition forces as being in a defence situation rather than performing an action. The same theme is further highlighted through representing this group as defending themselves or others, rescuing others or on a liberating mission, as evident in the lines below:

Concordance 6.34 Opposition acts as a defence and liberating acts

35.	front-line stalemate in eastern Libya, where	rebels	**are trying to defend** the town of Ajdabiya. People
36.	. "My wound started to smell," he said. The	rebels	**freed** him and 70 other prisoners on Tuesday morning;
37.	THE PRISONERS TALE Abduladim Gabasa, 58, was **freed** by	rebels	from Abu Salim prison. He was arrested five months ago
38.	followers fought on. In areas **liberated** by the	rebels	, the mood was euphoric. Locals stood on street corners,
39.	despite Tripoli being supposedly **liberated** by the	rebels	and after the opposition administration, the Transitional

It is apparent that the opposition forces are aligned with the positive values of freedom and liberation. Representing opposition forces as the active agents of positive actions clearly served to present the opposition forces as heroes who are setting people free from prisons and liberating areas from Gaddafi's repression. Such representation shows the opposition forces' bravery and goodness. This could create in the reader's mind a positive impression of the opposition forces' intentions.

A final interesting observation in the above representation is that in a number of cases the opposition forces' military acts are presented as purposeful and justified. The purpose of their acts is presented by the adjunct element, e.g. *to regain control of the flashpoint*, *to retain control of vital energy supplies*, *for control of the town*, *to prevent Muammar Gaddafi's forces from threatening Ajdabiya*, *for control of a key coastal highway*, *to extend their control* and *to save their comrades* as evident in above lines 2, 3, 13, 16, 22, 28 and 33 respectively. This particular representation helps to emphasise the legitimacy of these forces while setting up the Gaddafi forces as illegitimate.

Alongside the representation of the opposition forces as a powerful group who are in full control of the situation, they are also portrayed by contrast as struggling and suffering during their battle against the Gaddafi regime. In a number of cases, they are assigned the actor role in relation to material processes: *fled*, *flee*, *retreated*, *driven away* and *withdraw:*

Concordance 6.35 Opposition forces in retreat under pressure from Gaddafi's forces

1.	forces were also hit by western air strikes. The	rebels	again turned and **fled** under a barrage of rocket fire as Gaddafi's
2.	was quickly consumed by panic and chaos as the	rebels	**fled** as fast as they could. No one stood and fought
3.	. Panic-stricken	rebels	**fled** the eastern town of Brega under heavy artillery fire
4.	insurgents fleeing back towards Brega March 13	Rebels	**flee** from Brega 'We need airstrikes on key G
5.	were being shored up in Ras Lanuf, where the	rebels	**had retreated**, questions were being asked in the
6.	At least 200 tanks remained and locals said that the	rebels	**had driven** away more than 100 more since Fri
7.	Gaddafi and a key staging post to Tripoli - the	rebels	of Libya **retreated** 100 miles yesterday. Some
8.	of the main road to Benghazi 90 miles away. The	rebels	**were seen to flee** in large numbers the day before,
9.	of their cars, they fled to sanctuary further east as	rebels	**withdrew** into the desert after appearing to give u
10.	one man said after a later bombing raid. Bin Jawad	Rebel fighters	**withdraw** from town after fresh assault by army units
11.	strategic town of Ras Lanuf after a sustained artillery and air attack. The	rebel forces	**fled** alongside the the town's few remaining residents at the approach
12.	towns and back about 150 miles to the edge of Ajdarbia. On Sunday the	rebel army	**fled** in the face of a barrage of rockets and shells as

What I find interesting in the above lines is that the circumstances element (underlined phrases) follows the process: fled *under a barrage of rocket fire* (in line 1), fled the eastern town of Brega *under heavy artillery fire* (line 3), withdraw from town *after fresh assault by army units* (line 10) and fled *in the face of a barrage of rockets and shells* (line 12). This representation confirms my earlier observation that the opposition forces are attacked rather than attacking. The same representation is highlighted even more through constructing this group as patient in the material processes of violence acted out by the Gaddafi forces:

Concordance 6.36 Opposition forces as patients in material processes of violence

13.	said Tajouri, whose brother is missing after	rebels	**were beaten** back from the village of Bin Jawad, j
14.	Tripolitania and Cyrenaica. And in Sirte the "	rebels	**were defeated** by the loyalists" in this year's six-
15.	. In seems to be more out of frustration as the	rebels	**were forced** back in the face of Gaddafi's attack.
16.	It met a violent response from the regime. The	rebels	**were forced to retreat** and reconsider their tactics.
17.	a special meeting in Brussels to discuss Libya came as	rebel fighters	**were forced to retreat** from the strategic town of Ras Lanuf after a sustained
18.	-fly zone from the Arab League to justify the decision Balance of forces	Rebel forces	had taken most of eastern Libya but **were being driven back** in disarray to their stronghold in Be

The above lines are passive constructions in which the patient *rebels/ fighters /forces* are in a subject or a thematic position, those who are affected by the violent action of *beating*, *defeating*, *forced to retreat*, *driven back.* The identity of the agents has been revealed only in line 14 *by the loyalists*. They are not revealed in the other lines as they are implicitly known,

thus placing the prominence of the representation on the patient and the action suffered. Such constructions denote a sense of victimisation of the opposition side, and the victimisation of this group is also emphasised further through representing them as the direct goal of the actions of Gaddafi's side, as can be seen in the following lines:

Concordance 6.37 Opposition forces as the direct goal of the Gaddafi side's violence

1.	Mr Hamidi reportedly commanded a battalion that **crushed**	rebels	in the western city of Zawiya in
2.	continuing to assert his power and calling on his supporters **to crush** the	rebels	. Meanwhile, as the rebel forces adv
3.	of the rebel administration. <u>Pro-government forces</u> **pushed back** the	rebels	in <u>an air and land assault</u> on the
4.	crews noted a **sudden blast of gunfire** aimed at the encircling	rebels	at 1.30pm. What appeared to be a 1
5.	that <u>Gaddafi - and forces still loyal to him</u> - were preparing **to attack**	rebels	and protesters in the west of the
6.	<u>Gaddafi troops</u> abandon tanks and form small ambush groups to **wrongfoot**	rebels	and coalition THE AMBUSH was
7.	took up positions across Tripoli and **began a rearguard action** against	rebels	in major cities. Residents in parts of
8.	a series of audio messages calling on <u>supporters</u> **to fight back** against	rebels	. "We have no confirmation of
9.	days of the revolt that **government airstrikes** were conducted against	rebels	in a residential area of the capital as
10.	and tribes. <u>Local men</u> have **fought** alongside the loyalist soldiers against	rebels	several times, and again in the town
11.	loads of rifles and hand grenades to families in the area **to fight** against the	rebels	. "We have collected about 250
12.	a field edged with <u>pretty wild</u> flowers. <u>The regime's offensive</u> against the	rebels	had not survived the first contact
13.	sation of hostilities in return for <u>the regime ending its offensive</u> against the	rebels	throughout the country. Mustafa

The rebels are being presented as passive goals of the material processes of violence acted out by the Gaddafi side (bold words above), and they are simply portrayed as victims of Gaddafi's forces' violent actions. In these lines, the writer has applied active construction to foreground or highlight the Gaddafi side as the most active participants in the processes, while the rebels were represented as affected participants who receive the action, thus they were identified as helpless victims.

6.3.2.4 Getting International Help and Support

The opposition forces are constructed as getting help and support from the international community in their battle against the Gaddafi regime. In 15 cases, they are syntactically represented as recipients of the material actions *supply*, *help/ed*, *provide* and *assist*, which are provided by the international community (the main actors in the clauses): *Britain*, *the international community*, *armed British troops*, *liaison officers*, TWO MORE Western powers and *Western*, as evident in the lines below:

Concordance 6.38 International attempts to help the rebels

1.	Hague revealed that Britain would **supply** telecoms equipment to the	rebels	, but not arm them. A Libyan government spokesman
2.	showed us political, economic and military support which **helped** the	rebels	*establish a state* and we thank France and the UK for that," he
3.	. Armed British troops are being sent to Libya for the first time to **help**	rebels	to break the increasingly bloody deadlock in the battle for
4.	The French Budget Minister Franois Baroin said there would be a "small number of liaison officers in Benghazi" to **help** the	rebels	*"organise the protection of civilian populations"*. There was no
5.	opportunity to set out how "the international community can **help** [the	rebels	] on the path *to establishing a free, democratic and inclusive Libya*
6.	TWO MORE Western powers said yesterday they were joining Britain in sending military advisers to **help**	rebel	forces in Libya. But media reports suggested that France and Italy
7.	ng a programme to **provide** trainers -- hired through British security companies -- to	rebel	forces. The trainers include specialists in close air support.
8.	for the imposition of a UN-backed, western-led no-fly zone to **assist** the	rebels	. But with pro-regime forces advancing rapidly eastwards

The above representation is implicitly attempting to legitimise the opposition side and justify the need for international action to be taken against the Gaddafi regime and his supporters. What is noticeable in the above lines is the reason for the international community taking part in supporting and helping the opposition side in their battle against the Libyan regime. Their help and support is represented as being in accordance with war ethics: *organise the protection of civilian populations* (line 4) and restoration of human rights *to establishing a free, democratic and inclusive Libya* (line 5). This reflects the Western ideology of encouraging people to fight in order to pursue democracy and human rights. Ideologically, getting support and help from the international community, who stand for freedom and human rights, identifies the opposition side as the country's legitimate and internationally recognised government. More interestingly, this representation also helps to signify that the opposition forces share the same ideologies of freedom and human rights as the West.

6.4 Concluding Remarks

This chapter has provided the results of the analysis of keywords grouped under participants in the conflict category. This section addresses the main points achieved from the analysis. A summary of the linguistic representing of both sides of the conflict are represented in table 17 below.

To begin with, the analysis revealed that Gaddafi has been represented as a criminal and violator of international norms and an oppressor who violently suppresses anti-government protesters, committing indiscriminate killings, attacking civilians and denying Libyans their

basic human rights. The linguistic analysis has shown that different discursive and linguistic strategies were employed in constructing this image. Gaddafi is discursively represented as the active agent who exercises the power and violence, not only over the armed rebels but also over civilians, as shown in table 6.2 below. The UK press used violent material processes in the transitive mode that clearly established Gaddafi's responsibility for violence against innocent people. The image of Gaddafi as brutal and cruel is also encoded through the lexical choices within the transitivity system. This is evident in using circumstance elements associated with the processes, as in *the bloody attempt to suppress the Fed 17 revolution*, *responded with brutal repression*, heightening the tragic impression given of the scene. Furthermore, violent acts by Gaddafi are either constructed as given facts through nominalisation or existentially presupposed by certain textual markers, thus leaving no questions to be raised by readers aside. Quoting the powerful elites has also been employed to strengthen further the aggressive and oppressive nature of Gaddafi as the elites are perceived by the reader as undoubtedly truthful. Moreover, Gaddafi's words are being quoted in a way that reflects his stubbornness, his avaricious desire for power and his intention to use military means in his response to demonstration. The same image is also depicted in constructing his regime and his forces by employing the same discursive and linguistic strategies that are used in constructing him. The main different representation occurred in constructing violent actions committed by Gaddafi's forces in the passive structure, by which the focus of attention is shifted onto the civilians as the victims of this violence. This representation highlights that innocence and humanitarianism are the main focus of the British press, and the writers construct the news in a way that reflects these positive values that are to be passed to their public readership.

Table 6.2 Summary of representing both sides of the conflict

Side	Role	Kind of actions	Linguistic realisation	Freq.	Examples	Verb		Goal/ affected participants	
						Trans.	Intrans.	Human	Non-human
Gaddafi's Side	Actor	Violent actions	Active Material process	147	Attack, launching attacks, kill, slaughter, brutalise, suppression, bombing.	147	0	61	40
			Passive Material process	19	Killed, seized, captured, detained, held, threated.	19	0	19	0
			Nominalisation	74	Attack, assault, threat, brutalities, killing, suppressing, terrorising.	-		13	8
Opposition Side	Actor	Acts of control	Active Material process	54	Control, capture, gain, sealed off, seize, take, hold, occupied.	54	0	1	45
			Nominalisation	20	Control, holding, take, grip, takeover, capture, siege	-		0	15
		Acts of movement	Active Material process	65	Advanced, close in, move, chase, edge, come, get into, sweep, driven, overreach, reached.	0	65	0	0
		Violent actions		26	Fighting, fought, fired, battled, launching attacks and striking	13	0	5	8
		As a potential response		5	Fight off, respond, fended off	3	2	-	-
		Acts of defence and liberating		5	Defend, freed, liberate	5	0	2	3
		Acts of Retreating		12	fled, retreated, driven away, withdraw	12	0	-	
	Patient	-	Active Material process	6	Beating, defeating, forced to retreat, driven back[42]	6	0	-	
	Passive goals	-	Passive Material process	13	Crushed, pushed back, attack[43]	13	0	-	
	Recipients	-	Material actions	10	Lend, supply, help, provide, assist[44]	10	0	-	

[42] Acted out by Gaddafi's side.
[43] Acted out by Gaddafi's forces.
[44] Actors belongs to the international community.

However, the ideological bias of the British press in favour of the opposition side is clearly established in reporting Gaddafi's demise. The British press represented Gaddafi's demise as a spontaneous and natural death by using the word *die* more frequently than the word *kill*. Where the killing is reported, the British press succeeds in blurring and obscuring the rebels' responsibility for killing Gaddafi through the frequent use of patterns of mystification of the agency. The rebels' responsibility is hidden by using passivisation and nominalisation strategies, which clearly establishes the ideological bias of the British press in favour of the opposition side.

In contrast, the linguistic analysis of the representation of the opposition side revealed that they are represented in a positive light. Projecting positive images of the opposition side resulted in constructing its political figures, the NTC and its chairman, as Libya's legitimate representatives who had international recognition. The British press represented the NTC chairman as the man who held the power and authority to speak on the behalf of the Libyan people and announce important statements. In reporting his words, the British press used either neutral or positive reporting verbs, while using more negative reporting verbs than the positive one in reporting Gaddafi's words. Table 6.3 below shows the difference in reporting Gaddafi and NTC chairman in the British Press. The NTC chairman was also widely represented as a person to be respected as he shared the same ideological beliefs about freedom, justice and democracy as Western society. The same ideological representation is given to the opposition forces group, who are aligned with the positive values of freedom and liberation and as recipients of support and help from the international community, thus they are recognised as legitimate.

Table 6.3 Comparison between reporting Gaddafi and NTC chairman

The Sayer	Speech mode		Positive	Freq.	Neutral	Freq.	Negative	Freq.
	DS	IS						
Gaddafi	12	34	Declared, addressed, agreed, called on, announced	5	said, say, saying, tells, told	18	Warned/ing, promised/es, vows/ed/ing, insisted, denied/deny, denounced, blamed, pinpointed, storm out, shouting, darning, urged, argued	28
NTC chairman	13	14	Announce/d, declared	8	Said, tell, telling	17	Claim	1

In representing what is happening on the ground between the conflicting groups, the British press constructed the opposition side as involved in nonviolent actions: they are represented as progressives, and fighting is the only option they have to defend themselves from the brutal regime's actions taken against them. Although there was violent fighting between the Gaddafi side and the opposition side, the choice of presenting the action undertaken by the opposition side in this way could be seen as biased towards them and therefore in favour of this side. Furthermore, this side was represented in more emotive terms by constructing them as helpless victims affected by the violent actions of Gaddafi's side. This means that the British media does not only communicate what is going on in the world but also aims to pursue certain ideologies. Through the above representation, British journalists attempt to uphold the values of democracy, freedom and human rights and maintain them by sharing them publicly with their readers.

Analysing the above representation alongside the socio-political and historical contexts explained in chapter one, we could state that the readers could take the representation of Gaddafi as a cruel man who committed crimes against civilians as accurate, rather than a kind of news bias. The point here is not to question the representation of Gaddafi in this way, rather, it is the bias of constructing the opposition in a consistently positive light. There was an expectation of seeing balanced coverage of all the atrocities of the war, however, what I noticed from the above analysis is that so much coverage was dedicated to focussing on representing Gaddafi, his government, and his forces as criminals and brutal men who carried

out violent actions against rebels and against civilians, while this representation was avoided in reporting the actions of the opposition. There is no mention of violent actions carried out by the opposition forces against Gaddafi's loyalists. Furthermore, no space was given to report the victims of Gaddafi's side. The British newspapers attempted to legitimise and support the opposition and portray the Libyan people as people who deserve to get rid of Gaddafi. However, the political consequence of overthrowing Gaddafi put Libya into confusion and chaos, marred with internal wars run by rebels who were described as good during the revolution. Examining the situation in Libya in the post-revolutionary era (section 1.1.3, Chapter 1) shows that armed groups who belong to the opposition side refused to hand in their arms, and they took advantage of the power vacuum in Libya's political system to become power brokers on the ground who control the situation. Furthermore, they gave themselves the right to carry out revenge killings, torture and displacement against those who supported Gaddafi (Hove, 2017; Pargeter, 2012).

The next analytical chapter will offer a corpus-based critical stylistic analysis of action-related words that are highlighted as keywords in the keyword list; it aims to discover how the violence and its consequences during the Libyan Revolution have been constructed linguistically. It mainly seeks to discover who is responsible for the violent actions and who the affected participants are.

Chapter 7

Construction of Violence: What is Happening on the Ground

7.1 Introduction

The previous chapter offered a detailed linguistic analysis of the keywords that represent the key participants in the Libyan Revolution. In this chapter I turn to analysing action-related words that have been highlighted as keywords in the keyword list. This group of words includes violent action words: *fighting*, *attack*, *fight*, *fire*, *attacks*, *assault*, *bombing*, *shot*, *hit*, *fired* and their consequences: *killed*, *dead*, *control*, *held*, *captured*, *death*. Following the same procedure that is highlighted in the methodology chapter, these words are subjected to corpus-based analysis in order to pick up recurrent linguistic patterns and ascertain the overall representation of this theme across the corpus. These patterns are then tagged for a variety of linguistic features central to critical stylistic conceptual tools (Jeffries, 2010). After the manual analysis of the concordance lines of the above words, I found that frequent patterns of some words, such as *control*, *held*, *death* and *captured* had already been analysed in the previous chapter as they were assigned to the key participants in the Libyan Revolution. Therefore, these words will not be discussed any further in this chapter. In addition, the words derived from the same lemma form are grouped together in the analysis below as they have the same contextual meaning, such as *attack* and *attacks*, *fire* and *firing*, *fight* and *fighting*.

As these words refer to violent actions and their consequences in relation to the Libyan conflict during the revolution, the main aims of this chapter is to reveal how the violence was portrayed in the British press and to discover whether Gaddafi's side or the opposition side was responsible for these violent actions. It also aims to reveal the identity of the affected participants.

In order to achieve these aims, the concordance lines of each word mentioned above are analysed individually and include the fuller context of each token by accessing the source texts in order to discover the doer of the action as in some cases the doer is not mentioned in the immediate context. As the focus is on how the sides of the conflict that belong to Libyan

society are constructed linguistically, the actions of NATO and the foreign alliance are not considered in the analysis below.

In this chapter, I will begin the analysis of keywords linked to violence (section 7.2) and follow this with presenting the analysis of words that illustrate the consequences (section 7.3). A further discussion, at the end (section 7.4), introduces the summary and a general discussion of the main points that arose from the analysis.

7.2 Acts of Violence

Violence escalated during the Libyan Revolution as the Gaddafi regime used brutal military force in response to the demonstration. This in turn caused the uprising to take a bloody turn, going from the protest phase to the armed conflict phase (Lobban & Dalton, 2014, p. 77). Within the British corpus, the keywords *fighting*, *attack*, *fight*, *fire*, *attacks*, *assault*, *bombing*, *shot*, *hit*, *fired*, that denote violent actions, are analysed in detail below to see how these actions are portrayed as well as to whom the responsibility for these actions is attributed.

7.2.1 The Keywords: *fighting* and *fight*

The keywords *fighting* and *fight* are the most frequent keywords linked to violence, with a total of 301 and 186 occurrences in the corpus, respectively. Starting with the word *fighting*, an investigation of its concordance lines reveals that almost all of its occurrences are not assigned to particular participants but represent a mutual action between both sides of the conflict in 246 instances. A close inspection of these lines shows that the fighting is being portrayed as savagely fierce and heavy in the British corpus. In its occurrence as a noun in noun phrase patterns, the word *fighting* is pre-modified by the adjectives *fierce* (13 times), *heavy* (13 times), *ferocious* (twice), *fiercest* (once), *inconclusive* (once) and *intense* (once), highlighting the manner of confrontation between both sides of the conflict. Below are some concordance lines from the corpus that provide textual evidence of such representation (all instances can be found in Appendix C, Concordance C.1):

Concordance 7.1 Describing the fighting as aggressive by modified adjectives

1.	opposition to Col Muammar Gaddafi and has	fighting	in the Libyan uprising. The labourers from countries
	been the scene of the **bloodiest**		including Bangladesh,
2.	blasted open after seven hours of **ferocious**	fighting	and exultant rebels poured into Bab al-Aziziya,
3.	rebel hands after prolonged and **fierce**	fighting	. This has further cut off Muammar Gaddafi's regime
4.	In Misrata, scene of some of the **fiercest**	fighting	this year, a cinema and hospital stand on what
5.	in Libya come as **heavy**	fighting	continued in and around the coastal town of Sirte,
6.	rebel retreat after another day of **inconclusive**	fighting	. Refugees fleeing Sirte yesterday told rebels that
7.	a large arsenal. There was also **intense**	fighting	in the port city of Ras Lanuf, and Zuwarah in the

In the above lines the violent and brutal nature of the fighting is delivered as background knowledge which is closed to negotiation through packaging up the adjectives inside the nominal component. The fighting is logically presupposed in lines 1 and 4 by using the superlative comparative adjectives *the bloodiest* and *the fiercest*, which presuppose that there was at least some bloody and fierce fighting before. In just 3 cases the nature of the fighting is also presented through intensive relational process patterns, where the word *fighting* functions as the carrier for the attributes *terrible*, *fierce and bloody*, and *desperate:*

Concordance 7.2 Describing the fighting as aggressive by intensive relational processes

8.	know what was going on. The	fighting	**was terrible**, there was so much firing, An officer aban
9.	have since been hit by shells.	fighting	**was fierce and bloody**. Many rebels died, but so did m
10	It was unclear whether the	fighting	**was a desperate** last stand or the start of a guerrilla campa

Carrying on the fighting between the opposing groups is logically presupposed in 10 cases in the corpus, which is borne out by the iterative verbs *continue/d/ing* (9) and *going on* (1), as seen in the lines below: (All lines are given in Appendix C, Concordance C.2)

Concordance 7.3 Represent fighting as logically presupposed by iterative verbs

11.	erim cabinet yesterday as	fighting	**continued** for control of two strategic strongholds of
12.	in Libya come as heavy	fighting	**continued** in and around the coastal town of Sirte, on
13.	into the air. But the	fighting	**continued** in some parts of the city. Not everyone was
14.	, the owner of the station.	fighting	**continued** in the town of Bani Walid, one of several
15.	road, although pockets of	fighting	**continued**. The regime's advance leaves the road ope
16.	grey swirls of smoke. As	fighting	**continued** throughout the morning, a ship arrived in T
17.	wn of Sirte, where heavy	fighting	**continued** yesterday. In Bani Walid, south of Tripoli,
18.	the south and west.	fighting	**is continuing** in Zawiyah, 30 miles west of Tripoli, an
19.	escaped. He said heavy	fighting	**was continuing** in Abu Salem, just south of Gaddafi's sh
20.	in midafternoon said	fighting	**was still going on** around the central square, although a re

These types of presupposition triggers presuppose logically that the action of fighting was already happening. Furthermore, the fighting is logically presupposed by the iterative adverb *also* and the adjectives *renewed* and *non-stop*, as seen in the lines below.

Concordance 7.4 Represent fighting as logically presupposed by iterative adverbs/adjectives

21	mountains near Zintan." There was **also**	fighting	in the rebel held town of Yafran, sout
22	a large arsenal. There was **also** intense	fighting	in the port city of Ras Lanuf, and
23	also met stiff opposition. There was **renewed**	fighting	around Gaddafi's home city of Sirte,
24	down in Tripoli. "There is **non-stop**	fighting	since dawn. Most families have got
25	kered down in Tripoli. " There is **non-stop**	fighting	since dawn. Most families have got s

The iterative adverb *also* presupposes that the fighting between the Libyan regime and its opposition side was taking place in different areas of the country, while the iterative adjectives *renewed* and *non-stop* presuppose the continuous nature of the fighting between the opposing groups.

