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**Media Portrayals of Abrahamic Religions in Broadsheet Newspapers: A Corpus-Based  
Critical Stylistic Analysis**

**Sawsan Hazim Hassan**

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics and English Language

Department of Linguistics and Modern Languages

University of Huddersfield

UK

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## Abstract

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Although there has been a proliferation in the study of religion across a range of disciplines, including media, sociology and theology, investigations of the representation of religion from a critical linguistic perspective are few. More specifically, this topic has not been approached using a range of corpus linguistics tools and approaches to carry out a detailed qualitative analysis of a large corpus. The aim of this thesis is therefore to investigate how three Abrahamic religions in the UK – Judaism, Christianity and Islam – are represented in a corpus of broadsheet newspapers from 2010. The focus of this research is to explore linguistic patterns and practices to investigate the question of whether the newspapers are biased in their representation of the three religions, and thereby whether such representations contribute to perpetuating stereotyped images through the construal of the characteristics drawn from the UK press.

The study draws on the contribution of the corpus methodology to critical stylistics to identify patterns of naturally occurring texts constructed by the media world. The textual analyses are based on three purpose-built corpora for each religion: Judaism (3.3 million words), Christianity (3.8 million words) and Islam (5 million words). The analysis focuses on investigating the significant collocates identified using the online corpus tool *Sketch Engine* (Kilgarrieff et al. 2004), utilised as a starting point in examining the collocation choices co-occurring with the three religions. The results of the corpus analysis reveal that patterns of collocates reflect persistent differences and commonalities in the representation of Jews, Christians and Muslims. The identification of collocates can be ideologically significant for discourse analysis because collocations can help to expose hidden meanings. These collocational patterns are then examined qualitatively, employing the more textually grounded framework of Critical Stylistics (Jeffries, 2010a) to assist in describing and interpreting the data from a wider textual-conceptual perspective. The occurrence of various nominal choices collocating with the words *Jewish*, *Christian* and *Muslim* as adjectives helps to investigate how the three groups are labelled and defined linguistically.

The analysis of the collocational patterns demonstrates a stereotypical and imbalanced representation of the three religions in the British newspapers. This analysis also shows that there are commonalities in terms of the collocational choices but also discrepancies in the representation of the three religions. Such representation is explicitly shown in the choices of stories and events which newspapers prioritise over others. This has resulted in a marginalisation of contexts such as culture, social identity and profession, which are less frequently found in the corpus compared with the context of war and conflict. The study shows a set of stereotypical images associated with the different religions. For example, a strong association is made between Jews and suffering, creating an atmosphere of victimisation. The linguistic choices present a balanced and sometimes neutral representation of Christians. However, Muslims are portrayed in negatively charged contexts resulting in a stereotypical prejudice. Focusing on my corpus, the salient finding of this study is that the British newspapers most frequently position both Jews and Muslims in the context of conflicts. The current study demonstrates cumulatively formed patterns in the representation of the three religions that are characterised by the linguistic construction of stereotype.

Finally, the analysis shows a significant degree of selectivity in the representation of the three religions which could inform us about the British press, and its commitment to democracy and human rights.

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# **Media Portrayals of Abrahamic Religions in Broadsheet Newspapers: A Corpus-Based Critical Stylistic Analysis**

**Sawsan Hazim Hassan**

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# **Chapter 1**

## **Introduction**

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In this thesis, I investigate the representation of Judaism, Christianity and Islam in the British broadsheet newspapers. These newspapers are selected because of their circulation and influence on the British public in particular and around the globe in general. A full account of the British press is represented in section 4.2.2. The theoretical framework employed in this study is based on Jeffries's approach to critical stylistics integrated with methods of corpus linguistics. This chapter provides a brief account of the contextual background of Britain with respect to the three Abrahamic religions. This is followed by illustrating the statement of the problem that this study endeavours to tackle. I then outline the rationale for the study by justifying its contribution to language studies. This chapter provides the objectives of the study and the three research questions I aim to address. The chapter ends with an overview of the structure of the thesis.

### **1.1 Contextual background**

As this study focuses on the representation of the three religions in the British newspapers, I have allocated this section to providing contextual information about the relationship of Britain with Judaism, Christianity and Islam. This section is therefore divided into sub-sections regarding the three religions.

#### ***Judaism***

Staetsky and Boyd (2014, p. 4) report that the UK Jewish population is regarded as the world's fifth largest and the second largest in Europe. According to the Office for National Statistics (ONS), the percentage of Jewish people in England and Wales was 263,000 (0.5%) at the 2011 Census, with a minor increase from 259,927 (0.5%) since 2001. The presence of Jews in the UK is traceable to the mid seventeenth century, when they were readmitted to the UK after being expelled from England by King Edward I in 1290 (Meer & Noorani, 2008). After the First World War, particularly during the 1930s, about 55,000 Jewish people migrated to Britain, fleeing Nazi Germany. Following World War II, Jews have increasingly become part

of mainstream British society, even to the point where they have been appointed to the British cabinet. In addition, the vast majority of Jewish people feel at home in Britain. About 83% of Jews reported in a survey that they identify strongly with Britain (Staetsky & Boyd, 2014, p. 7). Nevertheless, Jews in the UK encountered prejudice and discrimination during the first half of the twentieth century. However, as Endelman (2002, p. 261) claimed, this anti-Semitism was more social and cultural than political. Staetsky and Boyd (2014, p. 6) observed that the Jewish population in Britain was less directly affected by the Holocaust than its counterparts in Europe. However, the current Israeli-Palestinian conflict in the Middle East has encouraged more support for the Palestinians on the part of the British, in particular after the first *intifada* in the late 1980s. Such debate has created, as Staetsky and Boyd (p. 7 [original italics]) pointed out, ‘a *new antisemitism* [...], based on antagonism towards, or open hatred of, the State of Israel, as contrasted to previous forms of antisemitism that were directed towards Jews as a distinct group’.

According to the parliamentary inquiry report into anti-Semitism (2006), European Jewish immigrants were associated with ‘spies and enemy aliens’ during the First World War, and there was increased anti-Semitism during World War II. The Holocaust is so thoroughly associated with Jews and Judaism that it attracts the work of reporters and readers. Døving (2016, p. 4) showed in her study that the long history of Jewish people and the Holocaust in Europe often form a background for ‘the representation of the Jewish minority in the press, even when the report has nothing to do with Jewish history and focuses on more contemporary issues’. She also found that the theme of anti-Semitism appeared more often during the years 2009, 2011 and 2012 in the Norwegian press.

As will be shown later in the present research, two main perceptions are commonly associated with the Jews as portrayed in the British newspapers: the holocaust and the issue of immigration, basing these debates on stereotypical images and making them a backdrop for the contextual representation of Jews in the British newspapers.

### ***Christianity***

Christianity is the official faith in the UK. It is the faith of 59 % of the population in England and Wales, though this statistic has decreased from 72% in 2001. However, the percentage of people who identified themselves as atheists increased from 15% to 25% between 2001 and

2011, in addition to a decline in the church attendance and participation during this time (Knott, Poole, & Taira, 2013). Similarly, Guest, Olson, and Wolffe (2012) claim that there has been a sharp decline in attending church, ordained ministry recruitment and participation in rites of passage. With reference to the Christian conservative in the United States, religion and secularisation have begun to exhibit tensions in American politics, where Christian conservative power has made possible religious intervention in politics. Here, Ryan and Switzer (2009, p. 15) find differences between Protestant and Catholic traditionalists and other Christian conservatives (i.e. centrists) on the basis of social and cultural issues including abortion, debates over family rights, the death penalty and bans on foetal stem cell research. Brown (2009, p. 2) found that ethnic minorities in Britain, such as black and Asian communities, have not suffered the decline that white Christian churches have. Negative portrayals of Christianity as anti-egalitarian, out of date and homophobic on issues of gender, child sexual abuse in church and homosexuality have recently been observed in the liberal and secular media (Al-Azami, 2016; Knott et al., 2013).

It is found that 200 million Christians experience different forms of violence and suffer for their faith (Pontifex & Newton, 2008). However, due to the above recent debates on moral and conservative issues, this led to the negative depictions outnumbering the positive ones in the media. In a report submitted by the Christian Institute (2009, p. 23), it is averred:

In general Christians and Christianity are negatively portrayed in the media. [...]. In dramas Christians are often depicted as objects of ridicule, moral hypocrites or cultish brain-washers. In two extraordinary recent instances, TV dramas featured Christians as violent extremists.

Although Christianity is less favourably portrayed in the British media where the focus is on legal and social issues such as anti-egalitarianism, depicting Christian persecution has been a common feature in the British Christian print media. Faimau (2013) examines the narration of the Christian persecution and the representation of Islam and Muslims in four Christian papers: *Church Times*, *The Tablet*, *Evangelicals Now* and *Evangelical Times*. The aim is to refer to the relation between Christians and Muslims, in particular in Muslim-dominated countries. Faimau found that religion in fact ‘produces fear based on the perception that minority groups are a threat to a majority group’ (p. 350). The persecution of Christians is provoked by the government regulation of religion, social regulation of religion and

conversion, indicating that persecution occurs when the presence of Christians is seen as a threat in Muslim-majority countries, while Islam and Muslims are misrepresented in the context of persecution based on two complementary claims: ‘God is on our side [Christianity] and Muslims are against us’ (p. 353).

Therefore, Christians in the British media might be represented as marginalised or negatively portrayed (Taira, Poole, & Knott, 2012), but we can observe a sense of sympathy when representing Christians in the discourse of persecution.

### ***Islam***

The percentage of Muslims, according to the 2011 Census, was 5% that had increased from 3% since 2001. Muslims are the second largest religious group in England and Wales. Siddiqui (1995) reports that the presence of Muslims in the UK began from the mid nineteenth century, after the increased trade between Britain and its colonies facilitated in 1869 by the opening of the Suez Canal. Peach (2005) points out that a small number of Yemeni Muslim traders from the Middle East began settling in South Shields and established a Muslim community there. The major growth of British Muslims dates from 1950s and 1960s immigration of Pakistanis, Bangladeshis and Indians to ‘fill the labour shortage in the industrial cities of London, the Midlands and the former textile towns of Yorkshire and Lancashire’ (p. 19).

What magnified the presence of and focus on Muslims in the UK are the attacks of September 11<sup>th</sup> which have brought Islam to the forefront of the British media discourse and the beginning of the era of the ‘war on terror’ as it might be a war against Islam. British discourse about racism has shifted in the fifty years from colour to ethnicity and religion, in which Islam has held the highest profile (Peach, 2005, p. 18). This event was followed later by the Madrid attacks in March 2004, and, especially for Britain, the London bombings in July 2005 and the bombing of Glasgow in June 2007. These events have organised much of the debate about Muslim identities, such that the way of writing on Islam ‘has become at once more necessary and more complex’ (Hopkins & Gale, 2009, p. 2). In a report published by the *Equality and Human Rights Commission*, Weller (2011, p. 2) states that these events had a significant impact both on the British people and on the development of policy and practice concerning discrimination in religion and belief.

Media representation of an event or a certain group has a vital role in transforming and shaping the reporting of events. Therefore, the overall impact of all media forms, traditional and modern sources, is evident through their widespread presence, making them authentic sources of news and information (Ameli, Marandi, Ahmed, Kara, & Merali, 2007, p. 8).

Recent studies conducted have revolved around the portrayal of Islam and Muslims in the mainstream British media, in particular the press, such as Baker, Gabrielatos, and McEnery (2013); Moore, Mason, and Lewis (2008); Poole (2002); Poole and Richardson (2006); Richardson (2004), outlined in detail in section 2.5.1. According to a study conducted at Cardiff University (2008), the authors analysed 974 British newspaper articles from between 2000 and 2008 about British Muslims. They found that 80% of the coverage focuses on portraying Muslims in the discourses of threat, problem and opposition to dominant British values. These negative assessments are prominent, particularly in the tabloids. This in turn has had a great impact on Muslims in Britain and Western countries, who have expressed their concerns about the portrayal of Islam in the mainstream media (Ameli et al., 2007, p. 8). However, since September 11, the media representation of Islam and Muslims has changed into stereotyping Muslims and Islam with images of fundamentalism, terrorism, extremism and suicide attacks, which are clearly linked to the contexts of conflict and war.

Said (1997), in his study, examined how the Western world, in particular America, perceived the Islamic world. He called this negative approach by the Western media 'Orientalism'. According to Said, Orientalism is the West's invasion of the East through the colonial period and the rise of the orientalist scholarship in Europe during the 19<sup>th</sup> century up to the end of French and British imperial hegemony in the Orient after World War II and the emergence of the American dominance. Such a negative approach to representing Islam and Muslims then contributes to serving up subtle and stereotyped images and contexts in media discourses; therefore, it affects the readers'/hearers' attitudes and awareness.

## **1.2 Jew, Christian, Muslim: definitions of terms**

In this section, I clarify some basic terminological concepts in relation to the three Abrahamic religions and their religious groups. As there are three religious groups comprising Jews, Christians and Muslims, it is worth discussing the differences between the multiple forms each group may have which are used for most of the analysis and discussion in this study.

Starting with Jews, dating back at least to the sixth century BC., the word ‘Jew’, which comes from the Hebrew word *Judean*, is clearly used to refer to the Judean in exile in Babylonia (Benbassa & Attias, 2004, p. 23). Such a notion might result in the perception of different identities of the Jews in terms of religion, language, place of origin. De Lange (2010, p. 1) defines the Jews as a scattered people living in different countries as a statistically insignificant minority in each place.

According to De Lange, Jews practise Judaism because they are Jews, not the other way around, suggesting that there is no correlation between religion and identity, but between the choice of being identified as a Jew or not (2010, p. 1). He adds that there is Judaism, a Jewish religion binding the Jews together as it is the focus of their lives. However, it divides Jewish people as much as it divides Jews from non-Jews. De Lange continues by claiming that it is not the Jewish religion that unites the Jewish people; therefore, it is not the Jewish religion that defines the pious Jews as Jews. In a related statement, Benbassa and Attias (2004, p. 27) point out that ‘Jews never defined themselves simply as Jews; they were Jews from the country where they lived; Jews of the particular language they spoke’.

Selzer (1968, p. 233) states that the only definition that can be applied equally to all Jews is that they are all "not non-Jews". He provides a thorough definition of what the word ‘Jews’ means as follows:

Jews were a nation, or, more accurately, a group of nations each distinguished by its own social and cultural mores and to some extent physical characteristics but sharing a common religion and similar historical experiences and expectations which set them off from the non-Jews among whom they lived.

(p. 231)

It seems that there is no definite explanation capable of interpreting the difference between the *Jew* and *Jewish* identities. Accordingly, Jews are regarded Jews based on social, cultural, religious and political entities grouped jointly under that one word, *Jew*. That is to say, they are Jews whether they practise the Jewish religion or not. This implies that Jewish people and Jews are both associated with the national identity and the Jewish religion which both differentiate Jews from non-Jews. As these two words are one of the search items in my study, I intend to treat *Jew* and *Jewish* as two related semantic senses, based on the identity of religion and nationality.

With reference to Christianity, two search items are utilised in my corpus: *Christianity* and *Christian*. It is quite clear that *Christianity* refers to the religion tracing back to Jesus of Nazareth. Christianity is the religion of one third of the people in the world. It is a religion based on the life and teachings of Jesus Christ as described in the Bible. The item *Christian* is, thus, a person who follows Christianity. It can also be used as a modifier to describe a person belonging to Christianity. Therefore, both items have religion-related aspects.

Moving to Islam, three different words are selected: *Islam*, *Islamic* and *Muslim*. *Islam*, as a faith, is a major religion in the Middle East, and the followers or people who practise this religion are called Muslims. *Islam* and *Islamic* are two references to the religion itself and both are abstract concepts. However, *Islamic* (3,847 occurrences) is more frequent than *Islam* (2,303 occurrences) in the data under review as *Islamic* tends to occur as an adjective attracting more nouns, such as organisations, movements, people, concepts and religious practices.

In this study, I have avoided using any religious terms that readers from different backgrounds would find difficult to understand. The above discussion about understanding the different concepts of the three Abrahamic religions has transformed the ways in which, for instance, *Jewish* and *Jew* are perceived. This study does not include the theological instructions of these three religions; only familiar religious denominations that are often known by even non-religious people and those from a different faith.

### **1.3 Statement of the problem**

Media have played a vital role in propagating certain ways of representing religion. The coverage of religion in the media has profoundly changed over the last two decades in the UK due to a series of traumatic events that have pervaded not only media reporting but also public perception, social life, politics, international relations and foreign affairs (Mitchell & Gower, 2012; Weller, 2011). These include the September 11<sup>th</sup> attacks in New York, the Madrid bombing on 11/3 in 2004, the London 7/7 bombing of 2005, and the Glasgow 30/6 bombing of 2007, as well as the invasions of Afghanistan in 2001 and Iraq in 2003 and other events. As a result, religion ‘has increasingly broken into Western mainstream news agendas’ (Mitchell & Gower, 2012, p. 1). This indicates that religion still has a significant impact on the public in the UK.



Different theoretical approaches have addressed the studies of religion in the media. Most of these have emerged from an interdisciplinary approach to psychology, sociology, culture and theology (e.g. Hoover & Lundby, 1997). There have also been works on language and religion (e.g. Downes, 2011; Omoniyi, 2010; Omoniyi & Fishman, 2006). However, the focus of these studies is directed more towards investigating the cultural, social and political discourses, in addition to aspects of the language of religion (see section 2.3). The current study endeavours to investigate the three Abrahamic religions (Judaism, Christianity and Islam) together to investigate how they are represented in the UK press from a linguistic perspective. One of the key aims of this study is to discover whether these three religions are represented in a balanced way. Using a large amount of data is an effective means of attaining this aim. This necessitates an in-depth study of linguistic features to examine how the press chooses to represent certain groups and concepts as text producers ‘have the potential to produce the hidden ideologies’ (Jeffries, 2010a, p. 7).

There are two reasons for choosing these three religions. Firstly, they are comparable in that they are monotheistic sharing the concepts and beliefs of the Abrahamic faiths. Although other religions such as Hinduism and Sikhism are numerous in the UK, Hindus and Sikhs do not feature in political news stories to the same degree as Jews and adherents to the Islamic faith. The Abrahamic religions are practised in the UK, in a sense that ‘[t]he role of all three religions is significant in contemporary British society’ (Al-Azami, 2016, p. 7). The second reason is their centrality to world politics and mainstream media because of the Arab–Israeli conflict in the Middle East and the disputes between Arab countries. In addition, the rise of terror attacks in the West has made Islam significant in which ‘the attacks provoked strong reactions across the world, including the UK’ (Baker, 2010a). Therefore, their presence in the media was important for me and stipulated my choice towards these religions. Moreover, the linguistic features help and cover the typical portrayal of these three religions in a naturalisation of some biased representation due to the various ways of coverage about these religions in the media.

Accordingly, the present study investigates these religions in the broadsheet newspapers by implementing techniques of corpus linguistics (CL) incorporated with critical stylistics (CS) developed by Jeffries (2010a). The application of CL as a quantitative analysis of a large

amount of data combined with CS as a qualitative analysis of texts has the potential to uncover the ideologies embedded in the press.

With reference to the media and its coverage of religion, it is important to consider language in the study of religion in the media because language and media play an important role to broadcast events of world religions and their followers. Therefore, it is essential to combine language, religion and the media to understand the representation of religion from a wide range of contexts. This combination will bring to the fore the importance of language in the media in general and the press in particular as language is the main means for conveying information to people. Such combination is not an innovative approach. Baker (2010a) has studied the representation of Islam in the British press (see section 2.5.1). Also, Al-Azami (2016) adopts such interdisciplinary approach to investigate the three Abrahamic religions in the mainstream British media, as shown in detail in section 2.5.2. These factors – language, religion and the media – would influence the news published and hence its representation in the newspapers. This will make a pertinent addition to the comprehensive area of media and religion on one hand and language and religion on the other hand. Such approach can be achieved by focusing on the representation of the three Abrahamic religions in the UK press from a critical linguistic-based perspective.

#### **1.4 Rationale for the study**

From a research perspective, there are two motivations for conducting this study to address the gaps in previous studies. First, as mentioned earlier, the previous studies addressed the portrayal of religion from cultural, social and political perspectives and paid little heed to the linguistic representation of religion. Furthermore, linguistic studies have recently focused on studying religion in the media; however, such studies have paid little attention to the representation of the three Abrahamic religions together. The current study attempts to plug this gap by investigating and comparing, from a purely linguistic perspective, the language used in the representation of these religions in the media. This motivation leads me to focus prototypically on investigating whether there are differences and/or commonalities in the representation of these three religions.

Another motivation is to deal with a large volume of naturally-occurring data in all British broadsheet newspapers published in 2010 in order to offer a representative analysis. These are

*The Guardian, The Observer, The Independent, The Independent on Sunday, The Daily Telegraph, The Sunday Telegraph, The Times and The Sunday Times.* This is valuable in the quest to yield naturalistic and representative results. Moreover, this dataset is unique to this study, as it has not been so used previously. To the best of my knowledge, no previous studies have used all broadsheet newspapers to investigate the representation of the three Abrahamic religions from a critical stylistic perspective.

The reason for selecting the period of 2010 is to be distant from the attacks of September 2001 rather than immediately following it, due to the bout of anti-Islam emotions, which created an unpleasant portrayal of the religion at that time. Moreover, the reason for not choosing a more recent year is due to the Arab Spring uprisings that began in the late of December 2010 in most Muslim countries, including Tunisia, Egypt and Libya, in addition to the threat of the Islamic State militant group in Iraq and Syria (ISIS) in 2014. The situation is still complicated because of such crises which continue to date. These events have a significant impact on the political and social movements, and consequently on the portrayal of Islam and Muslims in the mainstream media and academic discourses.

Having discussed the shortcomings of the previous studies and the rationale for conducting this study, parts of the present study will seek to answer specific questions to achieve its aims and objectives, addressed next.

### **1.5 Aims and research questions**

This study attempts to accomplish the general aim underpinning it and its objectives. The general aim is:

- To investigate the discursive representation of Judaism, Christianity and Islam in accordance with Jeffries's approach to CS integrated with CL across a corpus of broadsheet newspapers.

To achieve this aim, the following objectives are put forward:

1. To conduct a rigorous and linguistic empirical analysis of the representation of the Abrahamic religions.

2. To explore the strategies employed by the newspapers that might have an impact on readers' attitudes towards some concepts.
3. To highlight any significant patterns in collocation pairs that contribute to the representation of the three religions.
4. To discover the positive and negative depictions revealed in the choice of language.
5. To demonstrate that corpus-critical stylistic study can help to expose hidden meanings and different techniques in representing the religious groups in the British press.

The abovementioned objectives stimulate the research questions considered in this study which are as follows:

1. What are the differences and similarities in the representation of the three religions in the British press?
2. What are the collocational patterns found in the representation of the three religions across the data under scrutiny?
3. What linguistic strategies which could affect readers' perception are employed in the representation of the three religions?

The aim of the research is not to provide a comprehensive picture of the representation of religion, but to explore one way of investigating the linguistic representation of the three Abrahamic religions and religious groups, and to identify any common patterns which describe different aspects of discursive constructions.

## **1.6 Thesis structure**

In order to address the research questions, the thesis is divided into eight chapters. Having outlined the background, rationale, aims and research questions in this first chapter, chapter two reviews some of the theories and approaches to investigating religion in media discourse, probing appropriately into the definitions of the concept of 'religion' and its relation to media discourse, supported by some contextual information regarding the representation of religion, based on an interdisciplinary approach. This study therefore begins by summarising the representation of religion in the media in general and in the press in particular. The study then illustrates how religion has been represented through language. The purpose of this is to offer

detailed insights into the development of emerging different fields and investigating religion with other disciplines. Chapter three provides an explanation of the background of corpus linguistics, followed by some of its principles and the corpus tool utilised, i.e. *Sketch Engine*, and its application in discourse studies. It then describes critical stylistics, the theoretical framework used in this study. This is followed by defining some central concepts in critical language studies which are necessary for conducting a critical study.

Regarding data collection and methods of analysis, chapter four is divided into two main parts. The first is devoted to explaining the genres and values of newspapers. This is followed by a detailed account of the procedures used in collecting the data and building up and cleaning of my three corpora of 2010. The second part describes the corpus techniques and critical stylistic tools employed to carry out a quantitative and qualitative analysis. This chapter ends by discussing the value of integrating CL and CS to carry out this study.

The following three chapters discuss the qualitative analyses conducted in this study. Chapter five presents an analysis of the most frequent nouns chosen to reference Jews, Christians and Muslims and the adjectives attributed to them in the corpus. These nouns are grouped into a set of thematic categories, such as collectivity, conflict, profession and gender. This chapter then looks at how similar nouns modified by the adjectives *Jewish*, *Christian* and *Muslim* are constructed differently, and hence have ideological implications. In chapter six, the textual construction of the three religious groups is examined, focusing on the collocational patterns co-occurring with the three groups that are used to represent them through actions, states and events. This analysis also highlights certain themes used to explore the differences and similarities among the three participants. The last chapter of analysis focuses on the construction of equivalence and opposition and the potential ideological implications that such textual meanings can have. This chapter shows what syntactic frames and triggers are used to signal instances of equivalent and opposite meanings and offers a better understanding of press portrayal of the three participants.

Finally, chapter eight provides a summary of the main findings of my analysis by addressing the research questions and discussing them according to the findings. This is followed by illustrating the novel contributions of this study in terms of knowledge, theory and methodology, describing the limitations of the study and recommendations for future research.

## **Chapter 2**

### **Theories and approaches to religion in media discourses**

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#### **2.1 Introduction**

This chapter addresses discussions and academic studies of religion with reference to its representation in the media. These studies will highlight the overall argument of this study as a pioneering work in the area, which differs from previous studies in terms of both scope and methodology. Before reviewing current studies on religion, it is necessary to understand religion and the news. Therefore, this chapter is structured to consider approaches concerning the discourse of religion in general and the three religions under review in particular. Previous research into media and religion has increased in the last few decades. This chapter therefore provides a review of some recent contributions to the study of religion in the media. The aim of this chapter is to explain the range of different theories and approaches adopted by scholars in the study of religion. This chapter contributes my research into the existing approaches to media representations of religion, and explains how this research contributes to the study of the three Abrahamic religions.

In the course of the discussion, this chapter illustrates a number of media discourse studies of religion in different ways. The chapter starts by providing definitions of religion in section 2.2. Section 2.3 presents contextual information regarding how religion has been represented in the media based on interdisciplinary approaches. Section 2.4 surveys the theories of and approaches to religion in relation to the study of language. Section 2.5 is dedicated to presenting a brief review of the depiction of the three Abrahamic religions in the media in general and in news discourse in particular. Section 2.6 addresses the mediated interaction between religion and conflict. The chapter ends with some concluding remarks that summarise the contribution of this chapter to the thesis as a whole (section 2.7).

#### **2.2 Definitions of religion and its relation to the media**

In the UK, religion has played an important role in public life, particularly in the last two decades, following the September 11, 2001 and July 7, 2005 terror attacks. These events have changed the profile of religion in the national discourse and international relations, and

introduced new shapes of religion into the global discourse (Hoover, 2012, p. 28). Religion, according to Woodhead and Catto (2009, p. iii), is ‘a word analogous to “politics” or “society”’. It is not a “thing” with uniform characteristics, but a collective term for a diverse range of beliefs, practices and institutions’. A functional definition of religion refers to a set of beliefs, traditions, doctrines, practices and institutions that exist in a society (Hoover, 2006). Even though Smith (1982, p. xi) considers religion as ‘solely the creation of the scholar’s study’, Green and Searle-Chatterjee (2008, p. 1) have found that the discourse of religion has made major social changes throughout the world in the past couple of centuries.

Although the proportion of people identifying themselves as religious declined, according to UK census data, from 2001 to 2011, it is still the case that 59.3% of the population in England and Wales identify themselves as Christians, with Muslims being the second largest religious group of about 5% (ONS 2011)<sup>1</sup>. Religion is still regarded an important aspect in the lives of many people in the world socially, culturally and politically. Al-Azami (2016, p. 2) points out that religion is ‘represented in news, documentaries, serial dramas, comedies, soap operas, and on reality television’, making it a significant component in contemporary society.

Media can serve the purpose of broadcasting the image of religion through promoting religious practices, behaviours and groups. Media are formulated to comprise various forms, such as press, broadcast, television and Internet. According to Hoover (2006, p. 1), ‘[i]t is through the media that much of contemporary religion and spirituality is known’. He states that the most substantial role for media in religion comes from conversations about religion (p. 113), indicating that there are clear connections between religion and media able to produce discussions about religion in the media.

The intersection between media and religion is a growing area in the literature, and one which came into emergence in the mid of the twentieth century, wherein religion played a vital role in national and international politics (Hoover & Clark, 2002, p. 1). The integration between religion and media was first pioneered by Hoover and Lundby in their book *Rethinking Media, Religion, and Culture* (1997). They integrated the three phenomena of religion, media and culture, thinking of them as an ‘interrelated web within society’ (p. 3). Lynch (2007) edited a

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<sup>1</sup> For more information about the religion and population in the UK, see the link: <https://www.ons.gov.uk>.

volume looking at the significance of media in transforming religious communities, rituals and identities. Clark also edited a collection of essays (2007) focusing on the ways in which global marketing interconnects with the beliefs and practices of religion in contemporary social relations. Hoover (2006, p. 9) argues that religion and media were thought of together in fundamental ways, sharing the same practices and serving the same purposes. However, this orientation has recently changed in such a way that they seem now to be two related phenomena rather than separate ones. In a recent study, Stout (2012) presents religion as an important analytical concept to understand media-related experiences that do not only pertain to denominations. The author discusses a range of topics related to theory, content and religion as a foundation for the study of religion and media. His approach places religion in a central position in media studies; a position which is not often seen.

It seems then from the briefly outlined works in religion and the media that the linguistic analysis in the media representation of religion is not heavily taken into account (Al-Azami, 2016). This is premise of the present research.

### **2.3 Religion in media discourse**

There has been a great deal of interest in the representation of religion in the media (Hoover, 1998, 2006, 2012; Hoover & Clark, 2002; Mahan, 2012; Mitchell & Gower, 2012) and the effect of conflict on religion in the media (Marsden & Savigny, 2009). The media in general are principal sources for learning about religion and other disciplines. Media came into wide use when broadcasting and the press became essential to communication (Williams, 1983), in which ‘a newspaper or broadcasting service [...] is seen as a medium for something else’, as in the case of advertising (p. 203). This section concentrates on studies by figures who are experts in media and religious studies that stress the role of media to represent religion. However, it is not possible to judge the faith of those academic scholars as they do not declare their religious affiliations in their studies.

Exposure to the internet in general and the media in particular has contributed to mediating the relationship between religion and media. This field focuses on the media to examine the location, the nature of practices and the identity of religion (Mahan, 2012). The media have greatly developed to make accessibility to information more manageable for the audience via the Internet in contemporary life. This has changed communication by enabling people to



remain updated through various sources of news, such as electronic journals, social media and TV channel websites. However, this development has also had a great impact on ways of thinking, whereby individuals and institutions have used such means of communication to affect the way information is received and perceived. One of the notable influences is the emergence of religion and its impact on the public. The media often treats religion as a way of carrying out religious rituals and functions. This helps followers of different faiths, or even atheists, to understand the world of religion, to act in the way that would affect their perspectives and/or to refuse religious arguments accordingly.

A set of studies contribute to the collective links between theories of media, religion and culture to illustrate the necessity of cross-disciplinary and cross-cultural values, such as Hoover and Clark (2002) and Hoover and Lundby (1997). For example, the contributions edited by Hoover and Clark cover a range of fields such as cultural studies, anthropology, religious and ritual studies, history, critical theory, theology, reception and performance studies and sociology. Hoover identifies six lines of demarcation in which the research studies are separated into various subject areas (2002, pp. 4-5). These are organised according to different circumstances and forms: whether the project deals with private or public spheres of religion; whether there is a focus on popular or legitimated realms of culture; whether religious forms and practices have direct or mediated experiences; whether forms of religion and media involve national and cultural contexts; whether religion involves explicit and implicit forms of expression, practice and symbolism, or mainstream and marginal forms and practices. This indicates that the issues that the contributors address distinguish between public and private, between the sacred and blasphemous and between religious and non-religious practices. Given the range of topics covered in these contributions, it is difficult to some degree to imagine how the actual contexts and practices of religion are perceived by members of other religious and cultural backgrounds. Practices and attitudes help people to shape their feelings and imaginations but it is not determined because all forms of perception and feeling could be open to change and development across time.

Most of these research approaches are related to academic disciplines other than religious studies. However, the current trend has changed towards social and historical perspectives, focusing on building interdisciplinary approaches toward the field of 'Protestantization' to signify, as Clark points out (2002, pp. 8-20), 'a historical process toward diverse and

independent inquiry'. In this case, if the task of media is to bring news information to the public, i.e. followers of various faiths, the media are then significant in bringing valuable discussions on religious matters into contexts to make interaction with others successful and courageous.

Investigating the way religion is represented and how it is understood in the UK, recent studies have been concerned with the position and nature of religion in the mainstream media. Knott et al. (2013) point that religion tends to appear in the news when it has political implications. The authors provide a picture of how religion is characterised in the British media, taking into account how the media represent religious and secular issues, debates, institutions, people, practices and beliefs. They collected and analysed data from three British newspapers and three terrestrial television channels in a period of one week. Their project is focusing on a research conducted in an earlier study in the 1980s. Therefore, the second study covers the period 2008-2010 to examine the media representation of religion and contemporary secular ideologies in order to illustrate how media portrayals of religion have changed in the last thirty years. The authors argue that their project is necessary to compare the differences in the two periods because in 1980s 'the British population was less diverse, Christianity more dominant, the internet in its infancy and the media far less influenced by global processes' (2013, p. 1). Knott et al. are interested in identifying any religious references and secular values to compare them with those described in their earlier study in 1982-1983, conducted at a time when religion was assumed by sociologists to be irrelevant to society and was given minor interest by the media. They found more references to religion on British television and newspapers in 2008-2010 than in 1982-1983, reflecting as a result the growing ethnic and religious diversity and the new atheism in the UK. On the ground, when a particular reference to religion is mediated, consideration has to be made on how that could affect people of a different culture to pertain whether this contributes to understanding religion without being influenced by other factors, such as political or religious authorities, in order to control the way that reference is mediated.

In another study focusing on the relationship between religion and the news in the UK, Landau (2012, pp. 79-87) raises the question of the purpose of news media and religion reporting. The author takes into consideration how news broadcasters deal with matters of faith and religion. Landau incorporated his personal experience as a religious affairs correspondent at the BBC

in order to provide the factors that affect news coverage of religious affairs by broadcast journalists. This serves to show the task of broadcast media to bring the proper information to the public. Landau acknowledges that there is tension between the religious news that journalists want to report and the sorts of stories that religious leaders hope will reach the audience (p. 79). For example, debates on the issues of gender and sexuality within Western churches receive great attention from journalists. Being an expert on religious affairs, Landau found that these arguments are not of interest to religious followers, but rather to those who are concerned with how social attitudes are changing and how religious groups react towards such issues (p. 81). He points out that the religious stories are often handled by journalists who have little specialist knowledge about the subject matter (p. 83). Landau adds that such a lack of literacy may be unacceptable in relation to politics or business, but might be tolerated in reference to religion. This may show the response of a religious leader to the ways in which the media portray issues concerning the Catholic Church. However, such debates might not provoke controversy or find resonance within members of other faith communities (i.e. Muslims, Jews and Sikhs). The author made some recommendations to improve the relationship between religion and the news (pp. 85-87). He argues that journalists need to be religiously well-educated in order to present informative discussions on religious issues. In addition, religious groups need to be more realistic to be able to engage with broadcasting media as they are. It is clear that the author, in his study, has considered the way news journalists dealt with religious topics to positively create open societies, based as a result on his experience as a religious affairs correspondent in the media.

Through presenting religion from various perspectives in the newspapers of different countries, Niemelä and Reintoft Christensen (2013) examine the coverage of religion in the newspapers of five Nordic countries during 1988, 1998 and 2008. They have conducted a quantitative analysis of 5,000 articles in 14 newspapers to look at the differences between these Nordic countries and changes within each. They state that the representation of religion in these newspapers is different, in a sense that regional papers in Iceland and Finland tend to show a traditional view of religion. They found that there was a decline in the coverage of religion in newspapers during Christian holidays in all five countries, Sweden in particular. Nevertheless, they also found, due to religious diversity, more coverage on Muslim holidays. They conclude that the media do not echo what is happening in society. Such representations

might influence the recipients due to the little interest and presence of religion in news reporting. They found instead that the media reflect the changes that serve ‘as a secularising force in society, contesting the role of the majority churches’, especially in Denmark and Sweden (p. 21). Examining the representation of religion, the authors would realise that the press tends to be biased in its representation, reflecting the way in which these newspapers represent religions.