In comparison with the word *fighting*, which occurred 301 times, the word *fight* has only 186 occurrences in the corpus, with 62 of them assigned to Gaddafi's side and 49 to the opposition side. In a detailed analysis of the lines in which the word *fight* is assigned to Gaddafi's side, I found that it occurred in 33 cases as a main verb of the reported clause of speech representation of Gaddafi, his son, and his supporters. In 16 instances out of 33 it occurred in a pattern consisting of *reporting verb + to + fight*, by which means the writer

reports the intention and promise of Gaddafi and his supporters. In reporting their verbiage, one of the repeated patterns that the journalists use is *vow/ed/ing/s to fight*, which is presented using Indirect Speech (IS) with the inclusion of scare quotes in some cases, as evident in the lines below:

Concordance 7.5 Co-occurrence of *fight* in pattern *vow/ed/ing/s to fight*

1	The crowd condemned world powers for threatening their country and **vowed to**	fight	military intervention to the death. One
2	The crowd condemned powers for threatening their country and **vowed to**	fight	military intervention to the death. Six men
3	Gaddafi, where members of his clan had **vowed to**	fight	to the bitter end. The fall of this loyalist
4	speech by Gaddafi's son Saif al-Islam, who warned of civil war and **vowed to**	fight	to the "last bullet". TV clips showed furious people
5	inated Libya for almost 42 years and who has **vowed to**	fight	on or die. But the hunt for Colonel Gaddafi
6	in parts of Tripoli after Muammar Gaddafi **vowed to**	fight	to the death and his supporters fought
7	He reportedly said the retreat from his citadel Aziziya had been a tactical move and **vowed to**	fight	to the death, calling on his supporters to "cleanse" Tripoli of "devils and traitors".
8	erate plea on an Arab satellite TV station, **vowing to**	fight	"in every street, every village and every
9	down an uprising in the city Libya Gaddafi **vows to**	fight	"until the last drop of blood has been spilt"

In the first three lines, the journalists reported verbiage of Gaddafi's supporters, while they reported Gaddafi's son in line 4 and Gaddafi's verbiage in the other lines. The interesting element in the above lines is that the utterances are represented as a strong commitment by using the reported verb *vow* and signifies the negative intentions and violent behaviour of Gaddafi and his supporters towards the demonstration; that is, the Sayer is being represented clearly as if he would act violently towards the demonstration. More interestingly, the journalists include both verbatim quotations and the reworded verbiage of Gaddafi's actual utterance: *"cleanse" Tripoli of "devils and traitors"* (line7) and *"until the last drop of blood has been spilt"* (line 9), emphasising his violent intent towards his people. Furthermore, presenting the phrase *devils and traitors* as Gaddafi's actual words serves to highlight the way that Gaddafi treats his own people. As I stated before, the inclusion of the actual words presents the utterance as true and unlikely to be questioned, thus it is perceived by the reader as a credible fact. Gaddafi's commitment to fight in order to stay in power is also evident in using the reporting verb *promise* in the pattern *promised to fight:*

Concordance 7.6 Co-occurrence of *fight* in pattern *promised to fight*

10.	and air assault on eastern Libya. As the country's leader **promised to** "	fight	until the last man and woman", his forces advanced on rebel-held strongholds
11.	recommitting the same old sin in Libya. Muammar Gaddafi vanishes after **promising to**	fight	to the death. Isn't that just what Saddam Hussein did? And of

Here, the use of the verbal process *promise* was the writer's choice in order to emphasise Gaddafi's commitment to fight to the death or until the last man and woman. Constructing Gaddafi as a defiant person who refused to step down peacefully from power is also evident in other patterns where the word *fight* occurred in other speech representation of Gaddafi and his son when they call on and urge their supporters to fight:

Concordance 7.7 Co-occurrence of *fight* in speech representation of Gaddafi and his son

1.	, *Colonel Gaddafi* on Monday **called on** <u>his followers</u> **to pick up arms and**	fight	the "traitors". Rebels laughed off the threat, saying that loyalists were too
2.	the agents will be finished with." *The former dictator* **urged** <u>his followers</u> **to**	fight	on even if they could not "hear his voice" - a call to an
3.	*dictator's favourite son*, issued a defiant call last night, **urging** <u>loyalists</u> **to**	fight	on. He said that the city of Sirte had more than 20,000 armed youths
4.	embattled *Libyan leader* twice took to state TV to **urge Tripoli** <u>residents</u> **to**	fight	*incoming rebels*. Nato warplanes targeted Libyan state TV transmitters last mon
5.	Sunday when *he* issued a series of audio messages **calling on** <u>supporters</u> **to**	fight	back against *rebels*. "We have no confirmation of Gaddafi's whereabouts,"

Here, the clauses above are a verbalisation process in which the main Sayer is Gaddafi (lines 12, 13, 15 and 16) and his son (line 14), while the targets are their supporters (underlined words). The verbal processes are represented as a directive speech act using verbs of request: *call* and *urge*. Choosing to use such reporting verbs represents the reported clause as directive, by which Gaddafi and his son encourage their supporters to fight and not to give up. Furthermore, Gaddafi's intention to fight is also reflected in calling on his supporters to fight, using imperative mood clauses:

Concordance 7.8 Co-occurrence of *fight* in pattern *Get ready to fight*

17.	tribes," the beleaguered leader said. Shaking his fists, he shouted: "**Get ready to**	fight	<u>for Libya</u>. Get ready to fight for dignity. Get ready to fight for petroleum
18.	he shouted: "Get ready to fight for Libya. **Get ready to**	fight	<u>for dignity</u>. Get ready to fight for petroleum.
19.	to fight for Libya. Get ready to fight for dignity. **Get ready to**	fight	<u>for petroleum</u>. Respond to them, put them to shame. We can triumph

Here, the writer reported directly Gaddafi's actual words when he addressed his nation on 25 February 2011, thus making the speech likely to be considered faithful to the original by readers. Pragmatically, Gaddafi exhorts the Libyan people to fight by using the imperative speech act *Get ready to fight*. Considering the extended concordance line 17, the reason for fighting is represented in the form of a three-part list *Get ready to fight for Libya. Get ready to fight for dignity. Get ready to fight for petroleum* in order to indicate a sense of

completeness (Jeffries, 2010, p. 70). This kind of rhetorical device is frequently used in political speeches in order to convey a sense of competence for the claims expressed and to establish particular ideologies for the listener. Here, Gaddafi tries to re-emphasise or reinforce the point in the first clause by complementing his argument with the second and the third part (Charteris-Black, 2005).

A defiant Gaddafi seems always to be exhorting the Libyan people to fight in his speeches. Reading through the concordance lines of the word *fight*, I found that it occurred in a repeated pattern *we will fight* in Gaddafi's speeches:

Concordance 7.9 Co-occurrence of *fight* in pattern *we will fight*

20.	. Muammar Gaddafi is among you. I stand among the people and **we will**	fight	and we will kill them if they want. Look at the people's
21.	a man in the olive green uniform of the regular army. "**We will**	fight	any decision by the security council," the officer pledged solemnly. "You come
22.	an Iraq-style posthumous insurrection. "Let it be a long battle. **We will**	fight	from place to place, from town to town, from valley to valley, from
23.	telligence reasons, but admitted that the government forces were stronger. "**We will**	fight	them to the last. We will never surrender," he said. "The people have
24.	important public buildings, while sandbag defences were also being built. "**We will**	fight	until death," a pro-Gaddafi soldier in his early twenties said outside a

The journalists report Gaddafi's words using direct speech representation, thus Gaddafi's intention to fight and use military forces against the demonstration are likely to be perceived by readers as a given fact rather than an opinion which can be contested. Exhorting the Libyan people to fight is reflected in the lexical and syntactic structure used by Gaddafi to communicate his utterance. Here, he used the inclusive *we* in order to involve his nation in the communication process. He aims to shorten the distance between himself and the Libyan people and to convey that they share the same objectives and responsibilities, as Fairclough (1989) rightly points out that 'the rhetorical implication is that the audience must share the Government's views as being only correct ones' (p. 127). Moreover, he aims to reinforce the principle of unification, to encourage solidarity and represent Libyan people as one, who stand together in unity. Additionally, the inclusive *we* suggests that Gaddafi speaks on behalf of his nation and thus successfully implying his authority as a powerful leader who has a responsibility to speak for others. Also of particular interest is the use of epistemic modality *will* in *we will fight* by which Gaddafi expresses the highest degree of commitment and implies a strong certainty of the information given in these statements.

The action *fight* is also attributed to the opposition side in 49 instances. Its main occurrence is in patterns of speech representation of Libyan people who are fighting against Gaddafi. In their reporting, they talked about who they are fighting against and why:

Concordance 7.10 Co-occurrence of *fight* in patterns of speech representation of Libyan people

1.	than 20 had been injured. "We will stay here and	fight	**Gaddafi** until the last blood spills." Blood is
2.	on Libyan soil we will fight them before we	fight	**Gaddafi**." What might also strengthen the
3.	they can leave Gaddafi to us. We know how to	fight	**him** but we are afraid of his heavy weapons.
4.	artillery gun. "We are Mujahedin. We are here **to**	fight	**for Libya and no one else**. We are Muslims
5.	. They should concentrate on that, give weapons to the	fight	**for our own country**." The Shabaab fighters at
	Shabaab and let us		Sultan had looked a beaten

In the above lines the speech representation of the Libyan people is represented directly, thus it will be perceived by the reader as a true representation of what was said. In the first three lines, Gaddafi is clearly constructed as the goal of the fighting, while the actor is represented using the referent pronoun *we* (lines 1 to 4*)* and *us* (line 5), referring to the Libyan people. In all instances, the speakers spoke on behalf of other Libyan people who were fighting against Gaddafi. The use of the inclusive *we* in these cases indicates the unity of Libyan people who stand together in the fighting. In the first line, the use of epistemic modality *will* in *We will stay here and fight Gaddafi until the last blood spills* reflects strongly the intention of the Libyan people to fight against Gaddafi to break free of 42 years of dictatorship. In the last two lines, the actional verb *fight* is followed by the circumstantial element of reason *for Libya and no one else*, *for our own country*, illustrating why they are fighting. Also of particular interest is the negated opposition triggered by syntactic frame *X not Y* in *for Libya and no one else*. The inclusion of the *no Y* element is to emphasise the reason for fighting. The same ideological representation also runs through lines 6 and 7, where the speaker used negated opposition combined with the contrastive *but*:

Concordance 7.11 Represent the opposition side's fighting as not their choice

6.	hospital. We have **no** choice **but** to continue our	fight	**against this dictator**." In the east, rebel forc
7.	signed our own death warrants, so now we have	fight	**until it is over**." Gaddafi is still a long way from
	no choice **but** to		winning back

This textual opposition presupposes that the fighting was not the choice of some Libyans but rather they were forced to do so as there was no other choice.

7.2.2 The Keywords: *attack* and *attacks*

The keywords *attack* and *attacks* are the second most frequent keywords linked to violence, with occurrences of 184 and 124 respectively. Detailed analysis of these lines showed that most of their occurrences are associated with the attack/s that is (are) committed by the Gaddafi side, in 137 instances. By contrast, there are 67 occurrences of these words being assigned to the foreign alliance, and only 38 instances describe the opposing side's attack. In the most frequent occurrences, a total of 250 times, the words *attack* and *attacks* were constructed as a noun in a NP patterns. Within these noun phrases, the journalist focuses on describing the nature of the attack using the attributive adjectives.

In relation to Gaddafi's side, the word *attack/s* is pre-modified by adjectives that either describe what kind of attack was conducted or evaluates it, as evident in the lines below:

Concordance 7.12 Adjectives on the left co-text of *attack/s* in relation to Gaddafi's side

1.	-fly zone to give protection against **air**	attacks	. Bugaighis said that diplomatic approaches
2.	But that had broken up amid **sniper**	attacks	. The morning was tense beneath the bonhomie,
3.	,torture of detainees and **indiscriminate**	attacks	on residential areas entirely justify the charges t
4.	the possibility of looting and **reprisal**	attacks	once the fighting has died down. The NTC sent
5.	including **artillery, mortar and rocket**	attacks	against residential areas and use of anti-personnel
6.	"a policy of widespread and **systematic**	attacks	against civilians" and that his plan "expressly
7.	western Tripoli, blamed **deliberate**	attacks	. The electricity in central Tripoli went off for
8.	. **A wave of suicide**	attacks	*by loyalists* or retaliatory killings by rebels could
9.	of the revolution. **Horrible**	attacks	," one resident said by phone. "They came from
10.	from the supply trucks. **A desultory**	attack	late in the day was easily repulsed by the regime's
11.	. In Misrata, rebels resisted **a fierce**	attack	*by pro-Gaddafi forces,* and a doctor told Reuters
12.	. Four people were killed in **a larger**	attack	on 30 April. The Gaddafi forces have resorted to
13.	f after **a sustained artillery and air**	attack	. The rebel forces fled alongside the the town's
14.	- in the face of a potential **revenge**	attack	*by the Gaddafi regime.* Mr Koussa is also thought
15.	son, Khamis, unleashed **the fiercest**	attack	yet, sending in as many as 50 tanks. From the

It is apparent in the above lines that the node word *attack/s* is pre-modified by adjectives *air* (line 1), *sniper* (line 2), *artillery, mortar and rocket* (line 5), a *wave of suicide* (line 8) and *sustained artillery and air (line 13)*, which are characterising the attacks. In the other lines, the attack is described as *indiscriminate*, *systematic*, *deliberate*, *horrible*, *desultory*, *fierce*, *revenge* and *fiercest.* These evaluative adjectives signify the aggressive nature of the attacks that are committed by Gaddafi's side. Ideologically, the packaging up of adjectives with the

noun phrase structure makes these adjectives less open to question by the reader; rather, the information is taken for granted (Jeffries, 2010). In another 12 cases, the word *attack/s* is constructed as a scope in material action intention (MAI) patterns, as evident in the lines below:

Concordance 7.13 Co-occurrence of *attack/s* as a scope in MAI

16.	into the city by *the government* **to carry out**	attacks	," he said. "He was shot when he w
17.	And *they* were using that fuel **to carry out**	attacks	on civilians. "There are
18.	would prevent *the regime troops* from **carrying out**	attacks	in the eastern front as well as
19.	according to US intelligence, *Gaddafi* **had launched**	attacks	on the rebel-held western city of
20.	of Zintan, near the Tunisian border, and **launched**	attacks	using heavy weapons. Many
21.	, says Nato, to prevent *regime troops* from **mounting**	attacks	. Control of Brega and the
22.	council resolution requiring *Gaddafi* to **halt** his	attacks	on civilians. "Colonel Gaddafi did
23.	*Libyan leader's best-trained men* **launched** a surprise	attack	on its main oilfield and airport,
24.	*Loyal supporters of Colonel Muammar Gaddafi* **launched** a **surprise**	attack	on an oil refinery in rebel-held territory yesterday hours after the
25.	intervention as *Gaddafi's forces* **step up** counter-	attack	Regime strikes intensify as
26.	*the 32nd brigad* […] , Khamis, **unleashed** the fiercest	attack	yet, sending in as many as 50 tanks.
27.	on Saturday when *regime forces* **launched** their	attack	on Benghazi. The 32nd death from

From a transitivity system perspective, the nominal *attack/s* in the clauses above carries the experiential meaning of the processes *carry/ing out*, *launched*, *mounting*, *halt, step up* and *unleashed* (Lock, 1996; Thompson, 2004). As I pointed out in the previous chapter, this kind of scope is called "Scope: process", which expresses the process itself (Halliday, 2004, p. 193). Using the nominalised form *attack/s* instead of the verb form serves to introduce this action as a fact, thus making it less susceptible to debate. Also of particular interest in the construction of the clauses above is that the responsibility for the attack/s is assigned directly to participants belonging to Gaddafi's side (actors): *the government* (line16), *Gaddafi forces* (represented by the pronoun *they)* (line 17), *the regime troops* (line 18), *Gaddafi* (line 19), *Gaddafi forces*[45] (line 20), *regime troops* (line 21), *Gaddafi* (line 22), *Libyan leader's best-trained men* (line 23), *Loyal supporters of Colonel Muammar Gaddafi* (line 24), *Gaddafi's force* (line 25), *the 32nd brigade* (line 26) and *regime forces* (line 24). Their attacks are perceived as deliberately conducted against human goals: *civilians* (lines 17 and 22) and

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[45] Identified after accessing the source texts.

non-human goals: *cities*, *oilfield and airport* (lines 18, 19, 23, 24, 27) (underlined words above).

The carrying out of attacks by Gaddafi's side against innocent civilians is further evident in the recurrent [grammatical] patterns of *attacks on + noun (Goal)*, as seen in the lines below

Concordance 7.14 Co-occurrence of *attacks* in pattern *attacks on + human goals*

1.	council resolution requiring *Gaddafi* to halt his	attacks on	**civilians**. "Colonel Gaddafi did not
2.	to deter *the regime* from ordering more	attacks on	**civilians**. Musa Ibrahim, a Libyan
3.	supported it initially because of *Gaddafi's*	attacks on	**civilians**. The league's response,
4.	a similar fate if *they* continued to cooperate in	attacks on	**civilians**. "The warrants further
5.	. And *they* were using that fuel to carry out	attacks on	**civilians**. "There are commercial
6.	the opposition. "It is hard to imagine the end to	attacks on	**civilians** while the pro-Gaddafi regime
7.	zone would be designed principally to prevent	attacks on	**Libyan people** by the Gaddafi regime -
8.	*Colonel Gaddafi* to step down and called its	attacks on	**peaceful protesters** "genocide". He sa
9.	arrests, torture of detainees and indiscriminate	attacks on	**residential areas** entirely justify the

When I considered the extended context of the above lines, the clauses where the patterns *attacks on (civilians/Libyan people/peaceful protesters/residential area)* are identified are placed at low levels of subordination, except in lines 6 and 7. To clarify this point, the extended context of the first two lines are presented below:

(7.1) Jalil said that the AU peace proposal was drafted a month ago and had been overtaken by the UN Security Council resolution requiring Gaddafi to *halt* his **attacks on civilians.**

The Guardian, 12 April 2011

(7.2) Although it is seen by some as a paper tiger, the court's rapid announcement after a UN request at the weekend to examine Libya was intended to deter the regime from ordering *more* **attacks on civilians.**

The Times, 04 March 2011

We can see clearly that the clauses that represent the action of the attacks on civilians by Gaddafi and his regime are placed in the last level of subordination in the sentence structure. For Jeffries (2010), placing such information at a deep level of subordination makes it less susceptible to argument; it is rather taken for granted as it is passed as background

information. These actions are logically presupposed by a change of state verb *halt* (e.g. 7.1) and the adverb *more* (e.g. 7.2), which explicitly indicate that the attacks by Gaddafi and his regime have been conducted before against civilians. Against whom the attacks are directed is further evident in clauses where the recurrent pattern *under attack* occurs*:*

Concordance 7.15 Co-occurrence of *attack* in pattern *under attack*

1.	g the city. <u>Zintan</u>, another town in western Libya, **was also**	**under attack**	. "Several houses have	
2.	, for me that does not mean anything. <u>My people</u> here **are**	**under attack**	. "The situation is so	
3.	to what they had to say. But given that <u>Libyan</u> **was**	**under attack**	, it did not seem a	
4.	when shots were heard and he claimed that <u>his home</u> **was**	**under attack**	. The call ended abruptly.	
5.	the sky, so they could not have thought that <u>they</u> **were**	**under attack**	," said Ahmed Misani, a	
6.	ducking fire. For a minute it seemed impossible that <u>we</u> **were**	**under attack**	. Then the rounds whizzed	

The clauses above are relational processes in which the phrase *under attack* functions as attributive circumstantial[46]. In these clauses, the carriers are human: *My people*, *Libyan*, *we*, *they* and non-human *Zintan*, *his home* (underlined words above). This transitivity category is used to describe the situation in which the Libyan people are involved and illustrate the brutality of the Gaddafi side. Further evidence of Gaddafi side's responsibility for carrying out attacks is clearly presented in the recurrent pattern *attack/s + by + nominal* (participants belonging to Gaddafi's side). There are 17 occurrences of such patterns and just 8 of them are shown in the lines below. These patterns have been already discussed in detail in relation to how the key participants of Gaddafi's side are represented (section 6.2.3.1, concordance 6.17).

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[46] 'In attributive circumstantial, the circumstance is often expressed in the attribute. While the verb remains intensive, the attribute will be a prepositional phrase or an adverb of location, manner, cause, etc.' (Eggins, 2004: 245)

Concordance 7.16 Co-occurrence of *attack/s* in pattern *attack/s by nominal*

1.	In Misrata, rebels resisted a fierce	attack by	**pro-Gaddafi forces**, and a doctor told Reuters
2.	the under-armed rebels fight off the	attacks by	**regime forces** in the first days of the fighting,
3.	, including revenge killings, for their role in	attacks by	**Gaddafi forces** on the city of Misrata. While
4.	of people doctors believe have been killed in	attacks by	**Gaddafi's forces** on the city of Misurata since
5.	the town two weeks ago Misurata Reports say	attacks by	**Gaddafi forces** since March 18 killed 109 people
6.	be assured in the face of a potential revenge	attack by	**the Gaddafi regime**. Mr Koussa is also thought
7.	revolutionaries have resolutely repulsed repeated	attacks by	**regime forces**. The equipment has instead stayed
8.	final pocket were hit by a counter-	attack by	**loyalists** at around 3.30pm. The four fighters

In line with the above observation, the word *attack* also occurs as a verb in a repeated pattern *to attack + goal*, which functions as a complement in the clause structure, giving more evidence of how the Gaddafi regime conducted its attacks deliberately:

Concordance 7.17 Co-occurrence of *attack* as a verb in pattern *to attack + Goal*

1.	after *Gaddafi* was accused of ordering Libyan aircraft **to**	attack	**a radio station** being used by rebels in
2.	why he should go immediately. *His forces* continue **to**	attack	**Libyans** without mercy and this must
3.	launch bombing raids on Gaddafi forces if *he* continues **to**	attack	**protesters.** Libyan opponents of
4.	yesterday that *Col Muammar Gaddafi* was continuing **to**	attack	**civilians** despite the allied military i.
5.	*Gaddafi's forces* and allowing them full freedom **to**	attack	**the rebels** risks a partition of Libya at
6.	Othman, a Kurdish MP. "*He* used military means **to**	attack	**protesters** and that led to reactions for
7.	weapons. *He* will use *those mercenaries* **to**	attack	**us.**" Yesterday, two fighter jets from
8.	*Col Gaddafi* must be made to comply with orders not **to**	attack	**civilians**, as set out in UN resolution
9.	over Libya, shooting down Libyan aircraft ordered **to**	attack	**protesters.** The Pentagon announced
10.	jet and let it crash in the desert after refusing orders **to**	attack	**Benghazi**, the eastern city where the
11.	of the officers based in Sirte had refused orders **to**	attack	**the rebel held towns**, saying that they
12.	. "That and the fact that there was an order to use planes **to**	attack	**the people.**" Workers at an oil refinery
13.	*Gaddafi - and forces* still loyal to him - were preparing **to**	attack	**rebels and protesters** in the west of t
14.	two senior fighter pilots defecting to Malta after refusing **to**	attack	**demonstrators**, the Libyan leader

From a transitivity system perspective, the verb *attack* is a material action process in which the actors are participants belonging to Gaddafi's side: *Gaddafi*, *his forces*, *he*, *Gaddafi's forces*, while the goal is human: *Libyans*, *protesters*, *civilians*, *rebels*, *people*, *demonstrators* and non-human: *a radio station*, *Benghazi*, *the rebel held towns.* The nominal choices that refer to victims *Libyans*, *protesters*, *civilians*, *people* and *demonstrators* encode the tragic circumstances of the attacks and create a picture of weak and innocent victims. Further on, the attack is logically presupposed in lines 2, 3 and 4 by the iterative verb *continue*, which indicates that Gaddafi's side had already conducted an attack. Also of particular interest is

the negative particle *not* in *Col Gaddafi must be made to comply with orders **not** to attack civilians* (line 8), which serves to conjure up the negated hypothetical situation.

Turning to the opposition side, as I stated above, there are only 38 cases where the attack has been conducted by the opposing side. On close inspection of these lines, I found that the word *attack/s* was also represented as a noun in noun phrase patterns in 28 instances, similar to the construction of attack that was carried out by Gaddafi's side. However, the occurrence of this target word in the noun phrase patterns does not carry any negative evaluation in comparison to the description of attacks by Gaddafi's side. The L1 collocate is *rebel*, *surprise*, *bigger*, *three-pronged* and *rocket*. In just two instances, the rebels' attack is described as unsystematic:

Concordance 7.18 Descripting of opposition side's attack as unsystematic

1.	moving to the west, where a **rare co-ordinated**	attack	by the rebels has brought their fighters
2.	The complex had been under **disorganised**	attack	from the rebels from the early hours. "

Such description shows that the fighting group belonging to the opposition side is not effective in its fight against Gaddafi's regime. For this reason they received support and help from the foreign alliance. This is apparent in one concordance line of the word *attack* in which their attack is described as co-ordinated:

(7.3) For weeks, military and intelligence officers have been helping the rebels plan their **co-ordinated attack** on the capital, and Whitehall sources have disclosed that the RAF stepped up raids on Tripoli on Saturday morning in a pre-arranged plan to pave the way for the rebel advance.

The Daily Telegraph, 23 August 2011

Considering the co-text, the main actors in the above clause providing the action of help are military and intelligence officers from Britain, while the key participants in the opposition forces *rebels* are syntactically represented as recipients of the material action *help*.

In a similar pattern to the Gaddafi side, the word *attack/s* is also constructed as a scope in transitivity patterns in which the participants from the opposition side are the actors (italicised words in the lines below). However, such representation occurs just 7 times, in

comparison to Gaddafi's side in which it occurs 12 times, thus it might indicate that this side is less powerful.

Concordance 7.19 Co-occurrence of attack/s as a scope in MAI in relation to the opposition

1.	other equipment. When *rebels* **launched** a surprise	attack	on the village the following "
2.	said that *the movement of troops* **was preparation** for an	attack	on Tripoli. General Mahmoud is
3.	forces around the key oil town of Brega. *Younis* **launched** an	attack	on Brega in June, only to see it,
4.	.30pm on 20 August 2011, as *rebels* **launched** their first	attack	on the Libyan capital, 20 armed
5.	fight ow *Libyan rebel forces* **launched** a three-pronged	attack	on the last remaining pro-Gaddafi stronghold on the
6.	And the underground *activists* **were preparing** even bigger	attacks	. "People are ready for suicide
7.	A fourth day of combat inside the city saw *rebels* **launch**	attacks	against loyalist units fortified around Ouagadougou hall, the venue for pan-A

A matter of particular interest in the above syntactic patterns is to whom the action is directed. The goal of the process is non-human; the action is being acted upon certain places: *the village*, *Tripoli*, *Brega*, *on the Libyan capital* and *the last remaining pro-Gaddafi stronghold.* In just one case, the opposition attack is directed toward human goals: *against loyalist units fortified around Ouagadougou hall* (line 7).

7.2.3 The Keywords: *fire* and *firing*

A search of the concordance lines of the words *fire* and *firing* yielded total occurrences of 164 and 59 respectively. However, detailed analysis of all these lines shows that not all of the occurrences of this action are attributed to one side or the other of the conflict. It has been attributed to participants on Gaddafi's side in 62 instances, while the opposition side are represented as the actors of this action in 18 instances only. The remaining occurrences represent the situation of firing in general without specifying the doer of it.

When it is attributed to Gaddafi's side, the word *fire* is constructed as a scope in 24 cases of material action intention (MAI) patterns *opened/ opening fire*, some of which are represented here: (All instances can be found in Appendix C, Concordance C.3)

Concordance 7.20 Co-occurrence of *fire* as a scope in MAI in relation to Gaddafi's side

1.	*15 of Gaddafi's* pick-up trucks with mounted machine guns appeared on the horizon and **opened**	fire	. There were between 10 and 15 families lined up at gunpoint, they claimed
2.	from the warehouse after *the Khamis Brigade* **opened**	fire	, said the detainees had been told they
3.	than 50 were injured when *government forces* **opened**	fire	. Witnesses said that government snipers
4.	uary 17 when Colonel *Gaddafi's security forces* **opened**	fire	on crowds of protesters in Benghazi, and
5.	, February 18, loyalist troops and secret police **opened**	fire	on the funeral procession for the 17 as it
6.	focus of the fighting, when a *regime sniper* **opened**	fire	from one of the surrounding buildings.
7.	sporadically closer by as *Gaddafi sympathisers* **opened**	fire	from roofs within the town. Residents in
8.	centre of Tripoli along the Mediterranean, *they* **opened**	fire	on rebel positions from prominent
9.	*Gaddafi's mercenaries*, mainly from Africa, **have been opening**	fire	on people here. Hundreds of victims are now in
10.	shooting started. Witness accounts of *loyalists* **opening**	fire	on prisoners are likely to be presented to

The nominal *fire* in the clauses above carries the experiential meaning of the processes *opened/ing* (Lock, 1996; Thompson, 2004). It is presented as a noun instead of a propositional version in order to minimise the raising of potential questions by readers. The responsibility for the firing is attributed directly to participants belonging to Gaddafi's side: *15 of Gaddafi's*, *the Khamis Brigade*, *government forces*, *Colonel Gaddafi's security forces*, *loyalist troops and secret police*, *a regime sniper*, *Gaddafi sympathisers*, *they*, *Gaddafi's mercenaries* and *loyalists.* However, the focus was given to the affected participants in line 3 by exploiting the information structure to prioritise the Libyan people's loss and their suffering during the revolution, as illustrated in the extended line below:

(7.4) However, in Misrata, a city of 600,000 that is the largest rebel-held area in western Libya, residents reported yesterday that **11 people died and more than 50 were injured** when government forces opened fire.

The Times, 22 March 2011

In the example above the action of firing carried out by government forces is placed at a lower level of subordination, thus making it less open to debate. In another 14 cases, *fire* and *firing* occur as actional verb processes that have been conducted by participants of Gaddafi's side, which are highlighted in the lines below:

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Concordance 7.21 Co-occurrence of *fire/firing* as a verb in MAI in relation to Gaddafi's side

11.	people. But then I might die because **Gaddafi's men** are	firing	. You are in the middle of a crisis."
12.	African gunmen. "They have strong weapons. **They** are	firing	from there," he said. The rebels may
13.	managing to get ammunition. But **government troops** are	firing	on <u>them</u> from the top of the mobile
14.	managing to get ammunition. But **government troops** are	firing	on <u>them</u> from the top of the mobile.
15.	yard other **guards** opened the barn doors and began	firing	on <u>the detainees</u> and throwing grenades." I
16.	guests, I could see **gunmen** on the 12th floor of a building	firing	down towards <u>the port</u> where the opposition
17.	to flee when regime soldiers arrived. "**They** were just	firing	, <u>at everyone</u>, for no reason," he said.
18.	assault on Tripoli said **Gaddafi's soldiers** were now	firing	mortars <u>into residential areas.</u> Nabil
19.	assault on Tripoli said **Gaddafi's soldiers** were	firing	mortars <u>into residential areas.</u> Nabil t
20.	, which witnesses described as a bloodbath. "**They** were	firing	<u>at any living thing</u>," said one resident.
21.	many pockets and **traces of the old regime** that continue to	fire	. Then there will be another battle
22.	many pockets and **traces of the old regime** that continue to	fire	," he said. "Then there will be -
23.	the regime had given AK 47s to hand-picked **civilians** here "to	fire	<u>on the people</u>" after the crisis
24.	of attrition, in which the regime sends small **army units** to	fire	randomly and then withdraw,

Except for line 16, all the clauses above are speech representation of Libyan people, whose voices are contextualised within news stories as a way to convey eyewitness reports. In their verbiage, the Libyan people construct participants from Gaddafi's side as being exclusively responsible for the action of firing by using material active structures. In the clauses in which the material process is followed by a goal, the goal is either human goals or places where people live (underlined words above). Contextualisation of the action as targeting residential areas (lines 18 and 19), rather than affecting the residents themselves, might imply that there is no safe place for civilians as Gaddafi's soldiers did not differentiate between legitimate and non-legitimate targets of war. Furthermore, the lexical choices *everyone* and *any living things* in lines 17 and 20, respectively, implies that the action of firing is conducted intentionally against Libyan people without differentiation between armed forces from the opposition side and civilians.

The word *fire* also occurs as a noun in 16 instances that describe the firing of military means, such as *anti-aircraft*, *artillery*, *missile,* and *sniper* (all are shown in Appendix C, Concordance C.4). In most of these patterns, the firing has been described as intense and heavy:

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Concordance 7.22 Adjectives on the left co-text of *fire* in relation to Gaddafi's side

25.	the sand dunes below, <u>they</u> came **under intense anti-aircraft**	fire	and artillery bombardment.
26.	<u>Panic-stricken rebels</u> fled the eastern town of Brega **under heavy artillery**	fire	yesterday as units loyal to Colonel
27.	will never know. March 19, Benghazi I wake **to heavy shell**	fire	. War is here, and panic descends

The first two clauses are intransitive clauses in which rebels are represented as patients who are affected by the action of firing. Using such a structure enables the writer to focus attention on the affected participants, thus evoking the readers' sympathy, especially by using the lexical nominal choice *panic-stricken rebels* in describing the rebels in line 26.

In the instances where the action of firing is attributed to the opposition side, it has been constructed as an action of victory celebration, as clearly evident in the lines below:

Concordance 7.23 Firing as a celebration in relation to the opposition side

1.	of this, a <u>group</u> went into the town, **celebrated** by	firing	**into the air**, but then decided that the
2.	<u>Others</u>, their faces painted the colours of the old flag,	firing	bursts of automatic gunfire **into the air.**
	expressed their **joy** by		
3.	the town, and **celebrating** with the locals with much	firing	**in the air**, <u>the rebel fighters</u> decided to

The clauses above are behavioural processes[47] *celebrated*, *expressed* and *celebrating* in which the behavers are *group* (line 1), *others* (lines 2), *the rebel fighters* (line 3). The action of firing is represented as a consequence of celebration and joy at the opposition's victory. The nominalised material process of *firing* is directed towards the air, as illustrated by the phrase *into the air* in the above lines, i.e. no human goals are affected.

7.2.4 The Keyword: *assault*

The word *assault* is one of the violent action words, with a total occurrence of 96 times. Of these, 33 are assigned to Gaddafi's side and 19 and 20 to the opposition side and the foreign alliance respectively. In all of its occurrences, this word has been re-structured as a nominal in its nominalised form *assault*, which is packaged up inside noun phrase patterns, as in *their*

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[47] Behavioural processes resemble mental and verbal processes in that one participant is typically a conscious being.

barbaric assault, *bloody assault.* As I pointed out before, the textual effect of using a nominalisation instead of a propositional version enables the text producer to introduce the information as non-negotiable assumptions. Moreover, raising a potential challenge is also avoided through existential presupposition and logical presupposition, which occur in presenting the assault action. In relation to Gaddafi's side, the action of assault is existentially presupposed in 11 instances, as clearly evident in the lines below:

Concordance 7.24 Represent Gaddafi's side's assault as existentially presupposed

1.	to 150 prisoners were shot at in a barn. **The**	assault	at the capital's Salahuddin district last week was
2.	ificant preparations for the city's defence. **The**	assault	on Ajdabiya took on a familiar pattern with
3.	what the veteran dictator was aiming for. **The**	assault	on Bregga appeared to be more strategic than
4.	. Seventeen guards were killed in **the**	assault	on the refinery at Ras Lanuf, a key installation
5.	and more than 230 wounded men. **The**	assault	began as thousands of NTC fighters streamed
6.	Gaddafi attacked Benghazi on Saturday, **the**	assault	on the city causing a spike in civilian deaths and
7.	, which took the brunt of **Colonel Gaddafi's**	assault	, when tank fire hit the building, wounding Enas
8.	to protect Libya's people from **Gaddafi's**	assault	and help put an end to his war". British and US
9.	Benghazi during **the government's**	assault	on Saturday. Others remain trapped in Gaddafi-
10.	-gun mounted on the back. **The regime's**	assault	on Brega came after it seized control of the oil
11.	beleagured revolution, driving **the regime's**	assault	on the rebel stronghold westward, from where it

The action is existentially presupposed in the first 6 lines by the definite article *the*, while the existential presupposition of the assault is evoked by the possessive structure using the genitive marker '*s* in lines 7 to 11 above. Instead of using relational possessive structure, the possessive relation is expressed internally in the nominal constituent, thus it is ascribed directly to Gaddafi himself as well as his government and his regime. By using this construction, Gaddafi's side's responsibility for carrying out the assault cannot be argued but is rather taken for granted. In 6 other instances, the Gaddafi side's assault is logically presupposed by the iterative adjectives *final*, *fresh*, *new*, *renewed* and *sustained*:

Concordance 7.25 Represent Gaddafi's side's assault as logically presupposed

12.	out before *the government forces* launch their **final**	assault	. "We don't expect to evacuate all of the city," said
13.	*Muammar Gaddafi's forces* were launching a **fresh**	assault	on the edge of Ras Lanuf. They were not interested
14.	Rebel fighters withdraw from town after **fresh**	assault	by *army units* moving west. Shelling kills 21 people,,
15.	upper hand in Benghazi, *the regime* mounted **a new**	assault	on Misrata, 150km east of Tripoli, despite being on
16.	ahead of any possible ceasefire with **a renewed**	assault	on Misrata, which has remained an opposition centre
17.	aft guns and raced away from a **sustained**	assault	by rocket launchers and artillery to which they

These pre-modified adjectives presuppose that the action of assault has already been conducted by Gaddafi's side. In line with the above observation, the action of assault is being described as aggressive and ferocious using pre-modified negative adjectives such as *barbaric*, *bloody*, *full-blown* and *terrifying*, as exemplified in the lines below:

Concordance 7.26 Describing Gaddafi's side's assault as aggressive

18.	will greatly degrade *Gaddafi regime forces'* ability to carry on **their barbaric**	assault	against the Libyan people," he said. "Wherever Gaddafi tries to hide his
19.	where *Gaddafi's soldiers* staged **a bloody**	assault	on Misrata, has been ransacked and its
20.	rebel-held cities from **the threat of bloody**	assault	. Mustafa Gheriani, spokesman for the in
21.	army that Gaddafi could use in **a full-blown**	assault	on Benghazi. "He is playing a game of attrition
22.	up to Benghazi to continue **the terrifying**	assault	on the city that began on Saturday, were

Instead of using propositional clauses, the writer has packaged up the ideological content inside the nominal component in order to minimise the possibility of argument by the reader. Furthermore, the assault action is presupposed using the demonstrative *their* and the iterative verb *to carry on* (line 18) and the definite *the* (lines 20 and 22). In other cases, the pre-modified patterns of the word *assault* just describe the kind of assault that was committed by the Gaddafi side. It is described as *long-expected ground and air/ frontal/ air and land assault:*

Concordance 7.27 Gaddafi's side's nature of assault

23.	yesterday after *Col Muammar Gaddafi* began a **long-expected ground and air**	assault	on eastern Libya. As the country's leader promised to "fight until
24.	that *Gaddafi* is amassing tanks for a **frontal**	assault	. But he does recognise that victory is not certain.
25.	. *Pro-government forces* pushed back the rebels in **an air and land**	assault	on the town of Ajdabiya, as the regime moved to crush the

In a detailed examination of all the lines above (1 to 25) I found that the action is acted upon places and cities (underlined words above), i.e. non-human goal is directed, except in one case (line 18) where the affected goal was Libyan people. In some cases the affected goals are packaged up inside the nominalised phrase, as evident in the lines 2, 3, 4, 6, 10, 11, 16, 21 and 25. In another 6 cases the goals are re-structured in material action transitivity patterns, where Gaddafi's side's responsibility for carrying out the assault is clearly presented. Consider the lines 13, 15, 19 and 23, above: the clauses are material action intention (MAI) processes in which *Muammar Gaddafi's forces*, *the regime*, *Gaddafi's*

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soldiers and *Col Muammar Gaddafi* are discursively constructed as the central participants who carried out the assault[48] (function as a scope) against *the edge of Ras Lanuf*, *Misrata* and *eastern Libya.*

By contrast, there is not so much to say about the linguistic construction of the assault that is carried out by the opposition side. In a representation similar to the above the opposition side's assault is also constructed in patterns that presuppose its existence by using the define article *the* as a trigger. However, this representation occurred in just 3 cases:

Concordance 7.28 Represent opposition side's assault as existentially presupposed

1.	soldiers or mercenaries killed during **the**	assault	of the barracks, or in the hours of chaos that
2.	a leading role in planning and carrying out **the**	assault	that captured Tripoli. The anti-Western
3.	Though the initial picture of **the rebel**	assault	into Tripoli last week suggested an

In 4 other instances the assault is logically presupposed using the iterative adjective *final* which implies that there have been previous assaults carried out by this group.

Concordance 7.29 Represent opposition side's assault as logically presupposed

4.	near Tripoli, setting the stage for a **final**	assault	on the capital - perhaps within weeks. The
5.	of their revolution with a massive "**final**	assault	on Colonel Muammar Gaddafi's hometown
6.	Other fighters preparing to launch the **final**	assault	on Tripoli said Gaddafi's soldiers were now
7.	market before making a **final** and *bloody*	assault	on the main army barracks. Since then, Mr

The opposition assault is targeting non-human goals: *the barracks*, *Tripoli*, *the capital*, *Colonel Muammar Gaddafi's hometown*, *Tripoli*, *the main army barracks* (underlined phrases above). In one case their assault is being described as bloody, as evident in line 7.

7.2.5 The Keyword: *bombing*

The keyword *bombing* occurred in the corpus 106 times. After excluding the concordance lines that related to NATO bombings, which were 54 in total, the analysis of the remaining patterns showed that the word *bombing* co-occurs 17 times with the word *Lockerbie*,

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[48] The word *assault* functions as a scope in material action intention (MAI) processes, by which means the experiential meaning of the processes is expressed.

generating background knowledge of the Lockerbie disaster, which is existentially presupposed using the definite article *the*, as evident in the lines below:

Concordance 7.30 *Bombing* co-occurring with the word *Lockerbie*

1.	"There is much still to be resolved about [**the Lockerbie**	bombing	] issue and Gaddafi. Now that he is
2.	in establishing the truth about **the** 1988 **Lockerbie**	bombing	, the 1984 shooting of WPC Yvonne
3.	he formally accepted responsibility for **the Lockerbie**	bombing	. These two concessions resulted in
4.	accepting Libyan responsibility for **the Lockerbie**	bombing	, Gaddafi did agree to pay c
5.	Libyan intelligence officers implicated in **the Lockerbie**	bombing	. One was acquitted but the other,
6.	of charges, from involvement in **the Lockerbie**	bombing	to accruing a private fortune.
7.	made to the families bereaved in **the Lockerbie**	bombing	and the handing over of the two
8.	, whose husband died in **the** 1988 **Lockerbie**	bombing	"There is much still to be resolved
9.	victims", including those who died in **the Lockerbie**	bombing	, WPC Yvonne Fletcher and victims
10.	in terrorist plots across Europe including **the Lockerbie**	bombing	. P21 P22 Moore P22 news
11.	in recent years - from the handover of **the Lockerbie**	bombing	suspects to the surrender of his
12.	Colonel Gaddafi to the planning of **the Lockerbie**	bombing	will be priceless to his
13.	. UN sanctions in the wake of **the Lockerbie**	bombing	included a ban on flights to and
14.	US intelligence, that he co-ordinated **the Lockerbie**	bombing	in 1988. According to friends, Mr
15.	sent for trial in the Netherlands over **the Lockerbie**	bombing	. Megrahi is later convicted. Dec
16.	and extradited two suspects for trial over **the Lockerbie**	bombing	. The only overt evidence of UK
17.	, a key event that led to **the Lockerbie**	bombing	by Libyan agents two years later.

It is well known that Gaddafi was accused of ordering the bombing of Pan Am flight 103 over the town of Lockerbie, Scotland, in 1988, killing over 200 people. In 2003 Muammar Gaddafi accepted responsibility for the bombing and agreed to pay compensation to the victims' families. The more expanded concordance lines (3 and 4) show clearly Gaddafi's responsibility:

(7.5) In 2003 he formally accepted **responsibility for the Lockerbie bombing.**

The Times, 21 October 2011

(7.6) However, in addition **to accepting Libyan responsibility for the Lockerbie bombing**, Gaddafi did agree to pay compensation of up to $10 million each to the families of the victims.

The Times, 21 October 2011

Bringing to attention this terror event when covering the Libyan Revolution in the British press repeatedly constructs Gaddafi as a terrorist who had committed a crime against humanity before. Further, embedding historical background knowledge of terror action

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could be seen as an attempt to inform and remind the readers that Gaddafi had previously practiced his terror globally and killed innocent people, so it is not surprising to see him use any violent means against his own nation, as evidenced in this chapter and in the previous chapter. Similar to this tragic event, the bombing of a Berlin nightclub, which Libya was blamed for, is also brought up three times in the corpus alongside the word *bombing:*

Concordance 7.31 *Bombing* co-occurring with the words *Berlin/ nightclub*

18.	Gaddafi in Tripoli in retaliation for a **nightclub**	bombing	in Germany that was allegedly
19.	massacres at Rome and Vienna airports, and the	bombing	of **a Berlin night club** frequented b
20.	clashed off the Libyan coast. Months later, when the	bombing	of **a Berlin** discotheque packed with

The action in the above lines is constructed as fact by being existentially presupposed by using the definite determiner *the*, as in lines 19 and 20.

Representation of the action of *bombing* by Gaddafi's side occurred 5 times in the corpus in its nominalised form, thus leaving any questions aside:

Concordance 7.32 Co-occurrence of *bombing* as nominalisation

1	said *Colonel Gaddafi's troops* were playing a "dirty game" by	bombing	**the facility**, and more air strikes took
2	*lonel Gaddafi* did not recognise this resolution and continued	bombing	**civilians** from the air and shooting them,
3	took on a familiar pattern with *Tripoli's forces* first	bombing	then shelling **the town**. Gaddafi's army
4	to fight it out throughout the day, with *Gaddafi's forces*	bombing	**the rebels,** who appeared to be cut off
5	his fight to stay in power. Shortly after *his air force* launched	bombing	raids **on rebel-held positions**, Col

The main actors in the above clauses are *Colonel Gaddafi's troops* (line 1), *Colonel Gaddafi* (line2), *Tripoli's forces* (line 3), *Gaddafi's forces* (line 4) and *his air force* (line 5), while the goal is either human - *civilians* (line 2), *the rebels* (line 4) or non-human **-** *the facility* (line 1), *the town* (line 3), *rebel-held positions* (line 5). What is of particular interest is that bombing civilians in line 2 is presented as background knowledge as it is logically presupposed by the iterative verb *continued* and passed as a non-negotiable assumption. By presenting this action as background knowledge it will be recognised as true.

7.2.6 The Keyword: *shot*

In reporting the Libyan Revolution by the British press, there was a focus on representing the victims of the conflict and this is indicated by the keyword *shot*, which occurs 86 times

in its verb function. In 25 cases the word *shot* is constructed as a material action intention process in passive clause patterns: *had/have been shot*, *was/were/being/be shot*. To illustrate this point, below are some concordance lines that provide textual evidence of these two cases: (All lines are reproduced in Appendix C, Concordance C.5).