Most of these contributions are limited to the interaction between the media and religion, highlighting references and stories about religion and how media coverage could influence the public or religious groups. These accounts then seek to improve the relationship between the media and religion, but they are not concerned with how religion discourses are realised linguistically to the same extent that critical discourse approaches would be.

## **2.4 Religion and language study**

I have already introduced a review of the representation of religion in the media. It is also essential to consider the role of language in representing religion, based on the assumption that language is a medium of power especially in the discourse of newspapers (Richardson, 2007). Studies investigating the representation of religion and language have tended to integrate these two fields with other disciplines, such as sociology, politics and cognition, emphasising how such intersection contributes to extending the interdisciplinary area in portraying religion on different levels. As a result, and in the course of the integration between religion and language, a brief sketch of works done on the interaction of religion and language is outlined below. The purpose of reviewing these works is to show there is a gap in integrating language, religion and the media and I place my research within this context.

From an interdisciplinary approach to study the sociology of language and religion, Zuckermann (2006) presents an emerging discipline between religion and language. His study offers insights on ‘cross-religious interactions at the micro-level of lexis [...] and] gives us a valuable window onto the broader question of how language may be used as a major tool for religions and cultures to maintain or form their identity’ (p. 237). The author focused on the mechanism of ‘etymythology’ and the power of ‘lexical engineering’ within Jewish, Muslim and Christian groups. Zuckermann presents these two phenomena from a sociolinguistic and theo-philological perspective (p. 238). Etymythology, including popular, folk and synchronic

etymology, results in altering the meaning and associations of a word. The author found that the linguistic analysis of popular etymology should not be restricted to discuss cases of mistakes because popular etymology often results in creating a new lexeme, demonstrating that ‘etymythological methods are employed by educated, scholarly religious leaders’ (p. 255). Lexical engineering, on the other hand, reflects religious and cultural interactions and is valuable because it helps us to understand how language is used as a tool to maintain religious and cultural identity (p. 255).

However, Omoniyi’s (2010) book deals with the sociology of language and religion from a different position in order to deal with the nature of change, conflict and accommodation. The collection is a set of studies, which provide various contexts and demonstrates how to look at the themes of change, conflict and accommodation in the link between language and religion. The collection draws on the interrelationship between a macro-analytical perspective and micro-level linguistic elements. Omoniyi establishes that while change frames the transitions between contexts motivated by the internal and external factors, conflict and accommodation are two probable reactions to such change; the former resists and diverges change and the latter embraces and covers change (p. 1).

However, these contributions still provide an overview of the interplay between language and religion in relation to sociology. They have not considered media as an interface. My research focuses on the media representation of world religions from a critical perspective based on a set of linguistic strategies, including the use of process types, adjectival and nominal descriptions and focusing on a range of equivalence and opposition constructions.

Aside from sociology, Alexander’s study (2008) deals with the interplay of religion, language and power by examining language functions within religious communities to gain and to project power. To investigate language use, he distinguishes three religious groups in early Judaism: ‘the Rabbinic movement, the Descenders to the Chariot [...], and the community of the Dead Sea Scrolls’ (p. 83). The aim of his study is to highlight the use of a vocabulary of orthodoxy and the linguistic strategies employed to claim orthodoxy, focusing on the rabbinic movement as the first important group to have developed a form of religious idiolects. The purpose is to apply to those three groups the terms that assert their normative views and the deviant views of their opponents (p. 83). The author concluded that language played a vital

role in self-definition and the bid for power in all the three groups. However, each group faced social and political realities that determined how they deployed their linguistic resources (p. 96). Alexander's study describes the emergence of the vocabulary of orthodoxy by focusing on the language of power, i.e. the Rabbinical movement, but little attention is paid to the lexical choices used in the media. My study shows how language is used linguistically to uncover ideology in the representation of different faiths and religious groups. For example, in chapter five, I show how Jews, Christians and Muslims are labelled in the texts through the noun choices that the writers use.

Along with studying the integration between language, religion and sociology, the relationship between cognitive and linguistic perspectives is also considered by Downes (2011) who develops a new theory of religion by focusing on 'world religions' to relate modern cognitive theories of language and communication to culture and its dissemination. He links the cognitive theory of religion with a linguistic theory to show how language is used to perform actions within religious registers, such as prayer, attending sermons, studying theology and participating in ceremonies. This prompts the realisation that languages are seen as 'the means by which religious thinking is made manifest and disseminated' (p. 3). The author describes religion as 'a cultural ensemble' of four basic features such as the supernatural, the normative, abstract and ideal theological concepts such as 'God' and religious feeling (p. 32). Downes' study could be a new approach into understanding religion from the linguistic perspective based on how such concepts are understood by human minds. The current research adopts a new approach of combining language, religion and the media to investigate, based on an objective method, how language is used to deal with the (un)biased or (im)balanced issues when reporting about the three Abrahamic faiths in the media. This will make a contribution in the field of studying language and religion in the media in the portrayal of the three religions.

## **2.5 Representation of Abrahamic religions**

Although the aforementioned studies have not considered the three Abrahamic religions together, there are other studies investigating these three faiths in different contexts. It is worth pointing out that even though Islam and Muslims have been broadly studied in the media by academic authorities, the representations of Judaism and Christianity in the media have also

been investigated, but they have not taken into consideration how the religious groups, i.e. Jews and Christians, are examined in media discourses. This section is thus divided into two sub-sections: the representation of the three Abrahamic religions in the media and the discursive construction of Abrahamic religions.

### **2.5.1 Media representation of Abrahamic religions**

This section presents a summary of some of the key studies on the three Abrahamic religions in media discourse. For purposes of clarity, each religion is addressed individually.

#### ***Judaism***

Studies of Jews and their religion are mostly concerned with highlighting their social lives, their religious practices and their national state of Israel. Shandler's (2009) study is one of these. His work deals with the influence of new media on the religious life of Jews in America during the past century. Shandler's study seeks to engage new media, such as broadcasting, television, museum installation, the Internet, advertising and tourism. They have become the manner of defining the social and religious practices of American Jews as well as historical events, such as Holocaust remembrance, in addition to Jewish responses to other religious faiths' celebrations, such as Christmas. As Shandler explains, the new media have situated Jews as an exceptional religious community and distinguished their ritual practices in America from other geographical areas. Such insights of new media on Judaism and the religious life of American Jews will have an impact on creating good relations with people of other faiths and making them observe the Jewish identity. With new media engagement, Shandler argues that the media have made Jews perceive themselves, which is apparent in the media outlets that illustrate the social contexts of Jewish life, enhancing as a result the Jewish identity and promoting religiosity among Jews. Although the study illustrates the impact of new media on the religious life of Jews in America, it presents little on the portrayal of Jews themselves which is the motivation of the present research.

With reference to the media-religion interface, Cohen (2012) examines the impact of Judaism on media in Israel on one hand, and the impact of the media on the identity of Israeli Jews on the other hand. The study covers a wide range of media outlets including daily newspapers, Internet, television channels and Israeli radio, providing a detailed study of modern Jewish

identity in the information age. The author states that '[t]he relationship of religion to media in Israel is necessarily influenced by mass media inputs and by the market forces of news values' (p. 6). Describing Judaism and Israeli Jews, Cohen, a member at the Ariel University Center of Samaria, Israel, contributes to exploring the relationships among Judaism, Israeli Jews and the media, providing information about the media, religious news and Israel from and within Israeli society.

Cohen also draws a comparison between studies carried out in the United States regarding religious coverage in the media. He found that the press covers almost all religions, while in the Israeli coverage; the focus is merely on the Jewish religion. This is evident in what the author illustrates that 'Haredim, or ultra-Orthodox account for 43% of religious coverage even though they account for only 9% of the Jewish population' (p. 53). Cohen's study is important as it shows the continuing impact of the media on the Jewish religion and Jewish people, as well as politics in Israel, using a range of media outlets. Even though Cohen offers a useful sketch of the Israeli media, it has not focused on the role that the media have played in representing Judaism and Jews with the consideration of language analysis which is the remit of my study.

A recent study has been carried out by Døving (2016) to analyse the representation of Jewish rituals and Jews as minorities in the Norwegian press in the period between 2000 and 2012. The aim of her research is to explore how Jews are framed in the media, what discourses dominated in the debates and how the Jewish communities are represented in relation to the idea of a Norwegian society. Another related aim is to understand the perspectives of both Jewish debaters and general debaters. In order to approach these objectives, the author focused on five thematic categories regarded as the most common in news reporting in the Norwegian press: Holocaust, Israel, kosher slaughter, anti-Semitism and circumcision of male children. Focusing on these news stories, Døving found that Jews are depicted as being loyal to their own group more than the nation. She observed that despite their status as a national minority, Jews are portrayed as non-Norwegian when there are debates about religious practices. She suggested a hypothesis that promotes a cultural rights discourse without referring directly to the identity of a Jewish group. This helps the Jewish minority to argue for their case and makes them feel less vulnerable and so take part in public debates.



Such research contributes to a stereotype – the image of several Jews as minority groups associated with religious practices and societal issues. However, this study did not demonstrate how language, from a linguistic perspective, is used to portray Jews in the Norwegian newspapers. She focused instead on investigating the social and cultural contexts that dominate the debates in the press, linking between context, content and audiences.

### ***Christianity***

The representation of Christianity or Christians in the media is mostly concerned with describing the political effect of religion on the public. In *Christianity and the Mass Media in America*, Schultze (2003) argues for a theoretical approach to understand the relationship between mass American media and Christianity coinciding with the core of the tension between Christianity and civil society in America. He illustrates four kinds of tensions in the American society, specifically tensions between: time and space; tribal and public interests; religious and secular cultures and technology and culture (pp. 311-312). Despite the existence of such tensions, religion and media still need each other for the sake of democracy in America. Focusing on understanding the relationship between Christianity and the media in the United States, Schultze identifies five rhetorical themes: conversion, discernment, communion, exile and praise. These rhetorics are influential as they can help explore the ways in which Christian tribes interpret themselves in the American society. This indicates that religion and the media in America have offered the public good depictions of religious life. Schultze's approach is a good contribution to the study of the mass media and religion because it recommends the inclusion of media rather than excluding it from the mainstream media in America. However, such approach is limited to the context of American society which is different from the secularised society in Britain (Al-Azami, 2016, p. 28).

Given that communication is a means to highlight the application of media to describe Christian practices, Horsfield, Hess, and Medrano (2004) have edited a range of essays that approach the interaction of religion and media through a number of international and intercultural case studies and explorations. Their book comprises essays illustrating studies from various global contexts including Pentecostal media images in Africa, visual media and culture in Ethiopian Protestantism, horror videos towards understanding the popularity of West Africa, Latin American telenovelas and field research on internet and web religion in

the United States. In these studies, a number of cultural perspectives are considered to the study of media and religion. There is, for example, a focus on the construction of religious meaning to understand media and communication, assuming that meaning created by individuals or institutions plays a role to produce a message. The study of media will then involve exploring the effectiveness of that meaning on the receiver. With such orientation, a range of perspectives is emerging into the interaction between belief and media cultures.

Ryan and Switzer (2009) carried out a thorough study of Protestant conservative political power in America. The authors argue that the successes of Christian conservatives in election, the most dominant religious constituency in the Republican Party, are the result of the American political interests at the national, state, social and local levels and the emergence of the conservative mindset in the United States. They believe that the conservatives use mass media to deliver their views and religious messages to larger audiences. Some key concepts are also defined in this study to discuss issues such as abortion, homosexuality, gender, wars in Iraq and Afghanistan and pre-modern, modern and postmodern cultures. In their study, Ryan and Switzer cover some main topics related to the Christian conservatives in the social and economic contexts in America (pp. 25-26). These include, for example, the influence of mainstream media on the emergence of Christian conservatives at the end of the twentieth century and how those conservatives exercise political power through elections and appointments; exploring the meaning and profile of political conservatives in America today; examining the limits of religious power in present day American political culture and investigating the contexts of war in responses to the War on Terrorism. Such issues illustrate the impact of politics and religion rather than the representation of Christians or Christianity in the mainstream media.

The studies also show the impact of media on different factors, such as Christian institutions, religious education, contemporary cultural perspectives on religion and media. With such diversity in covering culture-related topics in media and belief, such studies are clearly limited to America.

## *Islam*

More recent studies have investigated the discursive constructions of Islam and Muslims in Western media in general and the press in particular through language use by way of discourse analysis. Most of the studies have focused on time periods before/after the 9/11 attacks or 7/7 bombings (e.g. Baker et al., 2013; Moore et al., 2008; Poole, 2002; Poole & Richardson, 2006; Richardson, 2004), which have shown negative attitudes towards Islam and Muslims.

Baker (2010a) carried out a comparative study to examine the representation of Islam in the British broadsheet and tabloid newspapers during the period 1999–2005, immediately before and after the 9/11 attacks on America. The corpus comprises 87 million words from 32,303 newspaper articles. He used corpus linguistics techniques in order to analyse the lexis used by the broadsheets and the tabloids to address issues of bias in certain types of newspapers. Analysing concordances to approach the data qualitatively, Baker found that tabloids have more focus on reporting news about Muslims in an emotive form of language, connected with terrorist attacks and religious extremism of 9/11 and the London bombings on 7/7, in particular on a small number of “villains” like ‘Osama Bin Laden’ and ‘Abu Hamza’. Keywords found in the tabloids include ‘terrorists’, ‘Taliban’, ‘bomber’, ‘twin’, ‘September’, ‘plane’ and ‘hijack’ (p. 325), focusing on integrating the concept of terrorism into the notion of Muslims. The broadsheets, on the other hand, tend to write about Muslims in a wider range of contexts, making few references to fanaticism although their focus on world news resulted in covering many stories about Muslims engaged in wars, a divergence which is not found in the tabloids. Examples of broadsheet keywords are ‘radical’, ‘military’, ‘conflict’, ‘violence’, ‘peace’ and ‘ceasefire’. Baker concluded that one similarity existing between the tabloids and the broadsheets is in the way they define Islam as a religion characterised by restrictions placed on Muslim people and Islam as a faith.

As the depiction of Islam in the news is dominated by violence, Hussain tracks how the terrorist attacks of 9/11 and 7/7 changed the way Islam and Muslims have been treated by the local media, which was fair and helpful before these events (2012). As a British Muslim cleric and educator, Hussain provides some clarity around specific aspects of Islam reported in the media. Having recommended engaging with the media in the UK, Hussain offers some

suggestions to the media for more effective reporting on Islam and Muslims, in an attempt to strengthen the relationship between the media and religious leaders.

There has been a tendency to focus on the stereotypical image of Islam and Muslims. Lemmouh (2008) investigated the representation of Muslims in *The New York Times* on CD-ROM from three years 1990, 1995 and 2000. Using corpus semantics and critical linguistics, the study examined the lexical categories and grammatical features that contribute to the stereotyped image of Muslims. The lexical items show words signalling a non-neutral construction of Muslims. Lemmouh claims that such choices of words are connected to topics and events which describe violence, such as ‘fundamentalist’, ‘rebel’, ‘radical’ and ‘militant’. These words reflect the media’s objective to present the truth. The syntactic structures, on the other hand, indicate that Muslims are positioned in the subject place in transitive active clauses, and they rarely occur as agents in passive clauses. This contributes to representing Muslims as responsible actors for violent actions. His concluding remarks indicate that the frequency of lexical and grammatical choices have shown patterns that represent a negatively stereotyped image of Muslims.

Similarly, Shaw (2012) examined the stereotypical representation of Islam and Muslims following the 7/7 terror attacks in London in eight British newspapers. The aim is to examine the reporting of these attacks that have contributed to the ‘clash of cultures or civilizations’ between the ‘civilized’ Western world and the ‘uncivilized’ Muslim world (p. 510). The study draws on critical discourse analysis (CDA) to examine the implication of the stereotypical representations in the discourses of terrorism prevention, counter-terrorism, intercultural communication and cultural miscommunication. Shaw found that discourses of discrimination against Muslims and marginalisation of Islam employed explicit negative stereotypes surrounding the discourses of intercultural communication, journalism and human rights as well as by extension and terrorism prevention.

The representation of Islam and Muslims shows the role of the media in creating a stereotypical image in the processes of media production. Such media portrayals might be rejected from a Muslim perspective and interpretation as they display a negative stereotype of Islam. My study is built on previous projects. If others have found the existence of stereotypes in the representation of Muslims in the press, I am, in this sense, trying to see if such

representation is found across other religions. It seems that the study of religion in the mass media is a comprehensive research area, but with a special focus on the social, cultural and political contexts. However, it is important for researchers to investigate the three religions together in order to explore whether such representation contributes to perpetuating stereotyped images through construing the characteristics drawn from the UK press.

There are some linguistics-based studies on media representation of the Abrahamic religions together that have corroborated the value of studying the three religions together. The following section presents a brief review of the study of language and religion from a linguistic perspective, which this study also undertakes.

### **2.5.2 Discursive construction of Abrahamic religions**

This section is devoted to investigating the representation of the three religions linguistically. Recent studies have considered religion and media attitudes through carrying out discourse analyses to examine the representation of religion. These include, for example, Hjelm (2013), Bleich, Stonebraker, Nisar, and Abdelhamid (2015), Al-Azami (2016) and Mohamed (2016). Hjelm (2013), in his study, brings together the sociology of religion and CDA in an attempt to suggest CDA as a framework for a critical agenda to study the sociology of religion. The objective of his research is to introduce scholars to the significance of discourse to understanding religion in everyday social interactions.

Focusing on the British news media, Bleich et al. (2015) propose a new systematic procedure relying on four daily British newspaper headlines collected from *The Guardian*, *the Daily Telegraph*, *the Daily Mail* and *the Daily Mirror* and their Sunday equivalents from 2001 to 2012. Their selection was based on words containing the search terms Muslim! Moslem! Islam! Jew! Judai! and Christian! which are related to each faith group: Islam, Judaism and Christianity. They collected 685 headlines about Muslims, 198 about Jews and 225 about Christians. In their study, they examined the portrayal of Muslims in these headlines. They assessed the propositions offered by scholars that Muslims are depicted in a negative manner and compared this to the portrayal of Jews and Christians. They found equal numbers of positive and negative headlines in these newspapers. The overall conclusion is that the portrayal of Muslims is not unfavourable generally, but it is more negative when compared to the other analogous groups. This specific register, i.e. newspaper headlines, plays an important

role in receiving readers' attention. However, it might not form an adequate body of evidence of language representation for us to conduct discourse analysis. Very often, the texts inform the reader of full details regarding events or stories that contradict the headlines or are not exposed clearly by the headlines.

Based on the British media, Al-Azami (2016) conducted a CDA analysis to investigate the representation of Judaism, Christianity and Islam in the mainstream British media. Employing CDA, Al-Azami considers the techniques whereby the media use the power of their language to affect the audience's perceptions of the three faiths through media materials. His study consists of six newspaper articles from *The Daily Mail* and *The Guardian*. These are followed by an analysis of three documentaries on these three religions which were broadcast on the BBC, ITV and Channel 4 respectively. The last step includes analyses of language used in TV dramas, one for each religion, including two episodes of a BBC spy drama representing Islam and Christianity, and an episode of an adult American animation series shown on the BBC.

What makes Al-Azami's study different is that he compared the responses of each religious group and those with no faith in an audience focus study in order to explore how the groups receive those representations. He found that adherents of the three religions interpret media representations according to their view of the world, suggesting that media messages have less impact on their construction of public knowledge (2016, p. 212). The author also contends that 'some of the non-religious participants do not follow the dominant position on the negative portrayal of religions' (212). Another finding relates to the meeting of mixed groups between Muslims and Christians that helped in elucidating some aspects of the Muslim culture, in particular the issues of gender equality in Islam.

Perhaps the most troubling aspects of Al-Azami's study are the lack of Jewish participation in the study and the controversial documentary focusing on the Jewish lifestyle in the UK rather than Judaism. Al-Azami's coverage of British media is not thorough, but it provides a useful account of the mainstream media in the UK. Although his study is partially similar to the present research, my study analyses press attitudes towards Judaism, Christianity and Islam by means of corpus linguistics and critical stylistics methods employing a large dataset and focusing on the qualitative analysis of the corpus results.

Mohamed (2016) conducted corpus linguistic analysis to investigate the noun collocates of the adjectives ‘Christian’, ‘Jewish’, and ‘Islamic’ from the 2013 English Wikipedia to determine their semantic prosody, referring to the meaning of words established between a given node and its collocates. I will explain semantic prosody in more detail later on in section 4.3.1.4. He selected those paragraphs that contain the items ‘Jewish’, ‘Judaic’, ‘Christian’, ‘Islamic’ and ‘Muslim’ which resulted in 53,698,038 words. The purpose is to rank the positive and negative noun collocates using LogDice<sup>2</sup> scores to ascertain whether there is any significant difference between them in terms of statistics. He found that the attributive adjective ‘Islamic’ is likely to be more negative than the other attributives including ‘Christian’ or ‘Jewish’, which is determined by concepts such as fundamentalism and extremism. However, he proposes that this does not necessarily affect the degree of negativeness and positiveness of the modified nouns because if negativity and positivity are determined by the numbers of negative vs. positive nouns modified by these attributive adjectives, then, as Mohamed claimed, both ‘Christian’ and ‘Jewish’ are positive words while ‘Islamic’ has more negative semantic prosody (p. 135). The application of Wikipedia as a resource for text selection can be acceptable to confirm the attitudinal effects, but Wikipedia tends not to be considered an authoritative source. This is especially true considering that anyone can edit the information given at any time, and so some errors might exist which remain unnoticed.

It is evident from the review of previous literature that there is little focus on combining the three Abrahamic religions together. The adoption of both corpus linguistics and critical stylistics approaches to examine the representation of religion in the British press will make a substantial contribution towards developing the religion discourse. The present research will contribute to examining a large volume of data linguistically to uncover the ideological implications and reveal underlying discourses in the representation of these religions.

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<sup>2</sup> LogDice metric computes the frequency of a word based on its salience. For details on LogDice, see <https://www.sketchengine.eu/documentation/statistics-used-in-sketch-engine/#WordSketches>.

## **2.6 Media, religion and conflict**

In the previous sections, I presented a brief account of the way in which religion is dealt with in the media in general and in the press in particular. The current section presents the topic of religion as an essential factor in media discourse in the contemporary political discourse of war and conflict, which has not been looked into a great deal from a critical linguistic perspective. Marsden and Savigny (2009, p. 7) report on the place of religion in the Western world during the twentieth century, stating that ‘religion became increasingly less important to western social scientists and to the media as a way of understanding and interpreting the world’. Similarly, Huntington (1997, p. 42) states that it is through ‘religion’ that we define civilisation, meaning that religious practices and concepts contribute to shaping the culture of a society.

However, most commonly, media coverage has changed since the attacks of September 2001 (Mitchell & Gower, 2012), indicating that the media have the influence to shape world events. This event has impelled the media to cover religion as a conflict in politics, security and international relations (Marsden & Savigny, 2009, p. 8), which could also affect the readers’ perceptions and responses to religion and security. This event served to designate Islam and Muslims in particular as the cause of threat and social conflict. After the 9/11 attacks, Marsden and Savigny claim that ‘world religion has become the concern of all and journalists, broadcasters and academics across disciplines’ (p. 9). Al-Azami (2016, p. 8) also claims that, as this era was described by George W. Bush as the ‘War on Terror’, this war ‘has brought religion to the forefront of British media discourse at an unprecedented level’. This is centred on mediated conflicts, emphasising how conflicts are transmitted in religious contexts through language.

With reference to the three religions under study, the representation of these religions and religious groups is most likely focused by the mediated events. Judaism and Jewish people are associated with the current situations of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict in the Middle East and the conflict between Arabs and Israelis (Al-Azami, 2016, p. 7); Christianity is associated with the controversy of the Catholic Church sexual abuse cases, struggles over social issues of gay rights, the US political campaigns dominated by mediated discourses of religion and the re-emergence of religion in European political and social life (Hoover, 2006, p. 1); while



Islam and Muslims are associated with terrorism and extremism, especially after the events of 9/11 in the US and 7/7 in the UK, wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, the Danish newspaper cartoons controversy, and most recently covering of Muslim women and the threat of ISIS. The significant concerns of Judaism and Islam are clearly centred on the issues of conflict and terror attacks in the Middle East and Western countries, hence their receiving not only public attention, but also that of media academics as well as national and international broadcasters. Such world stories forge intersections between religion, media, conflict, politics and gender, which are also valuable for media stories. It seems then that the media tend to focus on conflict issues and contexts in the depiction of religion. The identity of a subject in media reporting may not necessarily be relevant for a given event, but if a certain religion, for example, is only pertinent in the contexts of conflict and war and hardly ever in social, cultural or economic contexts, it is more likely that the readers/listeners will associate the religious groups of a given religion with bad news or violence.

To review a sample of related studies, Marsden and Savigny (2009) edited a collection of studies contributing to linking between the three aspects of media, religion and conflict. In order to understand the framing of religion as ‘conflictual’ within the media, the authors argue that there must be a reference to political contexts surrounding religion and conflict (p. 2), suggesting they play a role in shaping media agendas. Pointing to the coverage of religious issues, the dominant religion is Islam, concentrating on the representation in the Western media. In a set of studies focusing on Islam, issues such as acts of terrorism in the twenty first century are covered, trying to explore how the UK media between 2000 and 2008 represented British Muslims. Lewis, Mason and Moore focused on how the media developed the production of terrorism ‘represented as a religious rather than a political act’ (2009, p. 18). They found that news stories prompted by attacks on Muslims increased in 2004, but declined in 2008, in which stories prompted by religious or cultural issues increased (p. 26). Another striking concern covered in this contribution is the coverage of the Israeli–Hezbollah war in 2006 on the two main UK terrestrial channels: BBC1 and ITV. The coverage in these channels was dominated by the negative image of Israelis; they were regarded as ‘unhelpful’ (p. 40). The authors critically examined civilian voices and images, the issue of balanced reporting, the use of language and the role of the BBC’s Middle East reporter as well as highlighting the

issue of 'picture-led' coverage in order to investigate which channel runs a story event by providing good pictures and which ignores it.

Another media context focuses on what leads Muslims to be observed as a 'threat', demonstrating how Muslims as a minority could become 'the primary object and target of political campaigns that depicted them as a fundamental threat to Swiss identity and security' (Ettinger & Udris, 2009, p. 70). The authors found that Muslims in Switzerland, being perceived as a threat, have become the focus of attention, especially after the 9/11 attacks. This creates 'a window of opportunity' used by 'political actors' (p. 75).

In another study, Bradley (2009) looks at the impact of the views of different popes on the international policy and dialogical approach of both the Vatican and the Catholic Church. The aim is to explore how the Church seeks to influence international issues. Here, the author carried out two case studies: how the Vatican used its diplomatic role to have an impact in Lebanon during the Lebanese Civil War (1975-1990), and how Vatican Radio seeks to influence world affairs. Considering the impact of the Vatican's views, Bradley found that the Catholic Church is identified, for instance, by its soft-power, strong diplomacy and lack of armed forces, meaning that co-operation rather than conflict is most likely prevalent within the Church, in which the Church's agenda has promoted a humanitarian interest in Lebanon to maintain Christianity there. A good example is the Christian-Muslim dialogue to raise issues such as opposition to abortion and secularism (2009, p. 126). Bradley also observed that Vatican Radio condemns the abuses of totalitarianism and human rights, but seeks to practise Catholicism without interference. Therefore, the Vatican or the Catholic Church seeks to exert its influence in international political affairs and in the media from the perspective of both religious and political values. Clearly shown is the role of media in politics and the way the religious groups have utilised the media in promoting religion in different contexts.

In conclusion, Marsden and Savigny (2009) suggest an analytical integrated framework in order to understand the relationship between the three factors: media, religion and conflict, reflecting an awareness of such interactions as they have the potential to reflect structural and agential qualities. They suggest that the media have a role in the political discourse whereby religion and conflict are interwoven in public discourse.

The conflictual discourse is also contextualised in the representation of ethnicity and religion in the contemporary European and Western media, which have a role in depicting the violence used. Egorova and Parfitt (2004) edited a collection of studies focusing on the portrayal of Muslim and Jewish communities as minorities and the conflict between them in the modern media. This collection covers perceptions of Islam in the West on one hand and of Europe and the West in Asia and Africa on the other hand. It also covers the image of Israel in the media in different areas in the world and the image of the Arabs on Israeli TV and in that nation's press (pp. 4-5). These contributions demonstrate a variety of approaches towards the study of ethnicity and religion in the mass media, represented from discursive, anthropological, sociological, semiotic and feminist concepts. As Parfitt points out in the introductory chapter (p. 5), the broad purpose of this collection is to examine the ways in which Jews, Muslims, Arabs and Israelis are presented in a variety of modern media, such as press, broadcasting and the Internet. As the collection covers various topics related to these communities, the authors state that Muslims and Jews receive a bad representation in the press due to the active role that the media play in covering the conflict in the Middle East.

The above-mentioned studies contribute to demonstrating the role that mass media play in depicting conflict among religious and minority groups in different parts in the world, indicating that religion and conflict are two related factors in the media representation of religion and religious groups. My study aims to address religion and conflict in the media discourse from a linguistic perspective.

## **2.7 Summary**

In this chapter, I have identified and discussed basic theories and approaches to the study of religion in media discourses in general and in the press in particular, in reference to the cultural, sociological, theological and political areas. Starting with the eclectic contexts discussed above, evidence from media and news studies suggests that religion is still an important aspect situated in Western and Eastern media. International media coverage of religion in general and Abrahamic religions in particular was principally restricted to cultural, social and political contexts in an attempt to explain the content, production and reproduction of media reporting from the perspectives of a wide range of disciplines.

It is apparent that most of the literature on the representation of religion in media discourses adopts an interdisciplinary approach, combining in essence religion and the media with other disciplines. The integration of religion and the media is in an era known as ‘Media Age’ (Hoover, 2006; Hoover & Clark, 2002; Hosseini, 2008). Hoover (2006), in the introductory part, claims that much can be known about contemporary religion and spirituality through media, in which intermingling religion and the media can no longer be simply separated. This new inquiry begins to address the integration of religion and the media with other disciplines, such as cognitive theory, sociology, psychology, culture and politics.

There is also overwhelming evidence that the three Abrahamic religions and religious groups are portrayed in different discourses, most often in conflictual situations. Some of the recurring themes in media coverage indicate that Judaism and Jewish people are depicted regularly as a minority group and in the context of Arab-Israeli conflict; Christianity and Christians are more connected to the Catholic Church and politics; and Islam and Muslims often recur in problematic contexts.

My review in this chapter has shown that there are very few studies dedicated to investigating how Jews, Christians and Muslims are represented in the modern media discourse, especially from a linguistic perspective, which points to an important gap in the literature on the discursive construction of religion in general. Moreover, despite adopting qualitative methods, most studies do not undertake a combination of quantitative and qualitative approaches to provide detailed quantifications of their qualitative results. This study therefore adopts a tendency towards selecting a large amount of data to gather an impression of a media portrayal of the three religions rather than selecting a small number of texts. My own study aims to address these issues by employing corpus-based approaches and critical stylistics framework that are rigorous, replicable and quantifiable, as will be explained in the following chapter.

## Chapter 3

### Theoretical approaches: corpus linguistics and critical studies

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#### 3.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a detailed review of the two integrated theoretical frameworks used in this thesis: corpus linguistics and critical discourse analysis. I first describe the analytical techniques used in corpus analysis (section 3.2), followed by some principles of corpus linguistics in sections 3.2.1, 3.2.2 and 3.2.3. I then describe the corpus software tool used and the advanced functions provided by the corpus tool in section 3.2.4. This is followed by a brief review of the application of *Sketch Engine* in discourse studies. In the second part of this chapter, I illustrate the qualitative framework of critical approaches to discourse analysis in section 3.3, including critical linguistics, critical discourse analysis (CDA) and critical stylistics (CS). Section 3.4 is dedicated to defining some central concepts in critical discourse studies. The chapter ends with a summary in section 3.5. This study therefore aims to bring two fields together in order to discuss all the potential ways to interpret the text in a systematic fashion.

#### 3.2 Corpus linguistics

In modern corpus linguistics, the word corpus can be defined as ‘collections of texts (or parts of text) that are stored and accessed electronically’ (Hunston, 2002, p. 2). These texts are sampled to ‘be *representative* of a particular language or language variety’ (McEnery, Xiao, & Tono, 2006, p. 5 [original italics]). Corpus linguistics (CL) then contributes to the study of language using computer software packages (McEnery & Wilson, 2001, p. 2). CL research uses a collection of quantitative and qualitative methods to explore a large collection of electronic texts occurring in natural contexts (Baker et al., 2008, p. 274). Corpus-based analysis forms the basis for conducting a quantitative and qualitative study by addressing research questions, designing and building the corpora, deciding which techniques to use, interpreting the results and framing explanations for them (Baker, 2006, p. 175). The corpus methods make use of computer programmes that facilitate the identification and examination of complex patterns of language use in larger databases than could be dealt with manually (Biber, Conrad, & Reppen, 1998, p. 4).

CL is viewed by some corpus linguists as a methodology (McEnery & Wilson, 2001; McEnery et al., 2006; Meyer, 2002) in the sense that a set of procedures can be carried out to identify aspects of language associated with data collection and techniques for corpus analysis. It is a methodology in that it can be used in any area of linguistics such as phonetics, syntax and sociolinguistics, but is not itself a branch of linguistics (McEnery & Wilson, 2001). CL is a set of methods or procedures that any researcher could follow in studying language. There are, for example, different criteria in determining corpus techniques, data collections, the cut-off point choice in considering significant results and the choice of statistical measures in identifying collocates.

However, CL is also viewed as a new discipline which has a theoretical framework (Leech, 1992; Mahlberg, 2005; Stubbs, 1993; Teubert, 2005). Although CL is sometimes considered a new paradigm in linguistics, it is often regarded a research method that can be used to explore areas in language studies (McEnery et al., 2006). It seems then that '[t]here is still disagreement on whether corpus linguistics is mainly a methodology or needs its own theoretical framework' (Mahlberg, 2006, p. 370). In this case, CL can also be viewed as a theory in a sense that it needs to be based on observable factors to examine language based on the assumption that many general corpora are available to enable other researchers to replicate existing studies. It is also worth stating that I am looking at collocation, which stems from Sinclair's work. Sinclair was a neo-Firthian; that is, he saw corpora as providing a new means of theorising about language. Collocation was the primary means by which he went about doing that. Since I am adopting Sinclair's techniques, I decided to refer to this chapter as theoretical in reference to his own view of the centrality of collocation to a theory of language. However, I also acknowledge the methodological value of CL. Following the above discussion, I labelled this chapter 'theoretical' rather than 'methodological' as a great part of it contributes to introducing a detailed account of CL and critical approaches to the study of language. The main procedures in collecting the data and the corpus techniques used in carrying out the analysis are rendered to the methodological approach in chapter four.

Furthermore, corpus methods provide some advantages in discourse analysis, such as speed, completeness and precision which cannot be achieved using manual techniques. What is practical in a corpus analysis is that it 'does not follow a specific set of procedures in a particular order but can also take different routes' (Baker et al., 2013, p. 26). The analytical

corpus linguistics approach is well suited to serving the purpose of identifying collocational patterns in my data. Subtirelu and Baker (2017, p. 106) explain the rationale for the corpus approach, saying that they ‘can better understand language production if we use computer software to identify linguistic patterns that occur across large sets of texts that have been collected in order to be representative of a particular language variety’.

As examining collocation is the basic aim of this study, it behoves me to point out that collocation requires a well-informed qualitative analysis in order to ascertain what it reveals. A corpus analysis does not, therefore, replace human analysis, which is fundamental for further supplementary points and interpretations; it ‘will still be incomplete, but it can help to cover additional aspects of the text in order to complement the manual analysis. It thus adds further techniques to the stylistician’s “toolkit”’ (Mahlberg & McIntyre, 2011, p. 206). Hence, I use corpus analytical techniques to complement my qualitative analytical framework.

For this study, I used a web-based software system, *Sketch Engine* (Kilgarriff et al., 2004) illustrated in detail in section 3.2.4.1. In the following sub-sections, I provide a detailed account of the corpus techniques relevant to this research. As far as corpus size is concerned, a brief account of the quantity of data is given in the next section.

### **3.2.1 Consideration of corpus size**

In corpus linguistics, a corpus of texts aiming to be representative of a particular type of text or genre, such as newspaper texts, written essays or academic articles is referred to as a specialised corpus (Hunston, 2002, p. 14). Determining the size of a specialised corpus remains an issue. The question of how large a corpus should be has not been answered yet. Baker states that what should be taken into consideration when building a specialised corpus to investigate the discursive construction of a particular subject is not so much the size of the corpus as the expected frequency of the subject(s) under investigation (Baker, 2006, p. 28). That is to say, the approach to building a corpus must be selective in terms of quality and content rather than the quantity of the corpus (p. 29). McEnery et al. (2006, p. 15) also consider that in order for a corpus to be maximally representative of a language variety, it should contain a wide range of text types; for further information about corpus design issues, see Biber et al. (1998, pp. 246-250).