Concordance 7.33 Co-occurrence of *shot* in passive clause patterns

1.	in the outskirts of Benghazi. "He **had been**	shot	**in the head**. A bloodstained note bearing his
2.	matter". He said the three men **had been**	shot	before they arrived for questioning. "We
3.	. Some had bound hands, others **had been**	shot	**dead** as they lay on beds in a makeshift
4.	tied behind their backs. Several **had been**	shot	**in the head**. A total of 30 bodies were
5.	the capital. "Two people **have been**	shot	**dead**. Please get everyone into the car and
6.	battle that liberated Zlitan, Marwan **was**	shot	**dead**. Izzo took his friend to Misrata and
7.	people claimed. Shawad Mohammed **was**	shot	in the front of his home; Jadullah Bakhti was
8.	ws. But I am alive. My neighbour **was**	shot	. He is in hospital. I do not curse these dead
9.	become one of up to 150 prisoners **were**	shot	at in a barn. The assault at the capital's
10.	suggests that some of the victims **were**	shot	while being held as prisoners, when that part of
11.	months ago shows young men who **were**	shot	, poisoned, hanged or hacked to death after an
12.	Khalid Abushahma, the first protester to **be**	shot	**dead** by *Muammar Gaddafi's forces* in this
13.	, where civilians, including quite a few children, **have been**	shot	by *regime forces*. Other stretches are a free-fire zone
14.	it **was** just unarmed demonstrators **being**	shot	by *security forces*. Over the following two days

The emphasis is put on the affected participants: *he (referring to Ibrahim Khalifa al-Surmani)*, *three men*, *others*, *several*, *two people*, *Marwan*, *Shawad Muhammed*, *my neighbour*, *150 prisoners*, *victims*, *young men*, *the first protester (Khalid Abushahma)*, *civilians* and *a few children*, *unarmed demonstrators* by the passive construction. The passive transformation serves to prioritise those victims, thus highlighting them in the readers' mind. In some cases the process *shot* followed by the circumstances of manner *dead* (lines 3, 5, 6 and 12) or place *in the head* (lines 1 and 4) highlight that the victims are being killed by shooting, thus signifying the brutal behaviour of the actor. The doer of the action of shooting is being specified clearly in the last three lines only: *Muammar Gaddafi's forces* (line 12), *regime forces* (line 13) and *security forces* (line 14), while the goals of the shooting are *the first protester*, *civilians* and *a few children*, and *unarmed protesters*. Targeting innocent people creates an impression of violence and enhances the negative attitude towards Gaddafi's side. In the other cases the doer of the action is left unspecified. However, the more expanded concordance lines show that action is being done by Gaddafi's side's participants. In all the occurrences, the shooting is assigned to the Gaddafi side only.

In just three cases the word *shot* functions as a material action process in the active voice wherein the actors are *Gaddafi loyalists*, *Gaddafi's forces*, and *Gaddafi snipers* (presented by the pronoun *they*):

Concordance 7.34 Co-occurrence of *shot* as material action process

15.	an uprising began inside it. *Gaddafi loyalists*	shot	**17 detainees** held in an internal security building i
16.	"*Gaddafi's forces* attacked with aircraft and	shot	from on top of the houses," said Ibrahim
17.	after a veteran opponent of the regime. "*They*	shot	**at us** from behind in the middle of town, just

In these cases, key participants on Gaddafi's side are being represented as exclusively responsible for shooting. In line 15 the affected participants are *17 detainees*, highlighting the violence and brutality of Gaddafi loyalists against victims.

7.2.7 The Keyword: *hit*

The word *hit* has a total occurrence of 86 describing a physical action that was carried out by a particular participant. Similar to the word *shot*, the word *hit* is constructed more frequently as a material action intention process in passive clause patterns: *had/have been hit*, *was/were hit*, by which the writer prioritises the affected goal of this action. This representation occurred in 17 concordance lines:

Concordance 7.35 Co-occurrence of *hit* in passive clause patterns

1.	, Feytouni confirmed that an air force base to the east **had been**	hit	on Sunday **by two bombs dropped from a jet**. "They were
2.	A 12-year-old boy from a family that had refused to leave their home **had been**	hit	as he stepped outside to play. He died immediately. An ambulance passed.
3.	. The wreck of a Toyota pickup belonging to rebels, that **had been**	hit	**by a mortar** round at the eastern end of the square, became
4.	this city have been injured since the conflict began. Many **have been**	hit	**by shrapnel from indiscriminate shelling** *by Gaddafi's forces*.
5.	hole on the side of a house which **had just been**	hit	**by a mortar round**. "That is the way they have fired,
6.	Gaddafi's forces. Many mosques **have since been**	hit	**by shells**. Fighting was fierce and bloody. Many re
7.	roof of his car. Another, Mohamed Ali, 18, **was**	hit	in the leg after checkpoint guards opened fire on his
8.	being driven out of the city when their car **was**	hit	**by a shell**. The oldest was 13. "It's horrible. Their
9.	for Mahmoud Mahmoud Ba'zeck since he **was**	hit	**by a rocket** during the siege of Misrata in June. The
10.	moments, because I was unconscious after I **was**	hit	on my back." One of the rebels who apparently
11.	," he said, recounting his capture. "I **was**	hit	in the head and I woke up in a room to the
12.	they said, when the truck they were in **was**	hit	in an air-strike on Sunday. Captain Zwei was
13.	three days ago when a car on the high street **was**	hit	**by an artillery** shell. "He was a passenger, his friend
14.	s, including Mohamed Hassan, 10, who **was**	hit	in the head when he opened his front door last
15.	from determined. On board was Islam, who **was**	hit	**by a rocket** on the front lines in early March. With
16.	Harboos Brigades holding a position just east of the final pocket **were**	hit	**by a counter-attack** *by loyalists* at around 3.30pm. The four
17.	ddafi's air force, oil tanks at nearby Es Sider **were**	hit	, causing a large explosion and sending towering

The action of hitting is directed towards human goals: *a 12-year-old boy* , *many*, *Mohamed Ali*, *he*, *I*, *Mohamed Hassan*, *Islam*, *Harboos Brigades*, and non-human goals: *the east*, *The wreck of a Toyota*, *a house*, *Many mosques*, *their car*, *the truck*, *a car*, *oil tanks*. Although

the doer of the action is only mentioned in line 4 *by Gaddafi's forces* and in line 16 *by loyalist*, accessing the source of these lines shows that the action of hitting had been carried out by Gaddafi's side, while none is attributed to the opposition side. In most of the cases above, the violent nature of the process is encoded in the circumstance element (manner: means) in the clauses that specifies by which means the actions have been performed. This shows them to have been performed by different military means: *two bombs*, *a mortar*, *shrapnel from indiscriminate shelling*, *a mortar round*, *shells*, *a shell*, *a rocket*, *artillery*, *a rocket*. In 8 other instances the word *hit* functions as a material action process in the active voice, as evident in the lines below:

Concordance 7.36 Co-occurrence of *hit* as MAI/MAE in an active voice structure

1.	ammunition. Then a *sniper's bullet*	hit	**him** in the forehead. It penetrated his skull and
2.	started shooting from the roof. *The bullet*	hit	**me** in the throat and came out through my chest
3.	of Colonel Gaddafi's assault, when *tank fire*	hit	**the building**, wounding Enas in both legs and
4.	it were rebels. "*A burst of gunfire*	hit	**us**," recalled the driver, Ayman Hadar, 21.
5.	, who was killed with **three of his children** when	hit	**their car**. The bombing has put the inexperienced
	an air strike		fighters on edge as
6.	eastern Libya March 3 *Gaddafi warplanes*	hit	**rebel-held Brega** March 12
7.	and pointing out where *the snipers* had	hit	**water tanks and electricity lines** to make life
8.	a distance. The failure by *the loyalists* to	hit	**their targets** emboldened Omar Hassani.

The processes in the first 6 lines are material action event processes (MAE) as their actors are inanimate *sniper's bullet*, *The bullet*, *tank fire*, *A burst of gunfire*, *an air strike* and *Gaddafi warplanes*, The human agency is played down. In contrast, the processes in the last two lines are material action intention processes (MAI), in which the actors are human *the snipers* and *the loyalists*. The affected goals include human and non-human Goals (highlighted words above).

7.3 Outcomes of Violence

In times of wars and conflicts, there are always undesirable outcomes and a human cost from violence. The reporting of casualties is one of the narrative items in news content that plays a vital role in shaping the public perception of the consequences of war as well as making the reporting of events captivating and 'newsworthy' (Greer, 2007). Reporting the consequences of war during the Libyan Revolution is clearly evident in the concordance

lines of the keywords *killed* and *dead*, which have different connotative meanings and syntactic behaviour. The lexical item *dead* does not imply a negative meaning in itself, but rather it conveys a natural end of the human being. From a transitivity perspective, *die*, as a verb, is an intransitive verb that has one participant, i.e. the patient. Unlike the verb *die*, the verb *kill* is a transitive verb that can have two participants: the actor who performs the action of killing and the affected participants. Its use attributes negative meaning as it denotes a criminal behaviour, and who is being killed is counted as a victim. Consequently, in analysing the word *killed*, the focus is on discovering who the affected participants are and to whom the responsibility is attributed. By contrast, in analysing the word *dead*, attention is being paid to the victims' identities and an account is given that portrays the death in a certain way.

7.3.1 Killing

The word *killed* occurs 250 times in the corpus, highlighting the war losses. Analysing this word shows that the victims of this action did not just belong to the opposing groups involved in the fighting but that the action also affected civilians. The journalists tend to use different nominal choices to refer to the victims who are being killed. The most frequent one is the generic nominal choice *people*, which is used in 18 instances in referring to those victims. Some examples are reproduced here:

Concordance 7.37 People as victims of killing

1.	darkness fell. Rebel leaders said 400	**people had been killed** and 2,000 injured during the fighting.
2.	yesterday estimated that 50,000	**people have been killed** during the revolution. Col Hisham Buhagi
3.	arrival of the enemy. More than 400	**people had been killed** in the east since the disturbances started
4.	75 miles west of Tripoli Libya 23	**people are reported killed** *when pro-government forces attack* the
5.	Libya had begun. At least six	**people were killed** in skirmishes that appeared to intensify
6.	security forces opened fire. About 70	**people were killed** in a matter of days. The city rose
7.	television and his money. "Lots of	**people were killed**. We need to go home," he said. Salim
8.	Tripoli on Monday afternoon. "Many	**people were killed** by the explosions and bullets," a 22-year-old
9.	7 May and drove through the town. Four	**people were killed** in a larger attack on 30 April. The Gaddafi
10.	uprising, and in the same year 50	**people were killed** when his security forces gunned down spectator

However, this nominal choice does not provide any identification of who is being killed, whether civilians or military social actors; in fact, no distinction is provided that implies that

there was a violation of war ethics on the part of the doer of the action as there is no differentiation being made between legitimate and non-legitimate targets of war. In only one case is some clarification provided where the generic reference *people* refers to both *fighters* and *civilians*, as evident in the example below:

(7.7)   Doctors at the opposition-controlled Beer Muammar field hospital, six miles from Zawiyah, said **83 people - fighters and civilians -** had been killed in the city since the weekend.

The Guardian, 19 Aug 2011

As the journalists refer to the victims of the opposition side who are involved in the conflict using specific identification such as *fighters*, *rebels*, as will be elaborated later, we could assume that the nominal choice *people* refers to civilians as there is no identification. Furthermore, the victims are numerically quantified by a high number, as in lines 1, 2 and 3, which could raise concern about how the war was conducted. Those victims are killed either in a violent situation *during the fighting*, *during the revolution*, *the disturbances*, *skirmishes*, *in a larger attack* or by military means *the explosions and bullets*, with less evidence of who is responsible for these actions. However, the responsibility is attributed to Gaddafi's side only in line 4 *when pro-government forces attack* and line 10 *when his security forces gunned down*. In the above instances, the writers choose to focus on the victims by using the passive construction, which helps to highlight them in the readers' mind. In other cases, the journalist used the collective nominal choice *civilians* that clearly distinguishes those victims from fighters. This nominal reference is used 9 times in the corpus, with no reference to their personal details or status:

Concordance 7.38 Civilians as victims of killing

12.	-Western sentiment, showing pictures of what it said was a funeral of **civilians**	killed	in the aerial bombardment. Hysterical pro-Gaddafi residents said they would f
13.	. So you had unarmed **civilians**	killed	as well as some who were armed." Between
14.	On Monday the victims included a **civilian**, Mohammed Ashtal, who was	killed	with three of his children when an air strike hit their car. The
15.	with a missile launcher on his lap. He claimed that **two civilians** were	killed	in the main square of the town, the focus of the fighting, when a *regime sniper opened fire*
16.	, the son of a prominent Libyan exile, said at least **133 civilians** had been	killed	in Tripoli's fierce fighting, citing opposition sources. Other fighters prepa
17.	it outright. "The Libyan regime committed crimes against humanity and	killed	**civilians**," said Mahmoud Othman, a Kurdish MP. "He used military means to atta
18.	. **Some civilians** have already been	killed	here since the UN resolution on Thursday

As the clauses in lines 12, 13 and 15 are indirect speech representation, the nominal choice *civilians* is the choice of journalists. Referring to the affected participants as civilians indicates that the Libyan regime committed war crimes. Furthermore, this reference illustrates that the British media constructed the situation in a way that would evoke sympathy and solidarity with Libyan people. It is also evident that innocence and humanitarianism are the focus and concern of the British press. In line 14 the killing of Mohammed Ashtal and three of his children is passed as given knowledge rather than a proposition which could be questioned, as it is packaged up inside the relative clause that functions as a post-modifier of the preceding noun phrase. In order to maximise the new value of this event and highlight the victim in the reader's mind, the victim is being personalised by using his name *Mohammed Ashtal*. For Bell (1991) the personalisation strategy is 'more newsworthy than a concept, a process, the generalized or the mass' (p. 158). Furthermore, the victims are constructed as family *Mohammed Ashtal and three of his children*. This naming strategy will draw more sympathy and attention. Similar to the above cases, the focus was again given to the victims rather than to the doer of the action. Although the agency is backgrounded – passivised and nominalised – Gaddafi's regime's responsibility for the action is still evident through the co-text as in line 15 *when a regime sniper opened fire* or by accessing the context of the word. In contrast, the action of killing in line 17 is realised in the active voice, by which the Libyan regime is being constructed as the active agent of the action. The clause in this line is a direct speech report of Mahmoud

Othman, a Kurdish MP. Reporting the speech of the powerful elite in news stories directly would make the news newsworthy and conceivable by the reader as irrevocable facts (Jeffries, 2010; Van Dijk, 1991).

Apart from generalisation, the British press also reports the killing of members of Libyan families, showing how those families experienced war and armed conflict:

Concordance 7.39 Family members as victims of killing

19.	and an ammunition case. **Three members of his family** had been	killed	**by Gaddafi's army**. He was not afraid to die. "My heart is
20.	the approach to the city said that **a family of seven** had been	killed	in a car there on Wednesday **by a rocket-propelled grenade**,
21.	in which **five members of one family** had been injured or	killed	, but government minders abandoned the excursion because
22.	Abdullah, a small girl, two weeks before. **Sanad Aduraat, a toddler**	killed	by a bullet on 6 March. Carved into the cement next to
23.	neighbourhood as she tried to flee by car. **Her brother-in-law** was	killed	beside her and his wife shot in the head. She remains in
24.	him," said Abdul Salam, whose aunt, **uncle and eight-year-old brother** were	killed	in a missile attack on their home in Misrata. Abdul, 10, suffered a r

First, the use of familial terms to refer to the affected participants is likely to evoke more sentiment as the word *family* conveys innocence and vulnerability. Also of particular interest is that the writers of the above lines refer to particular families, thus highlighting their loss and their unique experience of the horrific events they went through in the readers' mind. Violation of the international norms by the Gaddafi regime is also made evident in the killing of children during the revolution. In just three cases the affected participants have been referred to by the nominal choice *children*:

Concordance 7.40 Children as victims of killing

25.	could hold it. But the coming threat is different. "**He**	killed	**the city's children** last weekend and he will do it again.
26.	-held western city of Misurata, where **four children** were reportedly	killed	**by shelling** yesterday. "It's my judgment that, despite our success, Gaddafi a
27.	On Monday **the victims included a civilian, Mohammed Ashtal**, who was	killed	with **three of his children** when an air strike hit their car. The

Children have been classified as 'ideal victims' who can be conceived of as 'vulnerable, defenceless, innocent and worthy of sympathy and compassion'(Greer, 2007, p. 22). Mentioning children and civilians as victims shows that the British press tries to report the suffering of innocent people and it is likely to highlight that there was no differentiation in war targets.

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In addition, the British press also reported casualties from the opposition side. In presenting those fatalities, different nominal choices are used to refer to them. They are named as *rebel fighter* (7 times), *rebels* (twice), *demonstrators* (once), and *protesters* (twice), as evident in the lines below:

Concordance 7.41 Referencing names to casualties from the opposition side

1.	by a sniper. **Another fighter** who tried to rescue him was also	killed	. Ahmed was declared a
2.	towards the city. Rebel surces said **11 of their fighters** had been	killed	and they had captured
3.	fight until the end." He said that at least **three rebels** had been	killed	and 40 wounded in the
4.	d that **nine rebel fighters** and a woman living nearby had been	killed	and 30 others wounded.
5.	The Times by telephone that **scores of protesters** had been	killed	. Colonel Gaddafi's
6.	, said **83 people** - fighters and civilians - had been	killed	**in the city** since the
7.	. At least **30 rebels,** including the local commander, were reported to have been	killed	in an offensive on Zawiyah, a to
8.	At least **232 demonstrators** in Benghazi are believed to have been	killed	since the uprising began and u
9.	past two months, in which an estimated **16 protesters** have been	killed	. The government has said
10.	take Bin Jawad had failed with **many of the rebel fighters**	killed	or injured. Those taken
11.	in a stinking side-room. **Several dozen fighters** were	killed	in Tuesday's ferocious
12.	first such incident. Last Saturday **13 rebel fighters** were	killed	10 miles along the same
13.	the start of the uprising in February, and **many protesters** were	killed	. Over the next six months

These nominal choices are those of the journalists (even in the reporting clauses as they are represented using indirect speech). Naming the affected participants as *protesters* and *administrators* further enhances the brutality and inhumanity of the Libyan regime as these nominal choices indicate that the affected participants are not armed forces. Using passive construction helps to prioritise those victims and gives them greater prominence.

In 9 other instances the journalists focus on stating how many people have been killed without identifying those victims: *18 had been killed*, *around 15 have been killed*, *more than 600 killed*, *Scores*, *many of them killed*, *between 15,000 and 17,000 were killed*, *eight were killed*, *18 were killed* and *260 men who were killed*. Providing numerical facts in news discourse gives a sense of credibility and truthfulness (Van Dijk, 1988a). It is also a way to highlight how the war was violent and aggressive.

7.3.2 Dead

Victims of violent actions are also presented in the concordance lines of the word *dead*, which has a total of 149 occurrences (less frequent than the word *killed*.) It is used as a noun,

a verb or an adjective to describe the termination of life. What is of particular interest in its concordance lines is who the casualties are during the revolution and how they are being portrayed. The analysis shows that the journalists focus on casualty counts in reporting the war deaths, some of which are reproduced below:

Concordance 7.42 Quantification of dead people

1.	from their homes. **Hundreds are**	dead	in the uprising and hundreds more missing.
2.	during ferocious fighting that **left dozens**	dead	as Gaddafi forces rolled back military gains
3.	evidence to support claims of **50,000**	dead	made by an NTC official; the real figure is likely
4.	The Daily Telegraph counted **four**	dead	, and medical sources later said 18 were killed there.
5.	after days of bloodshed that left **hundreds**	dead	, has witnessed a carnival perhaps unprecedented in
6.	Tripoli becomes a battlefield -- with **hundreds**	dead	and thousands wounded as rebels and regimists d
7.	Fannoush accepts that with **hundreds**	dead	or missing - some having disappeared into Gaddafi's
8.	their We are not going through **thousands** of	dead	**people** just to have this kind of politician running our
9.	the clashes that consumed Zawiya six months ago months ago, leaving **scores of people**	dead	and injured. Um Baka Mohamed was being driven
10.	the streets, with **at least 295 people** reported	dead	and many more unaccounted for. He issued a chilling
11.	, doctors said that they had counted **26**	dead	**fighters** and more than 230 wounded men.

In the above lines, there is no clear identification of the dead people. They are being constructed in terms of the collectivisation process: statistics and group; that is, the war victims have been referred to using quantifiers (highlighted words above). Quantifying the number of war deaths as a result of fighting suggests an underlying discourse evoking readers' sympathy by illustrating clearly to them the human cost of war. Those human losses were the result of violent action: *during ferocious fighting* (line 2), *after days of bloodshed* (line 5), *battlefield* (line 6) *the clashes* (line 9) but without illustrating who is responsible, Gaddafi's side or the opposition side. In all but line 10, the extended co-text reveals that the violent action that caused such high death counts was conducted by the Gaddafi regime:

(7.8) "We have not used force yet," he said, despite mounting evidence that **his regime** has conducted a ferocious campaign to force demonstrators from the streets, with **at least 295 people reported dead** and many more unaccounted for.

The Independent, 23 February 2011

In a few cases the dead people's identity is given. They are being described as *civilians* (lines 12 to 15 below) and *protesters* (line 16). Among those dead are also *children*, *the elderly*

and *women* (lines 17 and 18), who are considered as 'ideal victims' because they can elicit the reader's empathy as they are vulnerable and peaceful (Greer, 2007, p. 22).

Concordance 7.43 Innocent people as war losses

12.	In Benghazi, **the first three civilian**	dead	appeared in a city hospital on February 16 after
13.	tanks were firing directly into buildings. Among the	dead	and injured were **civilians** who Sky reporters
14.	"We've had bilateral amputations, head injuries, chest injuries and brought	dead	," said Idris Mohammad, a doctor. "The majority were just **civilians** sitting at ho
15.	also saw **four civilians, three men and a woman,**	dead	beside the road. State television in Tripoli said
16.	other. The barrier of fear has not fallen -- even activists and relatives of	dead	**protesters** were too frightened to meet me. The revolution is far from dead.
17.	wounded to Benghazi. There were around 30	dead	there, **including some very young children.**
18.	had been killed in fighting yesterday. He said the	dead	included **the elderly, women and children.**

To evoke more sentiment, the writers report stories of individual's experiences during the revolution, showing their suffering at their relatives being dead.

Concordance 7.44 Families experiencing war losses

19.	doctor spoke of **his own son** who was missing for days but is now confirmed	dead	. Another man said he had two sons fighting and that each day was
20.	all over," he said, touching the picture of **his**	dead	**son** which hangs on a chain around his
21.	to the west are sheltering, **Ibrahim Boujuful** sat surrounded by portraits of **his**	dead	**sons** and nephews. "We are sorry for every Libyan that dies," said the 57-
22.	," the father said, watching the celebrations with a laminated card to remember **his**	dead	**son** in his pocket. "Martyr's cards" are handed out to families who
23.	have to defend ourselves," he said."**My father** is	dead	, my mother is worried each time I go
24.	whose house overlooked the killing ground and whose **own brother** was among the	dead	. "It happened shortly after sundown as we were breaking our Ramadan fast. About

In the above lines, the dead people are referred to by using a familial attribute: *his own son* (line 19), *his son/s* (lines 20, 21 and 22), *My father* (line 23*), own brother* (line 24). This representation signifies the suffering of the Libyan people during the revolution.

7.4 Concluding Remarks

This chapter has provided the results of the analysis of keywords linked to violence and its consequences, illustrating what was happening on the ground during the Libyan Revolution. The aim of this analysis is to reveal how the violence was portrayed in the British press and to discover whether Gaddafi's side or the opposition side was responsible for these violent

actions. It also aims to reveal the identity of the affected participants. A summary of the findings is represented in the table below.

The analysis revealed that the conflict between these opposing sides was discursively portrayed as aggressive and violent. The action of fighting was constructed as bloody and fierce, which was presupposed logically and represented as background knowledge throughout the corpus, as evident in table 7.1 below. The Libyan president, Gaddafi, was being constructed as the actor responsible for initiating the violence and calling upon his supporters to act violently towards the demonstrators. This is clearly evident in the corpus in the concordance lines of the word *fight*, which occurred as a main verb of the reported clauses of speech representation of Gaddafi (e.g. *Colonel Gaddafi on Monday called on his followers to pick up arms and fight the "traitors"*; *Muammar Gaddafi vowed to fight to the death).* Analysing the other violent actions showed that the responsibility for those actions was attributed more frequently to Gaddafi's side than the opposition side. Their responsibility is clearly represented using active construction, where they are the main actors who conducted these actions deliberately against human and no-human goals. In many cases, civilians and innocent people are constructed as the primary targets and victims of Gaddafi's side's military actions. This representation enhances the brutal impression of the situation and illustrates that the Gaddafi regime is a savage body which violates human rights by killing civilians. The killing of innocent people and committing a crime against humanity, by Gaddafi, is further emphasised by bringing Lockerbie and the Berlin terrorist bombing into the reporting, thus bringing to mind that Gaddafi is a terrorist who has practiced terror before, globally. In some cases, Gaddafi's side's violent actions are constructed as given facts through nominalisation, making them less susceptible to debate (e.g. Gaddafi's forces *bombing* the rebels). In some cases of this representation, participants on Gaddafi's side are constructed as the underlying subjects of the nominalised verbs by using possessive relations (e.g. *Gaddafi's attacks*, *Gaddafi regime forces' assault*, *the regime's assault).* Furthermore, the carrying out of violent actions by Gaddafi's side is logically and existentially presupposed in the corpus, thus avoiding any potential objection as they are passed as non-negotiable assumptions. Moreover, actions carried out by this side were discursively portrayed as indiscriminate, bloody, fierce, barbaric and terrifying actions (e.g. *indiscriminate/ deliberate/ horrible/ fierce attack*, and *barbaric/ bloody/ full-blown/*

terrifying assault), as shown in table 7.1 below. These representations strengthen the impression of the brutal scenes in which the Libyan people involved.

In comparison with Gaddafi's side, there are few cases in which violent actions are assigned to the opposition side, as shown in table 7.1 below. In particular, the action of bombing, hitting and shooting are represented as carried out by Gaddafi's side only: none is assigned to the opposition side. The opposition's actions are not represented as being as aggressive and savage as those of the Gaddafi side; their acts are not targeting civilians but rather they are targeting places (non-human directed). In some cases, the British press presents the opposition side's actions with justification and purpose (e.g. *fight for Libya and no one else*, *fight for our own country),* so the readers receive the general aim of the Libyan people.In addition, the opposition side is constructed as engaging in violence only in response to attacks initiated by the Gaddafi regime against them (e.g. *we have no choice but to continue our fight against this dictator*), and the action of firing conducted by the opposition side is not represented as a violent action but rather as an action of celebration following a victory in their battle.

Table 7.1 A summary of representation of the action related words

Actions	Assigned actor/	Freq.	Adjectival collocates		Linguistic Representation with frequency				
			Nature of the action	Evaluative	Linguistic Realisation		Freq.	Goal/ affected participants	
								Human	Non-human
Fighting	Not assigned to particular actor	301	**-**	Fierce, heavy, ferocious fiercest inconclusive and intense	logically presupposed		17	-	-
Fight	**Gaddafi's Side**	62			Verbal process	Sayer			
					*Vow** to fight	Gaddafi, his son, and his supporters	9	-	-
					promised to fight	Gaddafi	2	-	-
					Call/argue** [targets] to fight	Gaddafi and his son	5	-	-
					Get ready to fight	Gaddafi	3	-	-
					we will fight	Gaddafi	5	-	-
	Opposition Side	49	-		Patterns of speech representation	Libyan people	5	3	-
Attack/s	**Gaddafi's Side**	137	Air, sniper, artillery, mortar and rocket, a wave of suicide, sustained artillery and air.	Indiscriminate, systematic, deliberate, horrible, desultory, fierce, revenge and fiercest.	Scope in MAI		12	2	5
					Attacks on + human goals		9	9	-
					Carrier + Under attack		6	4	2
					Attack/s by		17	-	-
					To attack + goal		14	11	3

	Opposition Side	38	Rebel, three-pronged and rocket.	surprise, bigger, rare co-ordinated, disorganised	Scope in MAI	7	0	6
Fire/Firing	**Gaddafi's Side**	62	anti-aircraft, artillery, missile, and sniper	-	opened/ opening fire (scope in MAI)	24	4	1
					fire/firing as a verb in MAI	14	8	1
	Opposition Side	18	-		As an action of victory celebration	3	0	3
Assault	**Gaddafi's Side**	33	long-expected ground and air, frontal, air and land	barbaric, bloody, full-blown and terrifying	Existentially presupposed	11	0	6
					logically presupposed	6	0	3
	Opposition Side	19	Rebel	Bloody	existentially presupposed	3	0	2
					logically presupposed	4	0	4
Bombing	**Gaddafi's Side**	54	Lockerbie, Berlin/ nightclub		Lockerbie bombing	17		
					Berlin/ nightclub bombing	3		
					nominalisation	5	2	3
	Opposition Side	0	-		None is assigned to this sides			
Shot	**Gaddafi's Side**	86	-		Passive: had/have been shot, was/were/being/be shot	29	29	
	Opposition Side	0	None is assigned to this sides					
Hit	**Gaddafi's Side**	86			Passive: had/have been hit, was/were hit	17	9	8
	Opposition Side	0	None is assigned to this sides					

In analysing the words encoding the outcomes of the violence, the analysis revealed that civilians were the main casualties and victims of the Libyan conflict. In reporting the killings, the British press focused on the affected victims rather than who carried out the action of killing, and by using agentless passive construction, the emphasis was given to the victims, with less evidence of who was responsible for the killing. This could imply that humanitarianism and the consequences of war are the main focus of the British press. In just four cases the responsibility for the killing of civilians was attributed to Gaddafi's side; in fewer cases was there reporting of victims of the opposition side who were killed as a result of the fighting. In other cases there was a focus on casualty counts of those who had been killed rather than on their identity (e.g. *more than 600 killed*, *between 15,000 and 17,000 were killed)*. Statistical representation of victims, in figures, was also highlighted in representing those who had died (e.g. *hundreds dead*, *thousands of dead)*. This representation helps to draw the attention of readers to the terrible impact that the Libyan war has had on Libyan civilians, and thus the tragic impression induces their sympathy and solidarity with the Libyan people.

Similar to the findings in the previous chapter, the analysis also reveals that Gaddafi's side is portrayed as more violent than the opposition. As explained before, examining the linguistic analysis in relation to the socio-political contexts will help to explain the above representation. The Libyan-UK relations were marked with tension when Gaddafi was in power, due to his involvement in terror acts that carried out on British territory. In the above analysis, attention was given to Lockerbie attack that Gaddafi had been accused of. This event was brought into the reporting of the Libyan revolution, as it is considered to be newsworthy in relation to the British issue. It is also a way to remind the readers that Gaddafi practised his violence globally. Therefore, the negative representation of Gaddafi could be interpreted as a reflection of British-Libyan tensions. One could argue, then, that the newspaper is not biased, given Gaddafi's historical background. Thus, the readers could see that the military intervention to overthrow Gaddafi was the right option, and there is no a problem with Libyans wanting him deposed. The point to clarify here is that the problem is not of presenting Gaddafi in this way, rather, as previously stated, it is the biased coverage of representing the opposition side positively. Again, the British press represented the

actions carried out by the opposition forces as not targeting human goal, and as justified. The reprisal killings and violent actions taken against Gaddafi's supporters did not get any coverage. However, whilst a great deal of space was devoted to cover the human cost, there is no mention of casualties and victims of the Gaddafi's side. This representation reveals a hegemonic discourse, as the newspapers under investigation have the absolute discursive power to decide what and how to report. Since these newspapers have such an influential function on society, we could argue that the representation of the opposition in such positive terms could make the readers think that Libyan will have a good future after overthrowing Gaddafi, as those people fight for democracy and freedom. However, Gaddafi has gone now, and the revolutionary brigades who were fighting against Gaddafi have turned into armed wings who control the territory. The political consequence of toppling Gaddafi has spawned chaos in Libya. The Libyan people now suffer from deterioration in both their security and economic situations. They are facing serious abuses, including torture, assassinations, kidnappings, and internal displacement. What is even worse is that Libya has become fertile ground for the Islamic State (ISIS) and other terrorist groups (Erdağ, 2017; Hove, 2017). Considering these consequences, I could argue that the newspaper bias in favour of the opposition could be seen as problematic and is a cause for concern.

Chapter 8

Conclusion

8.1 Introduction

As stated in the introductory chapter, this study is a critical stylistic analysis of the representation of the Libyan Revolution in the British newspapers. The principal aims of the present study were twofold. First, to investigate empirically whether there was a biased representation of the Libyan Revolution in a corpus of British broadsheet newspapers, and secondly, to highlight how the linguistic structures and the discursive choices play a role in operating certain ideologies embedded in discourse. These objectives were determined by the following questions:

1. How is the Libyan Revolution of 2011 constructed linguistically in British newspaper discourse?

2. To what extend and in which ways do British newspapers represent events in support of one side of the conflict?

3. What are the underlying ideologies embedded in the ways the British newspapers represent the opposing groups and their actions?

In order to address the above research questions, a corpus of British broadsheet newspapers was analysed by employing Critical Stylistics (CS) (Jeffries, 2010) integrated with Corpus Linguistics. This chapter starts by discussing the key results of the analysis in relation to the research questions. Then, the results has been explained and interpreted in relation to the wider historical, social, political, and cultural contexts, highlighting the value of the analysis and reflecting on journalistic practices. The chapter ends with identifying the key contributions of the study followed by a reflection on some of its limitations and then illustrates the possible routes for further research.

8.2 Key Research Findings

The results obtained from a corpus-based critical stylistic analysis testify to the existence of a biased representation of the Libyan Revolution in the British newspapers. The British newspapers report the event in favour of the opposition side. In their coverage, they try to legitimise and support the opposition side and, conversely, aim to delegitimise Gaddafi and his regime. Through the deployment of specific linguistic means and devices, the UK broadsheet newspapers represented a negative stereotypical image of Gaddafi's side while simultaneously giving many neutral and even positive portrayals of the opposition side.

The UK press constructs Gaddafi as the long-standing dictator who ruled his people with an iron-fist. The main adjectives used to describe him are hated, murderous, brutal, mercurial and notorious, which project an image of cruelty. There was also a focus on portraying him as a crazy man by describing him as erratic. His erratic behaviour is further emphasised by quoting the nominal choice "Mad Dog", Ronald Reagan's famous label, as a way to remind the reader of Gaddafi's history of madness. In addition, Gaddafi was frequently depicted as a brutal, cruel and criminal leader who used violent military means to suppress his people when they revolted against him. Gaddafi is figured in MAI structures and projected as an agent of abhorrent violence and brutalisation. He is also constructed as an agent of human rights violations and breaching international norms. His violence and brutalisation are existentially presupposed and constructed as given facts through nominalisation. The same negative image is also used to depict his government and his forces. This was achieved by placing them as the participants who were taking the leading roles in acts of violence and oppressive practices. Furthermore, the negative stance of the UK press is also reflected through using the nominal choice regime frequently to refer to the Libyan government, with an emphasis on its being cruel, brutal, ruthless, cruel, murderous, aggressive and violent. In analysing action-related words, I found that the great majority of words depicting violent actions were assigned to Gaddafi's side, rather than the opposition side. The Gaddafi side's responsibility was realised through the active voice structure. Frequently, civilians and innocent people were constructed as the primary targets and victims of the violent actions of Gaddafi's side. Given the influential role of newspapers in supporting the political elite, using such emotional language by the British newspapers perhaps to justify and legitimise

the military intervention in Libya and emphasis that the intervention (led by the British government) is humanitarian. Of course, as Van Dijk (1996) points out out, '[T]here is evidence that in many situations the news media have been persuaded, manipulated, or even coerced to follow political (or military) views on international affairs'(p. 28). This suggests that newspapers, to some extent, reflect the British government's policies.

Conversely, whenever the participants from the opposition side were constructed as actors, their actions were represented mainly in terms of movement and control rather than actual military activities. In many cases, the participants of this side were constructed as agents of intransitive material processes, which discursively represent their actions as not affecting others. In the cases where they were figured as agents of transitive material processes, their acts were of targeting places rather than targeting people. Moreover, the purpose of their actions is presented clearly: they are involved in violence to defend themselves in pursuit of freedom and democracy. This is also evident in the selected terms used to name them (e.g. freedom fighters and democratic revolutionaries). Furthermore, the participants from the opposition side were projected emotively as helpless victims in relation to the construction of Gaddafi's side as the aggressors perpetuating violence upon them. Interestingly, they are legitimised as they are constructed as recipients of support and help from the international community. The legitimisation of the opposition side is also clearly depicted in constructing the National Transition Council (NTC) and its chairman as Libya's legitimate representatives. In general, this side of the conflict is represented as though it shared the same positive ideological beliefs of freedom, justice and democracy as Western societies. This reflects the fact that the UK newspapers constructed the event to pursue certain ideologies. They sought to uphold the values of democracy, freedom and universal rights and maintain them by sharing them publicly with their readership. This proves Fowler's view (1991) that the new texts are not value-free but are shaped by the hidden ideologies of the text producer. Furthermore, constructing the event in favour of the opposition side is clearly established in reporting Gaddafi's demise. The British press obscures the rebels' responsibility for the brutal killing of Gaddafi through the frequent use of patterns of mystification of the agency via passivisation and nominalisation strategies. This indicates that the choice of a particular linguistic structure is a matter of portrayal and representation rather than a matter of accuracy. Furthermore, by investigating the contextual background, I

found that violent actions committed by rebels were not covered by British newspapers. In cities where Gaddafi loyalists lived, the opposition forces carried out revenge killings, destroyed everything in front of them and committed human rights violations against residents. In the wake of the victory over Gaddafi, groups belonging to opposition forces continued to perpetrate rights violations (Pargeter, 2012). Although the data collected in this research includes the two months immediately after the end of the revolution, the British newspapers still did not cover the violations committed by the opposition forces. Baker (2010b) points out that news bias could be reflected in the choice of stories that are reported. Therefore, I would argue that avoiding reporting the rebels' violent actions and focusing on some victims of violence at the expense of others could be could be considered a kind of bias in favour of the opposition side.

8.3 Social Practice of News Reports: Socio-Political Context

Fairclough and Wodak (1997) state that considering the context and the links between the text and its social situation is crucial to fully understand the discourse. Similarly, Baker et al. (2008) points out that the wider social, political, and historical contexts should be taken into consideration by CDA analysts for interpreting the findings of the analysis. Therefore, the socio-political background will be considered, at this point, in order to interpret the findings of the analysis above and explain why Gaddafi was constructed in this way.

8.3.1 Internal Situation in Libya

Gaddafi has been characterised as a dictator and authoritarian ruler who oppressed his nation. The historical discussion (chapter 1, section 1.1.1) has shown that Libyan people suffered from his dictatorship over the years. Although, Gaddafi was claiming Libya was a democracy and named Libya as *Jamahiriya*, "state of the masses", to convey that the Libyan people rule themselves, there was no real exercise of democracy (Schnelzer, 2015) and Gaddafi had the superior authority of *Jamahiriya*, as he was the primary decision maker (Vandewalle, 2006). Furthermore, despite Libya's oil wealth, the Libyan people suffered from economic problems - particularly unemployment and the high cost of living under Gaddafi's government. Moreover, power was concentrated in the hands of Gaddafi and his family. Gaddafi consolidated his control in the region by using the country's oil wealth. Most

of Libya's money was spent in Africa while the infrastructure of Libya collapsed (Hilsum, 2012). There was no right for any group to organise anything without Gaddafi's consent. Throughout the analysis of the British newspaper corpus in this study, representing Gaddafi as a dictator was evident in the use of the nominal choice 'dictator' to name him and in focusing on the long-standing restrictions of his dictatorship, as in, for instance, *the dictator who had suppressed them for 41 years*. This was also evident in the use of the phrase *iron-fisted,* which indicates the authoritarian and oppressive way Gaddafi ruled his country, as in *after decades of ruling with iron-fisted*. Furthermore, Libyans did not have the right, as citizens, to have a say in the political situation. If they did speak out, they were either executed in public or detained and inhumanely punished. Gaddafi adopted a policy of repression and summary executions and extrajudicial trails (Sawani, 2013b). For instance, one of the most dreadful crimes of Gaddafi's era, which is more closely linked to the 2011 revolution, is the mass massacre of around 1,286 prison inmates committed against the Islamists in 1996, who demanded a better standard of living and the right to freedom of speech (Pargeter, 2012). The readers are informed of this violent act as a way to remind them that Gaddafi oppressed his nation, as evident in the following example: *It was there in 1996 that Colonel Gaddafi's troops massacred 1,200 prisoners who had protested over living conditions.* Therefore*,* representation of Gaddafi in this way should come as no surprise, given the historical background. It could also be seen as a reflection of the excesses of his dictatorship over his own people during his years in power.

8.3.2 International Political Context

By reviewing the history of the relations between Libya and Britain, it could be argued that constructing Gaddafi as a criminal and a dictator could be seen as a reflection of his accumulated stock of past wrongdoings and tense relations between him and Britain. As stated in chapter one (section 1.2), the Libyan-UK relations were marked with tension when Gaddafi was in power, in particular with respect to his support for the Irish Republican Army against British colonialism in 1972, which was seen by the British government as supporting a terrorist organisation on its territory (Zoubir, 2009). Gaddafi was implicated in acts of terrorism, such as the series of explosions which rocked London and Manchester in 1984, with Libya accused of being behind these attacks (Ronen, 2006). More importantly, relations

get worse after accusations of Libyan involvement in the bombing of Pan-Am flight 103 over the Scottish town of Lockerbie in 1988. This attack was considered the worst terrorist act the British people had faced, as more than 270 innocent people died in the attack. This terrorist action placed Gaddafi in a prolonged conflict with Britain, which lasted for fifteen years. Within the corpus of UK broadsheet newspapers, the readers are informed of this historical terrorist act as a way to remind them that Gaddafi was a terrorist who had already practiced his terror against the British nation. The negative image of Gaddafi as a dictator and a terrorist has been embedded over the years within British society and the West in general. This is likely to have influenced the way Gaddafi is constructed in British newspapers. Accordingly, we could conclude that the news writers construct the mainstream media content in the UK in such a way to further communicate the ideologies that are fairly well embedded into British society. That is, their ideological discrepancy brings to light the underlying reasons for news representations of the Libyan Revolution in the British press as it is.

However, Britain started to develop much better good relations with Gaddafi after he admitted in 2003 his responsibility for the Lockerbie bombing, and agreed to pay compensation to the families of the victims. In spite of these good relations, the British government took a leading role in military intervention in Libya. According to Davidson (2013), this was motivated by the humanitarian cause. Accordingly, representing Gaddafi negatively by the British press could be seen as a way to legitimise their government's intervention to overthrow Gaddafi from power.

8.4 Was It Right to Remove Gaddafi?

One issue to be consider as this stage, as recommended by Baker (2012), is whether the bias could be seen as problematic and a cause for concern. It is undoubtedly true that the Libyan people deserved to be rid of such a threat and have the right to live in a democratic state. However, Gaddafi has gone, but life in Libya today is considered worse and more dangerous than ever. As indicated in the discussion of Libya in the post-revolutionary era (section 1.1.3, Chapter 1), Muammar Qaddafi's overthrow has resulted in a chaotic Libya, held at ransom by various forces. Libya's security and political institutions are suffering from the power

vacuum. Libya is now divided into fragments, with two separate governments. Neither of these governments is able to exercise real power and reign over the many militia groups that have sprung up and taken hold of most parts of the country. This situation is symptomatic of a failing state, and the Libyan people suffer from conflicts between militias, Islamist extremism, tribal chiefs and the government, lawlessness and lack of government control, and disintegration of the social structures (Chivvis & Martini, 2014). They have been facing a series of human rights abuses, such as torture, assassinations, kidnappings, and internal displacement which hit alarming levels (Hove, 2017).

Six years have passed since Gaddafi's fall and Libya remains entrapped in a deteriorating security situation, a collapsing economy and political deadlock. The woes of the once thriving Libya are far from over and its future is becoming bleaker and more uncertain. I am not intending to criticise those who undertook the military response as a humanitarian protection, rather, I hope to highlight that violent solutions do not always produce the required outcome. In some countries, like Libya, considering its culture, location and politics, it is better to encourage reforms to its political system. Although Gaddafi held the country with an 'iron fist', Libya, under his rule, was safe and Libyans enjoyed better living conditions when compared to the current situation. If he had been left in power, chaos and violence in Libya would not exist now.

Bearing in mind the consequence of ousting Gaddafi, was it wrong for the British newspapers to support the overthrow of Gaddafi? Considering the historical background of Gaddafi, I cannot blame the British newspapers for their negative representation of Gaddafi. However, there is an expectation that British newspapers will be objective in their representation of the events, so that readers can draw their own conclusions about the situation. British newspapers were biased in their representation in favour of the opposition side, without reporting their violation of human rights against Gaddafi loyalists, who were not involved in the fighting. Their actions are represented less as the violence of war and more in terms of their movements and control of areas of land, rather than actual military activities. The British press also obfuscates the rebels' responsibility for the brutal killing of Gaddafi. Neither did they give space to reporting the victims on Gaddafi's side who faced a series of human rights violations committed by the opposition side. This representation

confirms that broadsheets newspapers have the absolute discursive power to decide what and how to report. That is, British newspapers act as a dominant source of hegemony.

British newspapers, being investigated here, proved to have a powerful role in British society and are an influential global discourse producer. The consequences of British newspapers' biased coverage of the Libyan revolution served to legitimise the opposition side and justify the military intervention, ended by the overthrow Gaddafi. Consequently, Libya is now plagued by chaos and violence. What I am arguing for is that the journalists should strive to be more balanced in their coverage of news events, especially in reporting international conflicts.

8.5 Contribution of the thesis

This corpus-based critical analytical discourse study contributes to the existing field of knowledge in three ways. First, it adds a contribution to the literature of Critical Discourse Analysis and media representations and stimulates further research in areas beyond the newspapers or even the media. As I stated before, the Libyan Revolution has attracted the attention of many scholars, including the following: description of the revolution (Chorin, 2012; Gelvin, 2012; Pack, 2013), the history of Gaddafi's regime (Hilsum, 2012) and the role of the United States and NATO in the Libya Revolution (Chivvis, 2013).Nevertheless, there was a lack of research in the field of Critical Discourse Analysis in news discourse reports on the Libyan Revolution. On the basis of the above findings, I can state that a central contribution of this research lies in its filling of this gap, which had been left uncovered. Thus, the present investigation offers a new piece of research that contributes to and complements other pieces of research on the Libyan Revolution, providing these novel insights from a linguistic perspective. Furthermore, it is hoped that the current study contributes to further illuminate our understanding of how discourses of the UK news reports construct representations of socio-political events in Libya to the readers and how these representations contribute to the shaping of common beliefs and ideologies in readers. Secondly, this study adds also a practical contribution to the application of Critical Stylistics. It further enhances its efficacy for the investigation of ideology in political texts. The analysis using critical stylistic textual-conceptual tools helps to reveal how language

constructs value systems and sets of beliefs and how the press uses language to ideologically position the readers to appeal to the newspapers' point of view. Finally, it also adds a practical contribution to a growing body of works in which corpus analytic techniques are used to carry out critical stylistics analysis (Jeffries & Walker, 2012; Tabbert, 2013). The current study testifies to the usefulness of effectively combining Critical Stylistics and Corpus Linguistics into the analysis of the discursive construction of the Libyan Revolution. The combination of the textual-conceptual functions of Critical Stylistics with Corpus Linguistics helps to provide a systematic analysis as well as it helps to avoid the criticism concerning the bias that is sometimes levelled at CDA works.

8.6 Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research

Despite the contributions that this study makes, it is important to acknowledge that the study has some limitations. The findings of the present research are limited by three factors. First, the current study limited its investigation to British newspaper discourse as a type of media outlet reporting on the Libyan Revolution. Thus, the findings do not necessarily reflect British televised coverage of the same event. Secondly, this study focused only on British press perspectives on the Libyan Revolution. Therefore, it cannot be claimed that this study is comprehensive enough to reflect a complete representation of the Libyan Revolution in other Western media. Finally, the study does not investigate how NATO's intervention is discursively represented.

On this basis, the present research stimulates future CDA research on the media coverage of the Libyan Revolution. In the first place, it would be interesting to carry out further research in areas beyond the newspapers. Another potential area for further research that might be considered complementary to the current study is to look at how other Western media portrayed the Libyan Revolution and compare those to British newspapers' portrayal. Another avenue for future research is to investigate the discursive representation of NATO's intervention in Western media discourse. Such studies would give a full picture of how the Libyan Revolution was reported in the Western media.