It is, then, possible to conduct a corpus analysis on a small dataset. Stubbs (1996, pp. 81-100), for example, compared two short texts, of about 330 and 550 words each, written by Baden-Powell<sup>3</sup>, with reference to the use of the words ‘happy’ and ‘happiness’. In this study, Stubbs was able to show the ideological positions generated by patterns of individual words and grammatical forms. Likewise, Shalom (1997) collected a small corpus of four personal advertisements, consisting of nearly 20,000 words, in which she was able to identify patterns of three top frequent adjectives ‘similar’, ‘attractive’ and ‘professional’.

For the purpose of this thesis, I collected three corpora to be representative of the language used by the broadsheet newspapers. Each corpus covers news articles relating to three religions in the UK which appeared during 2010. The number of words in each corpus (3,335,045 for Judaism, 3,877,040 for Christianity and 5,012,363 for Islam) might suffice to address the research questions and identify typical patterns. Details concerning data collection and design are provided in section 4.2.3.

### **3.2.2 Corpus-based and corpus-driven approaches**

Tognini-Bonelli (2001) makes a distinction between corpus-based and corpus-driven approaches. Corpus-based study uses a corpus dataset as a way ‘to expound, test or exemplify theories and descriptions that were formulated before large corpora became available to inform language study’ (p. 65). Here, the analysts use the corpora to confirm the formulation of existing theories. In the corpus-driven method, the corpus linguist is devoted ‘to the integrity of the data as a whole, and descriptions aim to be comprehensive with respect to corpus evidence’ (p. 84), and the analyst uses the evidence provided by the corpus to build new theories and hypotheses about language. Tognini-Bonelli elaborates further the distinction between the two approaches, stating that the corpus-based linguists use the corpus evidence to ‘insulate’, ‘standardise’ and ‘reduce’ the data that does not fit the theory and keep what fits the theory whereas the corpus-driven linguists use the evidence they derive from the data to build their theoretical categories (p. 67). However, Tognini-Bonelli claims that ‘there is no such a thing as pure induction’ (p. 85), arguing that the analysts cannot discard their

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<sup>3</sup> Baden-Powell was a British Army officer and author of *Scouting for Boys*.



experience and intuition in interpreting the corpus data during the analysis process. The intuitive basis of the theories being tested is also challenged by Stubbs (1996), Hunston (2002) and McEnery and Gabrielatos (2006); they recommend accepting the usefulness and inclusiveness of intuitions of the researcher. However, Sinclair (2004, p. 47) has argued that there are techniques for ‘keeping the intuition temporarily at bay’.

Taking a theoretical and methodological distinction, a corpus-based approach refers to a methodology highlighting a set of methods, whereas a corpus-driven approach views corpus linguistics as a ‘theoretical status’ (Tognini-Bonelli, 2001, p. 1). However, corpus linguists such as Hardie and McEnery reject the notion that the corpus itself has a theoretical status, claiming that there is no reason why the two traditional approaches – ‘corpus-as-method’ versus ‘corpus-as-theory’ – cannot collaborate and coexist in reasonable harmony (2010, p. 390). The authors describe corpus-based work as ‘methodologist corpus’ and that which is corpus-driven as ‘neo-Firthian corpus’.

The above sharp distinction between corpus-based and corpus-driven approaches is not accepted by other corpus linguists. McEnery et al. (2006), for instance, state that the difference between them is in reality a fuzzy one, maintaining a less rigid distinction between the two methods. Similarly, Xiao (2008) does not observe ‘any 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). As with the overlaps between the two approaches in corpus linguistics, this is also true in corpus stylistics (McIntyre & Walker, forthcoming 2019).

Previous studies adopting corpus methods to carry out discourse analysis from a critical linguistic perspective triangulate between the two approaches to provide evidence for linguistic description. Biber (2009) states that it is possible to carry out research analysis combining both corpus approaches. Using corpus-based analyses in his case studies, Baker (2006) recommends using both approaches and states ‘there is no reason why corpora cannot take more of a corpus-based role in discourse analysis either’ (p. 16).

In practice, for critical social studies, it is more likely that the analysts fluctuate between the approaches. For the present study, since I have a set of queries and have decided in advance which words and frequencies thereof to examine, I have preliminarily adopted a corpus-based

approach as a starting point to address my research questions relating to the linguistic representation of the three religions. However, using *Sketch Engine* to examine collocates of the target words may be described as corpus-driven because a set of collocates is generated through corpus tools. Biber (2009, p. 276) claims that a study of lexical collocates is ‘corpus-driven in that the lexical collocations of a target word are discovered through corpus analysis’. As a result, this research is a combination of both approaches due to the pre-selected search terms (deductive) from which collocational lists are derived (inductive) through corpus analysis.

### **3.2.3 Diachronic and synchronic corpora**

As far as corpus approaches and corpus size are concerned, a corpus can also be designed for diachronic and synchronic analytical purposes. The former is built to ‘be representative of a language or language variety over a particular period of time, making it possible for researchers to track linguistic changes within it’ (Baker, 2006, p. 29). The latter provides snapshots of the particular language in use at a certain period of time. Since the corpora built for this study aim to find whether there are differences and similarities in the representation of the three religions, the three corpora are not designed to track language changes across the time under review, for example, whether certain phrases or words within that point in time have changed or not.

With that said, the corpora collected for this thesis can be described as specialised and synchronic, representing religion in the newspaper genre. The corpus also provides a static, not dynamic aspect of discourse analysis as it is not intended to be updated regularly by including extra texts, and is thus only representative of the language used to construct the three selected religions in that specific period of time.

### **3.2.4 Corpus software**

Corpus linguistic study has become widespread in discourse studies. Given that there are various types of corpora used according to the purpose of the corpus designed to be employed in corpus analyses, corpus researchers are able to have access to a variety of corpus tools to identify patterns of language in naturally-occurring data. Most software packages have the same techniques, such as frequency lists, concordances, dispersion plots and collocations, and

perform the basic functions of searching for the occurrence of certain words or phrases in a corpus. This section presents the basic corpus software interface adopted in this study: *Sketch Engine*.

### 3.2.4.1 Sketch Engine

*Sketch Engine*<sup>4</sup> (SkE) is a web-based software system, developed by Kilgarriff et al. (2004). It is a corpus tool which allows corpora of any language to be uploaded; they are then grammatically tagged to identify the grammatical relations among collocates. It sorts collocates into verbs, nouns and adjectives. SkE can then show who did what to whom via collocates. It is designed for everyone who wants to research how words behave. The *Sketch Engine* interface is especially made for this type of study, as it is unique in deriving the significant collocates based on the grammatical relations among words within the corpus. SkE contains a large number of existing reference corpora in various languages, for example, the British National Corpus (BNC), Dutch Web 2014 (nlTenTen14), French Web 2012 (frTenTen12), Arabic Learner Corpus (ALC) and Chinese Traditional Web (TaiwanWaC, Universal Sketch Grammar). Furthermore, researchers can upload their own corpora, depending either on the research questions a study has to answer or the period of time being investigated. This advanced software is helpful for analysts who need to interpret a plethora of data, especially when collocates have thousands of occurrences and hence thousands of concordances.

In common with other corpus software, SkE generates frequency lists, concordances and collocations, in addition to offering other advanced tools such as sketch difference, a thesaurus and word sketch, which I will use in my corpus analysis. Sketch difference allows a user to compare sketches for two words (Gatto, 2014, p. 179), highlighted in two different colours to specify what behaviours they share and how they differ. Thesaurus is an automatic distributional tool (*Sketch Engine* user guide); it finds words which have similar grammatical and collocational behaviours to the node word. However, the focal function of SkE is word sketch which makes it distinct from other corpus programs. Word sketch is a basic tool in SkE

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<sup>4</sup> This corpus software is available at [www.sketchengine.co.uk](http://www.sketchengine.co.uk).

which provides significant collocates based on the grammatical relations among words within the corpus. Word sketch is defined as a one-page automatic, corpus-based summary of a word's grammatical and collocational behaviour (Kilgarrieff et al., 2004). It is used to show how collocational pairs work in the corpus. This prime function allows users to identify particular contexts applicable to a certain group rather than another. This tool is significant for the improvement of corpus analyses by providing 'synthetic statistics' to each word in the corpus according to the lexical and grammatical relations (Gatto, 2014, p. 172).

As this tool identifies a word with different POS tags annotated automatically, I used the POS Tagger included within *Sketch Engine*. It can work with a high level of accuracy rate reaching up to 98 % and the errors are typically due to some misspelt words, interjections or rare usage (*Sketch Engine* website). Therefore, caution has to be considered as some words could be incorrectly tagged in a few cases. For example, the phrase *a persecuted Jew* is tagged mistakenly because *Jew* is identified as the object of the verb *persecuted*. As a result, inspecting the concordances is necessary to ensure that tagging is correct.

Using word sketch, I am able to collect collocates and categorise them into common themes (see section 4.3.1.3.2) derived from grammatical patterns tagged as verbs, nouns and modifiers. These grammatical patterns are further examined to reveal how certain entities are represented in the UK press. For instance, an appealing way to analyse verbs further is to subject the collocational patterns of verbs to the transitivity system of representing actions/states/events. This is based on sorting the verb collocates in terms of material, mental, relational and verbal processes. Another function of language is the naming strategy, in which I have focused on the noun collocates modified by the target words *Jewish*, *Christian* and *Muslim*. These linguistic devices allow me to observe how *Jews*, *Christians* and *Muslims*, for example, are presented as actors or goals, and how they are referred to and described in the corpus under study. Grouping these collocates into themes is an attractive way to differentiate between these three groups and to view how they are represented. SkE, then, 'provides a more sophisticated picture of collocational patterns than merely considering pairs of words together' (Baker et al., 2013, p. 260). Investigating collocates in such a large amount of data is a time-consuming process. Therefore, examining collocational patterns using SkE is useful to ensure that I will not miss certain patterns and to allow me to analyse collocates across a range of grammatical features.

### 3.2.4.2 The application of Sketch Engine in discourse studies

As stated above, using SkE for the identification of collocates assists linguists in investigating a large amount of data presented with the statistical significance of each collocation to view the lexical relations between words. Recent research studies have been carried out using SkE to show how collocates can help to reveal the different discourses of particular groups or concepts. This section is therefore dedicated to surveying some studies using SkE to date and highlighting where the potential for a new addition can be located in corpus studies. The following instances are samples of studies that show different tendencies based on texts representing discourses around gender, culture and minority groups; all provide a contextual analysis centred on social, political and linguistic features.

Investigating gendered discourse, Pearce (2009) investigates collocates of the lemmas (i.e. the major word class to which a set of lexical items belongs, written in small capitals) MAN and WOMAN in the general reference corpus BNC, focusing on the most significant collocates identified according to their grammatical relations. Using SkE in his study helped to reveal unique patterns of grammatical features that are more associated with males than with females. MAN tends to occur with verbs that require physical activity, or associated with dominance and leadership such as ‘chase’, ‘climb’ ‘dominate’ and ‘lead’. Males are also represented as the subject of verbs that have to do with violence, for example ‘murder’, ‘kidnap’ and ‘abuse’. As an object, men are often positioned in a criminal context, such as ‘accuse’, ‘charge and ‘arrest’. However, men are also presented as victims of violent acts, such as ‘kill’, ‘shoot’ and ‘wound’. The lemma WOMAN, on the other hand, occurs as a subject of verbs referring to emotional states, such as ‘weep’, ‘cry’ and ‘nag’. Women also show a tendency to be the object of verbs associated with victims or recipients of violent actions, for example ‘assault’, ‘oppress’ and ‘abduct’. Additionally, they also occur with verbs involving the exercise of power by others, such as ‘assist’, ‘compensate’ and ‘monitor’. In consequence, Pearce concludes that men and women are often represented in stereotypical ways; men are strongly represented as independent, aggressive and strong, while women are typically characterised as weak, dependent and involved in family and marital matters.

Relevant to Pearce's study, Baker (2014) used the English corpus ukWaC<sup>5</sup>, preloaded in SkE, to analyse gender. However, this corpus is larger than that one used by Pearce, BNC. The ukWaC contains more than two billion words. Baker focuses on examining the collocational patterns of the lemmas BOY and GIRL therein. His aim is to show how boys and girls are portrayed and to identify any differences or similarities between the two words. Using sketch difference, he was able to compare the grammatical relations between the two terms to find how they are categorised grammatically. He was able to identify contexts which are applicable to one rather than the other. His findings show that boys are depicted according to their behaviour (which is perceived as bad), their physical actions, their jobs and their lack of academic practice, whereas the concordances of girls tend to refer to their emotions, choices of clothes, romantic relationships and their representation as victims.

Because the two corpora used by Pearce and Baker are significantly different, what Pearce found about the representation of MAN differs from what Baker found about BOY. Men are more associated with discourses of leadership, violence and dominance, while boys are portrayed in contexts of bad behaviour, jobs and lack of academic prowess. This might be due to the age difference, wherein men are more powerful than boys in terms of having control and performing different actions. However, men and boys share the discourse of physical actions as this is more associated with the male gender than the female gender.

Differing from the aforementioned studies, Taylor (2014) employs corpus-assisted discourse analysis to investigate the representation of minority groups, i.e. migrants, in the UK and Italian press. She used two corpus tools: *Wordsmith* and *Sketch Engine*. Using the latter, she collected collocates of the English terms 'refugee', 'asylum seeker', 'immigrant' and 'migrant' (RASIM), and those of the Italian terms 'immigrat', 'clandestine', 'stranier' and 'extracomunitari' (ICES). Collocates of these search words are associated with various geographical identities. She has analysed the use of these terms for groups in the press, with the aim of identifying any patterns in such geographical identities.

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<sup>5</sup> The ukWaC is a two-billion-word corpus of English developed between 2005 and 2007 as part of the WaCky project (Web as Corpus kool ynitiative).

Taylor also points out that references to nationalities associated with RASIM and ICES do not necessarily refer to the residence of those nationalities in the UK or Italy. In relation to national identities, she found that people from, for example, 'Portugal', 'Lithuania', 'India' and 'South Africa' are the most numerous groups in the UK population, but they are under-represented in the news. This suggests that such groups have been backgrounded in the representation of the UK press. The nationalities that seem to be foregrounded in the newspapers are 'Palestinian', 'Afghanistan', 'Iraqi', 'Romanian' and 'Tamil' that are highly visible in the press, although their ranking is relatively low in terms of population. Moving on to the Italian data, Taylor has adopted the same procedure in identifying nationalities. She found that people from 'Ukraine', 'Philippines', 'Peru', 'Senegal' and 'Poland' are less discussed in the Italian press although they are the largest groups in Italy. However, people that are highly reported upon in the press are 'Moroccan', 'Romanian', 'Albanian', 'Serbian' and 'Pakistani'. Taylor explained the reason for the absence/presence of those nationalities in the Italian press by looking outside the corpus to interpret the results. She noted that, according to the social research foundation Censis (2010), people who lack newsworthiness in the press are involved in domestic work, whereas those who attract attention in the news tend to be business owners. Overall, comparing the two different languages, she has concluded that the groups that are foregrounded in the UK and Italian press are regarded as asylum seekers and that there has been, in particular, a focus on migrants who left their countries. The foregrounded nationalities that are likely to be migrants in the UK and Italy were represented negatively in the UK tabloids and Italian regional press. She recommended examining the contexts carefully to ensure whether prominence in the news reporting corresponds to the unfavourable evaluation.

With reference to media and discourse, Baker et al. (2013) also use SkE to investigate minority groups based, however, on the characteristics of religion. They produce a 'big picture' of how Islam and Muslims are represented in a corpus comprising 143 million words in the British press between 1998 and 2009. As a result, they created word sketches for three frequent words under study: 'Muslim/s', 'Islamic' and 'Islam', in which the word 'Muslim' is frequently used (126,913) because it is tagged as both a noun and an adjective. All the adjectives and noun modifiers of 'Muslim' as a noun are grouped into thematic categories: belief, e.g. 'devout', 'strict', 'fanatic'; location, e.g. 'British-born', 'Bosnian', 'Bangladeshi'; collective, e.g. 'community', 'population', 'group'; and crime/war, e.g. 'militia', 'plot', 'terrorist'. As it is

also tagged as a modifier, it occurs in 70 % of 84,671 instances in two main grammatical frames: [Muslim + noun] and [adverb + Muslim]. The former tends to occur with collocates that refer to different types of people, such as ‘man’, ‘girl’, ‘family’; to collective groups, for example, ‘community’, ‘world’, ‘nation’; and to religion, such as ‘faith’ and ‘preacher’. The latter frame is associated with words indicating frequency or strength, such as ‘strongly’, ‘strictly’, ‘heavily’. Creating word sketches suggests that both forms of ‘Muslim’, as a noun and an adjective, reinforce each other representing Muslims as holding at times strong beliefs and as existing large groups.

Regarding the word sketch of ‘Islamic’ and ‘Islam’, ‘Islamic’ as an adjective is more frequent than ‘Islam’ and it occurs in two patterns. The first tends to modify nouns that refer to concepts and people categorised as dangerous, such as ‘radical’, ‘fundamentalist’ and ‘terrorist’, whereas the second pattern modifies collocates that categorise Muslims as either an organised group, e.g. ‘society’ and ‘group’, or a political entity, e.g. ‘party’, ‘regime’ and ‘republic’. However, in a few cases, ‘Islamic’ tends to modify nouns that have to do with religion, such as ‘faith’ and ‘cleric’, or cultural aspects, such as ‘dress’, ‘tradition’ and ‘art’. Therefore, the sketch of ‘Islamic’ suggests a negative semantic prosody and shows a preference for collectivity.

The last word, ‘Islam’ as a religion, tends to discuss aspects related to conflict issues, such as ‘criticism of Islam’, ‘war with Islam’ and ‘opposition to Islam’. A list of collocates indicates an implicit way of discussing Islam as an unwelcomed or a dangerous religion, as in ‘spread of Islam’. This collocational pattern has a negative prosody; examining this collocate in the BNC shows that ‘spread’ occurs with items which are bad, such as ‘disease’, ‘virus’, ‘fire’. With reference to modifiers of ‘Islam’, it is modified by words associated with extremism and danger, such as ‘radical’, ‘fundamentalist’, ‘extremist’. Ultimately, it seems that word sketches of the target words under investigation have shown contexts of conflict, in particular the two words ‘Islam’ and ‘Muslim’, in which discussion of aspects of Islam as a doctrine has been related to the concept of conflict as well as to a political entity. This discussion has revealed a set of representations related to collectivisation and extremism.

A new approach to SkE was adopted by Gatto (2014) who used the web as a corpus to obtain information about the use of language in context. He created sketches for the word ‘culture’



from the two-billion-word corpus of English ukWaC. A preliminary result of the word 'culture' obtained from BNC shows 10,107 occurrences (90.1 per million) which served as a basic step to explore how this word is sketched in ukWaC which occurs 161, 537 times (104.8 per million); greater than the number in the BNC. He approached the data to compare the differences and similarities between a traditional corpus (BNC) and a web-derived corpus (ukWaC). The sketch of 'culture' is limited to five grammatical features. As an object, 'culture' tends to occur with verbs: 'foster', 'promote' and 'change'. When compared to BNC, collocate lists are hugely different in terms of raw frequency. The word 'culture' also tends to occur as a subject of verbs such as 'collide', 'flourish' and 'thrive', in which the verb 'collide' is the most salient statistically and associated with an unpleasant depiction wherein cultures do not coexist peacefully. The third grammatical relation shows a list of pre-modifiers collocating with 'culture', such as 'different', 'popular', and 'western'. Likewise, the word 'culture' is itself used as a modifier for nouns, such as 'shock', 'clash' and 'change', wherein the word 'shock' is the most prominent and frequent amongst the collocates. This collocation also ranks first in the BNC in terms of saliency. Gatto points out that this is due to the emergence of an emotional reaction to change in one's society (p. 186). The last grammatical frame [culture and/ or nouns] shows what other nouns occur with 'culture', for example 'language and culture', 'culture and religion' and 'history and culture'. Such findings correspond to those in the BNC. These collocational patterns tend to show different perspectives and aspects. Having used SkE to analyse such a large volume of data contributes to providing an overall picture of the changes taking place in society, connecting to changes in up-to-date corpus linguistics.

In essence, the discussion above demonstrates the applicability of SkE to identifying different collocational patterns of each item/items under investigation. Different applications suggest how such a corpus tool enables users to study language behaviour in a large body of text and to identify how a certain group or concept is constructed and depicted in society.

With reference to the three religions in my research, I use SkE to investigate the representation of *Jews*, *Christians* and *Muslims* in the British broadsheets, focusing particularly on two grammatical relations, subjects and objects on one hand and the nouns modified by *Jewish*, *Christian* and *Muslim* on the other hand, to identify how the collocational patterns contribute to particular representations. The combination of SkE software and the representation of the

three religious groups has not previously been carried out within corpus studies of discourse. Therefore, this present study contributes to this area and complements the body of other studies conducted by using SkE to investigate the discursive representation of minorities in the British press.

### **3.3 Critical approaches to language studies**

Discourse analysis is a central step for describing language function based on interdisciplinary approaches to demonstrating how language contributes to representation and investigation. As far as media discourse is concerned, news discourse in particular has been subject to critical language studies. According to Fowler (1991, p. 4), language in news representation is ‘a semiotic code, it imposes a structure of values, social and economic in origin, on wherever is represented’. Therefore, representation in press discourse is ‘a constructive practice’ because events and ideas have to be transmitted through various media to suit the features of newsworthiness and publication (p. 25). Media discourses have witnessed various investigations of discourse analyses from a critical perspective. In this section, I provide a detailed account of the different approaches to CDA, illustrating the features they share, how they are different, how CDA approaches have been criticised for their application to discourse analysis and, finally, how CS was proposed as a developing area for the CDA framework.

#### **3.3.1 Critical linguistics**

Critical linguistics was first proposed by Roger Fowler and Gunther Kress at the University of East Anglia in the late 1970s; it emerged from their work *Language and Control* (Fowler, Hodge, Kress, & Trew, 1979). According to Fowler, critical linguistics means ‘an enquiry into the relations between signs, meanings and the social and historical conditions which govern the semiotic structure of discourse, using a particular kind of linguistic analysis’ (1991, p. 5). Fowler has also seen critical linguistics as ‘an “instrumental” linguistics looking beyond the formal structure of Language as an abstract system, towards the practical interaction of language and context’ (1996, p. 10). It is based on the assumption that linguistic forms link to social discourse where language is considered as ‘an integral part of social process’ (Fowler et al., 1979, p. 189). What makes critical linguistics different from other approaches to CDA, such as Fairclough’s socio-cultural approach, Van Dijk’s socio-cognitive approach and Wodak’s discourse-historical approach, is that it pays much attention to the grammar and

vocabulary of texts (Fairclough, 1992, p. 27). Critical linguistics therefore seeks to show how language and grammar can be used to reveal the underlying ideology in the texts<sup>6</sup> (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p. 2). To do so, there is a need, linguistically, for a critical view (Fowler et al., 1979, p. 186).

Fowler later developed the framework of critical linguistics by contributing the publication of *Language in the News: Discourse and Ideology in the Press* (1991), in which he approached linguistic analysis to investigate the ideological practice of representation in press discourse, focusing on language as a ‘mediator’ in the construction of ideas and beliefs or ideology in newspapers. Taking this objective further, Fowler stated that ‘*any aspect of linguistic structure, whether phonological, syntactic, lexical, semantic, pragmatic or textual, can carry ideological significance*’ (1991, p. 67 [original italics]). In this book, Fowler provided a set of linguistic tools which he held, based on his experience, to be ‘involved in the construction of representations, in signifying beliefs and values when writers are reporting or commenting on the world’ (p. 89). These tools are eclectic, including transitivity, which is part of the ideational meta-function in Halliday’s functional theory and essential in the analysis of representation from ideological viewpoints, syntactic transformations, lexical structure, modality and speech acts (pp. 68-90). Based on Halliday’s language meta-functions, Fowler sees the analytical tools of modality and speech acts as part of the interpersonal element as it is ‘the mediation of personal roles and social relationships’ (p. 85). By contrast, Jeffries (2010a, p. 13) considers all the analytical tools ‘as primarily ideational in conception, even those which, like modality, are seen in Halliday’s approaches as being interpersonal’. However, Fowler (1991, p. 89) acknowledges that the number of such linguistic tools is relatively small, which is strongly advocated by Jeffries’ view that they are ‘lacking in comprehensive coverage of linguistic features’ (Jeffries, 2010a, p. 13). Accordingly, Jeffries took this step further by developing a new framework of CS, as will be illustrated later in detail in this chapter.

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<sup>6</sup> Kress and Hodge (1979) provide a theoretical account of operating language for the study of ideology and discuss the development made in the field of language studies.

Critical linguistics is similar to stylistics in seeking 'to interpret texts on the basis of linguistic analysis' (Simpson, 1993, p. 4). On this linguistic level, critical linguistics was used later as the basis for the first stage of descriptive analysis of Fairclough's approach to CDA, explained in detail in the following section. However, critical linguistics has been criticised for showing little emphasis placed upon the processes of production and interpretation, although its aim is thought to be 'critical interpretation' of texts (Fairclough, 1992, p. 28) in order 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, p. 196).

Critical linguistics is a linguistic approach to language based on Halliday's functional system to examine how phenomena are represented in the texts via a certain set of analytical tools. However, it does not focus on the relation between power, language and ideology that CDA aims to explore.

### **3.3.2 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)**

CDA is an interdisciplinary approach concerned with describing language as a form of social practice. It takes into account the relation between power and language. It aims to highlight the relation between discourse and power by investigating how power is enacted and represented in discursive contexts. According to Van Dijk (2001, p. 352), CDA 'is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context'. CDA is often used interchangeably with critical linguistics; they are both concerned with analysing the 'relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language' (Wodak & Meyer, 2001, p. 2). However, CDA is concerned with language, power and ideology, which critical linguistics lacks because it is only concerned with the linguistic analysis of texts and used as the basis for the descriptive analysis stage of Fairclough's CDA. CDA aims to show 'non-obvious ways in which language is involved in social life, including power/domination, and in ideology' (Fairclough, 2010, p. 418).

CDA emerged in the early 1990s and developed as an area of study out of different interdisciplinary and eclectic disciplines, including rhetoric, text linguistics, pragmatics, cognitive science, anthropology, philosophy, socio-psychology, sociolinguistics and applied linguistics (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 1). In recent decades, CDA has been established by

various discourse linguists, such as Fairclough, Van Dijk, Wodak and Chilton (Blommaert, 2005), all of whom have viewed various perspectives that contribute to discursive practices. Fairclough, for example, has a background in systemic functional linguistics; Wodak in interactional studies; Van Dijk in cognitive and text linguistics; and Chilton in semiotics and communication studies (p. 21). A different approach to CDA has been developed by Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996), where they incorporate the analysis of visual images into the study of discourse contributing towards 'broader multimodal conceptions of semiosis' (Blommaert, 2005, pp. 28-29). Although they have adopted a manipulative strategy to achieve the goals of CDA research, they all share the common ground of discourse, critique, power and ideology (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 4).

There are various applications for the CDA framework that contribute to its improvement. For example, Van Leeuwen (1996) has established a sociological and critical approach to the representation of social actors in a discourse; Hardt-Mautner (1995), Baker and McEnery (2005), Baker et al. (2008), Gabrielatos and Baker (2008) and Caldas-Coulthard and Moon (2010) have combined CDA research with corpus methods to analyse a large volume of data in order to identify linguistic patterns around a discourse, while Wodak and Meyer (2009) have adopted a historical discourse approach to CDA research. The historical approach works with different approaches based on a variety of empirical data, background information and the historical contexts of discourse (Wodak & Meyer, 2001). It involves combining the analysis of historical context with the textual analysis. In addition, Hart (2014) has applied a cognitive linguistic approach to CDA to analyse a linguistic phenomenon by incorporating cognitive grammar in a critical analysis of press reports. All these approaches, along with others which have incorporated concepts from other disciplines, have contributed to the linguistic analysis of language from social and political stances. However, such linguistic approaches have not usually attempted, as Jeffries (2015) argues, 'to produce a fuller account of the linguistic features and strategies used by text producers to embed ideologies in their texts' (pp. 157-176). This point of orientation has distinguished CS from mainstream CDA by the analytical tools which are textually based to detect ideology in the texts.

### 3.3.3 Critics of CDA

Despite the interdisciplinary approaches to CDA to investigate relations between language, power and ideology, focusing on how ideologies and power relations are constructed through language in social contexts, CDA approaches have been subjected to a range of criticism in terms of methodology, theory and issues of interpretation and context. Widdowson (1996) accused CDA of sowing confusion in the areas of discourse analysis, causing a failure to distinguish between text and discourse. He claims that discourse is individual engagement, not social subjects who interact with each other, indicating that they are not absolutely controlled by restrictions, but are constrained by established conventions and regulations (p. 58). More problematic for Widdowson is that pragmatics is reduced to semantics (Blommaert, 2005, p. 32), arguing that different interpretations can be derived from the textual data.

CDA has also been criticised for lacking rigour and objectivity in approaching the data linguistically, rendering it non-neutral in text selection. Widdowson (1998) further criticised CDA for its less rigorous system of analysis, claiming that analytical procedures are not applied systematically. His main argument is that CDA is ‘an exercise in interpretation’ and ‘invalid as analysis’ (1995, p. 159), claiming that it provides biased interpretations of texts from a particular viewpoint; Widdowson accused critical discourse practitioners of selecting textual evidence that supports their preferred interpretations (p. 169). Stubbs (1997) also accused CDA of not following a systematic method of analysing texts. He claims 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, such as public and private, or homogeneous and heterogeneous’ (p. 104). This biased selection of linguistic features and textual evidence will then lead to bias in interpretation and render the analysis less rigorous.

CDA approaches have also been criticised for not providing detailed tools to conduct a comprehensive linguistic analysis and for not carrying out the analysis on a vast number of texts (Baker et al., 2008; Jeffries, 2010a). Jeffries, for example, states that in CDA studies ‘there is a dearth of analytical advice available’ (2010a, p. 12). She further claims that critical discourse analysts:

[W]ere 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)

To overcome this shortcoming and to make the study more objective, Jeffries (2010a) developed CS as a more textually grounded version of CDA to deal with this issue. Stubbs also claims that '[s]ome patterns of language use are not directly observable, because they are realized across thousands or millions of words of running text, and because they are not categorical but probabilistic' (1994, p. 204). Therefore, CL is suggested as a useful solution to this criticism. The first issue of the shortcomings in the analytical tools has been addressed by carrying out an analysis based on a detailed set of tools provided by Jeffries' framework, while the second issue is resolved by utilising corpus methods to examine a large database, meaning that patterns are representative and avoiding 'cherry picking' texts.

### **3.3.4 Critical stylistics: a textually-grounded framework of CDA's theories**

In this section, I aim to provide an explicit and well-established theoretical framework. In conducting discourse analysis, my approach is to use a quantitative analysis as a starting point for a qualitative analysis. My qualitative analysis is informed by CS, a developing version of CDA, which was first proposed by Jeffries (2007) when she began exploring the discourses around the female body in society. CS aims 'to describe texts in relation to their "textual-conceptual functions", which represent the different dimensions of the world as constructed by the text' (Jeffries, 2015, p. 163), implying that texts have some ideological content which may influence the reader. Jeffries' model (2010a) tries 'to resemble the main general functions that a text has in representing reality' (p. 14). Following Simpson (1993), Jeffries states that Simpson's account of modality choices, his transitivity version and his pragmatic analysis are the most useful methodology for carrying out a critical textual analysis and exposing ideologies, but she argues that it focuses more on the 'ideology in literature' (2010a, p. 14).

I adopt Jeffries's approach to CS (2010a) because it provides researchers with a set of tools to establish what a text is doing. To be more focus, this well-established framework suggests how a text is analysed and interpreted linguistically to investigate the representation of a certain group in particular texts, based on the fact that 'there is a level at which texts organize the world we experience, and that this is demonstrable in the words and structures of the texts

themselves' (p. 14). This serves to show how particular linguistic constructions (naming, process types and equivalence) can be used to represent the world 'with the aim of uncovering and discovering the underlying ideologies of the texts' (p. 6). This aim is also shared by CDA scholars, but they have become less interested 'in developing the analytical tools of text analysis and more interested in contextualization' (2015, p. 159). Furthermore, Jeffries points out that objectivity and methodological principles have not been the main concern of CDA practitioners. They instead 'demonstrate their independence from the data, or at least show that whilst they may have a political impetus for doing the research' (Jeffries, 2007, p. 9). That is to say, they are different in the sense that CS is textually-oriented while CDA is contextually-oriented.

CS involves examining the language used in texts in relation to CDA and stylistics. CS combines CDA and stylistics, whereby ideas from both are brought together under the ideational meaning of language in an attempt to develop a text-based methodology for CDA. CDA aims to investigate the power relations and ideology in discourse, while stylistics focuses primarily on studying the style of literary texts, which extends to include non-literary texts as well. Stylistics is a sub-discipline of linguistics and is theoretically compatible with critical linguistics on the basis of interpreting the texts (Simpson, 1993, p. 2). Additionally, it provides a set of analytical techniques to answer the basic question of how texts work through language, developing theories and analytical frameworks of its own. Stylistics is mainly 'concerned with the systematic analysis of style in language and how this can vary according to such factors as, for example, genre, context, historical period and author' (Jeffries & McIntyre, 2010, p. 1). Therefore, critical stylistic framework 'combines the text analysis of stylistics with the ideological awareness of CDA' (p. 194) to reveal the meaning of a text through different lenses, such as transitivity, opposition and modality.

To that end, Fairclough distinguishes three stages of analysis in CDA research, namely: description, interpretation and explanation (2001, pp. 21-22). Jeffries states that the main area of focus for many CDA researchers is the third stage, which explains 'how texts fit into the socio-political landscape in which they are produced or read' (2010a, p. 11). However, Jeffries shows interest in the first two stages of Fairclough's model by adopting another orientation towards considering language in use to present the world. The linguistic perspective of CS is centred on Halliday's (1985) ideational meta-function, which is related to how language



represents the world using a set of functional tools. The ideational component points to the way the text producers use language to represent the world, i.e. in the present case Jews, Christians and Muslims, in relatively negative and positive ways. Jeffries takes into consideration a language study stance, arguing that ‘language has some typical form-function relations which help it to be stable enough to use’ (2010a, p. 37); it is therefore prototypical for textual analysis.

This section has clearly set out the justifications for using the CS model because it provides a set of functional tools to analyse different ways in which the texts have to represent reality through linguistic features described from semantic and grammatical perspectives (Jeffries, 2010a). Therefore, CS is not another approach to CDA; instead, it is regarded as a new, developing approach to CDA; it contributes to the critical studies of language to carry out a critical textual analysis. However, the critical stylistics framework individually is not of great support when examining collocate lists from a large volume of texts, unless it is accompanied by corpus techniques (see section 4.3.1) to achieve the purpose of identifying collocational patterns. In section 4.4, I explained how I have utilised corpus techniques in combination with CS tools to investigate language used in representation.

#### **3.3.4.1 Critical stylistic textual-conceptual functions**

In her book *Critical Stylistics: The Power of English* (2010a), Jeffries aims to ‘give the reader a clear set of analytical tools to follow in carrying out critical analysis of texts’ (p. 6). These functional tools could be applied to the analysis of any text type such as poems, newspapers, and political debates, with the aim of uncovering the underlying ideologies that are implied by the linguistic choices that text producers make. These analytical tools are not novel, but are similar to the tools previously used by Fairclough (1989), Fowler (1991) and Simpson (1993), in addition to new tools proposed by Jeffries which work in a similar way, semantically and pragmatically, to ‘the more traditional tools such as transitivity and modality’ (Jeffries, 2010a, p. 15). They are used to answer the question of what the text is doing. Such textual-conceptual functions are a combination of textual linguistic triggers and ideational functions. Most of these functions have a prototypical form and a set of more or less peripheral forms that carry the conceptual effect, despite sometimes being neither consistent nor obvious (2014, p. 412). The list includes the functions of ‘naming and

describing’, ‘representing actions/events/states’, ‘equating and contrasting’. ‘exemplifying and enumerating’, ‘prioritising’, ‘implying and assuming’, ‘negating’, ‘hypothising’, ‘presenting others’ speech and thoughts’ and ‘representing time, space and society’ (Jeffries, 2010a). These functions and their applications are outlined in more detail in section 4.3.2.

What makes this toolkit different from the other approaches to CDA is that the toolkit is based on the nature of ‘textual-conceptual functions’ which can be either connected to each other or used individually when conducting a linguistic analysis through the linguistic features described ‘in very many semantico-grammatical theories and models’ (Jeffries, 2010a, p. 14). To be focused, CS is linguistically-based, focusing on the micro-analysis level to carry out a critical analysis of texts, while CDA approaches are socio-politically grounded, focusing on the macro level. However, sometimes it is necessary to consider wider social and political contexts. Jeffries claims that addressing discourse in relation to power can be taken for granted to address socio-political relationships (p. 7). This would make it easier to achieve a detailed overview of the discursive construction of the three religions from a linguistic perspective and social contexts.

### **3.4 Concepts of critical language studies**

As far as critical approaches to language are concerned, it is necessary to introduce and define some key concepts related to CDA as I analyse the newspapers linguistically based on textual evidence. I start with the concept of critique, as it is the fundamental element in performing critical analysis, followed by discourse, text and ideology, as shown below.

#### **3.4.1 Critique**

The concept of critique is demonstrated in the field of discourse studies. The use of this term is linked to the view, according to Fairclough (1995), that ‘in human matters, interconnections and chains of cause-and-effect may be distorted out of vision. Hence “critique” is essentially making visible the interconnectedness of things’ (p. 39). In general terms, Fairclough defines critique by stating:

It focuses on what is wrong with a society (an institution, an organisation etc.), and how ‘wrongs’ might be ‘righted’ or mitigated, from a particular normative standpoint. Critique is grounded in values, in particular views of the ‘good society’ and of human

well-being and flourishing, on the basis of which it evaluates existing societies and possible ways of changing them.

(p. 7)

The perspective of CDA is related to the term ‘critical’, which is traced back to the influence of the Frankfurt School and Jürgen Habermas (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). The notion of ‘critique’ is inherent in CDA, in which ‘critical’ is understood to keep distance from the data, embed the data in the social, take a political stance explicitly and demonstrate self-reflexivity on the research process (Wodak & Meyer, 2001, p. 9). So, understanding ‘critique’ is reflected in the researcher’s position in the research.

However, the principle of self-reflexivity is criticised by Widdowson (1998, 2000) who claims that the researcher is controlling access to the text by imposing his/her own discourse upon it to reflect his/her ideological stances (1998, p. 144). On the contrary, Van Leeuwen confesses that critical discourse analysts are aware that their research is driven by social, economical and political purposes, arguing that ‘[c]ritical discourse analysts at least make their position explicit and feel they do not need to apologize for the critical stance of their work’ (2009, p. 169). Being established in critical theories including critical linguistics and CDA, the notion of ‘critique’ produces ‘enlightenment and emancipation’ (Wodak & Meyer, 2001; 2009) in order to describe, explain and root out a particular kind of delusion.

### **3.4.2 Discourse**

This term is widely used in contexts comprising various meanings, such as media discourse, political discourse, gender discourse and religious discourse. In its general usage, discourse refers to ‘language in use’ (Brown & Yule, 1983). Discourses are not limited to a set of aspects or features. Sunderland (2004, p. 3) identifies discourses as ‘not bounded and not even visible; they are historical and transient; they are continually produced and reproduced’. It is used in CDA to refer to the representation of the world because, as Machin and Mayr (2012, p. 219) point out, it involves participants, values, ideas, times and settings. Fairclough and Wodak (1997) describe discourse as ‘a form of social practice’, referring to the spoken and written language used in social life from a particular viewpoint. Fairclough adds his view that there is an internal and dialectical relation between language and society, claiming that language is part of society and linguistic phenomena are social phenomena in the sense that people speak, read, listen and write in ways determined socially and effectively (Fairclough, 2001, p. 19).

Linguists are dedicated to determining the properties of a language, while discourse analysts concentrate on investigating what language is used for. However, there is a major distinction between language and discourse. The former refers to a set of patterns and rules which operate at different levels in the system, whereas the latter instantiates such patterns by working ‘above the level of grammar and semantics to capture what happens when these language forms are played out in different social, political and cultural arenas’ (Simpson & Mayr, 2010, p. 5).

Following Foucault, Fairclough distinguishes three aspects of discourse: social identities, social relations between people and systems of knowledge and belief (1992, 1995). These three aspects correspond to Halliday’s (1985) three functions of language respectively: ideational, interpersonal and textual. CDA, therefore, analyses the texts to reveal the kind of discourse surrounding a certain group.

In literary, cultural and CDA studies, discourse means ‘the kind of language used in relation to a particular topic or in a particular setting’ (Jeffries, 2010a, p. 7). Discourse, then, signifies all kinds of activities, ideas, values and social actors through language use reflecting certain social processes to reveal a particular context of representation. Fairclough also differentiates between discourse and text. As discourse views language as a social process of which a text is just a part, text is ‘a product rather than a process’ (Fairclough, 2001, p. 20). Although they are sometimes used synonymously – both can refer to written and spoken language, text has a narrower sense than discourse (Sunderland, 2004, p. 7). In this study, I use text to refer to written production, upon which I will now elaborate in detail.

### **3.4.3 Text**

Cook (1989, p. 14) defines texts as ‘[s]tretches of language treated only formally’. His definition refers to textual features in order to approach language within sentences, without considering contextual factors. Fairclough’s definition takes a general sense to have become common within discourse analysis. He refers to a text as ‘any product whether written or spoken’, including interviews, written texts, spoken interaction and the multimedia texts of television and the Internet (1992, p. 4). Therefore, the concept of text extends further in discourse analysis to include all language forms. Fairclough strongly argues that texts in contemporary society are increasingly considered multi-semiotic entities in which language

is its primary form combined with other semiotic forms (1995, p. 4). That is to say, researchers such as Hodge and Kress (1988) and Caldas-Coulthard and Van Leeuwen (2002) have considered objects such as pictures, buildings, a piece of music or toys as texts. However, Fairclough (1995) argues against considering such things to be texts, claiming that extending the meaning of text further will render it vague because it is a linguistic factor with two fundamental social processes of ‘cognition and representation of the world’ (p. 6).

Texts, accordingly, will occupy a significant place in this study as the newspapers selected for conducting quantitative and qualitative analyses are naturally occurring texts. They include only written texts.

#### **3.4.4 Ideology**

Moving on to ideology, this concept is broadly used in politics, social media and social sciences. Generally, ideology is defined ‘as a coherent and relatively stable set of beliefs or values’ (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 8) or ‘as a vague and controversial notion’ (Van Dijk, 2000a, p. 5). The notion of ideology is a central tenet in critically oriented theories, including critical linguistics, CDA and CS. Ideology is closely linked to power and language. For CDA, it is seen ‘as an important means of establishing and maintaining unequal power relations’ (Wodak, 2002, p. 9). Critical linguistics takes a particular interest in the ways in which language mediates ideology in various social institutions (Wodak & Meyer, 2001, p. 10).

From a critical perspective, Fairclough (1992, p. 87), based on Althusser (1971), understands ideologies as ‘significations/constructions of reality [...] which are built into various dimensions of the forms/meanings of discursive practices, and which contribute to the production, re-production or transformation of relations of domination’. Viewing language, text and ideology as mediated or interwoven, language is one system in which, as illustrated by Baker and Ellece, ‘ideologies are constructed, maintained and challenged’ (2011, p. 57). This leads researchers to construct the idea that ‘language is not neutral, but a highly constructive mediator’ (Fowler, 1991, p. 1). Even if it is clear that language transmits and produces ideology in texts, Fairclough states that it is impossible to “‘read off” ideologies from texts’ (1992, p. 89). By contrast, Jeffries and Walker (2012, p. 214) indicate that ‘ideology is frequently identifiable through textual analysis’; claiming that readers can

investigate such textual ideology differently as context plays an important role in reading meanings.

Ideologies, therefore, are representations of worldviews, viewing how society is organised in the world associated with power and exploitation (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p. 220). This is also congruent with Jeffries' statement (2010a, p. 5) that ideologies are shared ideas in a community or society and that they are an important aspect of the world people live in. This is due to the fact that ideologies are 'communicated, reproduced, constructed and negotiated using language' (p. 5).

To address the central aim in this research concerning how the three Abrahamic religions are represented in the data under study, the representation around the discourse of religions and religious groups can expose the ideologies present in the newspapers because, as Stubbs (1996, p. 107) states, '[n]o terms are neutral. Choice of words expresses an ideological position'. In this study, the idea of ideology is understood in terms of how the linguistic features manifest a biased and/or balanced construction of the three religions. This is done through the selection of three tools derived from the critical stylistic approach to uncover the biased or balanced constructions of the three religions. For the purpose of this study, the collocational patterns are investigated because they 'can be useful for demonstrating the existence of bias' (Baker, Hardie, & McEnery, 2006).

My definition of bias is based on the concept of stereotype; that is, a text is biased when it relies on the projection of a stereotype rather than a realistic representation. The concept of a stereotype broadly means a set of common-sense beliefs or characteristics that are constructed as 'mental representations of social categories' about a particular group or individual (Kunda, 1999, p. 315). According to O'Sullivan, Dutton, and Rayner (2003), a stereotype is defined as 'a label which involves a process of categorisation and evaluation. Although it may refer to situations or places, it is most often used in conjunction with representations of social groups' (p. 78). The characteristics could be strengthened by recurrently characterising a particular group with certain features and traits when compared to another group. These traits, then, become 'an essential, naturalized feature of a particular group', which are often 'exaggerated, frequently negative, and enable the solidification of differences between in and out groups' (Baker & Ellece, 2011, p. 140). In the context of the present study, the suggestion of bias can

be achieved through stereotyping by defining recurring features, based on the assumption that '[a]word, phrase or construction may trigger a cultural stereotype' (Stubbs, 2001, p. 215). I apply this notion to explore the naturalised representation of the three religions and how this affects the overall construction in the selected data. It also helps identifying whether this could result in an evaluative sense.

For the purposes of this study, it is important to determine how the four principles, i. e. critique, discourse, text and ideology, already elaborated are intertwined together, which is fundamental at the linguistic levels. As discourse is one factor in 'the reproduction of social inequalities and dominant ideologies' (Jeffries, 2010a, p. 7), it is essential to take into account that the text producers have the potential to produce underlying ideologies in order to manipulate language. Based on the textual level, carrying out a critical stylistic analysis helps to explore the techniques employed to uncover the ideologies of the texts and discover discourse around a certain group or subject.

### **3.5 Summary**

In this chapter, I have outlined the main theoretical frameworks and analytical tools adopted in this study. I started by describing the corpus tools and techniques used and the advantages of employing them in critical studies, discussing some central considerations, types and approaches in this field, such as corpus-based and corpus-driven. I then presented the corpus interface SkE, the main tool used in this study, in addition to its principal function, word sketch, used mainly to extract the collocational and grammatical patterns of the search items. I then explained the studies using SkE in the literature and how my study contributes to the body of knowledge relating to religion in the British newspapers.

This chapter has also introduced the previous approaches to CDA, explaining the main differences between these approaches and the aspects that they share. Then I illustrated CS, the theoretical framework of this current study and its main textual tools. I found that this developing approach to CDA has the potential to contribute to the textual analysis of my data. This part was followed by a brief account of some central concepts in critical language studies. These concepts are in one way or another related to each other at the linguistic level.

The following chapter provides a full description of the methodology of this research, starting by illustrating the genres and news values as well as the procedures I followed in building the three corpora. This is followed by a detailed explanation of the methods I used to analyse the data.



## **Chapter 4**

### **Data collection and analytical methods**

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#### **4.1 Introduction**

This chapter is in two parts. The first begins by illustrating the genres and values of newspapers in general as well as some remarks about British broadsheets in particular (sections 4.2.1 and 4.2.2). This is followed by a detailed description of the method I used to collect the data and build up my specialised corpus 2010 (section 4.2.3). The second part of this chapter details the analytical procedures I used to analyse the data and is also divided into sub-sections. As this study utilises corpus techniques to approach my data analysis, the corpus linguistic tools of frequency, concordances and collocation used in this study are discussed in sections 4.3.1.1, 4.3.1.2 and 4.3.1.3 respectively. As the aim of this study is to investigate the collocation lists, section 4.3.1.3.1 illustrates the statistical measurements significant in identifying collocates, while section 4.3.1.3.2 explains the procedure adopted to group significant collocates into thematic categories. Section 4.3.1.4 introduces two main concepts related to the study of collocates: semantic preference and semantic prosody. Using a set of critical stylistic tools, I explain in section 4.3.2 the textual-conceptual functions used and how I utilise them in this thesis to carry out the qualitative analysis. The chapter also discusses the rationale for using corpus linguistics in critical stylistics (section 4.4) to carry out quantitative and qualitative analyses of texts. This chapter ends with a summary, presented in section 4.5.

#### **4.2 Data**

As the data selected to carry out the analysis is from the British broadsheets, this section is dedicated to describing the genres and values of those newspapers, followed by a detailed account of the approach I used to collect the data and build up the corpus under study.

##### **4.2.1 Newspaper genres and values**

As regards printed news, I illustrate in this section the structure and value of news reporting in the media and how news reports are structured according to their publication processes. Any text belongs to a particular genre that contributes to forming its content and distribution.

Newspapers contain a number of items, namely news, analysis and comment, and advertisement and entertainment (Reah, 2002, p. 2). News structure, according to Van Dijk (1988b, p. 53), is divided into three parts: (1) the Summary news category consists of *Headline* and *Lead*, which summarises the news text; (2) the Main Events category, in which the information is set in context and (3) the Backgrounds category which follows the section that deals with the main news events. For the purposes of language analysis, Bell divides the genre of press news into four types (1991, p. 14). Firstly, hard news usually reports current events relating to conflicts, accidents, politics, crimes and announcements covering immediate events occurring since last issue. News stories are also written by various producers, such as a journalist, a chief reporter, a subeditor and an editor, all of whom contribute to the processes of reporting events in newspapers (pp. 34-35). Secondly, soft news is not restricted in terms of style and is time-bound. It is often produced by a group of journalists, not necessarily by a journalist working alone. However, Bell admits that there is no real distinction between hard and soft news, claiming that all news is *reportage* (pp. 14-15). Thirdly, the special topic news normally appears in separate sections sorted by its field, such as business, sport and arts. This tends to be produced by groups of specialist journalists and editors. The last category includes 'headlines', 'subheadings', 'by-lines' and 'photo captions'. These overlap with the first three categories, but they are visually distinct because these categories are set in different typefaces and sizes from the body copy (p. 15).

The news formulation undergoes several processes in reporting according to its values, which are 'the criteria employed by journalists to measure and therefore judge the "newsworthiness" of events' (Richardson, 2007, p. 91). News values reflect social attitudes and priorities (Bell, 1991, p. 156). Fowler (1991) states that the processes of selection and transformation criteria are two good routes for news mediation. Hall et al. (1978, p. 424) observe that "[n]ews" is the end-product of a complex process which begins with a systematic sorting and selecting of events and topics according to a socially constructed set of categories'. Harcup and O'Neill (2001, p. 279) present a series of categories that journalists consider to determine whether a news article is worthy of publication in the newspapers. These categories are: power elite (stories about individuals in power and institutions), celebrity (stories about famous people), entertainment (stories about business shows, human interest, animals and unfolding drama), bad/good news (stories about conflicts and cures/rescues), surprise (stories which have

elements of surprise and/or contrast), magnitude (stories about people or events which are significant in terms of numbers), relevance (stories about issues and groups relevant to the audience), newspaper agenda (stories fitting the agenda of the news organisation) and follow-up (stories about subjects already in the news). Such news factors seem to focus on reporting about people and the events they are involved in (see Galtung & Ruge, 1965). News events or stories are worthy according to three elements: (1) they are selected on the basis of more than one criterion (selection), (2) once selected, the news media accentuate what makes a news item worthy (distortion) and (3) both selection and distortion processes occur ‘at all steps in the chain from event to reader’ (Galtung & Ruge, 1965, p. 71).

Therefore, news is formulated and presented based on its worthiness. Fowler states that real events are themselves not newsworthy; they are subject to a series of systematic processes that make them worthy to be the product of news reports, claiming that ‘[t]he news media select events for reporting according to a complex set of criteria of newsworthiness; so news is not simply that which happens, but that which can be regarded and presented as newsworthy’ (1991, p. 13)<sup>7</sup>. Bednarek states that newsworthiness in media can be established by nine news values, namely ‘Timeliness, Consonance, Negativity, Impact, Proximity, Unexpectedness, Superlativeness, Personalisation and Eliteness’ (2016, p. 27). She tries to explore how the discursive news values can be combined with the strategies of attribution analysis to provide in-depth insights into journalistic practice. It seems, then, that hard news or news reports are more representative of factual topics or events than other news categories. Therefore, they make up the majority of news articles retrieved for the representation of the three religions in the corpus under study.

Media in general and newspapers in particular have the potential to represent people and events in certain ways, depending on the language used. From a linguistic perspective, using a set of tools to conduct a linguistic analysis helps to examine how newspapers use language to represent the three religions under study to the world, and to unpack ideological implications.

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<sup>7</sup> For more information about news values, see Galtung and Ruge (1965); Bell (1991); Bednarek (2006) and Caple and Bednarek (2016).

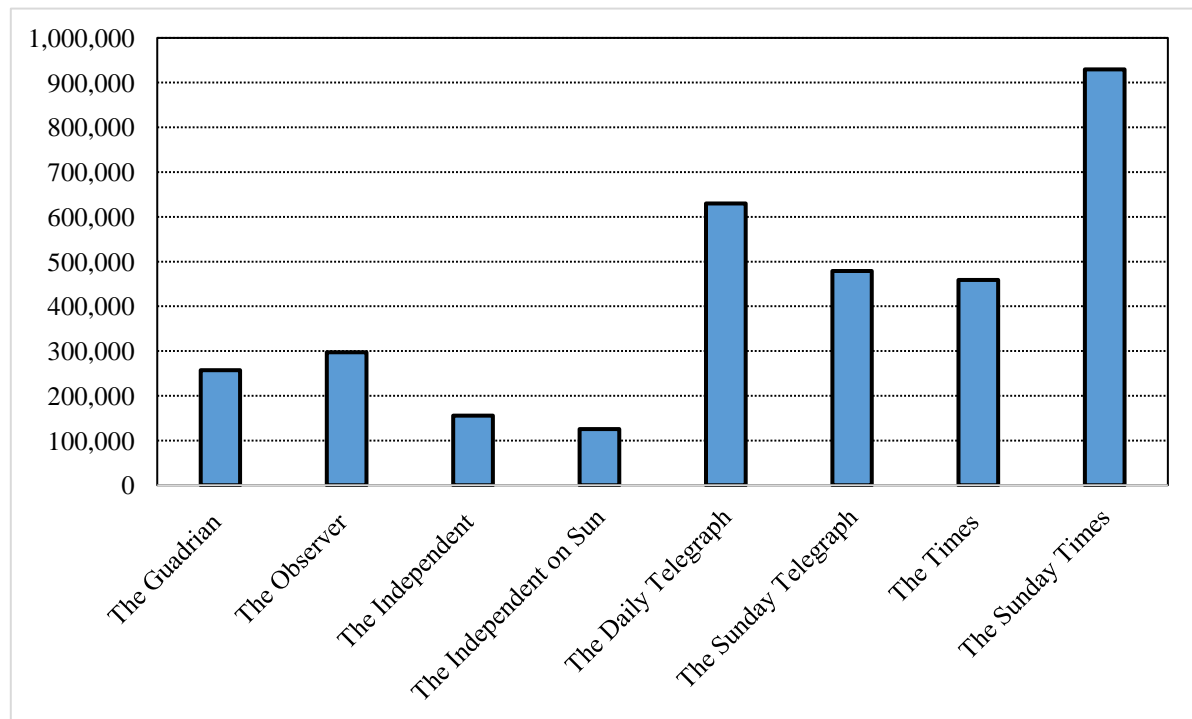
#### 4.2.2 The British broadsheets

I decided to study British printed newspaper discourse because it is narrative-based and has ‘always played an important role in the lives of British people’ (Williams, 2010, p. 1). The daily British press can be divided into two groups of publications: broadsheets and tabloids. The newspapers are further distributed between daily and weekly publications. Almost all newspapers have websites to which readers have free access, though some newspaper websites sit behind paywalls – e.g. *The Telegraph*. Choosing the British press to be my focus in this current study stems from its availability to wide populations in electronic forms as well as its potential influence.

Baker et al. (2013) draw on a distinction between broadsheets and tabloids that relates to style/format and popular/quality, in which the former tends to be larger in size than the latter. According to Baker et al., broadsheets contain more texts and employ a formal style of writing, in addition to its focus on international news. Tabloids, on the other hand, tend to focus on national topics, such as sport, celebrity and entertainment. They employ an informal writing style and use puns in headlines. Based on the procedure of reporting, these distinctions have made broadsheets present the best quality, while tabloids are classified as the most populist newspapers (p. 7). A distinction is also made in terms of political affiliations. Newspapers are classified according to their political positions and parties; either left-leaning or right-leaning. Although my central aim is to examine the language used to represent the three religions, I have not focused on investigating the differences in contexts between newspapers according to their political alignment as it falls beyond the scope of my study. With the present research focusing on three world religions, all quality broadsheet newspapers were chosen due to the above-mentioned differences.

The final remark to take into consideration in this study is the expanse of newspapers which is typically judged in terms of readership and circulation (Williams, 2010, p. 4). Baker et al. (2013) emphasise the necessity of considering readership circulation to perceive the influence of newspapers on the public. The first decade of this century has witnessed an increase in downloading of newspapers, in which articles are available online. Being an important medium for the lives of people, more newspapers are purchased per capita in Britain than in other European countries (Williams, 2010). This means that the Britons are more committed to

reading newspapers than other people from other countries in the world. In order to consider estimates of readership, it is advisable to obtain information about the relative frequency of the overall production figures of broadsheet newspapers in the whole of 2010, as shown below in the following figure:



**Figure 4.1** Overall numbers of readers for the daily and Sunday newspapers in 2010

This figure helps us to understand the spread of each newspaper in the whole of 2010 and the difference among the eight publications, both daily and Sunday editions.

The decision to select broadsheet newspapers is because they are generally seen as intellectual and serious newspapers as they focus on political news coverage at international and national levels in addition to more in-depth analysis. They have the practical advantage that appearances of the search terms in question are likely to be denser than in newspapers with a more national-only focus such as tabloids and regional ones. Broadsheets are typically seen as more authoritative, purchased by middle-class readers, referring to professionals and read by opinion leaders, in addition to their circulation and popularity in the UK as displayed by the National Readership Survey (NRS). The following table displays full information about the UK readership estimates for the quality daily and Sunday newspapers.

**Table 4.1** Readership estimates from January-December 2010 in print <sup>8</sup>

Daily newspapers		Sunday newspapers	
Publication	Figure	Publication	Figure
The Guardian	256,875	The Observer	297,290
The Independent	155,715	The Independent on Sunday	125,790
The Daily Telegraph	629,940	The Sunday Telegraph	478,658
The Times	458,653	The Sunday Times	929,428
<b>Total</b>	1,501,183	<b>Total</b>	1,828,166

**Source:** National Readership Survey

According to the figures in the table, it is clear that readers normally tend to spend more time with Sunday newspapers. It also seems that people tend to read *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Times* in addition to their Sunday versions more often than the other publications. As a result, Sunday circulation is significantly higher than weekday circulation. This might indicate that the former is more concerned with publishing more news stories, which attract more people to read. Although I am studying the representation of Abrahamic religions to predominantly British readers, I am also interested in the representation of these religions as worldwide phenomena not only British ones.

#### 4.2.3 Designing and building the corpora

The data employed in my thesis comprises news articles from the British broadsheet newspapers as discussed below. It covers one complete year, 2010, as a representative snapshot of broadsheet newspapers to address my research questions and to capture differences and commonalities among the three religions. The reason for selecting this year is to avoid immediate periods before/after the September 11 attacks (see chapter one), as there was a spree of anti-Islam sentiments reflected in the representation of these events in newspapers at that time. Had I taken newspaper data from the immediate vicinity of this event, my corpus would potentially have been unbalanced due to the impact of the 9/11 attacks in creating purely anti-

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<sup>8</sup> Digital information is not available as NRS started providing readership estimates in September 2012 to provide a unique measure of combined print and online audiences.

Islam feelings. To resolve the issue of balance, the selection of my data includes all issues of broadsheet publications from a given year.

All British broadsheets were collected, including their Sunday versions, as they tend to be longer due to supplemental magazines and to have different editors from their daily editions. Additionally, the newspaper *The Business* converted to a magazine format in 2006 and then closed in 2008 (Baker et al., 2013). Therefore, this publication is not included in my data. The collected broadsheet newspapers, excluding *The Financial Times*, comprise *The Guardian*, *The Observer*, *The Independent*, *The Independent on Sunday*, *The Daily Telegraph*, *The Sunday Telegraph*, *The Times* and *The Sunday Times*. My data are regarded as naturally occurring texts of the British broadsheets.

The database used to search for the articles is *ProQuest Newsstand*, from which the articles were saved directly as plain text files using Notepad. *ProQuest Newsstand* is an online database which provides a multidisciplinary resource for scholarly journals, newspapers, reports, publications, magazines and other subject areas. It helps users find the news information they need (*ProQuest Website*)<sup>9</sup>. Each issue of each newspaper is indexed thoroughly. The indexing covers basic information about bibliographies, companies, people, products, etc., so that researchers can have access to the full texts after inputting the required details in *ProQuest Newsstand*. Using such online searchable database, I ran a search for the query terms: Jew! OR Jewish OR Judaism/ Christian! OR Christianity/ Islam OR Islamic OR Muslim!<sup>10</sup>.

After uploading all these newspaper articles, I drew on a number of exclusion criteria to remove all duplicated and unrelated articles because some newspapers print second editions, with different headlines, of the same issue. Additionally, I decided to discard those articles which include equivalent proper nouns of *Christian* and *Islam* used to indicate a name of a person or a trade mark. The corpus is also marked up with metadata including information such as headlines, authors and dates of publication; thus, the headlines are included in the

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<sup>9</sup> For more information, see the link <https://search-proquest-com.libaccess.hud.ac.uk/internationalnews1>

<sup>10</sup> The exclamation wildcard serves to capture all word forms. For example, Jew! serves both plural and singular forms.

corpus for analysis. These text files were then uploaded onto the software system SkE to conduct a corpus analysis.

Three separate corpora were then created for each religion for the purpose of comparison. The reason for building such specialised corpora instead of using existing corpora, such as the English language newspapers corpus (SiBol)<sup>11</sup>, is that some sources do not contain enough references to words and subjects under investigation and they may not have sufficient text types that are suitable for the study (Baker, 2006). Also, the existing corpora are now relatively old, as in the case of the above-mentioned corpus (SiBol). Moreover, the reason for using three separate corpora representing each of the three religions is that the three corpora belong to the same genre (i.e. broadsheets) which establishes the same style in representing any groups of participants of social classes. Therefore, creating three corpora is manageable to make a comparison between the three religions, and to avoid any repeated editions of articles that may result in similar patterns. Having excluded irrelevant and duplicated articles, the research retained 13,067 articles in total for the three corpora: Judaism, Christianity and Islam, as shown in detail in the following table:

## Dataset

**Table 4.2** Summary of data collected for study

Religion	No. of articles	No. of words
Judaism	3411	3,335,045
Christianity	3825	3,877,040
Islam	5831	5,012,363
<b>Total</b>	13,067	12,224,448

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<sup>11</sup> Although the SiBol corpus contains more than 600 million words collected from 14 newspapers and can be restricted by a specific year, I found that in 2010 it includes only five broadsheet newspapers and other publications. However, when I looked at the occurrences of some words, I got low frequency. For example, the word *Jewish* occurs 3,268 times in the SiBol 2010 sub-corpus, while there are 4,305 occurrences in the corpus I created. Therefore, I used my own specialised corpora to carry out the research.



The resulting data consists of 12,224,448 words which can be classified as large-scale corpora. It is agreed upon by researchers such as Aston (1997) and Flowerdew (2004) that a corpus of up to 250,000 words can be considered small. Viewing corpus size, Aston (1997) distinguishes between small and large corpora. He states that a corpus in the range 20,000-200,000 words is small. My corpus is therefore large enough to identify typical patterns. With reference to the effects of size issues, what is important is that the corpus can generally be considered representative if the texts match the requirements of the research (Flowerdew, 2004). For the purposes of this study, my three corpora are designed and built to carry out a comparative analysis within a certain period of time to find differences and similarities (if any) in the construction of the three religions.

### **4.3 Methods of analysis**

The methodology adopted to carry out the analysis combines elements of corpus linguistics and critical stylistics to develop a customised method for my study. Combining both approaches offers an optimum way to identify predominant discourses and linguistic patterns in the data. I describe the two methods of analysis in detail in the following sections.

#### **4.3.1 Corpus linguistic techniques**

Corpus linguistics is the methodological basis of this thesis. Biber et al. (1998) state that corpus-based analysis actually depends on both quantitative and qualitative techniques and claim that:

[a]ssociation patterns represent quantitative relations, measuring the extent to which features and variants are associated with contextual factors. However, functional (qualitative) interpretation is also an essential step in any corpus-based analysis, [...].

(p. 4)

Corpus-based techniques used in this study include frequency profiling, concordancing and collocation. My thesis provides evidence of how each technique can contribute to the study of the three religions in discourse. The corpus techniques used in my study are discussed below.

#### 4.3.1.1 Frequency

A frequency list is a basic analytical technique in corpus linguistics. It shows the most frequent words listed in a given corpus. A word list is sorted either alphabetically or according to a frequency order, which provides a list of words generated with the number of occurrences of each word in the corpus. In SkE, the word list can generate a frequency list of parts of speech including, for example, nouns, verbs and adjectives. Sinclair (1991, p. 30) states that ‘anyone studying a text is likely to need to know how often each different word form occurs in it’.

Given that search terms can be a good starting point for corpus analysis, for naming and transitivity choices, I did not generate a wordlist; I created instead a word sketch for the running words. The purpose of creating word sketches is to identify collocation lists, explained in detail in section 4.3.1.3, which are important for the construction of noun phrases and verb collocates categorised in terms of process types. My having decided not to derive a wordlist to find instances of the three religious groups in my data means, in this case, focusing on lexical choices rather than grammatical words, which tend not to show sufficient patterns in terms of textual analysis.

As far as frequency is concerned, examining dispersion is useful to determine the potential occurrences of a word in the corpus under study as dispersion provides a visual representation of a search word showing where it occurs across the whole corpus in relation to separate files (Baker, 2010b). In the corpus tool *WordSmith*<sup>12</sup>, a visual dispersion plot of a certain word can be obtained to determine whether that word is ‘globally spread’ through the corpus or ‘locally concentrated in bursts’ in one or more parts of the text (Scott & Tribble, 2006, p. 66). Therefore, dispersion plots will be taken into consideration when reporting frequency to identify the occurrence of certain words in the corpus.

Additionally, Baker (2006, p. 76) argues that ‘frequencies do not explain themselves’; therefore, concordance analysis is required to perceive how collocates around the search

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<sup>12</sup> I also use *WordSmith* corpus tool (Scott, 2016) in this study because of the dispersion plot capability, which is not available in *Sketch Engine* tool.

words are constructed in context to explain why certain forms of a word or a lemma are more frequent than others.

#### 4.3.1.2 Concordances

Concordancing is another corpus-based technique that displays ‘a list of all of the occurrences of a particular search term in a corpus, presented within the context they occur in; usually a few words to the left and right of the search term’ (Baker, 2006, p. 71). This can help to identify all the instances of any word after exploring the linguistic constructions around the discourse concerning the three religions in the corpus. The majority of corpus tools allow the generation of concordances to investigate the context of word use; that is, a concordance list can extract ‘patterns of language use’ (p. 77). Baker and McEnery (2005), for example, in their study of the construction of refugees and asylum seekers in newspaper texts, analysed the concordance lines of refugees in a news corpus and found that they are most commonly pre-modified by quantifications, suggesting an underlying discourse around the growing numbers of refugees (p. 203).

The concordance analysis is a general overview of the search terms that are subject to both quantitative and qualitative analyses. However, the analysis of the concordance requires a precise investigation due to output from word sketch that shows sometimes incorrect grammatical relationships between collocates. For example, a phrase such as *offended Muslims* has been categorised as a case where *Muslim* is the object of the verb *offend*, while it is the modifier of *Muslim*. Therefore, examining the concordance lines of collocational lists is necessary to ensure that categorisation is sorted correctly, which has helped me to exclude some mis-tagged collocates. Furthermore, expanding the concordance lines is required to provide a full indication of what surrounds the text.

Another advantage of examining a particular search term in context is consulting a large general corpus in order to find what discourses surround a search word. Baker (2006, 2014) also acknowledges the need to triangulate the analysis from different directions to highlight a different perspective in the data. In order to confirm the reliability and validity of the findings I obtained from my data, I decided to use the British National Corpus (BNC) as a reference corpus because it is representative of different genres of language. BNC consists of texts from national and regional newspapers, periodicals and journals, academic books and popular

fiction, school and university essays in addition to published and unpublished letters (Baker, 2006, p. 30). The BNC corpus is regarded as ‘a repository of cultural information about [British] society as a whole’ (Hunston, 2002, p. 117). I used the BNC version that SkE<sup>13</sup> contains to search for the semantics of certain lexical items. For example, in transitivity analysis presented in chapter six, I looked at the verb *swamp* in the BNC as I suspect that it tends to be negative. Creating a word sketch for *swamp* using BNC, I was able to look at the nouns collocating with *swamp* by inspecting the concordance lines further and found that it occurs most often in discourses of problems, which are likely to be negative or unpleasant. As a result, because BNC is representative of the English language and contains a large amount of written and spoken data extracted from different genres, this confirms that my intuition towards such a verb is valid.

#### 4.3.1.3 Collocation and collocates

It was Firth who first proposed the word ‘collocation’ and is credited with the famous saying ‘[y]ou shall know a word by the company it keeps’ (1957, p. 11). Firth considered meaning by studying collocation ‘at the syntagmatic level’ (p. 194). This indicates that collocation represents lexical relations along a horizontal axis. Thus, in the sentence, *Christians flee massacre*, the word *massacre* stands in a paradigmatic relation with *extermination*, *destruction* and *genocide*, and in a syntagmatic relation with the word *flee* and *Christians*. Investigating collocation is a good step towards ‘understanding meanings and associations between words which are otherwise difficult to ascertain from a small-scale analysis of a single text’ (Baker, 2006, p. 96).

Collocation is defined in different ways and is perhaps best explained by Partington (1998). According to Leech (1974, p. 20), a collocative meaning is ‘the associations a word acquires on account of the meanings of words which tend to occur in its environment’. Partington calls this a ‘psychological’ or ‘associative’ definition as part of a native speaker’s communicative

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<sup>13</sup> Although there are other large corpora in SkE such as SiBol and EnTenten, I did not base my work on them because, for example, the former is made up of articles collected only from English newspapers 1993–2013, while the latter consists of texts collected from the Internet in 2013 and 2015. As a result, I used BNC as a reference corpus because it covers a wide variety of genres and is a representative sample of written and spoken British English generally.

competence involves knowing the normal and unusual collocations in particular circumstances (1998, p. 16). Another definition is given by Sinclair who states that collocation is ‘the occurrence of two or more words within a short space of each other in a text’ (1991, p. 170). Stubbs also points out that collocation is ‘a lexical relation between two or more words which have a tendency to co-occur within a few words of each other in running texts’ (2001, p. 24). Such definition is referred to as ‘textual’ due to the appearance of one item with another in a given text (Partington, 1998, p. 15). An aspect of collocation is also highlighted by Hoey (1991, pp. 6-7) who looks at collocation as ‘the name given to the relationship a lexical item has with items that appear with greater than random probability in its [textual] context’. This definition is named as ‘statistical’ which is useful for corpus studies as it allows a large amount of texts to be examined to identify ‘patterns of collocation’ based on the statistical measures (Partington, 1998, p. 16).

All these definitions are associated with the idea that words prefer to combine with some certain words to others. What can be elicited from these definitions is that identifying collocates is based either on frequency or on type of words. Collocation can then show which words are used frequently together in the corpus. Based on the frequency-based definition for identifying collocation, Moon (1998, p. 26) relied on frequency and defined collocation as ‘typically denot[ing] frequently repeated or statistically significant co-occurrences, whether or not there are any special semantic bonds between collocating items’. However, other linguists have shown that frequency is not a reliable criterion to identify significant collocates and reserved the notion of collocation for significant words in terms of statistics, such as Hunston (2002) and Hoey (2005). To exemplify this, a collocation such as ‘in the’ may occur more frequently, but may not indicate a significant collocate. Therefore, it is necessary to consider the co-occurrence of words based on the strength of relationships between words which are statistically significant.

The notion of collocation uses the technical terms: ‘node’, ‘collocate’ and ‘span’ (Sinclair, 1991). The word or phrase under investigation is called *the node*, while the words that occur in proximity to that node word, either to the left or to the right, are called *collocates*. The measurement that is used to count collocates is called *the span*. As for the span, different software tools are set to a default value. WordSmith’s default is five words to either side, while AntConc’s default is just one word to either side of the node word (Baker, 2014, p. 138).