8.7 Final word

In late 2010 and early 2011, the so-called 'Arab Spring', which swept across the Arab countries, are seen by many as the most influential events in modern history within the Arab world. Those movements were ignited by poverty, injustice, and deteriorated social status (Gelvin, 2012). It started in Tunisia, then swept to Egypt and ended by toppling the presidents of those countries. Libyans were inspired by the success of the Tunisian and Egyptian revolutions. They took to the streets demanding a better standard of living and social justice. This unexpected event attracted the attention of the whole world and received significant news coverage. Based on my professional background in CDA and news discourse, I was reading newspapers and watching national and international TV channels with critical language awareness. I observed that the mass media reported those who took to the streets as a case of good versus evil. Once a day, I found that Lindsey Hilsum, the international channel 4 editor, who covered the Libyan revolution and the author of *Sandstorm: Libya in the Time of Revolution*, claimed that there was a biased representation of the Libyan revolution in Western media in favour of anti-regime forces (Hilsum, 2011). Later, I found that the international crises group (2011) referred to such representation in Western media.

This study has been an attempt to substantiate the above claim through linguistic analysis. British broadsheet newspapers were chosen due to their influential role within the UK and beyond. The analysis reveals linguistic evidence and discursive strategies showing a positive representation of the opposition side in contrast to a negative representation of Gaddafi's side. Through the analysis, it was obvious that the UK press constructs the event in a way that reflects their support of democracy, freedom and universal human rights. Investigating the nature of relations between Libya and Britain played a crucial role in understanding the discourses and in concluding that news discourse is not ideologically neutral, but is ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggle over power.

Regarding the negative portrayal of Gaddafi, it was also obvious that British journalists construct mainstream media content in a way that communicates the ideologies that are fairly well embedded in British society. However, their bias in covering up the violent actions that

were committed by the opposition side and their violation of human rights could be interpreted as support to the British government, which took a leading role in the military intervention in Libya. Accordingly, I would argue that the British press is not completely free from subjective interpretation of political events, rather it constructs them in a way that reflects their ideological and political viewpoints.

On the whole, this critical study helps to explore the underlying ideologies that are assumed by journalists in their writing and may manipulate the reader's perception. It also helps us to understand the dialectical relationship between language and society, illustrating the effectiveness of language as a social practice. Based on the quantitative and qualitative findings in this research, it is hoped that this study will contribute to raise the awareness of language users and empower their understanding of the link between language and socio-historical context, the relationship between language and power, as well as the constructive and functional nature of language within news discourse.

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Appendix A

Table A.1 Top 30 Keywords: NPC1 vs. NPC2

Rank	NPC1 Corpus as comparator = list 1	Keyness	NPC1 Corpus as comparator = list 2	Keyness
1	Gaddafi	5029.0181	Gaddafi	3694.500
2	Libya	3374.6084	Libya	2501.900
3	Gaddafi's	3344.6238	Gaddafi's	2434.070
4	Benghazi	2997.6470	Benghazi	2181.520
5	Libyan	2419.7102	Rebels	1944.860
6	Tripoli	1859.6660	Libyan	1801.460
7	Forces	1783.0405	Rebel	1582.130
8	Rebels	1538.4126	Forces	1354.150
9	Rebel	1463.3647	Tripoli	1338.250
10	Regime	1421.5229	Colonel	987.045
11	Colonel	1388.6475	Regime	926.947
12	Air	1216.9948	Air	909.284
13	Al	1212.6946	Revolution	833.759
14	Military	1093.7313	Muammar	745.404
15	Revolution	1018.6423	Libya's	733.418
16	Muammar	985.63733	Al	722.164
17	Ajdabiya	974.20117	Ajdabiya	708.913
18	Libya's	963.64404	Fighters	669.222
19	Fighters	952.1778	Town	648.740
20	Western	890.46454	Military	618.056
21	Town	875.80969	Ras	558.701
22	Arab	780.23328	Lanuf	534.668
23	Ras	767.78333	Zone	532.781
24	Fly	747.47974	Western	532.418
25	Lanuf	734.75745	Fly	525.855
26	Zone	686.93890	Tanks	501.852
27	Col	660.54254	Col	497.756
28	Libyans	657.93774	Libyans	486.603
29	Tanks	619.32629	Arab	459.302
30	Brega	619.16888	Brega	450.554

Table A.2 Top 30 Keywords: BE06 vs. LOB

Rank	BE06 Corpus as comparator = list one	Keyness	LOB Corpus As Comparator = list 2	Keyness
1	Gaddafi	1147.8	Gaddafi	1445.84
2	Libya	803.23	Libya	998.455
3	Gaddafi's	752.97	Gaddafi's	948.549
4	Rebels	705.66	Rebels	876.316
5	Benghazi	674.81	Benghazi	850.092
6	Libyan	561.32	The	843.449
7	Rebel	556.4	Forces	812.459
8	Forces	506.37	Libyan	707.131
9	Regime	444.77	Rebel	692.104
10	Tripoli	423.69	Regime	649.588
11	Military	387.47	We	606.418
12	Air	346.14	Said	540.617
13	Revolution	342.58	Military	538.523
14	Colonel	321.21	Tripoli	533.762
15	Fighters	241.51	Al	519.708
16	Muammar	234.08	To	464.224
17	Libya's	230.36	Revolution	444.058
18	Fly	226.73	Us	377.715
19	Ajdabiya	219.21	They	367.953
20	Western	215.43	Colonel	364.545
21	Al	212.98	Air	337.992
22	Zone	203.67	Muammar	294.899
23	Town	202.56	Libya's	290.217
24	Strikes	191.76	Mr	287.875
25	Tanks	188.42	Zone	284.698
26	Arab	173.63	Arab	282.71
27	Ras	172.76	Fighters	277.809
28	Opposition	165.78	Ajdabiya	276.17
29	Lanuf	165.32	Were	270.967
30	The	156	Had	259.705

Table A.3 Grammatical Keywords: BE06 vs. LOB

Category	LOB Corpus	BE06
Determine	The, **Mr, a, an, some, few, two, one, any,**	The
Pronouns	We, **us,** they, **their, it's, them, he, his, who, its, our, themselves, my,**	We, they
Auxiliary verbs	Were, had, been, **are, was, has, did, don't, do, being,**	Had, were, been,
Modal verbs	**Would, will,**	----
Conjunctions	**And, but, that, as, what, then, also, while, or, since, however, until, where**	-----
Prepositions	**To,** in, **from,** by, **on, into, with, up, within, out, down, under, over, about**	**Of**, by, in, ou**t**side
Adverbs & adjectives	**Back, around, after,** front, **across, there, days,** March, **where,** among, **night, near, former, here, along, still, now,** towards, **if, least, just, even, before, ago, last, past, day, off,** yesterday **east, west, away, heavy,**	Yesterday, front, among, towards, March
Negative	**Not**, no	No

Table A.4 Grammatical Keywords: LOB vs. NPC2

Category	LOB Corpus	NPC2 Corpus
Determine	**The, Mr, a, an, some**, few, two, **one, any,**	Two, few,
Pronouns	We, us, they, their, **it's**, them, **he, his, who, its, our,** themselves, **my,**	We, they, us, their, them, themselves,
Auxiliary verbs	Were, had, been, are, **was, has, did, don't, do, being,**	Were, had, been, have, are,
Modal verbs	**Would, will,**	-----
Conjunctions	**And, but, that, as, what,** then, **also, while, or, since, however, until,** where	Where, then,
Prepositions	**To**, in, from, **by, on**, into, **with, up, within, out, down, under, through, over, about**	Against, From, around, along, into, in, among,
Adverbs & adjectives	Back, around, after, front, across, there, days, march, where, among, night, near, former, here, along, still, now, towards, if, least, just, even, before, ago, last, past, day, off, yesterday, east, west, away, heavy,	East, front, heavy, near, here, days, night, outside, back, across, away, towards, after, ago, day, yesterday, there, west
Negative	**Not**, no	No,

Table A.5 Top 30 Keywords: News vs. Fiction vs. Academic Prose

Rank	Fiction Corpus As Comparator = list 1	Keyness Score	News Corpus As Comparator = list 2	Keyness Score	Academic prose as Comparator = list 3	Keyness Score
1	Gaddafi	1413.5	Gaddafi	1147.79	Said	1228.143
2	Libya	989.25	Libya	803.233	He	1156.957
3	Gaddafi's	927.35	Gaddafi's	752.974	Gaddafi	1105.298
4	#	876.15	Rebels	705.662	Libya	773.4869
5	Forces	856.44	Benghazi	674.81	His	739.9633
6	Benghazi	831.1	Libyan	561.318	Gaddafi's	725.0892
7	Rebels	798.7	Rebel	556.401	Rebels	701.7892
8	Libyan	691.33	Forces	506.369	Forces	696.7151
9	Rebel	661.27	Regime	444.774	Benghazi	649.8185
10	Regime	634.62	Tripoli	423.69	Rebel	565.6079
11	Has	606.58	Military	387.472	Libyan	540.5282
12	Military	599.57	Air	346.14	Regime	491.8795
13	Tripoli	521.83	Revolution	342.58	Military	461.963
14	Revolution	460.43	Colonel	321.213	They	424.404
15	Al	417.53	Fighters	241.513	Tripoli	407.9965
16	Government	409.3	Muammar	234.079	Had	401.7924
17	Colonel	381.35	Libya's	230.362	Air	388.2265
18	Yesterday	344.26	Fly	226.727	Revolution	382.9291
19	Foreign	331.13	Ajdabiya	219.212	But	320.9693
20	We	331.08	Western	215.43	Colonel	320.2692
21	Is	305.6	Al	212.976	Us	317.8413
22	Fighters	297.46	Zone	203.666	Town	312.1891
23	Opposition	295.17	Town	202.558	Yesterday	300.3709
24	Muammar	288.31	Strikes	191.758	We	257.5472
25	Libya's	283.73	Tanks	188.421	Foreign	247.3141
26	Western	279.72	Arab	173.63	Fighters	232.5659
27	By	277.72	Ras	172.757	Government	229.8416
28	Are	270.49	Opposition	165.78	Muammar	225.4075
29	Ajdabiya	270	Lanuf	165.325	Libya's	221.8284
30	Zone	265.17	The	156.004	Arab	220.0998

Appendix B

Table B.1 Pattern occurrence of the word *Gaddafi*

Centre	R1
GADDAFI	REGIME
	IS
	AND
	WAS
	LOYALISTS
	FORCES
	THE
	HAS
	HAD
	TO
	IN
	BUT
	SAID
	AS
	FAMILY
	WOULD
	HIMSELF
	TROOPS

Concordance B.1 Material process of violence in which *Gaddafi/ dictator* is actor

1	unchallenged dictatorial rule these months gave	Gaddafi	a chance **to practise** his favourite habit -- **killing, terrorising and spreading fear**
2	and two sons, aged 14 and 12, to see Gaddafi's body. "	Gaddafi	**affected** all <u>our lives</u>; he was evil. That will all be buried
3	the latest claims and rumours. Who is winning? Will	Gaddafi	**attack** <u>Benghazi</u>? Surely not, said some of the men. He does
4	Ras Lanuf. The pattern changed again when Colonel	Gaddafi	**attacked** <u>Benghazi</u> *on Saturday*, the assault on the city causing a
5	said. "I will still be leader of the revolution." Col	Gaddafi	**attacked** <u>David Cameron</u> over Britain's decision to seize his assets,
6	for that kind of fight. "We were here together when	Gaddafi	**attacked** <u>Ras Lanuf</u>. I went back. At my age and with
7	Some 4,000 Libyan troops were killed in Chad.	Gaddafi	**bitterly opposed** <u>the Middle East peace process</u>, giving his support to the most violent Palestinian guerrilla organisations
8	to Libya and he is a hero of the revolution." As	Gaddafi	**digs** *in Tripoli*, and his loyalists encroach eastwards, this appe
9	by Gaddafi forces on the city of Misrata. While	Gaddafi	**employed some fighters** from neighbouring countries as mercenaries,
10	quarters as Libya's interim Prime Minister. However,	Gaddafi	**fought back,** *ruthlessly* **deploying his country's armed forces** against
11	revolutionary songs. The plan was simple, Essam said.	Gaddafi	**had distributed a lot of guns** to the people of this neighbourhood.
12	no-fly zone, said that, according to US intelligence,	Gaddafi	**had launched attacks** <u>on the rebel-held western city of Misurata</u>,
12	said in his submission to the court that Col	Gaddafi	**had personally planned** "**a policy of widespread and systematic attacks**
14	were finally to be liberated from the **fear** which the	Dictator	had **generated** for so long. It was just such a liberation that
15	, too, the apparatus of security and **repression** that	Gaddafi	had so carefully **constructed and nurtured** over more than 40 years,
16	since the uprising began in mid-February. Col	Gaddafi	has resorted **to rocket bombardments** and placing snipers on the roof
17	court issued arrest warrants for the two men and	Gaddafi	in June for their role in the **bloody attempt to suppress** <u>the Feb 17</u>
18	though a rumour has swept the rebels that	Gaddafi	**is amassing tanks** for a frontal assault. But he does recognise
19	of a flatbed truck streaming back from Bin Jawad. "	Gaddafi	is **cutting** <u>us</u> to pieces, we cannot hit back." The 23-year-
20	demoralised enemy. In the west, by contrast, Col	Gaddafi	**is reasserting his grip**, apparently taking the town of Zawiya, just
21	claim by Susan Rice, US ambassador to the UN, that	Gaddafi	**is "slaughtering** <u>his people</u>". The military standoff inside Libya i
22	of a grand march on the capital remains just that - talk.	Gaddafi	**is strengthening his grip** on <u>Tripoli</u>, partly by *terrorising* its cit
23	e latest military setback spread. "The battle is lost.	Gaddafi	**is throwing everything** against <u>us</u>," a rebel officer who gave his
24	" is the main gate between Tripoli and Benghazi.	Gaddafi	is trying to keep it, **to keep his grip** <u>on the west.</u>
25	who are defending ourselves," added Mr Ibadullah. "	Gaddafi	is using his planes **to bomb** <u>us</u>. If America and Europe
26	the point. It's **a weapon of mass destruction** that Col	Gaddafi	is willing **to train** on <u>his own people</u>," said one Western
27	Loyal supporters of Colonel Muammar	Gaddafi	**launched a surprise attack** on an <u>oil refinery</u> *in rebel-held*
28	FORCES loyal to Col Muammar	Gaddafi	**made good on threats to trigger a civil war** *in Libya*
29	about his family or his legion and that's it." When	Gaddafi	**responded** to the February protests *by sending in tanks*, Abdo and

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30	to have 1,200 prisoners shot in Abu Salim prison.	Gaddafi	**responded** *with brutal repression* -- and his regime became the targe
31	a crossed-out "69" on shop walls, referring to the year	Gaddafi	**seized power** in a *bloodless coup*. Next to it they have
32	from war to reconstruction, 42 years to the day since	Gaddafi	**seized power** *in a coup*. Some 60 nations and international bodies c
33	have foreign nurses, mostly from the Philippines. When	Gaddafi	**sent in the tanks** they fled, along with local nurses who
34	A WILD and desperate-looking Colonel Muammar	Gaddafi	**staged a dramatic defence of his collapsing** 42-year rule last night
35	Gheriani. "And the youths joined them. And then when	Gaddafi	**started killing** them the people rose up." That version of Libya'
36	still clinging on to power 45 miles down the coast. "	Gaddafi	**suppressed** history. Most of history before 1969 disappeared fro
37	by the UN security council resolution requiring	Gaddafi	**to halt his attacks** on civilians. "Colonel Gaddafi did not recogni
38	so dependent on using them to maintain control.	Gaddafi	tried at first **to suppress** the tribes but later co-opted
39	Nobody loves the fight, but what can we do?	Gaddafi	wants to **fight**." Key objectives included the city hospital and th
40	, an opposition official, said. "We are worried that	Gaddafi	wants **to** just **kill** as many people as he can before
41	"I think the guys are afraid they will be captured	Gaddafi	wants to **make a lot of harm** *in the city*. If
42	protesters broke into the police station and freed him".	Gaddafi	was able **to regain control** of the capital and almost all
43	anean towards Israel. By 1975 intelligence suggested	Gaddafi	**was bankrolling the most infamous terrorist** of the era. Carlos the
44	. "My wife was about to give birth on March 19 and	Gaddafi	was coming **to kill** us all," said Mustafa, father of Sarkozy
45	US forces in Libya said yesterday that Col Muammar	Gaddafi	was continuing **to attack** civilians despite the allied military
46	and I still believe that today. It was necessary because	Gaddafi	was going **to slaughter** his own people - and that massacre of
47	journalists said their captors seemed to believe that	Gaddafi	was going **to hold** Tripoli against the rebel advance. "We had
48	rumoured to be considering fleeing the country and Col	Gaddafi	yesterday **imposed a "ring of steel"** around key regime figures
49	he believes that the world cannot stand by while a	dictator	**brutalises** his own people; fears that Colonel Gaddafi would use
50	a pretty nasty winter to get through first. The Libyan	dictator	**had hunted** my family since I was two. But exile has taught
51	said the UN move had to be attempted before the	dictator	**restored his control** of the country. Col Gaddafi warned that the
52	waving high in the sky. When I was 2 the	dictator	**seized power** in a *military coup*. As my family were associated with
53	free to blast their positions apart; it shames us that the	dictator	still **orders his jets** *into the skies*. So let us have a
54	and had stayed ever since. Back at the beginning of	dictator	**unleashed violence** against his people, but the US has taken a b
55	In no time much of the country had risen against the	dictator	who had **suppressed** them *for 41 years*. Colonel Gaddafi teetered

*In **Bold**: violent material process, underlined: affected participants/goal, *italics*: circumstances.

*In some lines above, the verb works with the scope to express the experiential violent meaning.

Table B.2 Representing Gaddafi's cruel acts and violation of human rights deep down the subordination

1	David Cameron and other Western leaders were on the brink of ordering military action against Col Muammar Gaddafi last night amid fears **that the Libyan dictator could use chemical weapons against his own people.**
2	It may be too late to arm these brave men and women, but certainly Gaddafi's planes should not fly free to blast their positions apart; it shames us **that the dictator still orders his jets into the skies.**
3	By now there were reports that British special forces personnel in 22 SAS regiment, said to have been fighting alongside Libyan rebel forces in the final stages of the revolution, had been ordered to switch their focus to what had become the mother of all manhunts, one which had to achieve its goal if Libya's population were finally to be liberated from **the fear which the dictator had generated for so long.**
4	Deep, for three reasons: he [David Cameron] believes that the world cannot stand by **while a dictator brutalises his own people; fears that Colonel Gaddafi would use his pariah status on Europe's border to export strife to Britain**; and thinks that the Islamic world will not forgive the West if it ignores the pleas of a downtrodden people **struggling against tyrannical rule.**
5	Mohammed does not want to concede that defeat might be a possibility, even though a rumour has swept the rebels **that Gaddafi is amassing tanks for a frontal assault.**
6	And thankfully, both sides' casualties in the most recent fighting seem to be relatively light, notwithstanding an emotive claim by Susan Rice, US ambassador to the UN, **that Gaddafi is "slaughtering his people".**
7	Evidence of the carnage it caused was clear on the walls of nearby buildings and in the mortuaries. Doctors had used their mobile phones to capture the carnage that was caused by military weapons on human flesh. And they coolly displayed the aftermath of the battle, **denouncing Gaddafi as a criminal as they did so.**
8	He should die," he said, then insisted **that the former dictator should be tried inside the country, rather than extradited to the international criminal court, where a heap of indictments await.**
9	No dictator of modern times can match him in the calculated choreography of power: the outfits and the outbursts are all part of an act **to keep Libyans awed and afraid**.
10	The rebels have backed down from their previous stance **that Colonel Gaddafi and his coterie should be tried for human rights abuses and the theft of vast sums of public money**.

1.	been demonstrated by the rebel capture of	Gaddafi	's **abandoned tanks.** It might take only one concerted push by
2.	, about 90 miles south of Benghazi, to fight	Gaddafi	's **advancing army**. Days later, as the Libyan leader's forces
3.	commanders as creating a more level battle field by removing	Gaddafi	's **advantage of heavy armour**. "There must be more attacks, to
4.	's army is a spent force because of the air strikes. "	Gaddafi	's **advantage was tanks and rockets**. That was what was defeating
5.	zone, the US and its allies would first have to destroy	Gaddafi	's **air force and air defences** - in effect, declare war. These
6.	sight, and it is a problem for the rebel military leadership.	Gaddafi	's **air force** has bombed Ras Lanuf repeatedly, cutting off the
7.	hours of rocket fire between the two sides and raids by	Gaddafi	's **air force**, oil tanks at nearby Es Sider were hit,
8.	front line a day after it was bombed by Col Muammar	Gaddafi	's **air force.** Men unused to war have found themselves entrusted
9.	pounding of targets in Libya had already grounded Colonel	Gaddafi	's **air force**. But US officials were at pains to stress
10.	idea of "cratering" Libya's runways to disable Colonel	Gaddafi	's **air force**. Yesterday the Pentagon appeared to undermine the case
11.	. The Libyan revolutionary leadership made the appeal as	Gaddafi	's **airforce** bombed Ajdarbia, a town of 135,000 people that is the
12.	since military action began had destroyed much of Muammar	Gaddafi	's **armour and artillery**, Admiral Harding said
13.	a no-fly zone over Libya and began air strikes against	Gaddafi	's **armour, artillery and his military command and control facilities**
14.	of the Defence Staff, said attacks were aimed at Col Muammar	Gaddafi	's **armoured and mechanised forces, artillery batteries and shorterra**
15.	included those injured in Saturday's attack by Colonel	Gaddafi	's **armoured column** in the southwestern outskirts of Benghazi. "You
16.	Nigeria were scaling up their activity at the same time as	Gaddafi	's **arsenal** was being depleted and his African mercenaries were leavi
17.	: the ill-disciplined rebels firing wildly into the air or Col	Gaddafi	's **artillery and bombers**. "We did not ask for this," said
18.	retreating vehicles, which sporadically peeled back as Colonel	Gaddafi's	's **artillery** checked progress. In the village of al-Wassad, 50km
19.	We still need heavier weapons to make a real difference against	Gaddafi	's **artillery**." The state of the rebel front line 5 miles (8km)
20.	will not be enough. It is likely allied air strikes on	Gaddafi	's **heavy armour and artillery** will be required, and possibly also
21.	(and invisible) wedge. By yesterday morning -- just before	Gaddafi	's **jets** bombed Benghazi airport -- they were pointing out another pr
22.	and their recruits, their tools of battle seem threadbare.	Gaddafi	's **jets** can bomb them whenever the going gets tough for
23.	be essential in any assault. And so too will be keeping	Gaddafi	's **jets** out of the sky. Discussion about a possible Nato-
24.	might against an "extremely limited number of points" key to	Gaddafi	's **operations**, including the Bab al-Azizia command headquarters in T
25.	too late to arm these brave men and women, but certainly	Gaddafi	's **planes** should not fly free to blast their positions apart;
26.	too late to arm these brave men and women, but certainly	Gaddafi	's **planes** should not fly free to blast their positions apart;
27.	of August 2011 appeared to confirm the final evaporation of	Gaddafi	's **power** and to be a defining moment in the end
28.	of the rebels' greatest fear - the remaining loyalist pilots of	Gaddafi	's **powerful air force**. Even as they spoke, all along the
29.	conflict has been reshaped by the western air strikes against	Gaddafi	's **tanks and guns**. But as the rebels move closer to
30.	COL Muammar	Gaddafi	's **tanks and missile launchers** pummelled the centre of the rebel
31.	saved the revolution as it was about to be crushed by	Gaddafi	's **tanks**. At the London conference yesterday the council was feted

32.	Again. And what if we are simply not in time, if	Gaddafi	's **tanks** keep on rolling? Do we then send in our
33.	our fighters have taken Brega or the air strikes have destroyed	Gaddafi	's **tanks**. Then everyone is afraid again when they hear Gaddafi'
34.	late April, while rebel fighters were battling with Muammar	Gaddafi	's **tanks** to push government forces out of the city. "When
35.	"it is about preventing a loss of civilian life by targeting	Gaddafi	's **war machine**. That is obviously tanks and guns but also
36.	in London "Nato has done a very good job, they neutralised	Gaddafi	's **war machine**... but I think their role will be over
37.	were cast last night, the battle for Benghazi had begun. Col	Gaddafi	's **warplanes** carried out several strikes on the city as artillery