Baker states that the smaller the span, the fewer collocates will be generated. In this case, it is better to disregard the default of one or two words to either side as this is too small and may not always identify meaningful collocations. However, Sinclair (1991) provides a span of  $\pm 4$ , which has the potential to allow researchers to identify and describe lexical relations. Deciding on a range of  $\pm 5$  to either side could be essential as significant collocates tend to occur within this range (Sinclair, Jones, & Daley, 2004, p. 13). Choosing more than five may result in insignificant collocates. This system is suitable for calculating collocation; different spans will produce different results (Baker, 2006, pp. 103-104). However, since I use word sketch, the primary limitation of sketch is that it specifies the range, taking the decision away from the researcher.

Given the centrality of collocates for this thesis, it is necessary to understand the relation between collocation and connotation. While collocation is the co-occurrence of words together more often than would be expected by chance, connotation is the meaning of a word or phrase that is understood according to its cultural association. For example, the word 'blue' holds different connotative meanings; it can connote nobility 'blue blood', sadness 'feeling blue', or coldness 'turning blue with cold' (Baker & Ellece, 2011, p. 20). Connotation can also describe positive or negative attitudes. That is to say, words and their collocates might express different evaluations. Stubbs (2001) cites the example of 'lavish' which collocates with the words 'lifestyle', 'parties', 'spending', 'attention' and 'hospitality'. As a result, 'lavish' may be 'evidence of an approving connotation of "generosity", or a disapproving connotation of "excessive wastefulness"' (p. 106). Collocation is therefore a formal element of language whereas connotation is a functional element; that is, connotation is derived from collocation. Accordingly, any words differing in their connotation could be shown through studying collocation to better understand the relation between words as collocates alone are not evidence of any attitude (Stubbs, 2001).

Examining collocations can also uncover the ideology embedded behind the overt propositions. According to Stubbs (1996, p. 169), the study of recurrent lexical patterns is essential in inspecting the problem of language and ideology. Similarly, Baker (2006, p. 36) states that identifying collocates can be useful for discourse analysis to reveal ideological uses of language. When two words frequently collocate, 'the discourses surrounding them are particularly powerful', i.e. the strength of collocation indicates that these are two concepts

linked in the minds of people and are used repeatedly (p. 114). In addition, collocates can be useful to demonstrate the existence of bias or connotation in words (Baker et al., 2006). For example, one of the strongest collocates of the word *Muslim* is *extremist*, suggesting that even in cases where *Muslim* occurs without this word, the concept of extremism can still be implied. So, looking for collocates can be a significant step in the process of textual analysis. However, corpus-based techniques alone would not be adequate to interpret ideology without the implications of a text analysis methodology or human analysts to explain the quantitative patterns.

Retrieving collocations using SkE is the basic part of this study. Collocations can show the associations and connotations of words and thus the assumptions they embody (Stubbs, 1996, p. 172). After creating word sketches for the target words under investigation, I further generated a list of collocations of each running word based on the grammatical relations. I then began conducting collocational analyses of such words to obtain information that might show some intriguing patterns and themes. Furthermore, Sinclair (1991, p. 68) states that corpus analysis shows that different forms of a word can have different instances of collocates. For example, forms of *Christian* in corpus 2010 have different frequencies: *Christianity* 954, *Christians* 1,488 and *Christian* 6,347. Such variation, therefore, results in different kinds of collocates.

An example of examining collocates is again the study of Baker and McEnery, who analysed a set of verbs in the concordance lines of refugee(s), which suggest ‘a range of evaluative responses’ that construct refugees collectively as a group experiencing suffering (2005, p. 204). They further looked for collocates for the identified verbs using the BNC as a general reference corpus and found that refugees are constructed ‘as a “natural disaster” like a flood’ (p. 204). Such qualitative analysis of collocates would be beneficial to show different collocational patterns. This also helps to illustrate whether such patterns are statistically significant or are relatively recurrent. Therefore, looking at significant collocates (illustrated in the next section) to identify patterns in my data helps in the construction of *Jew/s*, *Christian/s* and *Muslim/s*. This process also helps to elicit information that might explain whether there is a certain group that is more likely to show certain patterns than others.

#### 4.3.1.3.1 Significant collocates

As my aim in this study is to identify collocational patterns, it behoves me to use a statistical measure that is significant in identifying and studying collocates. According to Sinclair et al. (2004), significant collocation is ‘regular collocation between two items, such that they co-occur more often than their respective frequencies, [...], would predict’ (p. 10). Hunston (2002, p. 12) states that collocation ‘is the statistical tendency of words to co-occur’, indicating that the significance of a collocation is based on its statistical measure. SkE displays the collocation window with T-score; MI (mutual information); MI3; Log-likelihood and LogDice. T-score measures the confidence of some association (Clear, 1993, p. 281). It also tends ‘to show high-frequency [collocational] pairs’ (McEnery et al., 2006, p. 57). MI measures the strength of a relationship between two words; it considers the relative positions of two items within a corpus (Baker, 2006, p. 24). MI computes the expected probability of two words occurring next to each other, based on the relative frequency and the total size of the corpus. It compares the expected figure to the actual figure, and converts the difference into a number which is indicative of the strength of the collocation (p. 101). MI score gives importance to low frequent lexical items, whereas tests such as log-likelihood and MI3 give high scores to grammatical words (p. 102). LogDice calculates the frequency of words; it is based on how salient the words are. It is worth noting that salience is the basic statistical measure of SkE based on measuring the significance of a specific word, each of its collocates and the collocation in context. Moreover, LogDice is based on the frequency of lexical collocates and is not affected by the size of the corpus.<sup>14</sup>

Additionally, investigating collocation depending on statistics can provide the researchers with significant ‘lexical patterns surrounding a subject, from which a number of discourses can be obtained’ (Baker, 2006, p. 114). However, among neo-Firthian scholars, different viewpoints have been put forward concerning the use of statistical calculations in examining collocations. Stubbs (1995) and Sinclair (2004) argue that it is possible to identify collocation lists manually without using any statistical procedures. Stubbs, for example, claims that

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<sup>14</sup> For further information about LogDice, see Rychlý (2008)



calculating the raw frequency is a sufficient technique when identifying collocation lists. He states that:

Often, with quantitative linguistic data, no complex statistical procedures at all are necessary. It may be sufficient simply to count and list items. For example, in a corpus of 1.5 million words (LOB plus LUND), the following were noun collocates of cause, where  $f(n, c)$  is greater than or equal to 3:

(17) accident, alarm, concern, confusion, damage, death, delay, fire, harm, trouble.

(1995, pp. 27-28)

He concludes by stating that statistical manipulation is not necessarily required to identify patterns, indicating that such words are semantically related by the researchers. Similarly, Sinclair (2004) produces an approach based on manually scanning the concordance lines to observe semantic patterns. He examined 154 instances of 'naked eye' findings in The Bank of English corpus, a total of 211 million words. His statement shows what he found:

By inspection of the concordances, it is clear that there is greater consistency of patterning to the left of the collocation than to the right, so we move in our study step by step to the left. There is so much detail to be dealt with in even 151 lines that the main argument may get hopelessly obscured; hence this study is in two parts. The main argument is set out here with a few illustrative examples, and the discussion of the atypical, odd and wayward instances is returned to [subsequently].

(p. 31)

Here McEnery and Hardie (2012, p. 126) refer to such a non-statistical technique as 'collocation-via-concordance'. With this technique, they state that linguists can examine concordances based on their intuition without using any algorithms, suggesting that the computer can supply the analysts with a set of concordance lines. The analysts can then examine each line individually by 'identifying by eye the items and patterns which recur in proximity to the node word and reporting those that they find of note, possibly with manually compiled frequency counts but without statistical significance testing' (p. 126).

In contrast, Krishnamurthy (2000) and Hunston (2002) recommend the use of significance statistics to generate collocations. Hunston strongly criticises reliance on raw frequency to calculate collocation, claiming that it is impossible to accord the correct degree of importance to the figures in the frequency lists (p. 70). She warns elsewhere against misinterpreting the

information concerning the overall frequency of the words and phrases in order to recognise the importance of the highly significant collocation lists (pp. 78-79).

As mentioned above, collocates can be lexical or grammatical words. SkE displays different results using three measurements. The window of collocation lists provides two columns of figures: one for the raw frequency and the other for the score of the statistical measurements used to calculate collocates. The collocation findings of the LogDice and MI columns, for example, present a list of lexical items – both algorithms share to some extent the same collocates, while collocates based on T-score are dominated by grammatical words such as prepositions, punctuations and conjunctions which are not useful in revealing the patterns of collocates.

It seems then that investigating collocation lists to show common patterns can be performed in terms of either frequency counts or statistical measures. However, calculating the collocations manually may result in the researchers missing some patterns, especially when the dataset is very large and the words may have hundreds of collocates, each of which may require the investigation of many concordances.

Examining the significant collocates generated via the word sketch provided good evidence of collocates contributing to the identification of different patterns for each participant: *Jew/s*, *Christian/s* and *Muslim/s*. However, as the span is the amount of words occurring to the left and right of the node word, my strategy for selecting noun phrases for naming analysis includes those noun collocates modified by *Jewish*, *Christian* and *Muslim* tagged as adjectives, which appear to the right of the word.

As the word sketch generates collocates according to their grammatical relationships based on the statistical significance, I found a large number of collocates which are divergent in their statistical measurements. Some noun and verb collocates have low scores while others occur with a high score. Therefore, the analysis procedure of noun collocates modified by the adjectives *Jewish*, *Christian* and *Muslim* is three step-process. The first is based on the collocates presented by their significant salience. The second is focused on grouping and categorising all collocates into themes and identifying patterns for examination. This contributed to calculating their frequency of co-occurrence in the contexts. The last step is filtering all collocates based on the most frequently occurring ones using thematic

categorisation. The statistical measure is definitely the best way of identifying collocates, but in the thematic analysis, it is very important to look at the frequency because it is a way of reducing the amount of data I have to deal with. This is because it is more manageable to obtain more instances based on their frequency. Regarding verb collocates, all verbs identified by their statistics are analysed which are also grouped into thematic categories as shown in chapter six.

At the description stage, I focused on the collocational patterns in the co-texts of the search words to ascertain how the choice of nouns and modifications affects the interpretation of the text. Analysing collocations can reveal underlying ideologies of the text producers as related to the three religions. The procedure of grouping collocates into different thematic categories is illustrated in the following section.

#### **4.3.1.3.2 Thematic categories of collocates**

Similar to the corpus analysis approach of categorising keywords into ‘conceptual groups’ (Baker, 2004) either by choosing an ad hoc category or by using USAS semantic domain analysis (Rayson, 2010), I have examined collocates and mapped them onto ‘thematic categories’ (Baker et al., 2013) by analysing concordance lines manually. For the current study, grouping noun and verb collocates into themes based on text-dependent or ad hoc categorisation is a good starting point for a qualitative analysis. That is to say, the ad hoc category is more flexible and manageable as it allows a set of collocates to be represented collectively with different themes, depending on the context in which they occur. Mahlberg and McIntyre (2011) in their study of Ian Fleming’s novel *Casino Royale* correlated both methods of keyword categorisation. They adopted this strategy not to find the most objective classification of words or to show the strength of one category as against another, but rather to state that it is valuable to discuss ‘where categories usefully take into account subjective interpretations’ (p. 208), stating that examining keywords is an effective simplified way to look at the meanings in texts. However, one issue with using ad hoc categorisation is that it is a subjective process, in which some conceptual groups are in and of themselves clearer to the researcher than other conceptual groups which are found difficult to categorise (Baker, 2004, p. 353). Therefore, a close analysis of concordances is carried out in order to suggest how such collocates are used in the texts before placing them into thematic categories.

Based on the collocational patterns identified in my data, I obtained high frequency collocates, and it is plausible to sort and identify them into a set of thematic categories by carrying out a text-based examination. For the purposes of this research, I followed Baker et al. (2013) by grouping similar types of noun and verb collocates into a set of themes, suggested by the texts, that share certain semantic features. This would be a convenient way of interpreting the context used in news reporting. To that end, I also looked through a general corpus (BNC) to compare the use of the collocates in my data. I have not employed the BNC to analyse the discourse of the target words under study, but I used it because ‘it can reveal normative patterns of language use’ (Baker & McEnery, 2005, p. 200). Therefore, I have compared the findings of significant collocates of the research items together with their frequencies and divided them into thematic categories suggested from their usage in the context. This approach offers a considerable level of analysis to suggest the most common topics around the newspaper representation of the three religions during the time period under scrutiny. This in turn allowed me to identify different contexts which seem to be more applicable to one participant than another.

#### **4.3.1.4 Semantic preference and semantic prosody**

As far as collocational analysis is concerned, I extended the notion further to include two important concepts in corpus linguistics: semantic preference and semantic prosody. The purpose is to investigate collocates in an attempt to identify semantic preferences and level of semantic prosodies. Examining the meaning of words can sometimes be done through observing the use of certain words in a particular text and the extra meanings that they carry. A relationship between a word and its surrounding items can best be revealed when carrying out a large corpus study in order to observe how a unit of meaning is used.

When a set of words shares some semantic features, this is called a semantic preference – a relation ‘between a lemma or word-form and a set of semantically related words’ (Stubbs, 2001, p. 65). For example, in my data the word *Islam* co-occurs with words such as *fundamentalist*, *radical* and *conservative* having to do with a strong belief in a certain ideology. Semantic preference focuses therefore ‘on a lexical set of semantic categories rather than a single word’ (Baker, 2006, p. 87). For example, ‘glass of’ co-occurs with a set of words associated with ‘drinks’, such as ‘water’, ‘lemonade’, ‘milk’ and ‘sherry’. Observing semantic

preferences through the co-text is thus recommended, especially if the lexical items are examined collectively and not individually.

Semantic preferences can be subject to further examination to understand the general characterisations of the collocational patterns, mainly in terms of positive and negative evaluation (Hunston, 2007; Louw, 2000; Partington, 2004; Sinclair, 2003). This is related to the concept of semantic prosody (or discourse prosody according to Stubbs); it is called semantic because 'it deals with meaning, and prosody because it typically ranges over combinations of words in an utterance rather than being attached just to one' (Sinclair, 2003, p. 117). Sinclair finds that 'a number of instances contain expressions of doubt or uncertainty' (p. 117) where it is likely to bear a positive, negative or neutral meaning. He found, for example, that the verb 'happen' is linked to unpleasant things and accidents. Stubbs (2001) notes the relation of collocation and prosody to the co-selection of items. For instance, he demonstrates that the lemma CAUSE usually collocates with unpleasant items, such as 'problem', 'anger', 'annoyance' and 'anxiety'. By contrast, the lemma PROVIDE co-occurs with words, such as 'facilities', 'services', 'support' and 'aid' in the semantic fields of help and care to build up a favourable semantic prosody.

With reference to evaluation, it is necessary to illustrate firstly what evaluation is. According to Hunston and Thompson (2000, p. 5), evaluation is the speaker or writer's attitude towards the entities and propositions that he/she is talking about. More specifically, it is 'an indication that something is good or bad' (Hunston, 2007, p. 1). Partington (2004, p. 149), on the one hand, states that semantic prosody is a sub-category of semantic preference, where an item has a preference to words described as bad/good, unfavourable/favourable or unpleasant/pleasant. Hunston also points out that semantic preference refers to 'the frequent co-occurrence of a lexical item with items expressing a particular evaluative meaning' (2007, p. 266). Words, such as 'rightly', 'timely', 'excessive' or 'flabby' seem to have a clear favourable or unfavourable evaluation, and semantic prosody 'describes the same kind of evaluative meaning but spreads over a unit of language which potentially goes well beyond the single orthographic word' (Partington, 2004, pp. 131-132). This indicates that a word is evaluated in accordance with the text in which the word occurs. Sinclair's example of 'set in' is a good case. This phrasal verb is associated with unpleasant events or processes (p. 132). Accordingly, the evaluative meaning of phrases involving 'set in' is connected through the

whole unit rather than one part thereof (p. 132). In this case ‘set in’ has no evaluation on its own, but ‘it takes evaluative meaning only from the textual context’ (Hunston, 2004, p. 5). To explore this statement in detail, *Jew/s*, *Christian/s* and *Muslim/s*, for example, contain no evaluative meanings, but they can be investigated carefully in relation to their collocates in the co-text. However, some collocates share the same semantic feature. For instance, *Jews* collocates with items, such as *escape*, *flee* and *move*. This means that *Jews* has a preference for movement, but it is not easy to identify its prosody unless collocates are examined further in context to observe their evaluative meaning. Hunston points out that ‘[w]here evaluative meaning is not apparent to intuition a corpus study may reveal the “hidden meaning” of words and phrases’ (2004, p. 2). Examining how a set of words is evaluated in the text is established by the whole construction of an utterance. This means that semantic prosody belongs to the unit of meaning (Hunston, 2007; Sinclair, 1991; Stubbs, 2009); it is ‘a discourse function of a sequence rather than a property of a word’ (Hunston, 2007, p. 258). Semantic prosody can thus be evaluated not only by computational tools but also in accordance with the units of meaning and the attitude of the speaker or writer.

Additionally, Louw (1993, 2000), Partington (2004), Sinclair (2004) and Hunston (2007) argue that semantic prosody contains an attitudinal meaning. Sinclair (2004, p. 174) states that semantic prosodies are ‘attitudinal’ and express the speaker’s approval (good prosody) or disapproval (bad prosody) of the items in context (cited in Partington, 2004). Louw (2000, p. 58) states that the central function of semantic prosody is to express the attitude of the speaker or writer. This is in line with Hunston (2007, p. 256) who states that meaning is linked to viewpoint, meaning that there is not often one indisputable interpretation of attitude. For instance, the word ‘destruction’ is good for the destroyer, but bad for the destroyed (p. 256). Target words in my data tend to be followed by words with either positive or negative implications. For example, the word *Islamic* is followed most often by negative items, such as *extremist*, *radical*, *fundamentalism* or *terrorism*. So, the word *Islamic* in itself does not carry any negative connotations but it occurs with words that have a negative semantic prosody; therefore, the unit of meaning tends to be attitudinal. However, this is not always appropriate or applicable. To illustrate this point, *community* and *world* co-occurring frequently with *Jewish* and *Muslim* in my corpus cannot be determined to have positive or negative prosody unless the contexts are examined. As a result, in order to explore different

aspects of meaning, inspecting the concordance of collocates in context is recommended to obtain more information about their evaluation.

However, the distinction between semantic prosody and semantic preference is quite complex. A number of studies have been carried out identifying the distinction between these two concepts. This has attracted the interest of researchers such as Stubbs (2001), Partington (2004), Sinclair (2004), Bednarek (2008) and Begagić (2013). Stubbs (2001, p. 66), for example, states that ‘the distinction between semantic preference and discourse prosody is not entirely clear-cut’. Partington (2004, p. 151) describes the difference between the two concepts by arguing that semantic preference relates the node word to another word from a specific semantic set, while semantic prosody can influence a wide stretch of text. He also adds that the two terms interact; semantic preference ‘contributes powerfully’ to building prosody, whereas prosody ‘dictates the general environment which constrains the preferential choices of the node item’. Such a statement supports Xiao and McEnery’s view, which indicates that the two items are distinct and have interdependent collocational meanings (2006, p. 107). They also argue that the semantic prosody of a word is the result of the interaction between that word and its typical collocates. They add that the item does not have an affective meaning until it is examined in the context of its collocates. The verb ‘tackle’, for example, carries a good meaning since it results in something favourable, but it collocates often with unfavourable items such as ‘problem’; however, ‘tackle a problem’ bears a positive connotation. Zhang (2013) points out that judging whether a collocate is positive, negative or neutral requires an examination of a wider co-text to make the judgement possible.

Attention needs to be paid here to Sinclair’s illustration regarding the reason behind choosing one word more often than another due to its prosody. He explains that ‘[t]he semantic prosody of an item is the reason why it is chosen, over and above the semantic preferences that also characterise it’ (1998, p. 20). The question of why the word *community* is chosen more often than *society* in my corpus can be addressed by inspecting the concordances to identify the context in which they occur.

There appears to be a relation between the two notions; they are interrelated in such a way that semantic prosody bears a meaning of the node word with its collocates. For instance, a set of collocates can express a particular semantic field, which can be a result of a positive or

negative evaluation. To exemplify, words, such as *gas*, *exterminate* and *murder* co-occurring with Jews express a semantic preference for genocide and result in a negative semantic prosody.

In short, the relationship between these two notions is different and, thus, requires a large corpus to obtain a number of occurrences of a node word in order to show a set of semantic features of collocates of that word. This leads us to observe different connotations. It indicates that semantic preference and semantic prosody are associated with each other. Semantic preference builds up the semantic prosody. This justifies the reason for investigating collocation in connection with semantic preferences and prosodies. Both notions contribute in one way or another to the study of collocation lists, but sometimes it is problematic to evaluate semantic prosody since it varies with context.

#### **4.3.2 Tools of critical stylistics**

This section provides a detailed account of the tools employed in carrying out the qualitative analysis. There are ten textual-conceptual functions and I present the five ones that have been necessary and applicable to the textual analysis of my corpus. The choice of textual-conceptual functions was made with consideration of their usefulness for the data on which I have been working. It is important to assert that each function has been selected and applied due to its contribution to uncovering the hidden ideology. The hidden ideology refers to the way in which the linguistic features realising these tools can manifest biased and/or balanced representation. Biased representation means a way of representing a group of people compared with another, which might be considered unfair. Linguistic features can be used to investigate how they manifest attitudinal or objective representation of the three religions. The question of where bias could be detected is addressed through studying the semantic implications of words or phrases referring to a specific group of people. This can be seen in instances when portraying the religious groups (Jews, Christians and Muslims) in a text. These instances are helpful in understanding how these religions are represented in the British press.

The recurrent use of similar linguistic features facilitates exploring stereotypical images of the participants in the three religions investigated. For example, Muslims are characterised as being involved in violent acts, which is manifested through recurrently placing them in the



context of terrorism and extremism. Such portrayal has created negative stereotypes of Muslims in the media.

CS is primarily interested in the textual-conceptual functions of text analysis, such as naming and describing, representing actions/events/states, prioritising and others, and these in turn demonstrate what the text is doing at any time. Jeffries offers a developing framework that combines stylistics with CDA. The choice of stylistics, according to Jeffries, is 'always ideologically loaded and may also be ideologically manipulative' (2010a, p. 3). This means that Jeffries' framework (2010a) helps to reveal the hidden meaning of the texts based on a more linguistically oriented analysis than other approaches to CDA. The focus in her framework is on the ideational meaning of language, realised to show how the ideological effects are conveyed through the textual tools, which can, thus, identify the differences in representation among the three religions conveyed in the newspapers. Introducing the ideational metafunction as a characteristic of the textual functions makes her framework different from Fowler's approach to critical linguistics. Jeffries presents the tools of analysis as ideational, focused on how language represents the world through linguistic features. Fowler (1979), on the other hand, introduces the tools of analysis on the basis of both ideational and interpersonal meanings.

One of the basic advantages of Jeffries' approach to CS is the integration of more than one function to help interpret the texts, though on occasion it is hard to decide which function is connected with another; it depends on the examples investigated. For example, the transitivity choices of process types are better considered in line with prioritising, while it is implying and assuming that can be seen to overlap with naming practices. Most often, the concordance lines are expanded to give access to more contexts in my data to interpret the meaning in the texts.

The structure of the present thesis reflects the five integrated textual-conceptual functions (TCFs). I will provide a brief account of each function in the following sections according to their order in the analytical chapters.

#### **4.3.2.1 Naming and describing**

The way certain groups are labelled and modified reflects the ideological implications hidden within the texts. The importance of naming entities is also considered by, for example, Fowler

(1991) in his account of CDA tools to investigate lexis and nominalisation, and Francis (1994) who applied the term ‘labelling’ to refer to the way nominal groups are identified to convey the writer’s attitude towards any choice.

The textual-conceptual function of naming and describing involves the naming practices where the text producers take a view of certain entities. These practices highlight three tools: noun choices, the packaging of more information into the noun phrases and nominalisation. All three strategies have the potential to uncover the underlying ideologies. To be precise, noun choices indicate the author’s attitude to the referent, whereas parcelling up further details or ideas within nominal groups causes the embedded information to be taken for granted and less open to debate.

The part of the sentence that is concerned with naming entities is the noun phrase (NP), which makes Jeffries’ framework distinctive because it enables the writer to ‘package up ideas or information which are not fundamentally about entities but which are really a description of process, event or action’ (Jeffries, 2010a, p. 19). I carried out the textual analysis of naming strategy with the assistance of word sketch (explained in detail in section 3.2.4.1); a corpus tool that provides noun collocates modified by the running words *Jewish*, *Christian* and *Muslim*. However, this stage was conducted alongside inspecting the concordances to record instances of pre-modifying attributes and qualifying phrases such as relative clauses and prepositional phrases, for example *the largest Jewish community in Germany*.

Additionally, references to Van Leeuwen’s (1996) categorisation of social actors is also included in the naming strategy as it is useful to observe how the participants are perceived in the text and uncover the ideological implications, whether they are evaluated positively or negatively.

#### **4.3.2.2 Representing actions/events/states**

‘Representing actions/events/states’ is the second textual-conceptual function used in my qualitative analysis. It involves the application of the transitivity system set out by Simpson (1993, 2004), which presents a wide-ranging discussion of the process types that help to distinguish different meanings in their classification. Transitivity is the fundamental component of Halliday’s Systemic Functional Grammar. It is that part which expresses

‘representational meaning: what the clause is about, which is typically some process, with associated participants and circumstances’ (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 309). It is realised in the ideational metafunction of language which considers how the world of experience is construed through a set of process types used in a clause (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004; 2014).

The transitivity system has been used widely by critical analysts and stylisticians to explore the links between language, power and ideology as a means to display the authors’ point of view and to highlight the use of language in literary and non-literary texts (Fowler, 1991; Hart, 2014; Jeffries, 2010a; Simpson, 1993; Thompson, 2013). This helps the reader to identify whether a certain group is depicted as actors or affected participants, including which group is foregrounded and which is backgrounded in texts, as this is necessary for ideological implications. There are six process types: material (e.g. *persecute, alienate, kill*), mental (e.g. *see, feel, hate*) and relational (e.g. *have, become, consider*) are primary, while existential (e.g. *There are 6.5 million Jews in the USA*), behavioural (e.g. *describe* and *depict*) and verbal (e.g. *blame, accuse, reject*) are secondary. However, sometimes it is difficult to decide upon the type of the process, as in the case of the behavioural process, which lies on the borderline between material and mental processes. For example, the verb *depict* in *Seven Jewish Children [...], drew criticism from Jewish groups who claimed the play **depicted** Jews as "genocidal and racist"*, could be categorised as a material event process because the actor is animate (*the play*). However, since it requires a physical behaviour performed by actors, then this verb is better identified as behavioural.

Using SkE, a word sketch is created for each participant – Jew/s, Christian/s and Muslim/s in the corpus of broadsheet newspaper articles published in 2010 – to examine the verb collocational patterns by applying the transitivity system. This shows patterns in the construction of the three participants. Since word sketch identifies the collocates of words by their grammatical relations that serve as subjects and objects of the verbs, the criteria for selecting the verbs are two-fold: identifying the verbs in the clause and deciding upon which process types are realised for transitivity analysis. For instance, the word *kill* in *SS men did go out and **kill** Jews after watching the original Jud Suss*, is categorised as a verb of *Jews* that is identified as an object. From a transitivity perspective, the verb *kill* is seen as a material action process and *Jews* is realised as a goal. However, classifying these process types within the

grammatical relations is not sufficient to determine the role of the participant. For example, verbs sorting Muslims as objects in word sketch are identified as mental processes, but in this case, Muslims are not the sensor; they are the phenomena instead as in *TARIQ Khawaja does not want you to look at his son and see a Muslim*.

#### **4.3.2.3 Equating and contrasting**

This textual-conceptual function refers to how two entities are equated or contrasted in the texts. It demonstrates creating differences and similarities that are ideologically significant. Traditional studies of the construction of entities considered sense relations between words, whether they have identical meanings known as synonyms or opposite meanings known as antonyms (Lyons, 1977; Murphy, 2003; Palmer, 1981). These studies developed the semantic relations between lexis, i.e. how words are related to each other phonetically, syntactically and morphologically.

A textually based strategy is adopted to examine how entities are represented on various levels. I followed Jeffries' approach to equating (2010a) and Davies' (2008, 2013) approach to opposition in the construction of Jews, Christians and Muslims. Davies' approach is based on deriving new opposites which rely on understanding conventional oppositions at high superordinate conceptual levels, such as positive/negative or belief/disbelief.

Equivalences are indicated by three syntactic triggers, such as noun phrase apposition, parallelism and intensive relational choices, while oppositions are realised by sightings of coordination, negation, concessive opposition and comparatives. Furthermore, metaphor is another function making a conceptual equivalence. It is an interesting phenomenon across stylistics, referring to describing one item in terms of another. Accordingly, I can approach instances signalled by these triggers to look for oppositions as they usually depend on the lexical relation in clauses. However, it is sometimes difficult to capture such frames for appositions which require two juxtaposed noun phrases at the syntactic structure level, e.g. *Baroness Warsi, Britain's first Muslim woman*. This is not evident when using corpus tools to find instances. Due to the volume of texts in my corpus, I searched for equivalences and oppositions through the examples captured for naming strategies and transitivity choices for relational processes. This might not result in missing instances to identify patterns for the implied meanings. Such syntactic and semantic triggers are regarded as central to

distinguishing between Jews, Christians and Muslims in order to achieve the meanings in the co-texts without addressing further contextual information.

#### **4.3.2.4 Prioritising**

The model of prioritising considers the syntactic structure of a sentence manifested in three factors: information structure of sentences, transformational choices and subordination (Jeffries, 2010a, p. 77) wherein the information can be either backgrounded or foregrounded in the texts. In each of these ways, priority is based on the position of the clause that has salient information. There are three positions that are given priority when introducing the information: the final position of a sentence where new information is placed; the transformation of a clause from active to passive where the focus is also on the final compulsory element; and subordination where information at a lower level in a sentence will be less important. Such positions have potential impact in terms of ideology as they enable the text producers to give priority to any piece of information over another and make it the main proposition of the sentence.

It was difficult to identify prioritising instances through *Sketch Engine*. As a result, I found it useful to depend on the feature of overlap between the textual-conceptual functions to identify the needed instances to carry out the prioritising analysis. For example, in the sentence *Iran, he said, should understand the Jews were expelled from their land*; there is overlap between transitivity and prioritising in which the information of expelling the Jews is placed in the verb *expel* already identified by word sketch. Therefore, this integration helped in determining what prioritised information is intended which is found through the quantitative results of verbs.

#### **4.3.2.5 Implying and assuming**

This textual-conceptual function is concerned with studying meaning in context. It is realised by logical and existential presupposition of Levinson (1983) and Grice's approach to implicature (1975). Jeffries' approach to critical stylistics explains how these two concepts can have powerful ideological effects (2010a, pp. 101-103). Existential presuppositions entail the existence of entities. For instance, the noun phrase *Jewish community* in *The Jewish community in Rome lived in relative peace* is presupposed to exist by virtue of the definite

article. Other indicators of existential presuppositions are possessives and demonstratives. This may not indicate an effective ideology given that, as Jeffries points out, existential presuppositions ‘may be powerful [...] but they may also be innocent in ideological terms’ (p. 95). Logical presuppositions, on the other hand, are rich in triggers. Levinson constructs a list of triggers (1983, pp. 181-185) such as cleft constructions, factive verbs, iterative words, change of state verbs, embedded relative clauses and comparative constructions. Though Levinson made a comprehensive list of presupposition triggers, he did not take into account the ideological implications of presupposition that Simpson (1993) has considered. Simpson provides ‘an overview of the pragmatics of implying and assuming and a way of thinking about the ideological implications of these textual functions using the umbrella concept of point of view’ (Jeffries, 2010a, p. 105).

There are not as many examples of implicature in my data as presuppositions, because the latter could be identified by a number of textual markers for existential and logical presuppositions. Similar to the way of identifying prioritising instances, the proper way to capture instances for presupposition is through the assumptions made as a result of either existential or logical presuppositions made by certain triggers in a text. Therefore, I conducted a qualitative analysis for presuppositions by relying most often on the sentences collected for the textual analysis of naming strategy and transitivity choices in addition to a few cases in the analysis of equating, as there is overlap between these functions of analysis. In the sentence, *for not only in Iraq are Christians facing new persecution*, logical presupposition is realised via the adjective *new*, indicating that Christians were persecuted before. Here, the verb *facing* is identified via word sketch, which leads to identify the function of transitivity.

In accordance with the aforementioned textual-conceptual functions, the proper way to approach this research undertakes several steps of text analysis. Description and interpretation stages are adopted from Fairclough’s (1989, 1992) ‘three-dimensional’ framework of analysis, where he drew together language analysis of texts and social practices (1992, p. 4). Textually based, the tools of critical stylistics are used ‘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’ (Jeffries, 2010a, p. 1). For the textual evidence provided in my corpus, these five functions are used to carry out the critical analysis of texts due to the number of instances found in my corpus 2010,

as displayed in the analytical chapters (five to seven). These are regarded as good linguistic features upon which the qualitative analysis can rely.

The following chapters will draw in more detail on the qualitative analyses of the examined and selected textual-conceptual functions. Each chapter continues by offering a summary and discussion of findings.

#### **4.4 Integrating corpus linguistics and critical stylistics**

Corpus linguistics as a methodology has been applied to different branches of linguistics, including, for example, forensic linguistics (Coulthard, 1994, 2010); language teaching and studies (Hunston, 2002; McEnery & Xiao, 2011; McEnery et al., 2006); stylistics (Mahlberg & McIntyre, 2011; Semino & Short, 2004); pragmatics (Culpeper, 2009); critical discourse analysis (Baker, 2006); and various discourse and media studies (Baker et al., 2013; Baker & McEnery, 2005; Taylor, 2013, 2014). Corpus analysis helps to identify any frequent and rare patterns in language which are then interpreted to suggest the discourses surrounding the constructions of certain groups or concepts (Baker, 2006, p. 178). The reason for such wide-scale adoption is that corpus techniques make ‘it possible to observe repeated patterns across the language use’ (Stubbs, 2001, p. 242). This is the primary reason why corpus methods are valuable in my study of the language of the press.

Using a large volume of data to carry out text analysis means that patterns are representative, and thus avoids cherry-picking instances which attract criticism. As Baker et al. (2008, p. 297) state, combining CL and CDA can be beneficial and strengthen the theoretical basis of both methods. This will also reduce researcher bias (Baker, 2006, p. 10) in subjectively approaching the data and achieving the results. The reason for integrating these two approaches in this study is in part to follow a disciplined, systematic and apparent approach to critical stylistic analysis of texts. Approaching a qualitative analysis integrated with corpus methods provides good evidence for the representation of the three religions.

As stated earlier, CS is a developing area of CDA because it provides a set of systematic tools, which allow researchers to approach the texts objectively and to uncover the underlying ideologies. Corpus-based approaches can thus offer the tools and techniques to approach a large dataset to help identify patterns around discourses. I have carried out a combined method

in which quantitative findings are interpreted further in the light of the critical stylistics framework to find out what they reveal. The procedures I followed in analysing the identified collocates in the data are illustrated in detail in each analytical chapter. I have then divided the thematic categories of collocates into sub-sections in each chapter to obtain a clear sense of how the texts may affect the ideological viewpoints of their readers. This is a good reason why corpus techniques integrated with CS are valuable in my study of the press language.

Having identified the collocational lists of the search items, the concordances of collocates were expanded further in order to make available more contextual information about the subject under investigation. At this step, I have analysed collocates within the co-texts to explore what themes emerge from their usage in context. The collocational patterns were then analysed, incorporating linguistic features of Jeffries' approach to CS (2010a), and an attempt has been made to follow the process of the description and interpretation stages of textual analysis. As this research is focused on approaching the texts supported by real data using a set of analytical tools, linguistic features such as noun choices, types of verb processes, appositions and antonyms were analysed critically to explore any differences and similarities in the representation of each religion. This will help to discover whether a particular pattern or theme is shared among the three religions or is unique to one group rather than another. To clarify this further, noun collocates such as *community*, *group*, *people* and *population* provide the thematic category of collectivity which is shared by the three groups, however their representations are different.

Carrying out multiple methods of analysis constitutes triangulation. It is necessary to look at phenomena from many directions (Baker, 2014, p. 157); combining different methods to approach research reinforces each methodology performed. In quantitative and qualitative research, Baker and Levon describe triangulation 'as an alternative to traditional measures of reliability and validity, enabling researchers to overcome limitations associated with a single method or their own biases' (2015, p. 223). This *triangulatory* approach helps also 'to identify frequent and salient linguistic patterns over large amounts of data' (p. 223). Therefore, corpus analysis is helpful to identify patterns in language to suggest the existence of discourses.



From a functional perspective, Jeffries' framework (2010a) centres around Halliday's (1985) ideational metafunction, indicating that the tools are all related to the way in which language represents the world from a critical perspective. As Baker and McEnery (2005, p. 198) claim:

[C]orpora can play an important role in critical social research, allowing researchers to objectively identify widespread patterns of naturally occurring language and rare but telling examples, both of which may be over-looked by a small-scale analysis. Such integration in the analytical approach reduces, then, the subjectivity of pattern-observations.

Employing corpus techniques integrated with the textual-conceptual functions of CS, the present study produces an overall picture of press attitudes towards Jews, Christians and Muslims.

#### **4.5 Summary**

This chapter has provided a brief account of the newspaper genres and values, followed by illustrative information regarding the British broadsheets, the main data resource of this study. I then went on to elucidate the procedures I followed to design and build the three specialised corpora for this study. Describing methods of analysis was the second important strategy in this chapter. I firstly explained the corpus techniques that were used in this study. Since the main focus of this research was based on identifying the most significant collocates, a large fraction of this section was dedicated to defining the notion of collocation and the statistical measures used to compute collocation lists as well as the two concepts related to collocation: *semantic preference* and *semantic prosody*. Due to a vast number of collocates identified via SkE, I grouped the collocation lists into themes based on *ad hoc* categorisation. Such themes are suggested by the data as they are identified through reading the concordance lines.

Moving from a quantitative approach to a qualitative one, section 4.3.2 illustrated a detailed preview of the analytical tools of the critical stylistics framework, addressing the lack of analytic tools that CDA approaches are accused of by focusing on the micro level of textual analysis. I discussed in this section how the textual-conceptual functions are employed in this study and the way in which they are used to carry out qualitative analyses which focus mainly on close textual levels. However, the critical stylistics framework has not addressed the issue of reducing subjectivity in text selection; therefore, integrating corpus methods and critical

approaches to language has provided a solution to this critique. The chapter has ended by illuminating the importance of combining CL to CS to carry out a discourse analysis of the British press. Such integration shows that both approaches are mutually valuable, in a rigorous and replicable way, to the discursive construction of the three religions.

Before concluding the chapter, a number of limitations are noted in carrying out the analysis. First, I have not considered the differences in the constructions that newspapers use as this requires investigating their political affiliations and ideologies, which is beyond my cultural background. Another limitation is related to the use of word sketch. As collocates are identified according to their grammatical relations using the LogDice measure, it is not possible to alter the statistical measure used. Also word sketch could be applied only to single words like *Jewish* and *Christian*, but not to a group of words such as *Jewish community* and *Muslim world*. In order to take account of this limitation, I have examined the concordances of collocations in context to explore patterns.

In the following three chapters, I present the textual analyses of the representation of the three religions in the broadsheet newspapers: how Jews, Christians and Muslims are labelled and described (chapter five), the collocational patterns of process types used to represent actions and states (chapter six) and how Jews, Christians and Muslims are constructed through the creation of similarities and differences in meaning (chapter seven). In these analytical chapters, the integration of corpus methods and textual-conceptual functions of critical stylistics has been taken into consideration in order to deal with the issues of data selection and the lack of analytical tools in CDA.

## **Chapter 5**

### **Naming and characterising Jews, Christians and Muslims**

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#### **5.1 Introduction**

This chapter examines how Jews, Christians and Muslims have been named and characterised linguistically in the UK press. The two research questions I aim to address are:

1. What thematic categories emerge and what patterns can be identified via collocates?
2. How are Jews, Christians and Muslims represented?

The nominal groups are studied using the textual-conceptual function of ‘naming and describing’ (Jeffries, 2007, 2010a) to explore the naming strategies used by the British newspapers to identify these three main participants since ‘naming is one of the major ways of incorporating ideologies into texts’ (Jeffries, 2007, p. 63). Jeffries produces three linguistic practices: noun choices, noun modifiers and nominalisation (2010a, p. 20). Noun choices and nominalisation are parts of naming strategy, but they are different in that the former is, in essence, a noun by itself. Nominalisation is traditionally used by critical discourse analysts. According to Fowler (1991, p. 80), it is regarded as a potential way to construct ideology in the texts since it permits ‘habits of concealment’ through which the identity of participants is obscured, whereby the verb is transformed into a noun which results in the loss of tense, modality and agency. However, I have not found salient instances of nominalisation in my data, and thus I have excluded it from the analysis. What makes Jeffries’ approach different is that it takes into consideration the noun phrase as the basic unit of naming practices (Jeffries, 2007, p. 63). This chapter therefore deals with two linguistic features: noun choices and modifications, as naming strategy indicates a choice that creates an ideological value behind choosing one noun over another (see Jeffries, 2010a, p. 18) .

As noun choices fall within the sphere of naming practices, all nouns and modifiers are examined further by expanding concordances to facilitate more access to the context. This provides a complete sense and is a necessity when we seek to interpret the ideological effect.

In sections 5.2 and 5.3, I present naming choices and categories of social actors respectively, followed by sections 5.4, 5.5, 5.6 and 5.7 discussing four common themes: collectivity, conflict context, occupational roles and gender, respectively. The chapter ends by summarising the findings showing how the textual function of naming practices produces evidence to identify differences and similarities in the representation of Jews, Christians and Muslims.

## **5.2 Naming choices and thematic categories**

The way people are referred to is one feature of how they are viewed (Richardson, 2007). I will examine all nominal collocates modified by the words *Jewish*, *Christian* and *Muslim* used as modifiers, e.g. *Christian leaders* and pre/post-modifications, e.g. *the biggest Muslim community*, in order to explore different references to the main participants: *Jews*, *Christians* and *Muslims*. Furthermore, I will exclude those nouns that do not refer to the followers of religions, e.g. *Jewish settlement* (see Appendix A for the categories of noun collocates). To achieve this, I created separate word sketches for *Jewish*, *Christian* and *Muslim* to identify all nouns modified by them, such as *Jewish charity*, *Christian organisations* and *Muslim rebels*. As far as strong and frequent collocates are concerned, using SkE to explore noun collocates is a feasible and rigorous way of identifying differences in the choices made by text producers. I followed Jeffries' approach of 'naming devices' with the inclusion of van Leeuwen's (1996) categorisation of social actors, such as 'collectivisation', 'genericisation' and 'functionalisation'. The rationale for carrying out naming analysis is based on the argument that noun choices used by newspapers reveal different representations of and attitudes towards the main participants in this study because the selection of lexical items is essential to presenting ideologies in news discourse (Van Dijk, 1995, p. 259). Therefore, the choice of specific nouns is a fundamental feature in representing the attitudes voiced in the newspaper towards a certain entity.

Generally, lexical items might show different connotations depending on context as some words are 'coloured by their contexts' (Fowler, 1991, p. 84). Following Baker et al. (2013), I therefore allocated each similar set of collocations into thematic categories, according to their usage in contexts sharing certain semantic features. For example, *state*, *republic* and *country* share the common components of 'country'. These thematic categories help in identifying

patterns and reflecting differences and similarities in the representation of *Jews*, *Christians* and *Muslims*. Although Baker et al. examine a large amount of data; their project considers only Islam and Muslims in the British press. No other studies of religion have considered such categories to inspect the three religious groups. Table 5.1 below shows the categorisation of each target word alongside its raw frequency (RF).

**Table 5.1** Categories of noun collocates modified by *Jewish*, *Christian* and *Muslim*

Category	Example	Jewish	Christian	Muslim
		RF		
Social actors	Leader	79	53	88
Social and cultural practices	Festival	37	20	21
Religion	Faith	8	19	9
Place/country	Area	13	8	19
Organisation	Charity	9	10	7
Politics	Ministry	0	6	0
Attitude	Value	0	9	0
Tragedy	Suffering	4	0	0
Conflict	Protest	0	0	2
Other	Book	22	13	12
<b>Total</b>		172	138	158

As shown, there is variety in the categories, such as social actors, religion, politics, nationality and organisation. However, I found that the ‘social actors’ category makes up the highest proportion, which has been the focus of analysis of ‘naming’ strategy accordingly. These social actors are further categorised as illustrated in the next section.

### 5.3 Categories of social actors

Social actors are participants in clauses, represented as either agents or patients (Baker & Ellece, 2011; Fairclough, 2003); social actors in social situations refer to human participants. People represented as individuals or groups are termed as social actors or participants (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p. 77). Therefore, I have used the word ‘social actors’ to refer to *Jews*, *Christians* and *Muslims* in categorising noun choices to show their portrayals in the press. As this category is predominant, the number of instances is also high. For that reason, I have categorised all instances into thematic categories and divided them into separate sections to

identify linguistic patterns that appear ideologically motivated. Table 5.2 shows the categories of social actors alongside the raw frequency of all instances<sup>15</sup>.

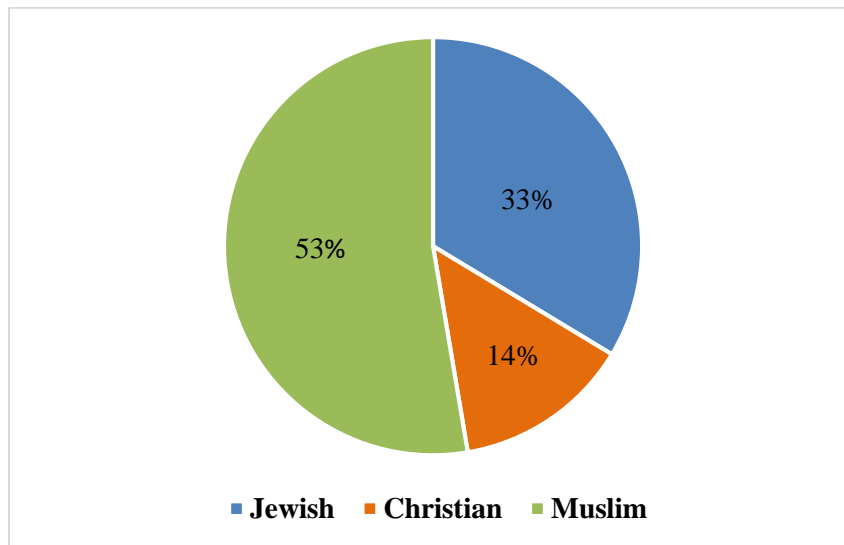
**Table 5.2** Frequency of categories of social actors

Category	Jewish		Christian		Muslim	
	Example	RF	Example	RF	Example	RF
Collectivity	People, society	476	Community, nation	277	Community, group	817
Conflict	Survivor, inmate	239	Refugee, soldier	46	Rebel, prisoner	285
Occupation	Tailor, dentist	166	Lawyer, Minister	106	Writer, doctor	231
Gender	Boy, girl	159	Man, girl	31	Woman, man	525
Family	Parent, mother	255	Family, mother	49	Father, wife	109
Social roles	Person, orphan	119	Youth, witness	40	Friend, couple	167
Education	Bachelor, student	39	Scholar	4	Pupil, student	39
Nationality	Israeli	7	-	0	-	0
Religion	Rabbi, chaplain	8	Pilgrim, pastor	44	Cleric, imam	124
<b>Total</b>		1468		597		2297

It is obvious that the frequency of occurrences of each target word is different. It is *Muslim* that makes up the highest frequency, followed by *Jewish* and then *Christian*, which constitutes the least. In the course of analysis, these raw frequencies are normalised to relative frequencies by dividing the raw frequency by the total number of each category to allow for a comparison across the three groups. This disproportionality is clearly illustrated in Figure 5.1 below:

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<sup>15</sup> Raw frequency shows the number of instances of noun choices.



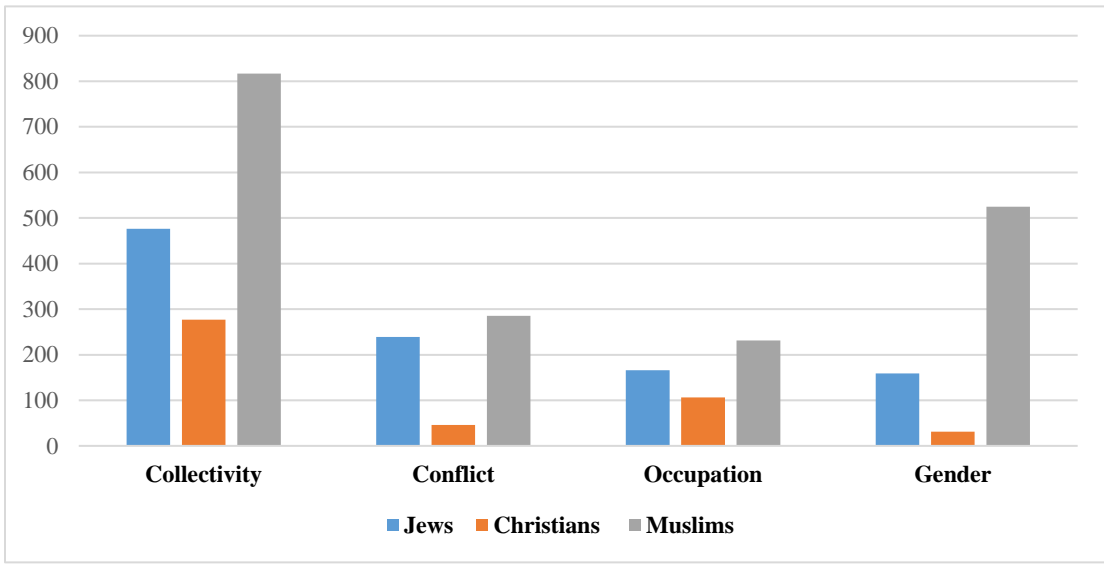
**Figure 5.1** The overall frequency of noun collocates

Despite the similarity in the categories identified, there is an apparent divergence in the frequency with which the collectivity category constitutes the majority. Divided by the overall occurrences of all categories of each group, the high number of frequency occurs with *Christian* (277 times, 46%), followed by *Muslim* (817, 36%) and then *Jewish* (476, 32%). A possible interpretation for such difference in frequency is perhaps due to the press strategy to represent Christians as a homogenous group in areas where Christianity is not the major faith. With reference to the category of conflict, it is Jews and Muslims that make up the largest frequency (239, 16% and 285, 12% respectively) while that of Christians is the least (46, 8%). Contextually based, this might be due to the historical background of Jews with war and immigration issues they experienced on the one hand, and the argumentative theme associated with Muslims as a source of threat on the other hand (Baker et al., 2013; Moore et al., 2008; Richardson, 2004). This has contributed to stereotypical views of Jews and Muslims in newspapers as detailed in the qualitative analysis of this current study.

References to education and nationality categories exhibit small frequencies, and thus show no patterns. Also, there is little focus on the religion category; though it is apparently recurrent in Muslims and Christians, it is under-represented in the case of Jews. The family and social role categories are related to attitudes and practices of social aspects. Therefore, it does not seem feasible to cover them, as they do not reveal any new or significant patterns different

from those of the dominant themes. Accordingly, I excluded these thematic categories from my analysis for not observing any interpretative significance.

I have focused on four common thematic categories to carry out a qualitative analysis: collectivity, conflict, occupational roles and gender. My reason is two-fold. Firstly, they hold high frequency, indicating the contexts in which the search terms appear. Secondly, they count as newsworthy because issues of conflict and cultural differences grab the readers' attention. Figure 5.2 shows the overall number of instances of the four thematic categories across the three participants.



**Figure 5.2** Overall number of instances of the four thematic categories

In order to achieve an understanding of how these three groups are represented in the news discourse, the following sections present a qualitative analysis of the four focused themes. This parameter helps to identify patterns of noun strategies which may carry ideological implications and contribute to signalling any differences in representation. The analysis will establish the argument that although the thematic categories are shared by the three social actors, they have different linguistic features, resulting in different representations. The analysis begins with Jews, Christians and Muslims according to the occurrences of these Abrahamic religions.



## 5.4 Collectivity

This thematic category manifests the highest frequency amongst those considered, meaning that the prominence of this category confirms the newspapers' preference for portraying Jews, Christians and Muslims each as a collective entity by virtue of using mass nouns. Representing specific participants as groups may be essential since, as Machin and Mayr (2012, p. 100) state, some linguistic resources that represent participants as individuals or groups can evaluate them either negatively or positively in ways which are not stated overtly. With respect to contextual information, I argue that the three social actors as collective entities are represented differently. The analysis is split into separate sections, which is helpful for the purpose of comparison and interpretation.

### 5.4.1 Jews

There are 476 instances of nouns including *community*, *people*, *population*, *majority*, *world*, *society*, *sect*, *group*, *nation*, *lobby*, *committee* and *brigade*. The contextual information determines the interpretation of these nominal choices. The representation of Jews as a collective entity makes them homogenised, similar and united. I found that the collocates *community* (178) and *people* (131) frequently occur, followed by *group* (77) and *population* (35). With such a variety of references, I have considered these four frequent collocates to carry out my textual analysis in detail.

#### *Community*

As this noun choice is highly occurring in my data (178 cases, 37%), the collocation *Jewish community* is viewed in different contexts, reflecting, as a result, various evaluations ideologically. The analysis of this noun phrase reveals four linguistic patterns. The first pattern constructs the identity of the Jewish community. In 61 occurrences, *Jewish community* is pre-modified by national identities and places of residence: *Russia*, *Germany*, *European*, *Rome*, *Britain*, *Egypt*, *Lebanon*, *Morocco* and *Sydney*, with *Britain* being the dominant one (22 instances), suggesting therefore a semantic preference for a national identity. This construction indicates that Jews are represented as homogenous and dispersed people, showing further information about their cultural background.

The second pattern represents the Jewish community by the use of pre-modifying quantifications in 11 instances, such as *tiny Jewish community in Lebanon*, *Cuba's small Jewish community*, *smaller Jewish communities* and *the largest Jewish community in Germany*, denoting the size of Jewish communities in different areas. This reference might be in line with De Lange (2010, p. 1) who states that the Jews present in many different countries are numerically insignificant as minorities. Given their location, Jews were also described in Rome due to the visit of Pope Benedict to the synagogue in 2005, as highlighted in the concordance below.

### Concordance 5.1 Jewish community in Rome

No.	Concordance		
1.	address, Riccardo Pacifici, <u>the head</u> of the	Jewish	community, said he respected those who
2.	neither later North African nor European	Jewish	communities can be the products of a diaspora
3.	intended to intimidate and terrorise <b>Greece's</b>	Jewish	community ". The arsons were the latest
4.	followed by waves of immigration from ancient	Jewish	communities in Yemen and Ethiopia, as well
5.	," said Benjamin Albalas, <u>president</u> of the	Jewish	community in <b>Athens</b> . Greece lost more of its
6.	of planning to assault <u>the head</u> of <b>Rome's</b>	Jewish	community. Wearing jeans, polo shirts and
7.	Cologne and New York. War and peace The	Jewish	community in <b>Rome</b> lived in relative peace
8.	Riccardo Pacifici, <u>the president</u> of <b>Rome's</b>	Jewish	community, said as Pope Benedict XVI visited
9.	bluntly by Riccardo Pacifici, <u>head</u> of the <b>Rome</b>	Jewish	community, that "the silence of Pius XII
10.	Constantinis, <u>head of the Central Board</u> of	Jewish	Communities in <b>Greece</b> , said: "We are worried

It also seems that there are references to professional titles attached to *Jewish community* underlined in lines 1, 5, 6, 8, 9 and 10. Such construction is indicative of the formal way of addressing people by their official titles. This may refer to how the text producers make use of such nominal choices to establish a positive portrayal of Jews. This noun choice reflects therefore the concept of professional roles, representing the Jewish communities as highly positioned, especially in governance.

The third pattern involves references to levels of belief (16 cases) in which *Jewish community* is pre-modified by *orthodox* and *ultra-Orthodox*, in addition to *religious* and *Hasidic*. This gives the impression that Jews tend to be described as holding either extreme or traditional religious beliefs, showing important information about their religious background. It is worth

pointing out that orthodoxy is regarded as a modern faith movement different from the traditional, e.g. Ashkenazim (see De Lange, 2010). This construction indicates that Jewish communities, from their religious background, are conservative or more associated with their religion. With reference to the last pattern, concordance 5.2 below displays 21 cases describing Jewish communities in conflict-related contexts.

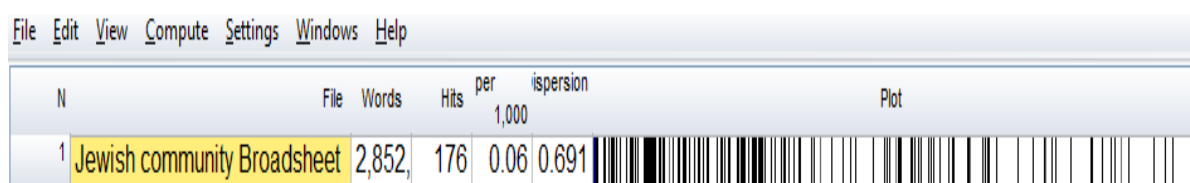
### Concordance 5.2 Struggle in Jewish community

No.	Concordance		
1.	intended to intimidate and terrorise <b>Greece's</b>	Jewish	community ". The arsons were the latest of
2.	mirrors a growing sense of <b>disquiet</b> within <b>the</b>	Jewish	community that the push towards equality does
3.	explosion of race <b>hatred targeted at Britain's</b>	Jewish	community. The Community Security Trust (CST)
4.	of physical <b>assaults</b> recorded against <b>the</b>	Jewish	community since records began and represents a
5.	could not excuse <b>the attacks on Britain's</b>	Jewish	community. "The increase in anti-Semitic
6.	disguise for anti-Semitism and <b>attacks on the</b>	Jewish	community." His remarks came as it was revealed
7.	site Facebook - which boasted of <b>attacks on the</b>	Jewish	community in <b>Ilford, east London</b> . One of the
8.	several reports about increased <b>attacks on</b>	Jewish	communities , with some Jewish people I know
9.	a <b>disastrous confrontation</b> with <b>the world's</b>	Jewish	community, because Pope Benedict XVI had
10.	and a Prussian aristocrat, <b>outraged Germany's</b>	Jewish	community by saying in an interview that "all
11.	social worker and now <b>scourge of the religious</b>	Jewish	community around him. Next door lives Shmuel
12.	scene that could prove <b>offensive to Britain's</b>	Jewish	community: a rabbi refuses to give a pregnant
13.	costs. There was <b>outrage</b> among members of <b>the</b>	Jewish	community, in particular prominent Labour
14.	" would cause " <b>understandable distress</b> " in <b>the</b>	Jewish	community. It is the second time the peer has
15.	of planning to <b>assault the head of Rome's</b>	Jewish	community. Wearing jeans, polo shirts and
16.	Arabia. <b>Assaults against the country's</b> small	Jewish	community intensified to such a level last year
17.	an attempt to mend <b>strained relations with the</b>	Jewish	community. Benedict XVI will become only the
18.	growing <b>discrimination</b> within religious	Jewish	communities , and the increasing influence of
19.	any work wading into <b>the notoriously rancorous</b>	Jewish	community. That might make it sound dry. It is
20.	figure in the development of <b>Germany's postwar</b>	Jewish	community. Growing up in Frankfurt am Main from
21.	Possibly wat to cause <b>offensive or stigmatise the</b>	Jewish	Community. I want to make clear that

It is worth emphasising that the collocation *Jewish community* does not show any negative meaning in and of itself, but the surrounding items highlighted above, such as *attack*, *outrage*, *assault*, *understandable distress* and *discrimination*, show a preference for appearing in conflict contexts, suggesting therefore a negative semantic prosody. It is evident that the Jews are portrayed as experiencing hard conditions, in particular in Britain (lines 3, 5, 7 and 12) and Germany (lines 10 and 20), representing Jews as persecuted participants. Furthermore, the definite article *the* shown in most of the concordance lines, for example 2, 4, 5, 6 and 7

and the possessive structure marked by the genitive marker ('s) as in lines 3, 5, 9, 10, 12, 15 and 16, presuppose the existence of these violent actions. This construction tends to portray the Jews as victims of conflict in the UK press, contributing therefore to an unpleasant representation. Overall, the representation of *Jewish community* could be seen as problematic related to the context of conflict and as religious groups related to the context of religion.

With such frequent occurrences of the word *community*, it is important to consider a visual distribution to check where that collocate occurs in the corpus under scrutiny. Figure 5.3 below shows the dispersion plot of the collocation *Jewish community*:



**Figure 5.3** Dispersion plot of the collocation *Jewish community*

The figure shows only one individual file representing the broadsheet publication. The vertical black line in the plot column represents the occurrence of the collocation visually. This visual representation shows the occurrence of *Jewish community* in the corpus, which is well distributed throughout the whole corpus. This indicates that there are no specific issues or cases regarding the occurrences of this collocation; it is merely a very frequent aspect in the data.

### ***People***

Compared with *Christian* (8 times, 3%) and *Muslim* (24 times, 3%), this nominal choice is highly associated with *Jewish* in terms of raw and relative frequencies (131 occurrences, 28%), indicating that Jews are known as a nation including a group of people sharing a common history. In 74 cases, this collocation is preceded by the definite article *the*, presupposing the existence of Jewish people as a homogeneous group. A close examination of *people* reveals constructions different from those of *community*. In nine instances, *Jewish people* is used to refer to the title of Sand's book *The Invention of the Jewish People*, published in 2009. The content of the book reviews the historical facts about the ethnic background of

Jewish people who were outraged accordingly, making the occurrence of this collocation prevalent, as in concordance 5.3 below:

### Concordance 5.3 The invention of the Jewish people

No.	Concordance		
1.	remains unconvinced: The <b>Invention</b> of the	Jewish	People by Shlomo Sand 332pp, Verso, pounds
2.	an imaginary entity, a <b>racially continuous</b>	Jewish	people who were exiled from their land, and
3.	continuity, argues Sand, is a fiction and the	Jewish	people are therefore an " <b>invention</b> ". A key
4.	Bookstore). To order The <b>Invention</b> of the	Jewish	People for pounds 17.99 with free UK p&p call
5.	it belongs, his <i>historical study</i> of the	Jewish	people has to take a thoroughly secular
6.	An <b>enemy</b> of the	Jewish	people ? : 'Post-Zionist' Shlomo Sand has
7.	university and author of The Invention of the	Jewish	People. His quiet earthquake of a book is
8.	modern Israeli state was founded on belief in a "	Jewish	people " as <i>a unified nation</i> , established in
9.	have ended in tragedy. The <b>Invention</b> of the	Jewish	People is published by Verso, pounds 18.99. To
10.	The <b>Invention</b> of the	Jewish	People, by Shlomo Sand (Verso, pounds 9.99) The
11.	, who fear it would create a <b>divide</b> among the	Jewish	people and throw into question their identity.
12.	: Books: Paperbacks: The <b>Invention</b> of the	Jewish	People by Shlomo Sand, Verso, pounds 9.99
13.	his friend Manny, is <i>a graphic history</i> of the	Jewish	people , "Five Thousand Years of Bitterness",
14.	currently on Shlomo Sand's The <b>Invention</b> of the	Jewish	People. Illustration Caption: Captions: Mark

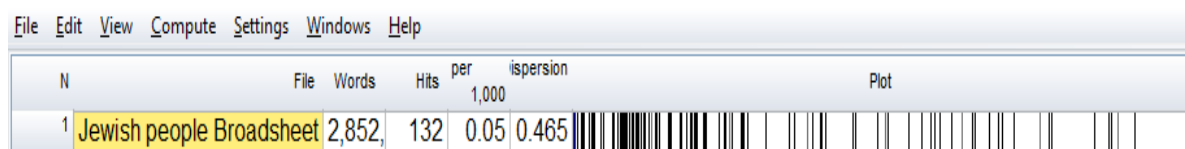
Phrases, such as *racially continuous*, *an enemy of the Jewish people* and *a divide among the Jewish people* in lines 2, 6 and 11 respectively indicate an unpleasant image of Jewish people which might denote a trouble or an implicit form of prejudice against them. However, there is a neutral stance towards Jewish people through embedding in items such as *historical study*, *a unified nation* and *a graphic history* (italicised lines 5, 8 and 13), making a clear connection between Jews and their historical identity. It seems that the collocation *Jewish people* tends to be associated with historical contexts, which might be free of any ideological perspectives. This representation is congruent with Døving's study (2016) of the representation of Jews in the Norwegian Press, in which the history and identity of Jews is a central topic.

The representation of the Jews' national identity is also emphasised in the British press by other modifying phrases as in *the land of the Jewish people*, *a national home for the Jewish people*, *the state of the Jewish people* and *historic homeland of the Jewish people*. These constructions indicate the establishment of a national home for the Jewish people in Palestine.

These modifications are taken for granted by the reader as they are packaged up within the NPs that cannot be questioned. Such constructions signify the stereotypical image of the Israeli-Palestinian issue, as evidenced in the following instance:

1. His new play tackles the Balfour Declaration of 1917, which supported the principle of a "home for the **Jewish people**" in Palestine.

In this sentence, the text producer used a scare quote "*home for the Jewish people*" as a way to distance his/her voice from the inside voice (Fairclough, 1992, 2001). Moreover, a set of modifications (12 cases) provides evidence of the suffering of Jews, such as *racially continuous Jewish people*, *sufferings of the Jewish people*, *violence against Jewish people* and *persecution of Jewish people*. The idea of violence against Jewish people thus reiterates the conflict issue (i.e. *Jewish community*), serving thereby to portray Jews collectively as a persecuted group. Such recurrent representation indicates that news reporting on persecution and conflict tends to count these as newsworthy subjects. The dispersion plot of the collocation *Jewish people* in Figure 5.4 below shows its close occurrence to the beginning of the text. An investigation of the context reveals some issues of Arab-Israeli relations, and an intense controversy among the Jewish people because of the book of Shlomo Sand *Invention of the Jewish People*. These issues were discussed in the analysis above, in addition to others related to Anti-Semitism and the Holocaust. This means that the frequent occurrence of this collocation is limited to single articles recording some critical issues, implying that this can be typical when reporting existing events under certain circumstances.



**Figure 5.4** Dispersion plot of the collocation *Jewish people*

### ***Group and population***

The other predominant collective nouns used in the British press are *group* (77 times) and *population* (35 times). The noun choice *group* is controversial as it tends to show a unit of people smaller than *community*, because it attracts people sharing common features but not common values as *community* does. The analysis shows that the collocation *Jewish group* is

represented in distinct contexts. One pattern around the word *group* displays modifying phrases linked to conflict and problems (12 instances): *protest from Jewish groups*, *opposition from US Jewish groups*, *consternation among Jewish groups* and *encroachment and complaint from Jewish groups*. Such constructions might suggest that these groups are seen as a source of concern, suggesting a preference for a source of trouble.

Another pattern shows a generic reference to *Jewish group* in 59 cases, realised by the plural form. Such construction is indicative of treating them as ordinary people (Van Leeuwen, 1996). Ideologically, representing a particular group collectively and generically ‘can serve to impersonalize social actors and perpetuate social stereotypes’ (Hart, 2014, p. 34). This implies that this collocation has the effect of representing Jews as a prominent group engaged in a problem, with a few references to religious identity, only five occurrences, such as *orthodox*, *religious*, *messianic* and *moderate*, showing strong beliefs. However, such occurrences in general do not necessarily suggest that the collocation carries ‘pejorative or ameliorative connotations’; it might, however, show ‘the speaker’s opinion of that referent’ (Jeffries, 2010a, p. 20) in the texts.

Regarding the collocation *Jewish population* (35 times), this is mostly associated with the estimated statistics of Jews in different areas. Consider the following concordance:

## Concordance 5.4 Jewish population/s

No.	Concordance		
1.	a thinly veiled plea on behalf of the <i>victimised</i>	Jewish	population of Nazi <u>Germany</u> , and enjoyed
2.	Museum in Manchester, which has a substantial	Jewish	population, is in danger of closing. Five years
3.	of a million Jews, <b>almost half</b> the city's	Jewish	population, live in neighbourhoods that are
4.	(Aipac) gala dinner. " <b>Almost half</b> the	Jewish	population of <b>Jerusalem</b> lives just beyond the
5.	organised the <i>evacuation</i> of almost the <b>entire</b>	Jewish	population of <b>Yemen</b> in a secret airlift called
6.	scale of the demonstration, for a city whose	Jewish	population is half a million, was enormous.
7.	community has swollen to <b>a third</b> of the	Jewish	population, assisted by a high birthrate and
8.	lines to serve the city's ultra-orthodox	Jewish	population. The railway, which is due to be
9.	about not just her family but that of the whole	Jewish	population of <u>Ilya</u> . But thankfully there is
10.	about 3 million Jews - <b>some 90%</b> of the <u>Polish</u>	Jewish	population - were killed during the German
11.	pre-empted the <i>slaughter</i> of the country's	Jewish	population and persuaded her husband the king
12.	in Paris. Around <b>three-quarters</b> of the <u>French</u>	Jewish	population survived, or around 240,000 out of
13.	, were designed to exterminate the <b>entire</b>	Jewish	population of <u>Europe</u> west of the old
14.	and around <b>half</b> of <u>Belgium's</u> <b>50,000</b> -strong	Jewish	population perished in the Holocaust. After
15.	. While <u>New York</u> is better known for its <b>large</b>	Jewish	population, Chicago's, which totals about
16.	right to read from the Torah". Safed, which has a	Jewish	population of about <b>40,000</b> , many of whom are
17.	. That isn't much comfort to <b>Bahrain's small</b>	Jewish	population, although the government is
18.	they're not celebrating Christmas, <u>New York's</u>	Jewish	population -- at least those who haven't
19.	of 31. The constituency Has one of the <b>largest</b>	Jewish	populations in the country and many new
20.	islanders were deported, including the <b>small</b>	Jewish	Population. German currency circulated,

In this concordance, the most common pattern, as it reflects frequent aspects shared with the collocate *community*, refers to countries and nationalities mostly in the West as underlined in lines 1, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15 and 18. Such constructions indicate that the Jews are more popular in Europe than in Arabic or Asian countries; only three cases: *Jerusalem*, *Yemen* and *Bahrain*, highlighted in lines 4, 5 and 17. This might be indicative of newsworthiness as it shows that a small proportion of Jews reside in Muslim countries. References to different countries and nationalities suggest that *Jewish population* has a preference for various nationalities. Another pattern refers to quantifications highlighted in the concordance above, realised by *large*, *small*, *entire*, *almost half*, *a third*, *about 40,000* and *50,000*. Providing numeric details might be also a higher indicator of newsworthiness. This also shows that *Jewish population* has a semantic preference for quantification, indicating the various proportions of Jews across the world. Despite such a variety in occurrences, the concordance lines have shown cases where *Jewish*



*population* occurs in negative depictions as italicised in lines 1, 5 and 11, evident also in the example below:

2. [...], to make room for an illegal Jewish settler population.

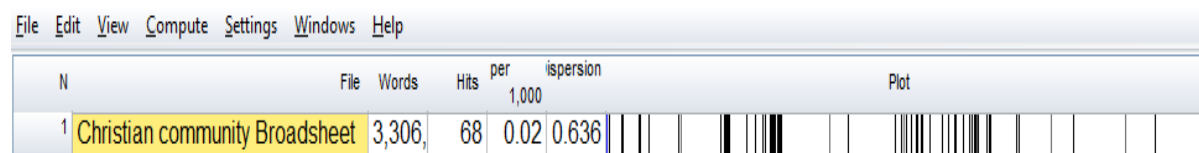
The underlined phrase indicates the existence of the Jewish population as unlawful people, representing them as a collective unauthorised group. Although this negativity is low in frequency terms, embedding this information in the nominal element makes it less debatable as it is conveyed as a given fact. The analysis so far has shown that Jews as a homogenous group are portrayed as distributed among different countries, highlighting therefore their nationalities. This representation is again reiterated as shown in the other nominal choices illustrated above, creating a stereotypical image of Jews as geographically dispersed.

#### 5.4.2 Christians

Christians are represented collectively by the following nouns: *community*, *group*, *denomination*, *missionary*, *minority*, *population*, *nation*, *people*, *sect*, *society*, *world*, *lobby*, *mob* and *mission*. Although similarity in collocates is typical, the representation of each religious group is different. Similar to the analysis in the previous section, the interpretation of these noun choices is affected by the contextual information. I carried out the analysis by grouping each set of collective nouns into one section, as shown below.

##### *Community, group and nation*

Starting with the noun *community*, the number of occurrences is small 66 times (24%) when compared with *Jewish community* 178 times (37%) and *Muslim community* 285 times (35%), suggesting that the newspapers might be less interested in portraying the Christian community in societies where Christianity is not the major faith. Regarding dispersion, *Christian community* is unevenly dispersed across the corpus as shown in the following figure:



**Figure 5.5** Dispersion plot of the collocation *Christian community*

Having dispersed at certain points, the context shows that this construction was the subject of discussion because of issues in the church, such as religious discrimination due to the judges' bias against Christianity. The texts also display some crises in Florida against burning copies of the Qur'an and another is about clashes between Muslim and Christian groups in Nigeria. This indicates that the occurrence of the collocation *Christian community* could be skewed by certain articles in the corpus under study because of certain events. This dispersion is then not measured according to the periods of the articles, but according to the news reporting such events.