Concordance B.3 Gaddafi's death

#			
1.	former justice minister under Col	**Gaddafi**	- at the time of **his death** on Thursday evening. Yesterday,
2.	: "All Libyans are brothers." Then, once more: **"Death to**	**Gaddafi**	" A rebel fighter shinned up an elegant art deco
3.	began. First: "God is great." Next: **"Death to**	**Gaddafi**	"Then "All Libyans are brothers." Then, once
4.	the night sky. "God is great," they shouted. **"Death to**	**Gaddafi**	, death to his sons." At first there was confusion
5.	, the cheers rang out In the end **the death of Muammar**	**Gaddafi**	, the Libyan dictator who had seemed to
6.	battle that ended with **the death of Colonel Muammar**	**Gaddafi**	. Yesterday hundreds of armed
7.	the capture of Tripoli and the arrest or **death of Colonel**	**Gaddafi**	. This is fanciful. The rebel forces have few
8.	: "All Libyans are brothers." Then, once more: **"Death to**	**Gaddafi**	." A rebel fighter shinned up an elegant art deco
9.	began. First: "God is great." Next: **"Death to**	**Gaddafi**	." Then "All Libyans are brothers." Then, once
10.	an inquiry into the manner of Gaddafi's death. The death of	**Gaddafi**	and the end of hostilities in Sirte mean Libya'
11.	**The death of Muammar**	**Gaddafi**	avoids a potentially fraught legal process
12.	**The death of Muammar**	**Gaddafi**	avoids a potentially fraught legal process
13.	**The violent death of Colonel Muammar**	**Gaddafi**	brought to an end a cruel and
14.	father Abdeladim, who in the Eighties was pursued by	**Gaddafi**	**death** squads on the streets on London, longs to return to
15.	. Suddenly, on Thursday, when the rumours that	**Gaddafi**	had been captured turned into confirmation of **his death,**
16.	, his whereabouts. In Brussels, Nato hinted that the **death of**	**Gaddafi**	**of Gaddafi** could signal the beginning of a winding-
17.	of reconciliation can begin," Hartwell said.	**Gaddafi**	**'s death** also ends months of speculation as to his -
18.	was because a rumour swept the city of **Muammar**	**Gaddafi**	**'s death** at the hands of his own side - a rather
19.	was because a rumour swept the city of **Muammar**	**Gaddafi**	**'s death** at the hands of his own side - a rather
20.	school," he said. For his father, Muftah Abdul Noor,	**Gaddafi**	**'s death** brought nothing but joy. "I had goose-bumps
21.	Rights Watch's international justice programme, said	**Gaddafi**	**'s death** had deprived the Libyan people of the
22.	NTC is that it will respect an investigation into	**Gaddafi**	**'s death** in order to show that the new Libya
23.	credibility and destabilising Libya's neighbours.	**Gaddafi**	**'s death** means the debate over where he should stand
24.	credibility and destabilising Libya's neighbours.	**Gaddafi**	**'s death** means the debate over where he should stand
25.	, they pointed out. Other rights groups cautioned that	**Gaddafi**	**'s death** should not prevent a proper and transparent
26.	, talk and drink coffee. But as the news of	**Gaddafi**	**'s death** spread, it came alive with the sound of
27.	of the World Chess Federation, said that **Colonel**	**Gaddafi**	**'s death** was a "tragedy" but that he died as a martyr and
28.	whereabouts - it appears he has been hiding in Sirte.	**Gaddafi**	**'s death** will also have prompted relief in several
29.	of the old regime was finally over with **Muammar**	**Gaddafi**	**'s death**. But the new nation faces other dangers. At the
30.	hand, called for an inquiry into the manner of	**Gaddafi**	**'s death**. The death of Gaddafi and the end of hostilities
31.	secrets and money" were lost with **Colonel**	**Gaddafi**	**'s death**. "So it is important that Saif stays alive, he has
32.	would come back," she said. "Now they want to talk."	**Gaddafi**	**'s funeral**, like the confused circumstances of **his death** , is
33.	coastal city of Sirte, where, last Thursday,	**Gaddafi**	**'s sensational death** triggered an explosion of
34.	were not directly responsible for the **death of the former**	**Dictator**	But the decision to carry out the
35.	HE DIED the	**dictator's**	**death**, violent and humiliating, dragged from the drain
36.	were in formation again, this time to celebrate the	**dictator**	**'s death** and rejoice in a future free from his regime.

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Table B.3 Pattern occurrence of the word *regime*

L1	Centre	R1
THE	REGIME	FORCES
GADDAFI		AND
GADDAFI'S		IN
HIS		WAS
LIBYAN		THE
OLD		BUT
PRO		CHANGE
OF		HAS
BY		THAT
A		HAD
ANTI		TO
FORMER		ARE
TRIPOLI		LOYALISTS
THIS		TROOPS

Concordance B.4 Material process of Violence in which Gaddafi's forces are actors

1.	.thumped into the sky above Tripoli as Colonel	Gaddafi's forces	attempted **to ward off** the second wave of coalition airstrikes.
2.	Muammar	Gaddafi's forces	**bombarded** the port of the besieged city of Misrata while a
3.	Yesterday,	Gaddafi's forces	**bombed** the rebel frontline in the east, at Ras Lanuf
4.	AS COLONEL	Gaddafi's forces	**carried out bloody assaults** on rebel-held towns yesterday,
5.	facing daily attacks: that was Ajdabiya yesterday as Muammar	Gaddafi's forces	**fought** to retain their hold on this strategic gateway to the east of Libya
6.	hospitals are overflowing. In their attempt to end the uprising,	Gaddafi's forces	**have killed** at least 1,000 people. Around 90% are civilians who have died
7.	. But by sending snipers into abandoned buildings	Gaddafi's forces	**have managed to stop** the rebels taking ground quickly. It's a slow
8.	hour before. A short drive away, close to Tripoli Street, which	Gaddafi's forces	have been trying **to capture** since the battle began, Mohamed Swesi,
9.	the west and the interior of Libya are crucial. It is why Colonel	Gaddafi's forces	**have redeployed** forces from Misrata to the west. Oil pipelines run from
10.	In Ras Lanuf, Colonel	Gaddafi's forces	**have stood** their ground, *using tanks, artillery and missiles* **to halt** the rebel
11.	running out for Libya's revolution last night as Muammar	Gaddafi's forces	**routed** rebels in the east of the country, driving them into retreat from
12.	MUAMMAR	Gaddafi's forces	**staged a fightback** across Libya yesterday just hours after he urged them to
13.	Libyan rebels plead for intervention as	Gaddafi's forces	**step up counter-attack** Regime strikes intensify as revolution fights for
14.	Arab state - but now they are trapped, their wages unpaid and	Gaddafi's forces	**surrounding** the road that leads to the safety of Tunisia in the east. "
15.	emanating from Tripoli that Colonel Muammar	Gaddafi's forces	**target** only armed rebels, part of the regime's propaganda campaign to
16.	which are capable of producing 200,000 barrels a day, Colonel	Gaddafi's forces	**threaten** them and all processing of Libya's principal source of revenue has
17.	That is stoking fears about the consequences of losing, as	Gaddafi's forces	**use** *tanks and artillery* **to crush** the revolutionaries' takeover of the city of Zawiyah,
18.	had not handled a weapon until a few days ago, that Muammar	Gaddafi's forces	**were launching a fresh assault** on the edge of Ras Lanuf. They were
19.	station Al Arabiya also reported that	Gaddafi forces	**were shelling** the oil town of Zuara near
20.	the Gaddafi regime. But the jubilation subsided somewhat as	Gaddafi forces	**carried out a series of ambushes** before **launching an assault** yesterday
21.	it had gathered evidence that	pro-Gaddafi forces	**had carried out "arbitrary executions** of dozens of civilians" before Tripoli
22.	uch as if this was the week that, however **brutally**, Muammar	Gaddafi's forces	**used their vastly superior weaponry to turn the tide**, at least for now,
23.	picking through ashes with a stick in a container where	regime forces	**had burnt** prisoners *alive* and coming across charred and broken bones; a
24.	while there is an air force base outside it. It was from Sirte that	regime forces	**fired the only two Scud missiles of the conflict**, the first on 15 August and
25.	pread out nearby. Columns of up to 200 light vehicles from the	regime forces	**have launched raids** across this desert range where settlements can be s
26.	US ambassador to the country. He switched sides after seeing	regime forces	**kill** protesters when he was sent to Benghazi to try to end the unrest**.**
27.	February. The latest emergency had come on Saturday when	regime forces	**launched their attack** on Benghazi**.** The 32nd death from that took place y
28.	suppress civilians. "This strike will greatly degrade Gaddafi	regime forces	' ability **to carry on their barbaric assault** against the Libyan people
29.	between the two brigades of rebel fighters leading the attack,	Gaddafi forces	**launched a counter-offensive** and won back most of the town. The Trip
30.	in the western towns of Zawiya and Misrata. And in the east,	Gaddafi forces	**launched one of the fiercest, sustained bombardments of the campaign**
31.	gime opponents waiting in Tripoli for a signal to rise up, and as	Gaddafi forces	tried in vain **to suppress** the revolt it spread out across 13 suburbs. By
32.	ipoli, said that "the most straightforward explanation was that	Gaddafi forces	**had killed** Gen Younes **-** but that did not make it the most likely
33.	. "I am in Tripoli, not Venezuela," he says, before ordering	his forces	**to crush** the uprising Libya Thousands of Libyans and foreign workers
34.	stores that were believed to be housing **Scud missiles**, which	loyalist forces	**have used** against nearby towns during the conflict. "At around midnight,
35.	her fighters preparing to launch the final assault on Tripoli said	Gaddafi's soldiers	**were firing** *mortars* into residential areas. Nabil Nassar left London two m
36.	ilante justice committed by the former rebels. Tawargha, where	Gaddafi's soldiers	**staged a bloody assault** on Misrata, has been ransacked and its inhabitants

#	Left context	Node	Right context
37.	to Gaddafi loyalists. The Battle of Zintan began when Berber	Soldiers	**were recruited to fight** for Gaddafi. Insulted by the offer to fight their own
38.	forces loyal to the Libyan regime are running out of petrol as	Loyalists	**fight a fierce battle** with rebels for control of one of the country's major
39.	as they swept into the capital. But that boast soon crumbled.	Loyalists	**stormed** the villa where Muhammad was being held under house arrest and
40.	handled one. All that changed on 21 February, when Gaddafi	Loyalists	**began cutting down** demonstrators *in Tripoli with anti-aircraft weapons.*
41.	that 90 per cent of the capital was under rebel control, Gaddafi	Loyalists	**defended** their remaining strongholds strongly. Fighting was centred in the
42.	fell at the end of a day of intense combat, die-hard Gaddafi	Loyalists	**fought on**. With NTC forces pushing into the high-rise areas of the city,
43.	Bin Jawad to rebel-held Ras Lanuf further east, said Gaddafi	Loyalists	**had ambushed** advancing rebels *with machine guns and rocket-propelled grenades.*
44.	Marwan said that in the chaotic final hours of the war, Gaddafi	Loyalists	**had conducted bloody reprisals** against the local civilian population.
45.	pond. One Tripoli resident, Tariq Hussain, 32, said Gaddafi	Loyalists	**had fired** at the square for four hours on Sunday. At midnight their
46.	turned off some of the supply because of rumours that Gaddafi	Loyalists	**had poisoned** it. The water shortage has not yet caused the same problems
47.	out "boots on the ground" to enforce order should Gaddafi	Loyalists	**maintain** a guerrilla war, or if the rebels fight among themselves. The key
48.	an assault on the front line, 30 miles west of the city. Gaddafi	Loyalists	**resisted** *with artillery, mortars and long-range Grad rockets,* but frontline
49.	to be released when the shooting started. Witness accounts of	Loyalists	**opening fire** on prisoners are likely to be presented to the International Criminal
50.	udio message from the tyrant broadcast late yesterday called on	Loyalists	**to continue to fight**. There was no indication of when or where the
51.	the fall of Muammar Gaddafi's hometown, but scores of regime	Loyalists	and foreign mercenaries, including sub-Saharan Africans, had **maintained fierce resistance** for weeks, raising fears of a prolonged insurgency that could destabilise the
52.	terrorist gangs have been cleansed" but residents said regime	Loyalists	**had fired** on unarmed people and **were using** civilians as human shields
53.	of Misrata said loyalist forces were attacking its TV station.	Loyalists	**were also fighting** *in Sabratha,* famed for its Roman ruins. Col Gaddafi
54.	In Ajdabiya, a city under siege where	Loyalists	**are launching** *indiscriminate* **strikes**, Kim Sengupta witnesses a dirty war
55.	home city of Sirte, about 500 miles from Tripoli, where	Loyalists	**launched Scud missiles** at the rebel stronghold of Misurata. Nato aircraft
56.	dvanced into the capital and an uprising began inside it. Gaddaf	Loyalists	**shot** 17 detainees held in an internal security building in the Gargur area.
58.	by groups of secret police. On Friday, February 18, loyalist	Troops	and secret police **opened fire** on the funeral procession for the 17 as it
59.	testers were attacked by secret police. On February 18, loyalist	Troops	and secret police **opened fire** on the funeral procession for the previous
60.	They are also managing to get ammunition. But government	Troops	**are firing** on them *from the top of the mobile network tower,*" he said.
61.	of orange groves, olive trees and seaside restaurants. Gaddafi's	Troops	**are still fighting**, *directing mortars and sniper fire* at the rebels, sometimes
62.	any soldiers are being fuelled by drugs. Asked why Gaddafi's	Troops	**are still fighting** for a seemingly lost cause, Adel Benjesi, a rebel brigade
63.	could it take? What are Gaddafi's options? Even if Gaddafi	Troops	**continue to fight** *in Zawiyah,* the rebels are likely to have created an
64.	, coastal city of Sirte, Gaddafi's birthplace, where loyalist	Troops	**fired Scud missiles** at Misrata. It was unclear whether the fighting was a
65.	son the ground. Opposition fighters claimed some pro-Gaddafi	Troops	**fought**, others hid. Two were killed. Two boatloads of officers tried to
66.	ahead, Nato jets were pounding the sites from where Gaddafi's	Troops	**had been** *imprudently* **launching Grad missiles**. "We will win this war,"
67.	mumuddin Bachuminia, 30, from Bangladesh, said Gaddafi's	Troops	**had ransacked** his house, **taking** his mobile phone, television and his money.
68.	stronghold, Misrata. Residents and rebels said that Libyan	Troops	**have prevented** food and medical supplies from entering the port city
69.	symbolic. It was there in 1996 that Colonel Gaddafi's	Troops	**massacred** 1,200 prisoners who had protested over living conditions. The
70.	ght to justice and faced the families who suffered because his	Troops	**raped** their women or **killed** their men, or **made to explain how he used** money
71.	leading into the town, The Independent witnessed loyalist	Troops	regrouping **to carry out an ambush**, **killing** two of their pursuers and **capturing** three others
72.	for starting the massive fire. The rebels said Colonel Gaddafi's	Troops	**were playing a "dirty game"** *by bombing the facility, and more air strikes took place*

| 73. | party the night the rebels had come into the capital. Gaddafi | Troops | , who had taken up vantage points in high buildings, began **to pour out steady fire** below, **forcing** rebel positions to fall back. |

*In **Bold**: material process, <u>underlined</u>: affected participants/goal, *italics*: circumstances

*In some lines above, the verb works with the scope to express the experiential violent meaning.

Concordance B.4 Linguistic Patterns of the word *Mustafa*

1.	agreed signal was a televised speech by	Mustafa	Abdal Jalil, **the council chairman**, broadcast via
2.	and the world," she said. **Libya's interim chairman**,	Mustafa	Abdel Jalil, and interim prime minister, Mahmoud Jabril,
3.	**The Transitional National Council (TNC) chief**	Mustafa	Abdel-Jalil announced last night he would seek
4.	of two strategic strongholds of the old regime.	Mustafa	Abdel Jalil, **chairman of the National Transitional Council (NTC)**,
5.	I am waiting for the rule of law to be established."	Mustafa	Abdel-Jalil, **chairman of the ruling National Transitional Council**,
6.	lived under a culture of dependency for 40 years." As	Mustafa	Abdel-Jalil, **head of the National Transitional Counci**l, told the
7.	right place for this historic announcement to be made.	Mustafa	Abdel-Jalil, **head of the ruling National Transitional Council (NTC),**
8.	public viewing of the dictator's decomposing corpse.	Mustafa	Abdel-Jalil, **head of the ruling National Transitional Council (NTC),**
9.	promised after meeting **the Libyan rebel leader**	Mustafa	Abdel Jalil in Paris yesterday that Nato would step up its air
10.	of the 42-year regime emerged. **The NTC leader,**	Mustafa	Abdel Jalil, said his forces had found huge supplies of food, medicine
11.	Ahmed Jabreel, an aide to **the rebels' leader**	Mustafa	Abdel Jalil, said that any talks with the regime in Tripoli "will
12.	areas now getting uncomfortably close to Tripoli.	Mustafa	Abdel-Jalil, **the NTC chairman**, clearly understood the need for calm
13.	gunfire inside my house. They're inside my house."	Mustafa	Abdel Jalil, **the head of the NTC**, said Mohammad, who heads Libya'
14.	searching the tunnel network beneath Bab al-Aziziya.	Mustafa	Abdel Jalil, **the head of the opposition National Transitional Council (**
15.	by the ragtag but better-equipped rebel brigades.	Mustafa	Abdel-Jalil, **the widely respected president of the National Transitional**
16.	and to at least strike some balance on the ground," said	Mustafa	Abdel Jalil, **the NTC chairman**. "But the fact is that we haven'
17.	forgiveness. Islam encourages forgiveness,"	Mustafa	Abdel Jalil, **the chairman of the Libyan National Transitional Council,**
18.	the town's defences. Last night large crowds greeted	Mustafa	Abdel Jalil, **the head of the rebel National Transitional Council (NTC)**
19.	, medicine supplies and fuel," **NTC chairman**	Mustafa	Abdel Jalil told a news conference. The NTC is also to try
20.	and last coastal stronghold. **The NTC leader**,	Mustafa	Abdel Jalil, yesterday gave loyalist forces there until Saturday to surr
21.	their revolution too. This week	Mustafa	Abdul Jalil, **chairman of the governing National Transitional Council**,
22.	. LIBYAN REACTION *	Mustafa	Abdul Jalil, **head of the Transitional National Council** "[Libya is] on t
23.	was not the time to delve into past embarrassments.	Mustafa	Abdul Jalil, **head of the NTC**, thanked Mr Sarkozy and Mr Cameron
24.	"This is a warning shot to Mr Jibril and Mr [	Mustafa	Abdul] Jalil **[NTC chairman].** They are deliberately delaying the formatio
25.	a mystery last night, with **the opposition leader**,	Mustafa	Abdul Jalil, telling a news conference the hunt had so far been
26.	and talks towards a political settlement. But	Mustafa	Abdul Jalil, **the revolutionary council chairman**, said the rebels had tol
27.	was shot dead along with two of his aides, said	Mustafa	Abdul-Jalil, **the leader of the Transitional National Council [TNC]**, alth
28.	, making Sirte more difficult to capture than Tripoli.	Mustafa	Abdul Jalil, **the head of the rebel National Transitional Council**, said h

29.	its offensive against the rebels throughout the country.	Mustafa	Abdul Jalil, **the head of the Transitional National Council**, said
30.	**The president of the ruling National Transitional Council,** Abdul	Mustafa	Jalil, made the dramatic announcement of the death of Younis at a
31.	Saif point to his previous working relationship with	Mustafa	Mohammed Abdul Jalil, **the head of the rebels' national council**, and Ali

Concordance B.5 Opposition forces as actors in material process of domination

1.	empty. Izzo located a weapons depot that gave the	rebels	**access** to more ammunition. Then a sniper's bullet hit him in the
2.	chants of "Allu Akhbar". "Morale is very high. The	rebels	**are controlling** most of Tripoli," he added. On Saturday evening a
3.	, chants of "Allahu Akbar". "Morale is very high. The	rebels	**are controlling** most of Tripoli," he said. On Saturday, a Libyan
4.	* Gaddafi in hiding as	rebels	**capture** his Tripoli compound * Regime loses its grip on the capital
5.	Sirte is likely to dictate the outcome of the conflict.	Rebels	**captured** Bin Jawad on Saturday, but were ejected from the town
6.	who had poured into the Libyan capital after the	rebels	**captured** it. There were still frequent bursts of firing and very few cars
7.	by the Gaddafi regime have been released since the	Rebels	**captured** Tripoli, but nearly 50,000 are still missing and unaccounted
8.	combination of guerrilla conflict and manhunt. But the	Rebels	**control** the capital and the old regime does not, meaning even the term
9.	-establish regime control of the country. But by then	Rebels	**controlled** three large swathes of the country and were advancing on the capita
10.	into civilian areas, where they could be accessed once the	Rebels	**gained** control of the areas. The missiles found to be missing yesterday had
11.	number of Libyan officials who have switched sides since	Rebels	**gained** the upper hand. In London, the foreign secretary, William Hague, said
12.	ended in a massacre. Despite the standoff, he added, the	Rebels	**had managed** to smuggle some food and medicine to civilians in Bani Walid.
13.	furniture jutting out of the windows. When we arrived	Rebels	**had sealed off** the area by parking their war wagons in the middle
14.	teetered on the verge of defeat two months ago when	Rebels	**had seized** the east of the country and there were demonstrations in Tripoli.
15.	That may take some time. Outside Tripoli, the	Rebels	**have control** over most of Libya, following a spectacular push over the last 10
16.	recent days, they did not get far. The central	Rebels	**have now taken** the town of Zlitan and are around 80 miles east of
17.	should be giving orders before turning and fleeing. Indeed, the	Rebels	**have seized** a significant number of large weapons abandoned by retreating
18.	the road to Tripoli will almost certainly be bloody. The	Rebels	have spent this week tallying the weapons they **seized** from the government.
19.	. of their comrades stained the desert sand, the	Rebels	**held** the line and even appeared **to push** Gaddafi's forces back. In
20.	Khamis reported dead as Tripoli falls to rebels Emboldened	Rebels	**laid siege** to Colonel Muammar Gaddafi's compound in central Tripoli last
21.	painter and decorator. He was captured on Wednesday after the	Rebels	lost the village of Qawalish only to **retake** it a few hours later -
22.	for several days during two large-scale assaults, saw	Rebels	**manage to capture** or destroy eight government tanks. At one stage, tanks had
23.	are collateralised against future oil income. Though the	Rebels	**managed to export** a million barrels of oil to China in early April,
24.	is a much bigger dictator than Gaddafi," one said. The	Rebels	now **control** most of Tripoli, following their spectacular advances last week an
25.	further south, possibly to Sabha. Although the	Rebels	now **control** most of the more heavily populated and fertile coastal strip of
26.	. The government's options are narrowing. The	Rebels	now **control** the coastal highway between Tripoli and the Tunisian border, a
27.	.." Such fighting tempered claims that	Rebels	now **hold up** to 90 per cent of Tripoli. Many neighbourhoods resembled ghost
28.	consolidate the grip of the post-revolutionary regime.	Rebels	**occupied** the airport at Sirte, a symbolically important town which was
29.	fled to Benghazi with her two girls, aged four and two. When the	Rebels	**retook** Ajdabiya last weekend she briefly returned home. The note was still on
30.	kept afloat by the fact that his body was not found after the	Rebels	**retook** Ras Lanuf at the weekend. The corpses of the dead fighters were
31.	church and white-and-pistachio painted town hall. The	Rebels	**seized** a central building and cafe - its upper storeys a smoking ruin - then
32.	TV Went off the air yesterday afternoon as	Rebels	**seized** its main offices 2 Old City 3 ZAWIYAT AL-DAHMANI People's
33.	as an engineer at Zawiyah oil refinery, which Libya's	Rebels	**seized** on Wednesday after a five-hour firefight. The refinery is the latest
34.	fled from around Benghazi after the air assault, the	Rebels	**seized** the advantage to move back toward Ajdabiya, a town the two sides
35.	event", and as dusk fell at around 8pm local time a group of	rebels	**seized** their chance and **took control** of the Ben Nabi Mosque close to
36.	As	rebels	**takeover**, fears rise that huge arsenal may have fallen into the hands