The analysis reveals that the collocation *Christian community* is used predominantly to refer to Christians in Muslim areas such as Iraq, Turkey, Egypt, Middle East, South Sudan and Jordan, whereas there are only six references to areas where Christianity is practised, such as Britain, Brazil and Europe. Such construction confirms the representation of Christians in Muslim countries. One pattern around the collocation *Christian community* is that of persecution, which displays the conflict in the Middle East (10 instances), as highlighted in the following concordance:

#### Concordance 5.5 Conflict in Christian community

No.	Concordance		
1.	and eventual <b>estrangement</b> from the Coptic	Christian	religious community in which he had grown up,
2.	Iraq marks a new low in <b>the onslaught</b> against the	Christian	community of Iraq. The group said in a statement
3.	said has received <b>angry letters</b> from the	Christian	community accusing him of blasphemy. He was
4.	were burned to death. <b>The persecution</b> of	Christian	communities across the Muslim world has
5.	world and left the fate of <b>Iraq's beleaguered</b>	Christian	community evermore uncertain. Fifty-eight
6.	of <b>the latest violence</b> against Iraq's	Christian	community of 550,000, which has almost halved
7.	an al-Qa'ida <b>campaign against</b> Iraq's ancient	Christian	community, many of whom have already fled
8.	exodus has sparked widespread <b>concern</b> among	Christian	communities elsewhere in the Middle East, such
9.	a wave of <b>violence</b> against <b>Iraq's beleaguered</b>	Christian	community. In an attack in the south-west of the
10.	there would be <i>further</i> <b>violence</b> against the	Christian	community, leading many Christians to tone

Generally, the collocation *Christian community* implies no evaluative meanings, but the highlighted phrases such as *estrangement*, *onslaught*, *persecution*, *beleaguered* and *violence* provide good evidence of the difficult situations that Christians experience in Muslim

countries. This indicates that *Christian community* has a preference for violence, signifying an unpleasant image of Christians who are portrayed as offended against. In addition, the violence against Christians in Muslim-based societies is existentially presupposed by the use of the definite article in lines 2, 4 and 6, and the genitive marker ('s) in lines 5 and 9, making the given information less debatable because it is presented as a taken-for-granted statement. In the last line, the violence against Christians is borne out by the trigger *further*; presupposing logically that the violence has been conducted before against the Christians. This portrayal might evoke the reader's sympathy towards Christian minorities for the unusual experiences they are facing in non-Christian-dominated societies.

Another common pattern is shown through the use of pre-modifying quantifications in nine instances, such as *large*, *small*, *tiny*, *sizeable* and *minority*, highlighting the various proportions of Christian communities in Muslim societies. As illustrated, it seems that the newspapers show less preference for viewing Christians as in-groups in racial contexts (e.g. nationality of Christians), especially when Christians are in the minority. However, reporting about the number of Christians in problem situations is left vague; the focus is on the areas of conflict and the Christian community as a whole. This implies that when labelling Christians as a coherent collective unit, it does not necessarily indicate a major group.

Beyond the context of conflict, another pattern refers to different denominations in six cases such as *Coptic Christian religious community*, the *Catholic Christian community*, *pre-existing Celtic Christian communities* and *Brazil's growing evangelical Christian community*. Such representation gives an insight into the way Christians are depicted as a religious group in various societies.

Regarding the collectivising noun *group* (60 occurrences), the analysis shows that the collocation *Christian group* tends to occur in political discourses in Christian societies. Examples are as follows:

3. an American conservative **Christian group** from California
4. a **Christian** conservative lobby group
5. the influence of right-wing **Christian groups**

The modifier *conservative* in (3) and (4) indicates that Christian groups are associated with conservatism. Another pattern displays 19 instances wherein *Christian group* tends to occur as part of organisations or groups. These include religious groups, e.g. *anti-Islamic Christian evangelical groups in the US*, military groups, e.g. *a Christian militia group in Michigan* or a charity body, e.g. *a Dutch-based Christian aid group*. Accordingly, the contextual analysis of *Christian group* shows that this collocation is more associated with political, religious and social institutes than *Christian community*, suggesting therefore a neutral semantic prosody.

With reference to *nation* (12 occurrences), the textual analysis shows a reference to a limited group of people in any country or nation. There are nine instances wherein Christian nations are represented in Christian countries: *Australia is a Christian nation*, *Britain remains a Christian nation* and *America is a Christian nation*, displaying Christians as collective entities in dominant Christian societies. Here, naming is realised through the function of equating in which a type of overlap between textual-conceptual functions occurs. Viewed as such, it is evident that this collocation does not reference a problematic group of people or show any such ideological implications as *community* and *group* do.

### ***Denomination and missionary***

These noun choices are peculiar to the description of Christians; no references to Jews and Muslims have manifested themselves. These two collocates pertain to religion and portray Christians in the context of religious duties. This might be the newspapers' preference to relate Christians to religious work, in particular *missionary*, which refers to 'a person sent on or engaged in a religious mission abroad', according to the Oxford English Dictionary (OED Online, 2017). It is worth stating that *denomination* and *sect* are synonymous, with the latter having low frequency (nine occurrences) while the former has 35 occurrences. This high frequency helps us to identify more linguistic patterns; therefore, *denomination* is chosen for the analysis.

One of the most patterns of *Christian denomination* is that it is represented collectively by virtue of the plural form 'denominations' in 18 cases, suggestive of a generic reference to Christian participants. The other pattern is the use of modifiers in nine cases, such as *leading*, *major*, *biggest*, *main* and *different*. This represents Christians as dominant and prominent groups indicating thereby a positive evaluation. Another pattern occurs in terms of

quantifications in 12 instances: *two biggest*, *several*, *most* and *minority*, revealing a preference for quantification and indicating that they are aggregated. Aggregation, a term coined by Van Leeuwen (1996, p. 49), ‘quantifies groups of participants, treating them as “statistics”’. The aforementioned pre-modifiers highlight the presence of Christian denominations as prominent groups, suggesting therefore a semantic preference for religious significance.

The other word, *missionary*, corresponds with *mission* though they are diverse in terms of frequency – 24 and 5 occurrences respectively. Focusing on *Christian missionary*, the pattern associated with modifying phrases shows its important status in five cases: *the influence of Dutch Christian missionaries*, *Christian missionaries at Shanghai's St John's Middle School*, *the effects of Christian missionaries*, *Christian missionaries with a messianic fervour* and *a school run by a Christian missionary*. This representation views Christians as a predominant, active and authoritative group. Although this nominal choice has not shown any significant patterns, it still tends to shape a positive stereotype of Christians.

### ***Population and minority***

These two choices represent Christians proportionally according to their distribution in the areas they live: *population* (16) and *minority* (17). This involves countries where Christianity is not the major religion practised, similar to the representation of *Christian community* (discussed above). There are eight instances referring to Christians in Iraq, as shown in the concordance below:

## Concordance 5.6 Christian population/s

No.	Concordance		
1.	minority religions of India, includes a <b>large</b>	Christian	population , giving Kochi and Kerala a very
2.	, Catholics now form the <b>majority</b> of the state's	Christian	population. Little of the original religious
3.	, a suburb in the west of <b>Baghdad</b> with a <b>large</b>	Christian	population. By then the optimism with which he
4.	Document 689 of 809 <b>Iraq's</b> <i>dwindling</i>	Christian	population faces bleak future Author: Watts,
5.	the deepening crisis facing <b>Iraq's</b> <i>dwindling</i>	Christian	population. The attack at Our Lady of Salvation
6.	, the Euphrates and the Tigris. There has been a	Christian	population in <b>Iraq</b> since the first century.
7.	of desperation among them. Under siege <b>Iraq's</b>	Christian	population is mostly found in Baghdad and in the
8.	cent. Some parts of Indonesia have a <b>majority</b>	Christian	population , such as <b>Irian Jaya</b> , which is mostly
9.	said. <b>Al-Ghadir</b> is an area with a significant	Christian	population , although many have fled following
10.	weapons. Nigeria is divided between Muslim and	Christian	populations and while the latest killings have
11.	in Rome last week for a papal synod on the <i>loss</i> of	Christian	populations in the lands where Christianity
12.	royal family have always protected their	Christian	population - at 350,000, it is around 6 per cent
13.	Christians routinely deplore the <i>falling</i>	Christian	populations of the <b>Middle East</b> , their visits to
14.	especially <b>Baghdad</b> , which then had the <b>largest</b>	Christian	population of any city in the <b>Middle East</b> . Of the
15.	, congregations are down to a handful. <b>Iraq's</b>	Christian	population has halved since the ousting of
16.	from Tonga's largely <i>impoverished</i> and deeply	Christian	population. Overseas he was renowned for

From the examples above, Iraq is the predominant country where Christians dwell. This is due to the fact that Christianity is the second religion practised in Iraq, after Islam. Also, the lexis *large*, *largest* and *majority* in lines 1, 2, 3, 8 and 14 appear in the modifying phrases denoting areas in the Middle East, where Christianity is not the major religion, but still highly practised in small areas: *Baghdad* and *Irian Jaya* (lines 3, 8, 14). However, *Christian population* has a preference for diminishing (lines 4, 5, 11, 13, 16) by providing the items *dwindling*, *loss*, *falling* and *impoverished* (italicised), implying that Christians have become lower in quantity due to internal struggles. This has the effect of emphasising that Christians have no power in Islamic societies. Representing these choices as NPs rather than clauses, as in *Christians dwindle*, makes it open to question. To reduce debating by the reader, they are represented as NPs. Such patterns provide evidence that Christians are represented in the conflict context in areas where they do not constitute a high proportion of the population. This construction may draw upon a stereotype that may evoke a sense of sympathy for the Christians being marginalised in non-Christian societies.

A similar pattern is also involved in *Christian minority*. The word *minority* refers to a small proportion of people in societies where Christians are also not the majority; most cases are in Iraq and Senegal, where Islam is the predominant religion, as italicised in lines 3, 7, 9, 15, 16 and 17 in concordance 5.7 below.

#### Concordance 5.7 Christian minority

No.	Concordance		
1.	, and to remember the <b>physical suffering</b> of	Christian	minorities in other countries. He said that
2.	Christian communities of southern Sudan, the	Christian	minorities in the Holy Land or our own Anglican
3.	have frequently <b>targeted members of Iraq's</b>	Christian	minority , especially in Mosul, which is home to
4.	could reignite the debate over <b>the safety</b> of the	Christian	minority, <b>who account for less than 1 per cent</b> of
5.	system under the current AK Party Government,	Christian	minorities live in fear of a shadowy
6.	protection yesterday after the country's	Christian	minority <u>again</u> came under attack. Suspected
7.	cathedral last month, the <b>plight of Iraq's</b>	Christian	minority in the new state has bolstered calls
8.	supporters, alarming the country's <b>embattled</b>	Christian	minority. Meanwhile, from the prison where she
9.	<b>a worrying recent targeting of Iraq's</b>	Christian	minority. It is vital, both for the region and
10.	men in Christian congregations. <b>Attacks</b> on	Christian	minorities over the Christmas period were
11.	women's organisations say that per capita, the	Christian	minority in this country of just over five
12.	and for civil rights, and Catholics and other	Christian	minorities were targets for the Ku Klux Klan."
13.	story of <b>despairing</b> - sometimes <b>frightened</b> -	Christian	minorities , and of an exodus that reaches
14.	the effect on the city's already <b>traumatised</b>	Christian	minority , <b>which now seems more fearful than</b>
15.	killing field, where most of the <i>Iraqi</i>	Christian	minority has been forced to flee abroad. This
16.	president has already apologised to <i>Senegal's</i>	Christian	minority after likening the statue to Christ.
17.	and flooding. He has angered both <i>Senegal's</i>	Christian	minority and some within the Muslim majority.

The highlighted words such as *suffering*, *plight*, *embattled*, *attacks*, *frightened* and *traumatised* in lines 1, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 13 and 14 suggest a semantic preference for fear and struggle, contributing towards portraying Christians in dangerous situations. This therefore creates an unpleasant stereotypical image of Christians as a persecuted and minority group in Muslim societies. What is of interest is the iterative word *again* underlined in line 6 *Christian minority again came under attack*, which logically presupposes the existence of a previous attack. Moreover, the relative clauses in lines 4 and 14 show that Christians were in a frightened situation because of a danger. Ideologically, the inclusiveness of such expanded

NPs makes it hard to argue that Christians are not experiencing hard situations. This position gives importance to the Christian individuals being affected by the consequences of conflict they have experienced in non-Christian-dominated societies, such as Iraq and Senegal, as shown in the concordance above. The linguistic analysis has provided good evidence that highlights the way Christians are being persecuted in Muslim countries, making the British press biased.

The remaining noun collocates *society* (8), *people* (8), *world* (7), *lobby* (5) and *mob* (5) have low frequency when compared with the aforementioned collocates and as a result they do not show any significant patterns for ideological purposes. They are accordingly not considered in the textual analysis.

### **5.4.3 Muslims**

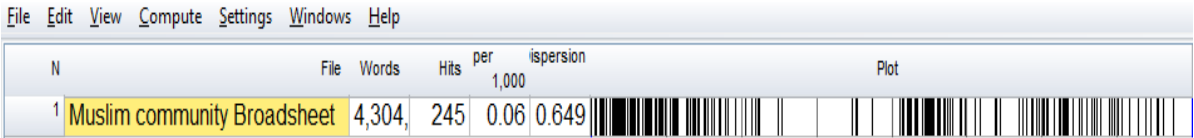
The data provides 817 instances portraying Muslims as collective entities. The nominal choices include *community*, *world*, *nation*, *group*, *population*, *society*, *minority*, *people*, *sect* and *majority*. The contextual information helps in the interpretation of these noun choices. Similar to the other religious groups, *community* is the most predominant, in addition to the noun *world* which is found to be more frequent with Muslims (27%) than with Christians (3%) and Jews (1%). With such variation in references to Muslims and due to the limited space of this thesis, it would be appropriate to focus on the noun choices that constitute the highest frequency of occurrences to identify linguistic patterns. Therefore, collocates with a low frequency are left unexamined, as they will not show patterns for ideological purposes, while those with a high frequency of occurrences including *community*, *world*, *group*, *population*, *nation* and *people* will be the focus of analysis, as illustrated below.

#### ***Community***

This word occurs frequently in my data 285 times. The examination of this collocation displays various patterns. A prevalent one exposes 181 (64%) instances wherein the collocation *Muslim community* is prefixed by the definite article, suggesting the existence of such Muslim communities as homogeneous real entities. In their research on the representation of Islam in the British press, Baker et al. (2013, p. 124) found 4,656 occurrences of *Muslim community*, referencing it ‘as a single homogenous mass’. As their study includes



articles published up until 2009, my having found recurrent results in 2010 restates the stereotypical image of Muslims as a collective entity. This presupposes a cultural distance between Muslims and other people in the UK. Another pattern is concerned with describing Muslims in different cities in Britain (44 instances): *Leicester, London, Birmingham* and *Yorkshire*, ten references to the US, in addition to eight occurrences in different places in Europe: *Rome, Germany* and *France*, and six cases in *India* and *Pakistan*. This indicates that Muslims are widely distributed in the West prompting a clear focus on portraying Muslims in Western countries, in particular Britain. With such a high frequency of this collocation across the corpus, *Muslim community* tends to occur with the peak in the beginning of the corpus, moved at certain points in the middle and the end. Investigating the context shows that some articles are concerned about certain issues, for example, related to the UK big banks which started to court British Muslims and the criticism upon a Muslim school for triggering problems among particular groups of Muslims during the admission. This means that the high frequent occurrences are skewed by particular articles, as shown in the following figure:



**Figure 5.6** Dispersion plot of the collocation *Muslim community*

Having dispersed in certain points in the corpus, the representation of *Muslim community* is burdened with ideological implications although it does not yield a negative sign. However, the prevalent pattern is associated with negative and positive representations in 84 cases (29%) compared with the pattern describing Muslims in different countries in 44 cases (15%). In 56 instances, the negative representation is reflected in portraying Muslims in different contexts, as shown in the table below:

**Table 5.3** Topics of Muslim community

Topics	Examples
Radicalisation, terrorism and extremism	fighting <u>terrorism</u> on the <b>Muslim community</b>
problems or troubles	a lot of <u>problems</u> in the <b>Muslim community strategy</b>
hatred, anger and negative impressions	<u>fear and hatred</u> of the <b>Muslim community</b>
Ethnicity and racism	<u>racist attacks</u> on members of the <b>Muslim community</b>
Concerns in the relations with others	further <u>damaging relations</u> with <b>Muslim communities</b>

Investigating the collocation *Muslim community* in context shows items such as *terrorism*, *problems*, *fear and hatred*, *racist attacks* and *damaging relations* which reveal a preference for occurring in problematic situations, suggesting a negative prosody. These problematic circumstances are presupposed to exist by the use of the definite article *the*, making them hard to debate and explicitly presenting the ideological evaluation of Muslims as terrorists and troublemakers. However, in a mere six occurrences, this collocation is used to represent the cooperation of the British authorities and the Muslim community to fight terrorism, as evident in the underlined phrase below:

6. ATTEMPTS by the British government to engage with **Muslim communities** in the wake of the July 7 bombings in London saw "little progress", US diplomats claimed in cables obtained by WikiLeaks.

Regarding the positive description, it is established in 28 instances as portraying Muslims engaging with British society, reflecting therefore two positive representations as illustrated below with examples:

1. Describing how Muslims are receiving support and reinforcing good relations within the society in which they live, e.g. *in support of the **Muslim community** on the steps of the local courthouse and the trust between the **Muslim community** and police.*
2. Contributions to good acts, e.g. *there were strong secular movements in **Muslim communities** and many rich contributions towards culture from the **Muslim community**.*

The above representation reveals that it is not always the case that Muslims are depicted as terrorists. They have good relations with British society, which might reflect the reason why Muslims are represented positively in the British newspapers. This positive image is also realised in nine cases of evaluative adjectives such as *strong*, *high-profile*, *thriving*, *burgeoning* and *prominent*.

Another pattern displays 17 cases focusing on representing the Muslims' occupational status: *representatives*, *leaders*, *members*, *informers*, *grassroots* and *figurehead*. For example:

7. The ceremony was also attended by representatives of Rome's **Muslim community**, who said that they hoped the Pope would visit the Rome mosque.

Here, *Muslim community* is presupposed to exist, triggered by the possessive structure using the genitive marker 's, reducing the potential for arguing against the information as it is presented as common knowledge. The abovementioned illusions have the effect of representing Muslims in the contexts of politics and social interactions beyond the contexts of conflict, indicating, therefore, positive assessments. Another pattern represents Muslim communities in terms of quantification in 17 instances: *large/largest*, *biggest*, *million*, *growing* and *small*, displaying the good proportion of Muslims in different areas, such as France and Britain that have significant Muslim populations. However, the religious contexts constitute fewer occurrences (six instances) mainly associated with Islamic law and worship: *improve facilities for worship for the **Muslim community*** and *orthodox and Islamist sectors of the **Muslim community***, showing therefore less interest to religious practices.

The discursive analysis has shown that Muslims are represented in the contexts of extremism and tense relations on the one hand, and seen as engaging with the societies where they live on the other hand. The co-occurrence of this collocation can reflect the ideological stance of the text producers towards Muslims. Therefore, collocates of this category 'index the presentation of Muslims as a collective entity in terms of ethnicity and nationality' (Baker, Gabrielatos, & McEnery, 2012, p. 264). This indicates that Muslims have been subsumed as an ethnic group rather than a religious group.

## ***World***

The collocation *Muslim world* occurs 217 times in my data. The most salient pattern is the occurrence of *Muslim world* with the definite article in 213 cases (98%), triggering hence existential presuppositions and providing a sense of referring to all societies where Islam is predominantly practised. Considering dispersion, the collocation *Muslim world* occurs throughout the corpus, indicating that there was a focus on this construction all over 2010. It seems then that *Muslim world* is not limited to a few articles or occurs in restricted concentrations, but rather it is well distributed across the entire corpus. Such collocation does not indicate a religious entity, but ‘socio-cultural values and practices’ (Baker et al., 2013, p. 132). Its denoted and connoted meaning is more comprehensive than *community*; it refers to the biggest entities. The analysis of this collocation reveals different contexts which tend to associate Muslims with violent actions. One of the patterns points to a negative portrayal in 48 instances realised through the use of negative descriptions of Muslims embedded inside the NP, such as *riots*, *protests*, *attack*, *offence*, *fundamental hostility*, *focus of hate*, *radical*, *violent*, *assault* and *outrage*. This implies that the Muslim world is seen as a problematic, homogenous entity, suggesting then a semantic preference for insurgency. Contextually, the concordances reveal that these negative words address topics describing the Danish cartoons that triggered a response from Muslims. In addition, there are 25 occurrences of the preposition *across*, e.g. *across the Muslim world* and seven cases for *throughout*, e.g. *throughout the Muslim world*, representing Muslims as involved in conflicts across the world.

Another pattern reveals ten instances which describe America seeking to refine its relationship with Muslims or the stressed relations between the two parties, as shown below, while only five cases show relations with the West as such:

8. It might also reduce anti-American sentiment in the **Muslim world** and assist US aims in Afghanistan, Iraq and the "war on terror".
9. [...] while George Bush was busy fighting his enemies in the **Muslim world**.
10. BARACK OBAMA must pull American troops out of Afghanistan and Iraq if he wants to fulfil his dream of reconciling the **Muslim world** and the West, [...].

The underlined phrases show the tense relations between the Muslim world and the Western world. This is shown, for example, by the word *reconciling* in sentence (10), implying that the two worlds need to integrate. Like *Muslim community*, this collocation does not show any negative evaluations, but it tends to be used in the context of troubles, making negative descriptions less debatable but instead taken for granted as they are part of nominal groups. The occurrences of such mass nouns in negative contexts are adequate to perpetuate the stereotypical image of Muslims as a source of concern. These instances have helped to sketch out an overall picture of Muslims in the world, especially when describing riots and protests inside Muslim societies, with them taking part in a violent public disturbance. The representation of the Muslim world as a homogenous group suggests that there are sets of common features shared among all Muslims. This discursive analysis has shown that *Muslim world* is used in more problematic contexts than *Muslim community*.

### ***Group***

The other frequent item is *group* (81 occurrences). This is mostly observed in patterns likewise associated with the context of conflict, extremism and terrorism. One pattern is the use of pre-modifying items in 16 instances such as *fringe*, *danger among*, *lobbying from terrorist* and *threats of bloody retribution*. This represents Muslims as terrorists, confirming a preference for problems and suggesting a negative depiction of Muslims. It is worth adding that the use of *group* in such contexts serves to indicate that not all Muslims are engaged in extremism; it is limited to a number of individuals rather than the whole. For example:

11. Since then the perception has grown that all IPL cricketers, [...], will be in danger from **Muslim** terrorist **groups** such as the one that attacked Mumbai in November 2008 and killed almost 200 people.

The act of attack is clearly reserved to a particular group (i.e. terrorists). In this underlined noun phrase, a great deal of information is packaged up, making it unquestionable and be taken for granted as given information. The potential effect is to portray Muslims as troublesome, with extreme views linked to terrorism. In ten instances, the collocation *Muslim group* occurs in a pattern that reveals strong beliefs such as *hardline*, *radical*, *fundamentalist* and *extremist*. Such construction suggests that Muslim groups hold extreme beliefs, showing therefore a negative portrayal of Muslims.

However, the positive description is also emphasised in the portrayal of *Muslim group*, observed in only ten instances out of 81, such as *moderate, peaceful protests, conservative, leading and support of Muslim groups*. This small fraction of cases, i.e. only 12%, representing Muslims positively confirms the predominance of negative assessments, reiterating the undesirable portrayal of Muslims. It might indicate that some Muslims are divided between the good and the bad.

### ***Population and nation***

The two collectivised items *population* and *nation* are also observed as frequent collocates: 97 and 67 occurrences respectively. Both tend to be associated with Muslims' distribution in areas where Muslims are not the indigenous people in the case of *population* or areas where Muslims are predominant in the case of *nation*. Examination of the collocation *Muslim population* reveals two patterns. The first involves the countries where they constitute a good proportion (74 instances), which is clearly observed in the quantification forms. There are *large, largest, significant, high/highest, sizeable, big, mainly, majority* and *tiny*; these fall within the category of relative quantification (42 cases), in addition to fractional forms: *50 per cent, 0.1%* and exact: *500 million, 75 million*. These pre-modifiers show a preference for quantification, indicating the magnitude of Muslim presence in different countries, such as France and Britain, in addition to Germany, Spain, Turkey, Indonesia, Egypt, US, the Netherlands and Malaysia. The second pattern is mainly concerned with the conflict context (18 instances). This shows cases where Muslims have poor relations with other groups or nations:

12. They have the potential to increase growing public hostility towards the country's Muslim population.

The underlined NP is packaged up with further details showing an obvious hostility towards Muslims that is presupposed to exist by virtue of the definite article and a possessive. The whole sentence assumes that the existing hostility surrounding the Muslim population is less open to debate as it is taken for granted as true knowledge.

*Muslim nation* is also observed in the patterns of distribution in countries where Islam is the predominant faith: *Indonesia* (nine times), *Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Pakistan, Egypt* and *the*

*Maldives*. The construction of this collocation is established through a set of modifiers, displaying positive and negative representations. For example, there are 11 instances of pre-modifying attributes which tend to evaluate the Muslim nations positively, such as *moderate*, *progressive*, *modern-day* and *first*, implying that Muslims are open-minded and liberal. There are also other pre-modifying phrases that refer to the size of such nations, such as *most populous* (16) and *biggest* (2), and three instances associated with adverbs of scale: *mainly*, *dominantly* and *predominantly*. These phrases tend to describe the areas where Muslims constitute a majority. However, examining the concordance lines indicates that the word *biggest* displays a negative portrayal of Muslims:

13. Dr Yudhoyono took another swipe at the Department of Foreign Affairs for its advice against visiting the world's biggest **Muslim nation** due to the threat of terrorism.

The underlined phrase shows a negative depiction of a Muslim nation. In this context, it is used pejoratively to represent Muslims as a source of terrorism. This information is embedded as part of the NP *biggest Muslim nation* that is unquestioned by the reader but taken for granted as a fact. Such negative description of *Muslim nation* is further identified in the context of conflict in ten instances, as in:

14. The United States will no longer impose extra airport screening on all travellers from "terror-prone" **Muslim nations**.

The underlined phrase shows that Muslim nations are in a problematic situation and under scrutiny. This critical situation is excessively realised by the presupposition trigger *extra*, suggesting that Muslims experienced a problem more often than is usual. This given information is part of a packaged-up NP and contributes, therefore, to depicting the Muslim referents as accused of terrorism collectively by virtue of the mass noun and the plural form that cannot be argued against<sup>16</sup>. Despite the few occurrences of negative portrayals, this collocation describes Muslims in contexts associated with issues of security and concern in the Muslim nation-states.

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<sup>16</sup> For consideration of ideological aspects of presupposition, see Simpson (1993).

## *People*

This last collective noun occurs 24 times. The contextual information affects the interpretation of the collocation *Muslim people*. This choice encodes further information about the referent by virtue of the naming strategy. One of the patterns observed is the use of the definite article in 11 cases (46%), resulting in identifying Muslims as existing entities. The other one is related to conflict issues triggered by pre/post-modifying phrases (six cases) such as *serious attacks*, *suffering* and *racist war against*. For example:

15. Others backed Imam Feisal Abdul Rauf's mosque plan with signs such as: "Stop the racist war against **Muslim people**."
16. [...] believe in freedom of speech, but not for black people or Asian people or Muslim people, who turn into the Taliban when someone upsets their own views.

In (15), the packaging up of the underlined phrase inside the noun phrase displays the violent action towards Muslims. This violence is existentially presupposed by using the definite article *the racist war*. This action is also logically presupposed using the verb *stop*, suggesting that there has been a conflict against Muslims before. Both existential and logical presuppositions in this example present the information as a given fact that cannot be debatable by the reader. The expanded relative clause in (16) shows clearly that Muslim people are linked to the Taliban, a representative of a fundamentalist political movement, suggesting that Muslims are complicit in a political and military organisation. It also seems that there is an emphasis on sameness when comparing Muslims with people from other ethnic backgrounds (e.g. blacks), thus triggering racism. Therefore, such a construction has the impact of portraying Muslims as mistreated and in problematic situations, indicating therefore an unpleasant representation.

Overall, the textual analysis has shown that Jews, Christians and Muslims are often identified as groups rather than as individuals. Newspapers tend to refer to ordinary people either generically or collectively (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 35), indicating that the participants are portrayed as collective entities sharing the same characteristics. The findings have confirmed the main argument of this study concerning the different representations of the three religious groups which are unfairly represented. Jews are portrayed more according to their distribution



in different areas and experiencing critical conditions in relation to war situations. Regarding Christians, there is a clear reference to their persecution in societies where Christianity is not the main practised religion. With reference to Muslims, there are two patterns: their distribution in European countries, in particular the UK, and their involvement in violent actions and problems. Therefore, the analysis has revealed that the three groups are represented differently, which is predominantly shown in the contexts of conflict, discussed also in detail in the next section.

## **5.5 The context of conflict**

Issues of conflict are also prevalent in my corpus. The predominance of this category is the tendency of the news genre to rate the topics of war and conflict highly on the scale of ‘newsworthiness’ (Harcup & O’Neill, 2001). The contextual information alongside the semantic implication plays a role in interpreting the noun choices identified for this thematic category. The analysis will focus on showing which group is affected by a conflict and which is involved in the conflict, as illustrated in the following sub-sections.

### **5.5.1 Jews**

There are 239 instances including the nouns *settler*, *immigrant*, *refugee*, *prisoner*, *survivor*, *victim*, *inmate*, *extremist*, *emigre* and *soldier*. I argue that such terms are linked to conflict with others on the one hand, and portray Jews as persecuted or victimised on the other hand. Accordingly, the analytical procedure is split into two parts that reveal themes emerging from two contexts: war/conflict issues and victimisation.

#### **5.5.1.1 War/conflict issues: *settler*, *prisoner*, *inmate*, *extremist* and *soldier***

This first theme comprises 121 instances of which *settler* makes up the greater part (89 occurrences, 74%). It is exclusively associated with *Jewish* as it relates historically to the Palestinian-Israeli struggle. Considering the dispersion plot, the collocation *Jewish settler* occurs at certain points in the beginning of the text. By examining the context, the frequent occurrences in that period show that it is skewed by certain articles reporting the clashes between Israelis and Palestinians over the plans for new homes in East Jerusalem. Such construction echoes this long dispute between the two parts as illustrated above.

The co-texts of *settler* display three patterns: quantification, location and struggle. The first pattern displays 20 instances of quantification, such as *800*, *thousands of 300,000* and *some*. This pattern indicates proportionally the issues of conflict as in *home to 800 Jewish settlers who throw down garbage, soiled nappies and rocks on the Palestinians below* and *killing of four Jewish settlers*. The second pattern shows 24 instances involving the locations where conflicts took place, with the adverbial of place *in the West Bank* (italicised in the concordance below) constituting the highest proportion (15 occurrences). In this respect, *Jewish settler* tends to show a preference for the concept of location. The concept of struggle occurs in 24 instances covering the third pattern. A sample of concordances is shown below.

#### Concordance 5.8 Jewish settlers in struggle

No.	Concordance		
1.	centre are two Israeli settlements, home to 800	Jewish	settlers <u>who throw down garbage</u> , soiled
2.	at demonstrations against the <b>encroachment</b> of	Jewish	settlers in the Arab East Jerusalem district of
3.	, to well-funded, heavily guarded	Jewish	settlers. Most of the world, including Britain
4.	in the light of this week's deadly <b>attacks on</b>	Jewish	settlers that were claimed by Hamas, which
5.	by an Israeli armoured vehicle, a gaggle of	Jewish	settlers held vigil over the roadside spot
6.	make way for an archaeological park. Hardline	Jewish	settlers refer to the heavily guarded Silwan as
7.	Full text: Palestinians yesterday accused	Jewish	settlers <u>of setting fire to a West Bank</u> mosque
8.	alleged the fire was the work of nearby	Jewish	settlers , <u>who they saw torching the mosque</u>
9.	Palestinians are wounded in <b>clashes with armed</b>	Jewish	settlers <i>in the West Bank</i> June 14, 2010 An
10.	six people are injured during a <b>clash between</b>	Jewish	settlers and Palestinians in the northern West
11.	to human rights groups, with <b>attacks by</b>	Jewish	settlers on groves and farmers. Hamiet
12.	. As she speaks, three young ultra-orthodox	Jewish	settlers swagger in to stake their claim to the
13.	claimed responsibility for the <b>killing of four</b>	Jewish	settlers <i>in the West Bank</i> at the beginning of
14.	amid rising <b>tension between Palestinians and</b>	Jewish	settlers <i>in the West Bank</i> . Three suspected
15.	Barkat was playing into the hands of rightwing	Jewish	settlers. "He is making genuine public needs
16.	openly defied by the hundreds of thousands of	Jewish	settlers <i>in the West Bank</i> -- which they call
17.	city in which a core of hardline ideological	Jewish	settlers are protected by hundreds of Israeli
18.	. On Wednesday a car full of Hamas gunmen tailed a	Jewish	settler <u>in an attack</u> that recalled the dark days
19.	of the youths were accused of <b>hurling rocks at</b>	Jewish	settlers and damaging property in the east
20.	as they tried to prevent clashes with extremist	Jewish	settlers from nearby Bracha. In the ensuing

This conflict topic is established through providing further details in the form of modifiers, relative clauses and prepositional phrases packaged up in the nominal elements. The highlighted phrases in lines 2, 4, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14 and 19 demonstrate an intense struggle between Jewish settlers and Palestinians. This struggle is referenced by the items *encroachment*, *attacks*, *clashes*, *killing* and *tension*, tending to have a negative semantic prosody and a preference for conflict. In lines 1, 7, 8 and 18, this struggle is also represented through relative clauses and prepositional phrases (underlined), in which the relative clauses logically presuppose that the bad acts were conducted.

These embedded modifying phrases in the NP reduce any opportunity to argue against the existence of such struggles. The conflict between Palestinians and Jewish settlers is not a recent event; it can be traced back to the 19<sup>th</sup> century. As it has become an international issue, this definitely might imply newspapers' preference for discursive topics of conflict in this respect. The overall effect is the focus on associating Jewish settlers with conflict, indicating problematic situations.

Regarding the collocates *prisoner* (15 occurrences) and *inmate* (5 occurrences), they share sometimes the same representation. Labelling Jews as prisoners and inmates implies they are outside the norms of society. Both collocates are pre-modified by quantifications, such as *3,000 other Jewish prisoners from Rehmsdorf labour camp*, *more than 120,000, mainly Jewish, prisoners* and *140,000 Jewish inmates*, indicating the high proportions of Jews in prison. This use of quantifications shows the credibility of the newspapers (Van Dijk, 1988b). In addition, there are nine references to adverbials attached to these collocations, such as *Jewish prisoners in concentration camps* and *a Jewish inmate at Auschwitz*. This indicates the hard conditions that those Jewish prisoners had during the war. These embedded details are non-negotiable because they are taken for granted as given knowledge. Therefore, the use of these nominal collocates in context contributes to a negative semantic prosody, reflecting therefore unpleasant portrayals of Jews. It also reflects the historical backdrop of Jews during the World War II.

Moving to *Jewish extremist*, the following concordance shows that such a group is negatively represented, reinforced by the details embedded in the NP itself, which also packages up a certain ideological content:

## Concordance 5.9 Jewish extremists

No.	Concordance		
1.	Palestinian leaders blamed	Jewish	extremists <b>for an arson attack</b> on a West Bank
2.	Minister, appeared convinced it was the work of	Jewish	extremists. "Whoever committed this act is a
3.	March of	Jewish	extremists inflames Arab stronghold Author:
4.		Jewish	extremists and Hamas threaten peace Author:
5.	based in the West Bank and <b>a wave of violence from</b>	Jewish	extremists, both of whom were trying to derail
6.	in peace talks would provoke <b>further attacks by</b>	Jewish	extremists, warned the source. At the same time

Lines 1, 5 and 6 describe certain attacks carried out by the Jewish extremists who are represented collectively in conflict contexts through the plural form. In line (6), the attack is logically presupposed, borne out by the iterative word *further*, indicating that there have already been attacks. Despite this negative perspective, only six occurrences have been captured in this sense, suggesting that the newspapers show less focus on portraying Jews as extreme and aggressive.