37.	. The loss of their military commander came after the	rebels	**took control** of Libya's consulate in London yesterday. The TNC nominated
38.	until she gets her wages, which were stopped when	rebels	**took over** the town early on in the Libyan revolution. Inside the hospital,
39.	be a massacre, hundreds would be murdered" when the	rebels	**took over** Tripoli. The charge, made by the apologist-in-chief for a
40.	to flee Sirte. But previous reports of his capture soon after the	rebels	**took** Tripoli turned out to be false. 2 Mo'tassim Gaddafi The interim informa
41.	People are ready for suicide bombings." He told us the	rebels	**were gaining access** to explosives from fishermen who use dynamite to stun o
42.	has one of the largest oil refineries in Libya. He said that the	rebels	**were holding** areas of Ras Lanuf and awaiting reinforcements to be brought
43.	the government had just collapsed and the	rebels	**were only slowly asserting their grip.** I asked him if he would come
44.	between foreign special forces, arms dealers, businessmen and	rebels	**won** the battle for Tripoli, the result is still unclear. Rivalries are surfaci
45.	inquiry which is investigating the MI6 claims. Meanwhile,	rebel fighters	**tightened a siege** on the town of Bani Walid, where two of Gaddafi's
46.	armour-busting Brimstone missiles. With the armour destroyed,	rebel fighters	were able to **recapture** Ajdabiya early on Saturday morning before heading
47.	To an extent, this has already happened. In the former Cyrenaica,	opposition forces	**control** virtually all of eastern Libya. Life has returned to some n
48.	from the Arab League to justify the decision Balance of forces	Rebel forces	**had taken** most of eastern Libya but were being driven back in
49.	Sabratha along the coast, and a strategic highway now in opposition hands.	Anti-Gaddafi forces	**took** Sabratha on Wednesday following a furious three-day battle, with morta
50.	emphasising the high risk from "friendly fire". By evening, the	NTC forces	**had successfully taken** a housing estate and were promising **to hold** it
51.	to Ras Lanuf to await reinforcements. It never came. Instead, the	rebel army	**seized** the initiative, advancing 50 miles until it was within reach of Ras
52.	" War diary February 15 Anti-Gaddafi protests start March 1	opposition	**controls** eastern Libya March 3 Gaddafi warplanes hit rebel-held Brega Marc
53.	are employed in Libya's oil industry, which has been shut down by	opposition	groups, who **seized** refineries, rigs and wells as Gaddafi forces retreated
54.	recapture Brega, a major petrochemicals centre, the emboldened	opposition	militia **had seized** the oil port of Ras Lanuf and then, within a

Concordance B.6 Opposition forces as actors in material process of motion

1.	The front line dissolves before our eyes. Panic stricken	Rebels	**abandon** their positions under heavy artillery fire and race eastward
2.	crouching in front of their spacious enclosure. As Libya's	Rebels	**advanced** inexorably towards Tripoli, Saadi reassured the zoo's director
3.	task. Many were executed last Sunday or Monday as the	Rebels	**advanced** into the capital and an uprising began inside it. Gaddafi loyalists s
4.	(NTC), to travel to Paris tomorrow. On Sunday night, as	Rebels	**advanced** into Tripoli, British ministers exchanged texts warning each other
5.	were trapped by heavy fighting in surrounding streets as	Rebels	**advanced** on the capital. "No one has left the hotel today," said Missy
6.	abandoned by Colonel Gaddafi's forces on Friday night as	Rebels	**advanced** through the area -- by local doctors and fighters. I counted the
7.	und a cluster of multi-storey blocks of flats in north Tripoli.	Rebels	also **closed in** on pro-Gaddafi strongholds in Sirte and Sabha. Last night
8.	knows when the Gaddafi regime will collapse. But the	Rebels	**are now closing in** with fighters claiming control of Zlitan, and recent
9.	Gebasa was one of those freed from Abu Salim. "The	Rebels	**came** and saved us," he told The Independent by telephone from an
10.	were only beaten and tortured during interrogations. The	Rebels	**came** for us in the early hours of Monday morning. When they opened
11.	diplomacy are running against them, at which point the	Rebels	**can move** into the capital with reduced opposition. A task force set up
12.	the Libyan leader is barely master of his own capital, as	Rebels	**close in** from the east, west and south. Last night British special forces
13.	EYEWITNESS Pressure on Gaddafi mounts as	Rebels	**close in** on Tripoli ANOTHER TOWN falls. Another hook of the trap around
14.	engaging in a rambling rant to an adoring crowd. Since the	Rebels	**converged** on Tripoli on Sunday night, the rumours have intensified. Despite
15.	. Gaddafi's family flees country as	Rebels	**edge** closer to stronghold Muammar Gaddafi's wife and three of his children
16.	h has been closed since February, had no choice but to let the	Rebels	**enter**. Mustafa Turjman, head of research at the national department of
17.	the revolution? Or continue the civil war? And what if the "	Rebels	**enter** Tripoli and decide Gaddafi and his crazed son Saif al-Islam should
18.	nal hours, as an insurrection engulfed the capital Tripoli and	Rebels	**entered** its outer suburbs. In another day of dramatic advances, opposition fi
19.	"The moment that the Libyan	Rebels	**entered** the Gaddafi compound was astonishing and it was also slightly eerie.
20.	point? "I never defected. I worked until 20 August (the day	Rebels	**entered** Tripoli.) Only then I couldn't go to work because of the
21.	idents in Sirte will be hoping for some forgiveness when the	Rebels	finally **come** calling.
22.	ave no damage at all, suggesting the crews fled in fear. The	Rebels	**followed** at a distance, retaking much of the ground they held in the
23.	Libyan capital. "It will become a lot more interesting if the	Rebels	**get into** Garyan," a Western diplomat said. "Not only will that allow them
24.	this. And soon we shall start receiving casualties when the	Rebels	**go** forward. This war is not over." ....
25.	before defecting in the early days of the revolution, said the	Rebels	had been able **to sweep** unopposed into Ras Lanuf on Saturday night. "They
26.	Martyr Square, the scene of a victory party the night the	Rebels	**had come** into the capital. Gaddafi troops, who had taken up vantage points
27.	journalists on a mini-excursion. By storming Tripoli the	Rebels	**had overreached** themselves and **walked** into a trap, he suggested. It did not
28.	moving to the west, where a rare co-ordinated attack by the	Rebels	has brought their fighters **close to** Tripoli, with the most advanced in the
29.	a time when western political and military support for the	Rebels	**has reached** the point of no return. The bigger question is whether the
30.	armoured column entered the streets of Benghazi, the	Rebels	have been able **to push** forward without encountering resistance. Ali Misrati,
31.	public sector workers and free up liquidity in the economy."	Rebels	**have been moving** tanks and rocket launchers into position about 80 miles to
32.	water or electricity, Kanshil added. For days thousands of	Rebels	**have converged** on Bani Walid, one of the few towns not to yield
33.	poured into the sky as the final breakthrough took place.	Rebels	**have moved** quickly to secure Tripoli since entering on Sunday. In a
34.	men are firing. You are in the middle of a crisis." While the	Rebels	**have swept** through vast swaths of Libya, including Tripoli, the regime
35.	and serious injuries. He escaped two weeks ago when the	Rebels	**marched** into Tripoli. Mr Saadi said he would be joining his former leader,
36.	estern air strikes against Gaddafi's tanks and guns. But as the	Rebels	**move** closer to the town of Sirte, the revolutionary council is attempting to
37.	sted open after seven hours of ferocious fighting and exultant	Rebels	**poured** into Bab al-Aziziya, Muammar Gaddafi's fortress and the symbol of
38.	fortifications were quickly breached and, as the sun set, the	Rebels	**reached** Gaddafi's residence, climbing on the statue of a fist clutching a
39.	red that they could be held by the regime as human shields if	Rebels	**reached** the capital. The only exit route from Tripoli by land, the road

40.	uddenly pulled back from the institute. Bewildered, jubilant	Rebels	**surged** onto its campus before scattering as a MiG fighter roared low
41.	were staying] towards Jarif, where he comes from. The	Rebels	**surrounded** all the neighbourhood. "They launched heavy raids on us which
42.	1.3m (pounds 798,000) reward for the colonel's capture, and	Rebels	**surrounded** an apartment building near Bab al-Aziziya on suspicion that he
43.	success, with Nato continuing its UN-backed air strikes, and	Rebels	**sweeping** into Tripoli on Sunday. Omeish did not reply to an email seeking
44.	days glued to his television screen. He watched with awe as	Rebels	**swept** into his home town of Tripoli and cheered as they stormed Muammar
45.	who have sacrificed themselves for me." On Sunday, as the	Rebels	**swept** into the capital, he insisted "I am in Tripoli . I am with
46.	GADDAFI? THE MYSTERY DEEPENS * As the	Rebels	**went** from street to street in Tripoli yesterday, one goal was at the
47.	opened yesterday on the road to Sirte. Thousands of	rebel fighters	**advanced** towards the gates of the government stronghold, clearing villages
48.	artillery was drawing close to Ras Lanuf and another mass of	rebel fighters	broke through defence lines and **advanced** on twin fronts in Libya yesterday,
49.	.	Rebel fighters	**made** another **advance** on the Gaddafi stronghold of Sirte, coming under rocket
50.	there were reminders that Libya is not yet free of violence.	Rebel fighters	**moved** to the front but they said they were outgunned and began pulling back.
51.	justice. In Tripoli in August, there was evidence of	rebel fighters	**swarmed** into his fortified compound, stamping on a gilded bronze head of the
52.	uammar Gaddafi's seat of power in Tripoli fell yesterday as	rebel fighters	, the Shabab, had attempted **to advance** to Bin Jawad and claimed at one stage
53.	When the town of Gharyan was besieged, with a brigade of	rebel fighters	tried **to move** into the Abu Salim area, but were kept at bay by
54.	any longer of warplanes. Several hundred members of the	revolutionary forces	**had gathered** at the edge of the city and many of them
55.	eaguered regime had fired a Scud missile at rebel territory as	opposition forces	**closed in** on Tripoli. The rebels were attempting to identify the t
56.	Libyan leader - wherever he might be. He added that more	opposition forces	**swept** in by sea yesterday from the eastern port cities of Misrata
57.	light, many were taken aback by the speed with which	opposition forces	**had swept** through dictator's stronghold. They remarked on how every
58.	regime had fired a Scud missile at rebel territory as	Opposition forces	**closed in** on Tripoli. The rebels were attempting to identify the t
59.	the sort of bleak and passive future it promises. Now	rebel forces	**have reached** Tripoli, we can say we have snatched freedom with our
60.	The alliance said it had destroyed 39 targets since	rebel forces	**entered** the city on Thursday. Gaddafi's spokesman, Moussa Ibrahim, claim
61.	Ahmed Omar Bani, the military spokesman, said yesterday.	Rebel forces	**have been closing** on Sirte from the east and west, but have
62.	ey have got heavier guns and we cannot match them." The	rebel forces	**headed** back east towards Benghazi, the capital of "Free Libya", amid gro
63.	Hysterical pro-Gaddafi residents said they would fight the	rebel forces	in the east if they attempted **to march** on the capital, while
64.	, the coalition's current commander of operations, said.	Rebel forces	were able **to reach** as far as Ajdabiya, about 100km from Benghazi,
65.	on his supporters to crush the rebels. Meanwhile, as the	rebel forces	**advanced**, the secrets of the way the Libyan leader had lived began

Appendix C

Concordance C.1 The L1 collocates of *fighting* -Adjectival collocates of *fighting*

1.	sition to Col Muammar Gaddafi and has been the scene of **the bloodiest**	fighting	in the Libyan uprising. The labourers from countries
2.	was set ablaze yesterday during **ferocious**	fighting	that left dozens dead as Gaddafi forces rolled back
3.	blasted open after seven hours of **ferocious**	fighting	and exultant rebels poured into Bab al-Aziziya,
4.	rebel hands after prolonged and **fierce**	fighting	. This has further cut off Muammar Gaddafi's regime
5.	- to have been killed during **fierce**	fighting	in the city centre of the last major rebel foothold in
6.	Gaddafi's forces out, sometimes in **fierce**	fighting	, at the beginning of the uprising nearly a month ago.
7.	Issam Mohmed Shebani, there is now **fierce**	fighting	inside the capital between Gaddafi's soldiers and
8.	near Benghazi Street, a scene of **fierce**	fighting	in recent weeks, searching cars and passengers for
9.	to be in full control after a week of **fierce**	fighting	in which they seized Colonel Gaddafi's compound,
10.	under regime control following days of **fierce**	fighting	. The bodies of four adults and three children lay by
11.	he replied: "Death." "It's real **fierce**	fighting	, like Vietnam," said another rebel fighter. "Every
12.	signs of damage from the recent **fierce**	fighting	- was intercut with archive footage, familiar scenes of
13.	said at least 133 civilians had been killed in Tripoli's **fierce**	fighting	, citing opposition sources. Other fighters preparing
14.	provides a strange contrast to the **fierce**	fighting	in other parts of Libya. "I'm looking for something I
15.	the regime in February triggered **fierce**	fighting	as the opposition formed a people's army. However,
16.	but rebels countered in the east where **fierce**	fighting	was reported. At least 30 rebels, including the local
17.	In Misrata, scene of some of the **fiercest**	fighting	this year, a cinema and hospital stand on what
18.	in Libya come as **heavy**	fighting	continued in and around the coastal town of Sirte,
19.	. **Heavy**	fighting	in tyranny's last stand Gaddafi's fearsome son
20.	close to a plant where there had been **heavy**	fighting	. At least two people are understood to have been
21.	to a plant where there had been **heavy**	fighting	. At least two people are understood to have been
22.	hotel in Tripoli were trapped by **heavy**	fighting	in surrounding streets as rebels advanced on the
23.	command have taken part in **heavy**	fighting	in Misrata, a key port and rebel stronghold between
24.	Sirte called Medina. After a day of **heavy**	fighting	, Enrico had returned to the rebel camp when
25.	its grip on the capital after day of **heavy**	fighting	'We have got into the cave of this animal. Where can
26.	days and was reportedly the scene of **heavy**	fighting	yesterday. Gunfire and explosions were heard from
27.	before the journalists escaped. He said **heavy**	fighting	was continuing in Abu Salem, just south of Gaddafi's
28.	abandoned Mahari hotel, which saw **heavy**	fighting	last week as NTC forces battled for control of the
29.	rebel-held eastern Libya that has seen **heavy**	fighting	for the past 10 days. Meanwhile, forces loyal to Col

30.	coastal hometown of Sirte, where **heavy**	fighting	continued yesterday. In Bani Walid, south of Tripoli,.
31.	rebel retreat after another day of **inconclusive**	fighting	. Refugees fleeing Sirte yesterday told rebels that
32.	a large arsenal. There was also **intense**	fighting	in the port city of Ras Lanuf, and Zuwarah in the
33.	president, arrived in Libya, the **continued**	fighting	was a reminder that much work still remains to secure
34.	rebel forces. Despite **the ongoing**	fighting	, many of the rebel leaders started moving from their

Concordance C.2 Presuppose the Fighting by Change of State Verbs

1.	gless ceasefires since the	Fighting	**began** without its vicious military campaign missing
2.	but has returned since the	Fighting	**began**. "Without them there would be a disaster. The
3.	into the hinterland. The	Fighting	**came** a day after the flag-flying visit to Tripoli by Ni
4.	of his possessions as the	Fighting	**came** nearer, in a desperate scramble to escape. Ibra
5.	-Aziziya compound. The	Fighting	**capped** a day of steadily escalating violence in Tripo
6.	erim cabinet yesterday as	Fighting	**continued** for control of two strategic strongholds of
7.	in Libya come as heavy	Fighting	**continued** in and around the coastal town of Sirte, on
8.	into the air. But the	Fighting	**continued** in some parts of the city. Not everyone was
9.	, the owner of the station.	Fighting	**continued** in the town of Bani Walid, one of several
10.	road, although pockets of	Fighting	**continued**. The regime's advance leaves the road ope
11.	grey swirls of smoke. As	Fighting	**continued** throughout the morning, a ship arrived in T
12.	wn of Sirte, where heavy	Fighting	**continued** yesterday. In Bani Walid, south of Tripoli,
13.	longest-surviving dictator.	Fighting	**erupted** in Green Square at the start of the uprising in
14.	to their native Egypt when	Fighting	**erupted** in mid-February yet to return. The economic
15.	stubborn resistance, with	Fighting	**erupting** around Gaddafi's Bab-al Azizia compound,
16.	the south and west.	Fighting	**is continuing** in Zawiyah, 30 miles west of Tripoli, an
17.	the revolution, once the	Fighting	**started** she had her own office, ran the hospital's securit
18.	escaped. He said heavy	Fighting	**was continuing** in Abu Salem, just south of Gaddafi's sh
19.	in mid afternoon said	Fighting	**was still going on** around the central square, although a re

Concordance C.3 Co-occurrence of *fire* as a Scope in MAI in relation to Gaddafi's side

1.	machine guns appeared on the horizon and **opened**	**fire**	. There were between 10 and 15 families
2.	were reported to have set up roadblocks and **opened**	**fire**	from rooftops. Another protester
3.	roundabout and people from inside the base **opened**	**fire**	," he said. "They went home, gathered
4.	from the warehouse after *the Khamis Brigade* **opened**	**fire**	, said the detainees had been told they
5.	than 50 were injured when *government forces* **opened**	**fire**	. Witnesses said that government snipers
6.	bigger demonstrations. Then *security forces* **opened**	**fire**	. About 70 people were killed in a matter
7.	uary 17 when *Colonel Gaddafi's security forces* **opened**	**fire**	on crowds of protesters in Benghazi, and
8.	Ali, 18, was hit in the leg after *checkpoint guards* **opened**	**fire**	on his car, as the group inside fired their
9.	were reported to have been killed when *gunmen* **opened**	**fire**	during a funeral for an anti-government protester.
10.	glass. *A Gaddafi soldier* at a checkpoint just **opened**	**fire**	. My boy could have been blinded," Mr
11.	. February 18, *loyalist troops and secret police* **opened**	**fire**	on the funeral procession for the previous
12.	entered the town centre and *snipers* on rooftops **opened**	**fire**	. Mohammed Abdelbaset, a rebel official
13.	focus of the fighting, when a *regime sniper* **opened**	**fire**	from one of the surrounding buildings.
14.	sporadically closer by as *Gaddafi sympathisers* **opened**	**fire**	from roofs within the town. Residents in
15.	near Sultan. He had run out of the back as *they* **opened**	**fire**	. "They stole some things, but they also
16.	wshouting Gaddafi is the enemy of God. *They* **opened**	**fire**	. One guy was killed." The police tossed
17.	centre of Tripoli along the Mediterranean, *they* **opened**	**fire**	on rebel positions from prominent
18.	notice them until they were very near. *They* **opened**	**fire**	from three directions and we had to
19.	an armed group from *the Obeidi tribe* **opened**	**fire**	at the hotel with semi-automatic rifles.
20.	with tanks rolling out early yesterday and **opening**	**fire**	on opposition fighters trying to force
21.	*Gaddafi's mercenaries*, mainly from Africa, **have been opening**	**fire**	on people here. Hundreds of victims are now in the
22.	shooting started. Witness accounts of *loyalists* **opening**	**fire**	on prisoners are likely to be presented to
23.	red, green and black flag of the rebellion, **opening**	**fire**	on the opposition fighters as they
24.	*gunmen* had taken position at the eastern end of Gagaresh Street, **opening**	**fire**	at any vehicles that came too close. By the afternoon

*In *italics*: the actor, **Bold**: material process + scope, underlined: affected participants/goal,

Concordance C.4 Adjectives on the left co-text of *fire* in relation to Gaddafi's side

1.	in on the sand dunes below, they came under **intense anti-aircraft**	fire	and artillery bombardment. Their situation seemed hopeless. Some r
2.	. The skies above were lit up by constant **streams of anti-aircraft**	fire	. Rebel fighters, buoyed by reports that the vote in New York had
3.	that a missile would drop nearby or **the regime's anti-aircraft**	fire	would shoot down a jet on top of them. "This is their [
4.	town of Ras Lanuf last week as they came under **heavy artillery**	fire	, but yesterday managed to continue their advance, taking them about 80
5.	at least one wing was held up after coming under **heavy artillery**	fire	. Rebel forces were also last night threatening to attack Bani Walid,
6.	stricken rebels fled the eastern town of Brega under **heavy artillery**	fire	yesterday as units loyal to Colonel Muammar Gaddafi reversed the
7.	Panic stricken rebels abandon their positions under **heavy artillery**	fire	and race eastward in a chaotic jumble of speeding vehicles, wide-eyed
8.	ground forces as they pounded rebel positions with **heavy artillery**	fire	. The rebel leadership, based in the second city of Benghazi, appealed
9.	and breeze was soon shattered by **booming echoes of missile**	fire	from Muammar Gaddafi's forces. The response, long bursts of machine-
10.	him. I will never know. March 19, Benghazi I wake to **heavy shell**	fire	. War is here, and panic descends on Benghazi. On the street outside
11.	from foe, while dealing with the threat of **Grad missiles and sniper**	fire	from Gaddafi troops. Speaking over a crackly phone line from an
12.	Gaddafi's troops are still fighting, directing **mortars and sniper**	fire	at the rebels, sometimes with deadly accuracy and last night the e
13.	and the beach below, have been blown out by **sniper**	fire	. From the roof terrace itself, where a spotter surveys the sniper position
14.	to create new roads that offer more protection from **sniper**	fire	. There were few signs of life, apart from a few unfortunate chickens,
15.	flanked with burnt vehicles, blowing horns, they came under **sniper**	fire	, causing some of their "technicals" - gun mounted flat-bed trucks - to
16.	taken up vantage points in high buildings, began to pour out **steady**	fire	below, forcing rebel positions to fall back. As the Shabaab, the

Concordance C.5 Frequent passive clause patterns of the word *shot*

1.	in the outskirts of Benghazi. "He **had been**	**shot**	in the head. A bloodstained note bearing his
2.	"I am sorry about Ahmed". He **had been**	**shot**	through the head by a sniper. Another fighter
3.	hospital that doctors told us he **had been**	**shot**	," said Rakaan's mother. A doctor pointed to an
4.	a Libyan minister claiming that he **had been**	**shot**	in the legs and captured. As Libyans
5.	matter". He said the three men **had been**	**shot**	before they arrived for questioning. "We
6.	. Some had bound hands, others **had been**	**shot**	dead as they lay on beds in a makeshift
7.	tied behind their backs. Several **had been**	**shot**	in the head. A total of 30 bodies were
8.	, and it was not that his son **had been**	**shot**	dead in the heat of Libya's revolution. Dressed
9.	to a young man in hospital who **had been**	**shot**	in both legs in the city centre the previous night
10.	the capital. "Two people **have been**	**shot**	dead. Please get everyone into the car and
11.	father, unaware that Rakaan **had just been**	**shot**	, picked up his body in amazement, searching
12.	Izz al Arab Matar, a member of the rebel front, **was**	**shot**	dead in Gaddafi's compound on Tuesday. Speaking
13.	to carry out attacks," he said. "He **was**	**shot**	when he was being arrested. I do not know if
14.	battle that liberated Zlitan, Marwan **was**	**shot**	dead. Izzo took his friend to Misrata and
15.	people claimed. Shawad Mohammed **was**	**shot**	in the front of his home; Jadullah Bakhti was
16.	ws. But I am alive. My neighbour **was**	**shot**	. He is in hospital. I do not curse these dead
17.	one in which a Spanish reporter **was**	**shot**	in the legs by Gaddafi loyalists and killings
18.	said Ghalia Hamid, 21, who **was**	**shot**	twice in the arm by loyalist troops on Saturday
19.	become one of up to 150 prisoners **were**	**shot**	at in a barn. The assault at the capital's
20.	bound behind their backs when they **were**	**shot**	. This latest massacre seems part of a trend of
21.	suggests that some of the victims **were**	**shot**	while being held as prisoners, when that part of
22.	months ago shows young men who **were**	**shot**	, poisoned, hanged or hacked to death after an
23.	Khalid Abushahma, the first protester **to be**	**shot**	**dead** by Muammar Gaddafi's forces in this
24.	civilians, including quite a few children, **have been**	**shot**	by regime forces. Other stretches are a free-fire zone
25.	it **was** just unarmed demonstrators **being**	**shot**	by security forces. Over the following two days
26.	. Hassin, 16, is buried in one of the city's cemeteries,	**shot**	during fighting two weeks ago, his grave in a
27.	th dictators," he predicted. Abdul Karim, 32,	**shot**	in the leg by Gaddafi's police, was recovering
28.	He sits under rows of faces of the 1,200 men	**shot**	dead at Abu Salim prison on the orders of
29.	, including his order in 1996 to have 1,200 prisoners	**shot**	in Abu Salim prison. Gaddafi responded with brutal