Moving to *Jewish soldier*, this occurs six times and does not show salient patterns. One recurrent occurrence refers also to a war situation, e.g. *a group of Jewish Red Army soldiers arrived at the camp*, already identified in the above noun choices.

### 5.5.1.2 Victimisation: *immigrant, refugee, emigre, victim and survivor*

The second theme involves 118 instances. The nominal choices are mostly associated with two patterns: location and nationality. Most of these nouns carry neutral meanings, but their contexts reveal unpleasant portrayals. *Immigrant, refugee* and *emigre* have almost the same meaning; therefore, I focus on *immigrant* and *refugee* for their high occurrences (51 and 47 respectively) in order to identify patterns. Starting with *immigrant*, the most common pattern points to nationalities (15 cases) and location (14 cases). This is typical as these two collocates are concerned with movement. Examples of the former are *Russian, Polish, German, Ethiopian* and *Hungarian*, while those of the latter include such adverbials of place as *from Eastern Europe, in London* and *to the US*, showing therefore a preference for various nationalities and countries. *Jewish refugee* also occurs within prepositional phrases in 16 instances. The use of nationalities and locations has the effect of representing Jewish

immigrants in the context of dispersion ‘which has been a notable characteristic of the Jewish people for most of its history’ (De Lange, 2010, p. 39).

Using these contexts, the writers used relative clauses to further describe those fleeing persecution in five instances, as in [...] *the son of Jewish immigrants who fled the Russian pogroms*, presenting the information as a given fact that is not debatable. In terms of quantification and excessive quantity items, six instances are captured, such as *15,000 Jewish refugees*, *increasing numbers of Jewish refugees* and *largely composed of Jewish refugees*, showing the high proportion of Jews experiencing hard situations. Another pattern is related to family kinship (19 cases) as in *the son of Jewish immigrants*, tending also to evoke an impression of stereotyping Jews as immigrants. According to these instances, this collocation describes issues of escape and persecution. Such constant occurrence of immigration and persecution contributes to a stereotyped image of Jews in newspapers and views them as victims of war and persecution resulting in seeking refuge.

Regarding *Jewish victim/survivor*, the following concordance shows the overall picture of the oppression towards the Jews under Nazism in news reporting.

#### Concordance 5.10 Jewish victim/survivor/s

No.	Concordance		
1.	barriers which sometimes make it difficult for	Jewish	victims of crime to contact the police. There is
2.	chambers came on line in 1943, <u>most of Europe's</u>	Jewish	victims were already dead. Some - the Polish
3.	at Auschwitz were ready, <u>most of Europe's</u>	Jewish	victims were dead
4.	services, as well as financial assistance, to	Jewish	victims of Nazi persecution. He completely
5.	it has identified two thirds of the <u>six million</u>	Jewish	victims of the Nazis. Poor record-keeping in
6.	that every school child should "adopt" a	Jewish	child victim of the Holocaust to raise
7.	of victory came too late for <u>millions of his</u>	Jewish	victims. A woman is filmed shrieking with grief
8.	in Europe ended on 8 May 1945, there were <u>200,000</u>	Jewish	Holocaust survivors, according to one source
9.	to die." After the war, Harry became one of <u>732</u>	Jewish	holocaust survivors known as "the Boys" who
10.	camps as part of their curriculum.	Jewish	survivors are encouraged to address classes.
11.	in old age, "I am the Second World War." Other	Jewish	survivors of the period, most obviously the
12.	Full text: A VIDEO showing a	Jewish	Holocaust survivor and his grandchildren
13.	to provide financial restitution to	Jewish	survivors of Nazism, he faced strong

The suffering of Jews is emphasised by using the possessive structure triggered by the genitive markers 's and *of*-constructions as well as a possessive pronoun highlighted in lines 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 13 such as *victims of crime*, *victim of the Holocaust* and *survivors of Nazism*. This construction presupposes the existence of violent experiences that Jews encountered during the war. Another pattern is linked to quantifications underlined in lines 2, 3, 5, 7, 8 and 9, emphasising the number of Jews in hard conditions. A third pattern is the occurrence of *Jewish survivor* with the noun *Holocaust*, underlining the war situation. Contextually, this representation is conventional as far as the war situation is concerned. In the overall discussion, such common patterns imply that Jews are victims of war, reiterating the concept of victimisation (discussed in section 5.4.1). Using such unpleasant descriptions contributes to a stereotyped image of Jews as victims.

### 5.5.2 Christians

The percentage of Christians in the conflict category is low (8%) compared with Jews (16%) and Muslims (12%). There are 46 instances including the nouns *fundamentalist* (13), *militia* (9), *martyr* (10), *soldier* (10) and *refugee* (4), with the last three words associated with war situations. *Fundamentalist* is also found collocating with Muslims (15 occurrences), but not with Jews, suggesting they hold extreme level of beliefs. In addition to its negatively related sense, the collocation *Christian fundamentalist* is associated with religious bigotry, showing an extreme religious stance of Christians. Two patterns are observed: the acts they performed and location, as shown below:

#### Concordance 5.11 Christian fundamentalists

1.	museums and art has been <b>under siege</b> from	Christian	fundamentalists, who have vowed to oust her
2.	in Shenton's work is a Mary Whitehouse-like	Christian	fundamentalist who, on hearing a warning
3.	is an enthusiast for abortion") from a group of	Christian	fundamentalists. This attacked me -- which is
4.	Jones's decision to cancel the book-burning,	Christian	fundamentalists in <b>Tennessee</b> , Kansas and
5.	Though The Simpsons has been criticised by some	Christian	fundamentalists for its mockery of their
6.	the bank in September 2008. Exceptional items	Christian	fundamentalists in the <b>US</b> have managed to
7.	", as Haitians call it, was greeted by some	Christian	fundamentalists in the <b>US</b> with Schadenfreude
8.	by <b>militant</b> proselytisers (usually <b>American</b>	Christian	fundamentalists) as the ultimate target, an
9.	the secular status quo" in which Islamists,	Christian	fundamentalists and orthodox Jews join forces
10.	in My Belly came under organised <b>attack</b> from	Christian	fundamentalists led by the Catholic League,
11.	, rosy red, orange or amethyst." His father is a	Christian	fundamentalist whose scientific curiosity is

In lines 4, 6, 7 and 8, there is a reference to America, denoting that fundamentalists are centred there. Lines 1, 8 and 10 describe Christian fundamentalists as using force as in *siege*, *militant* and *attack*. Expanding the concordance line 3 further shows that Christian fundamentalists are portrayed as a source of threat: *danger of a leaflet [...] from a group of Christian fundamentalists*. Such representation, though it appears in only a few cases, tends to show extreme beliefs among a certain group of Christians. However, this might indicate that newspapers hold less preference for reporting extremism in relation to Christians.

Moving to the second choice, *militia*, in four instances out of nine, some information is included in the NP confirming the badness of such groups: *arrests in Christian militia* and *a series of raids on Christian militia across America*. In expanding NPs below:

17. [...] the massacre of Palestinians in Sabra and Shatila refugee camps by Christian militias [...].
18. Eight suspected members of a Midwest Christian militia charged with conspiring to overthrow the Government will [...].

The underlined phrases show the complicity of Christian militias in violent activities, mostly in Lebanon and America, implying that these are areas of violence and thus portraying Christians as a source of violence, which echoes the same findings as for *Christian fundamentalist* above. However, this nominal choice is more neutral than *fundamentalist*, but its use in context might reveal different meanings. In order to show the evaluation of the noun *militia*, I examined its occurrence in the BNC. Investigating the collocational patterns of 200 concordances in the BNC reveals that *militia* has a positive and a negative semantic prosody. A set of its adjectives have a negative connotation, such as *heavily-armed*, *armed*, *illegal*, *opposition* and *warring*. However, the pre-modifiers *local*, *loyal*, *powerful*, *main* and *rival* show positive attributes. Furthermore, this word is also tagged as an object of negative verbs: *disarm*, *disband*, *dissolve* and *prevent*. It seems then that the word *militia* is used in the context of army with positive and negative evaluations. According to its use in my data, *militia* has a negative prosody based on its frame in the context. It is, then, reasonable to discover that what might influence the reader's interpretation and understanding is 'the frequency of specific collocations and the semantic/discourse prosodies they communicate' (Gabrielatos & Baker, 2008, p. 20). When the authors made certain choices to refer to a certain group evaluated negatively, this may inevitably leave a negative impression upon the readers.

Regarding *Christian soldier*, although it occurs ten times, no significant patterns have been observed, except for three cases in which it is modified by *onward*: *the onward march of Christian soldiers*, in addition to two cases of packaged-up information denoting a struggle: *the bloody struggle by Christian soldiers*.

As far as victims of war are concerned, two collocates are identified: *martyr* and *refugee*. The former tends to occur with words such as *first*, *early* and *young* to refer to great people: *soldier*, *saint* and *Perpetua*. Such occurrences might be due to the connotative meaning of *martyr* as defined in OED Online (2017) as a person who chooses to suffer death rather than renounce the beliefs of a particular Christian denomination. Regarding *Christian refugee*, the contextual information helps in its interpretation, as shown in the screenshot below:

#### **Concordance 5.12** Screenshot of Christian refugees



. Erbil, in northern Iraq, has become a magnet for **Christian refugees** who are too poor to leave Iraq or do not  
 . has grown like Topsy since it became a haven for **Christian refugees** ; Fr Rayan grew up here and can remember  
 . it is the pupils' first day of term, including a **Christian Iraqi refugee** . There is a visit from the First  
 . army had stolen blankets and food from Kurdish **Christian refugees** fleeing Saddam Hussein's army. This

All four occurrences describe Christians in Iraq, where Christians constitute a minority having trouble. Linguistically, the information regarding such problems is presented as given knowledge by packaging up pre/post-modifiers inside the NP. For example, the relative clauses in the first and last lines and the phrase *haven for* in the second line indicate that those Christian refugees are persecuted, creating as a result an unpleasant portrayal of Christians.

Accordingly, it is uncommon to observe frequent occurrences that depict Christians negatively. With low frequency of occurrences linked Christians to conflict, it became clear that text producers make a few references to conflict. Though it is a strange finding, it is expected that broadsheets are biased towards Christianity, the dominant faith in Britain.

#### **5.5.3 Muslims**

There are 285 instances that represent Muslims in the context of conflict. This section considers the argument that noun collocates play a role in shaping negative stereotypes about Muslims. I categorised the noun-related choices into four sets: *extremist*, *fundamentalist*, *radical*, *militant* and *fanatic* portray Muslims as a source of threat and holding extreme beliefs;



*soldier, inmate, prisoner, suspect, protester* and *ally* tend to be associated with war situations; *terrorist, rebel, bomber* and *gang* are linked to criminality; while *victim* and *immigrant* are represented as an outcome of war. For the purposes of clarity, each set of noun choices will be analysed separately below.

#### **5.5.3.1 A source of threat: *extremist, fanatic, radical, militant* and *fundamentalist***

With regard to this first set which consists of 97 instances, Baker et al. (2013) found that items such as ‘fundamentalist’, ‘extremist’ and ‘fanatic’ show extreme beliefs when used as nouns after the word ‘Muslim’, suggesting that ‘they have become the sum of their beliefs’ (p. 150). This means that Muslims are identified by their extreme beliefs rather than anything else. Partington (1998, pp. 74-75) has a different view, claiming that words such as ‘fundamentalist’, ‘extremist’ and ‘fanatic’ refer to ‘outsider group’, emphasising the negative ‘Them’ and the positive ‘Us’. In other words, such items distance Muslims from other people and make them a dangerous group. People who hold extreme beliefs tend to be viewed as problematic because they often want to make a change in society by means of threatening (Baker et al., 2013, p. 175). Identifying such words in my data, the analysis focuses on finding how these nominal groups are used to represent Muslims, that is, to find if the representation of these noun choices tends to link Muslims to aggressive activities and extremism.

Starting with the frequently occurring *extremist* (61 times, 63%) higher than *Jewish extremist* (six times, 5%), its dominance might be due to the aftermath of the terrorist attacks in the US in 2001 and the UK in 2005. Looking at its dispersion in the text, the collocation *Muslim extremist* is well distributed across the whole corpus, denoting that it held a great focus in news reporting. In other words, its result is not limited to single articles because of a specific problem. In concordance 5.13 below, the context displays further details about the involvement of Muslim extremists in violence. The prevalent pattern is the use of *extremist* in its plural form in 59 cases (97%), representing Muslims collectively as involved in performing extreme actions.

### Concordance 5.13 Muslim extremists

No.	Concordance		
1.	which claimed that Sugar was a target for	Muslim	extremists <u>who were planning revenge attacks</u>
2.	investigates the <b>terrorist threat</b> from young	Muslim	extremists <u>radicalised on the internet.</u>
3.	began to receive <b>threatening letters</b> from	Muslim	extremists telling him to close down his church
4.	a debate. So, does she fear for her safety, from	Muslim	extremists or the BNP? "Now there are moments
5.	up. Instead he has become a vociferous critic of	Muslim	extremists <u>who have little issue with assassinating</u>
6.	. "It is right to say that there is a small group of	Muslim	extremists who have managed to get themselves
7.	forces of another fanaticism: al-Qaida,	Muslim	extremists and the worldwide jihad, all the
8.	and character with statements that he courted	Muslim	extremists <u>who had advocated violence</u> against
9.	"murderers", "rapists" and "terrorists" by	Muslim	extremists, a court was told yesterday.
10.	association should be warning of the <b>dangers</b> of	Muslim	extremists. The Daily Telegraph disclosed
11.	claiming he fought a "just and holy" war against	Muslim	extremists. He broke his silence with an
12.	Full text: ISRAEL has accused	Muslim	extremists of trying to derail peace talks with
13.	", which was intended as a riposte to images of	Muslim	extremists <u>burning American flags</u> and
14.	has emerged: they are initiated by <b>well-armed</b>	Muslim	extremists , chanting militant slogans,
15.	the <b>terrorist threat</b> posed by young	Muslim	extremists <u>radicalised on the internet.</u>

The highlighted phrases above such as *attacks*, *terrorist threat*, *threatening letters*, *dangers*, *burning* and *well-armed* display that Muslim extremists are seen as problematic and a source of threat, suggesting a preference for terrorism and thus a negative prosody. The violent action is packaged up in the restrictive relative clauses in lines 1, 2, 5, 8, 13 and 15 (underlined), creating thereby a logical presupposition that is taken for granted as true and not raising objections from the reader. This portrayal has the effect of depicting Muslim participants in the context of criminality, and is therefore negatively evaluated. However, this representation might create a stereotypical image of other moderate Muslims due to the frequent use of *Muslim* in close vicinity to negative words. Similar to the denotative meaning of *extremist* are those of *fundamentalist* (15), *radical* (4), *militant* (10) and *fanatic* (7). These items collectively are used to represent Muslims as extreme and involved in crimes, emphasising the extreme beliefs Muslims hold. For example:

19. [...] as he sentenced a Muslim fundamentalist who tried to murder the politician.

The underlined restrictive relative clause is used to post-modify a Muslim fundamentalist, who is accused of trying to commit a crime, creating therefore a logical presupposition. As a result, the act of murder is less contentious for the reader as it is presented as a given fact. Similar to the representation of this collocation is *Muslim militant*, which is also represented by the negative pre-modifiers *suspected* and *armed*. Further examination of concordances reveals other negative phrases occurring with *Muslim militant*, such as *extremist groups* and *bandits*:

20. Rahul Gandhi, [...] Hindu extremist groups could pose a greater threat to his country than Muslim militants.

21. Muslim militants or bandits were suspected.

In (20), both *extremist groups* and *Muslim militants* are compared by virtue of the contrast trigger *greater than* (see section 7.3.3), making both groups appear as a source of danger. The use of *Muslim militants* in close proximity to the negatively charged word *bandits* in (21) creates a negative representation of Muslims as both militants and bandits are alleged to have committed a crime.

Regarding the choice *radical*, though its occurrence is only in four places, it also reveals evidence that portrays Muslims as involved in a crime: *four Muslim radicals who plotted to blow up US military*. The action of the terrorist attack is logically presupposed as it is packaged up in the restrictive relative clause, making it unavailable for discussion but, instead, taken for granted. From a prosodic perspective, the word *Muslim* in this context holds a negative meaning and has a semantic preference for criminality and terrorism.

#### **5.5.3.2 War situations: *inmate, prisoner, suspect, soldier, protester and ally***

The second set of collocates consists of 125 instances, describing the war context as well as violence. Similar to the representation of *Jews*, both *prisoner* (47) and *inmate* (21) have the same construction. 41 cases of *prisoner* and 21 cases of *inmate* are in the plural, suggesting that they are represented as generic. Collectively, there are 21 references to quantifications used with both words, such as *10,300*, *a thousand*, *many*, *a tiny minority*, *some* and *70%*. The use of such quantifiers suggests the high proportion of Muslims in the prison, which might count as newsworthy. Expanding the concordances displays 23 instances associated with

negative descriptions embedded in the NPs, in which 17 cases are linked to extremism and terrorism: *on behalf of Muslim prisoners, including convicted terrorists, treating Muslim inmates as potential or actual extremists* and *extremism among Muslim prisoners/Muslim inmates*, showing a preference for terrorism. Nevertheless, only six instances describe the Muslim prisoners as experiencing ill-treatment, for example, *the murder of Muslim prisoners* and *the abuse of Muslim inmates*. Such nominal choices are, therefore, more likely to paint Muslims as outside the norms of society. I also found a similar pattern with the word *suspect*, carrying a negative evaluation connected to a crime, which is modified by the words *terror/terrorist* in five cases out of seven. These noun choices indicate that *Muslim* holds a negative prosody of extremism and a semantic preference for conflict collectively, prompting the reader to associate them with the act of terrorism. This portrayal continuously reiterates the stereotypical image of unacceptable actions of Muslims.

The remaining nominal choices *ally*, *protester* and *soldier* with (18), (11) and (21) occurrences respectively reveal common patterns linked to war situations. The concordances of *Muslim ally* appear in the news reporting on the close relationship between Turkey and Israel in 14 instances. This collocation is pre-modified by positively evaluated qualities that confirm such international relations between the two countries, such as *closest*, *powerful*, *important*, *strongest* and *main*. This confirms the good alliance between the two states in cases of war. The collocation *Muslim protest* displays what Muslim protesters complain about, such as *Muslim protesters shouting anti-Christian slogans* and *a group of Muslim protesters who brandished placards opposing the war in Afghanistan*. These examples show that the protest seems peaceful but is represented in an unpleasant way as it describes an intense situation, shown in the underlined qualified phrases above.

Regarding the collocation *Muslim soldier*, concordance 5.14 below displays the context of conflict:

## Concordance 5.14 Muslim soldier/s

No.	Concordance		
1.	born in Pakistan, became the first <b>British</b>	Muslim	soldier killed in Afghanistan. Overall, the
2.	national borders. He described himself as "a	Muslim	Soldier" at war with <b>the US</b> . He revealed that he
3.	of 13 soldiers at Fort Hood, Texas by an <b>American</b>	Muslim	fellow soldier in November 2009. In April of
4.	the court that Shahzad, who called himself a	Muslim	soldier, had pored over internet film of Times
5.	13 soldiers at Fort Hood, Texas, by an <b>American</b>	Muslim	fellow soldier in November 2009. YouTube said
6.	13 soldiers at Fort Hood, Texas, by an <b>American</b>	Muslim	soldier in November 2009. Awlaki, 39, was born
7.	Peninsula, whom the US suspect inspired the	Muslim	soldier <u>who shot dead 13 of his colleagues in</u>
8.	in a speech yesterday at a cemetery for <b>French</b>	Muslim	soldiers that freedom to practise religion was
9.	charges in a New York court. Calling himself a "	Muslim	soldier ", he said: "I am part of the answer to the
10.	Caption: Faisal Shahzad said he was a	Muslim	soldier <u>avenging attacks by the US on Muslim</u>
11.	," she said in a statement. Calling himself a	Muslim	soldier, Shahzad pleaded guilty in June to 10
12.	for the cargo bombs. Last year he praised the	Muslim	<b>US soldier who killed 13 colleagues</b> at Fort Hood
13.	father of three, who planned to kidnap a	Muslim	soldier and post a film of him being beheaded on
14.	. Fifty three Hindu and Sikh soldiers and 21	Muslim	soldiers died in the <b>Brighton</b> hospitals.
15.	the East India Company had banned Hindu and	Muslim	soldiers from wearing caste marks and from
16.	banks targeted by a new levy. CALLING himself a	Muslim	soldier, defiant <b>Pakistan-born US</b> citizen

One pattern is the names of countries and nationalities highlighted in the concordance above, indicating a preference for nationalities and the areas where the events of war took place. In lines 7, 10 and 12 the collocation *Muslim soldier* is qualified by relative clauses (underlined) which provide packaged up information about the violent actions of the Muslim soldier, representing him as a person charged with a crime and thus unquestionable as it is presented as given knowledge. It is worth adding that in line 1, the Muslim soldier is identified by his British nationality and represented as a victim, indicating a sense of bias towards the British citizen. In general, the analysis shows a neutral portrayal of Muslim soldiers in war situations, except in a few cases where they are represented as guilty of an offence.

### 5.5.3.3 Criminality: *gang, terrorist, bomber and rebel*

The third set of choices consists of 33 instances which are analysed collectively. These nominal choices clearly have negative meanings. In 31 cases, the words are used in the plural, meaning that Muslims are represented as generic, which serves 'to impersonalize' them (Hart,

2014, p. 34). This indicates that Muslims collectively are linked to terrorism or criminality. I have focused on *gang* and *terrorist* in more detail as they show distinct patterns. Alongside the denotative meaning of *gang*, it is further portrayed negatively in the context by pre-modified words, such as *radical*, *attacks*, *rampaging* and *death* or qualified relative clauses as in *Christian residents had been massacred in night-time raids by rampaging Muslim gangs who had hacked them to death*. However, only two cases are linked to the category of quantifier referring to the number of Muslims in detention: *the increasing dominance of Muslim gangs in the jail* and *more and more Muslim gangs in our prisons*, denoting the high amount of Muslims as criminals being arrested. It seems that the information packaged up in the NP further portrays Muslim gangs as violent criminals, suggesting therefore a negative representation.

Similarly, *Muslim terrorist* contributes to negative representations as it describes Muslims involved in aggressive actions as shown in the concordance below:

#### Concordance 5.15 Muslim terrorists

No.	Concordance		
1.	as: "Home-grown suicide bombers" and "British	Muslim	terrorists ". One in particular, Shehzad
2.	since there has been a successful <b>attack</b> by	Muslim	terrorists in the UK, Lord Carlile is convinced
3.	parallels between his <b>struggle</b> and that of the	Muslim	terrorists). It ends on the morning of 11
4.	ground zero site of the September 11 <b>attacks</b> by	Muslim	terrorists has incensed many Americans. Polls
5.	Lions, a taboo-testing farce about a group of	Muslim	terrorists planning an <b>attack</b> during the
6.	by a taboo-testing farce about a small band of	Muslim	terrorists planning a bomb <b>attack</b> on the London
7.	in comparing the <b>struggles</b> of IRA and	Muslim	terrorists. "I thought that it was a terrific

Concordance lines 2 to 7 display Muslim terrorists modified by two negative words *attack/s* and *struggle* (highlighted). This construction leads Muslims to be seen as perpetrators of crimes and as a source of problems. Representing the terrorist acts of Muslims through a NP rather than a clause serves to introduce such information as a fact, and so reiterating the concept of terrorism. It seems that there is clear evidence of the creation of a negative stereotype of Muslims in the British newspapers.

### 5.5.3.4 Outcomes of war: *victim* and *immigrant*

This last concept consists of 30 instances attributed to the context of victimhood which is the results of either wars or crimes. The two noun choices *victim* and *immigrant* may in one way or another foreground the victimhood of the Muslim participants, concentrating on their suffering. The semantic implication and the contextual information help in the interpretation of the word *victim*, as shown in the following concordance:

#### Concordance 5.16 Muslim victim/s

No.	Concordance		
1.	"symbolic coffins" being carried to honour	Muslim	victims <u>of the conflict</u> . The march will not
2.	's often forgotten." I tell him that one of <b>those</b>	Muslim	victims was Shahara Islam, a cashier at my local
3.	tell of the love between a Serb rapist and <b>his</b>	Muslim	victim. The Hollywood star is to begin shooting
4.	to parade with empty coffins symbolising	Muslim	victims through the town. The 42-year-old
5.	, and one of my first reporting tasks was to visit	Muslim	victims <u>of state-sponsored pogroms</u> . Yet such
6.	of a love affair between a Serbian rapist and <b>his</b>	Muslim	victim. Yesterday Jolie asked her critics to "
7.	of Women, Victims of War - which supports mainly	Muslim	rape victims - said: "From what I heard, it is
8.	a love affair between a Serb rapist and <b>his</b>	Muslim	victim has come to represent much more: a fierce
9.	media, creating the impression that these are	Muslim	victims. The security forces have reportedly
10.	11 attacks, told The Times that families of	Muslim	victims felt too intimidated to speak. Mrs

Generally, the concordance displays as Serbian as the perpetrator and Muslims as the innocent participants of a violent act. Furthermore, violence is existentially presupposed by the possessive structure using the pronoun *his* in lines 3, 6 and 8 and the demonstrative *those* in line 2. Also, the existence of violence is triggered by the *of*-construction as underlined in lines 1 and 5 *of the conflict* and *of state-sponsored pogroms*, presenting the concept of victimisation as a given fact that is not open to debate.

With reference to the collocation *Muslim immigrant*, one pattern represents Muslim immigrants as a problem, though they are the victims of critical situations as illustrated in the concordance below:

### Concordance 5.17 Muslim immigrant/s

No.	Concordance		
1.	are by no means archetypal. Zeitoun is Syrian, a	Muslim	immigrant from the fishing town of Jableh;
2.	board member who has repeatedly said that	Muslim	<u>immigrants in Germany are unfit and unwilling</u>
3.	bank of a board member who has repeatedly said	Muslim	<u>immigrants in Germany are unfit and unwilling</u>
4.	is digging its own grave), he claims that	Muslim	<u>immigrants will soon outnumber indigenous</u>
5.	member, Thilo Sarrazin, who is convinced that	Muslim	<u>immigrants are either criminals or sponging</u>
6.	Sunday Telegraph. "This new hatred comes from	Muslim	immigrants. The Jewish people are afraid now."
7.	to me," she says. Hirsi Ali urges the West to help	Muslim	immigrants integrate and overcome the
8.	in which he said Jews all have the same genes and	Muslim	<u>immigrants cannot integrate</u> . Thilo Sarrazin,
9.	combined with an <i>unprecedented wave</i> of	Muslim	immigrants with large families could see
10.	bank, published a book in which he accused	Muslim	<u>immigrants of being reluctant to integrate</u> . He
11.	be more exercised about the potential horde of	Muslim	immigrants <b>marauding</b> across the Bosphorus
12.	Sarrazin, a board member whose remarks about	Muslim	immigrants and Jews provoked outrage. The
13.	two German political taboos -- openly accusing	Muslim	immigrants of <b>damaging long-term interests</b>
14.	that she could not be trusted to deal with	Muslim	immigrants because she came from a Muslim
15.	on <i>bogus demographics about the birth rates</i> of	Muslim	immigrants and quack economics about the

The highlighted phrases *reluctant*, *marauding* and *damaging* have a negative description, thus constructing Muslims as a problem. Moreover, the italicised phrases *unprecedented wave* and *bogus demographics* in lines 9 and 15 show unpleasant evaluations in which the word *wave* is used metaphorically as it is related to water (Gabrielatos & Baker, 2008). What is notable in the concordance is the occurrence of the collocation *Muslim immigrants* within the clausal complements in lines 2, 3, 4, 5, 8 and 10 (underlined). These complements are used to describe Muslim immigrants as problematic and not socialised. These examples of naming resemble one type of the overlap between the textual-conceptual functions where naming is realised through the function of equating. These items describe Muslim immigrants therefore as unwelcome and a problem, suggesting a negative semantic prosody. Describing Muslims as both victims of a crime and unwelcome groups serves to perpetuate unpleasant stereotypes of Muslims.



The overall findings of this conflict category reveal different constructions of the three groups. Starting with Jews, they are repeatedly portrayed in war situations and the locations where those conflicts took place. Christians are represented in reference to the violent acts they performed (in the case of *fundamentalist* and *militia*). Regarding Muslims, they are highly depicted as a source of threats and as committing crimes, in addition to the context of victimhood because of either wars or crimes. Accordingly, there is a difference in representation among the three religious groups, suggesting therefore a sense of bias.

## 5.6 Occupational roles

This thematic category is concerned with work-related nouns. It also constitutes a high proportion compared to other categories (see Table 5.2). The noun choices belong to different sectors including politics, business, education and medicine, in which I observed that the politics sector is prevalent and shared among Jews, Christians and Muslims. This indicates that the three participants are more perceived as politicians, in governmental organisations, than in other areas such as business and education. As a result, the analysis will concentrate on the choices that are essential to news reporting – those are politically motivated. This recurrent portrayal of politics suggests that newspapers take more interest in political roles because ‘[p]olitics always has a high news value’ (Poole, 2002, p. 74). In this professional role, *leader* has the highest frequency in the representation of the three groups in addition to *member*. In the same way, the contextual information affects the interpretation of the noun choices of this thematic category, serving to identify the significant patterns for each participant, as discussed below.

### 5.6.1 Jews

There are 53 instances which construct Jews as politicians including the noun choices *leader*, *member* and *communist*. The most dominant noun is *leader* (41 times, 77%) which tends to occur in different contexts. The recurrent pattern refers to nationality and the country where Jews come from in 10 instances: *American*, *Germany*, *South African* and *New York*, implying that Jews are distributed around the world which is reiterated in section 5.4.1. Another pattern describes Jewish leaders in connection with other political figures (seven cases): *senior MPs and Jewish leaders*, *President Wulff and Jewish leaders*, *Christian and Jewish leaders*, *Jewish*

*leaders and senior figures*. This indicates that Jewish leaders are represented as being high-ranking and important.

Furthermore, the highlighted items in the concordance below reveal another pattern, which presents evaluative attributes using a set of pre/post-modifiers.

#### Concordance 5.18 Jewish leader/s

No.	Concordance		
1.	David, obviously Religion: <i>Labour's</i> first	Jewish	leader admits he does not believe in God Music:
2.	, television footage was released showing a	Jewish	settler leader running over a small Palestinian boy
3.	in a big upset this year, told <b>Orthodox</b>	Jewish	leaders in Brooklyn that children ought not to
4.	into one of the most <b>successful and influential</b>	Jewish	<b>religious</b> leaders in history. By the time he
5.	remained opposed to it. In a speech to <b>Orthodox</b>	Jewish	leaders at the weekend Mr Paladino said he
6.	a big impact in the Middle East. Erich Cantor, a	Jewish	<i>Republican</i> leader , told the Israeli newspaper
7.	his burst of bigotry and his refusal to placate	Jewish	leaders <u>angered by his portrayal of their faith</u>
8.	Vashem Holocaust memorial was one of the many	Jewish	leaders <u>who felt outraged</u> . He said the incident
9.	one of the bluntest comments made in public by a	Jewish	leader to a pope. "Maybe it would not have
10.	Israelites from the Persian vizier Haman. Some	Jewish	<b>spiritual</b> leaders have called on their
11.	. It wasn't long ago the Labour party depicted	Jewish	<i>Tory</i> leader , Michael Howard, and his Jewish
12.	80 per cent of Jews are non-Orthodox. American	Jewish	leaders fear that the bill could mean
13.	" His remarks provoked anger from senior MPs and	Jewish	leaders who said he had "got it wrong". But other
14.	and loss of identity, prompted a warning from	Jewish	leaders that <u>democracy was under threat</u> . The
15.	. Also last week, Paladino gave a talk to <b>Hasidic</b>	Jewish	leaders, in which he said: "I don't want [
16.	one of the bluntest comments made in public by a	Jewish	leader to a pope. "Maybe it would not have

In this concordance, the collocation *Jewish leader* is pre-modified by the adjectives *successful*, *influential*, *religious* and *spiritual* (highlighted) in addition to religious-related words such as *Orthodox*, *religious*, *Hasidic* as well as politics-based items (italicised) such as *Labour*, *Republican* and *Tory*. These items display Jewish leaders are prominent and influential, suggesting a positive semantic prosody. However, in relative clauses (underlined in lines 7, 8, 14), Jewish leaders occur in a different way; they are depicted as outraged and disapproving

of something. Their anger and disapproval are packaged up inside the NPs, making these matters taken for granted as given information.

Moving to the collocation *Jewish member*, the most common pattern involves the construction *member of the* (four out of seven occurrences): *Jewish Republican member of the House of Representatives*, *Jewish members of the jury* and *Jewish member of the British cabinet*, indicating the high-ranking position that Jewish members enjoy in the institution they belong to. In addition, these prominent positions are existentially presupposed by using the definite article.

However, the collocation *Jewish communist* does not show a significant pattern. It is mainly used (three cases out of five) to present two opposite features in the personality of a Jewish communist triggered by a parallel structure. The two features present two kinds of bad description *typical elitist* and *self-hating*, suggesting two different attitudes to the Jewish participant.

Overall, the analysis has shown that Jewish participants are highly perceived as political entities maintaining powerful positions, especially in leadership. The collocational pairs do not seem to attract any negative descriptions, except in a few cases when Jews are viewed in the context of an unpleasant image. Further, the inclusion of much information in the NPs helps to maintain a good interpretation of the noun choices in context, making the information less contestable by the reader as it is taken for granted as a given fact.

### **5.6.2 Christians**

There are 56 instances linked to political roles including the nouns *leader*, *conservative*, *minister*, *politician* and *member*. Also, investigating collocates in the context in which the items occur is important in their interpretation. Starting with the frequent item *leader* (29 times, 52%), the patterns are realised by using pre/post-modifiers as shown in the following concordance:

## Concordance 5.19 Christian leader/s

No.	Concordance		
1.	. During our last visit, I met <b>Muslim and</b>	Christian	leaders <b>who are committed to trying to promote</b>
2.	his statement reveals". <b>Lord Carey and other</b>	Christian	leaders had expressed concerns after Lord
3.	takes an historic role. He should affirm as a	Christian	leader and <b>a theologian</b> that discrimination
4.	British Sharia.) <b>Britain's black and Asian</b>	Christian	leaders will support Lord Carey in this
5.	and George Bush were the <i>most enthusiastically</i>	Christian	leaders we have had for many years. "The
6.	NSW Keneally Government. <b>Anglican and other</b>	Christian	<i>church</i> leaders , especially the Anglican
7.	and much else." Juergen Ruetters, the	Christian	<i>Democratic leader in North Rhine-Westphalia,</i>
8.	the last of the store's butter. <b>Jewish, Arab and</b>	Christian	<i>religious</i> leaders have called rallies to pray
9.	prompted fierce opposition from mainstream	Christian	leaders <b>who believe marriage can only take</b>
10.	generated in the region. <b>The state governor and</b>	Christian	leaders <u>in Jos</u> have accused the army of
11.	schools or by attending mass. Some Iraqi	Christian	leaders say that the violence against their
12.	is better than having them killed one by one."	Christian	leaders <u>in Iraq</u> have tried to step into the
13.	with The Dawn Treader. Earlier this year	Christian	leaders and assorted <b>CS Lewis experts</b> were
14.	about morals or <i>religion</i> and even <i>practising</i>	Christian	<i>business</i> leaders , such as HSBC's chair Stephen
15.	of Church of Ireland <b>bishop Ken Good and other</b>	Christian	<i>church</i> leaders <u>in the Bogside</u> on Wednesday was
16.	of Benedict describes as the great work of any	Christian	leader - to order all things in such a way that the
17.	the majority of government ministers against	Christian	leaders, <b>who were assumed to hold huge sway</b> over

One of the identified patterns is the co-occurrence of the collocation *Christian leader* with the phrases (highlighted items) *Lord Carey*, *theologian*, *Anglican*, *governor*, *experts*, *bishop*, and other world faiths - *Muslim* and *Jewish* - indicating that those Christian leaders are seen as enjoying a dominant status. Another pattern is the use of pre-modifiers as italicised in lines 5, 6, 7, 8, 14 and 15 including *church*, *most enthusiastically*, *religious*, *democratic*, *practising* and *business* indicating that those leaders have political or religious stances and suggesting 'a degree of seniority or a role that requires a degree of respect' (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p. 82).

The concordance also shows references to different ethnic backgrounds: *black*, *Asian* and *Arab* (lines 4 and 8). Here, the colour may signify cultural diversity and racial differences, emphasising the background identity of Christian leaders. Another pattern presents four cases wherein *Christian leader* is followed by adverbials of place, underlined in lines 7, 10, 12 and 15, displaying the areas where Christians enjoy good status in leadership. This collocation is also qualified by embedded relative clauses, providing more information about the

achievement of the Christian leaders shown in the highlighted lines 1, 9 and 17. The expanded concordance line 17 shows clearly the influence of Christian leaders:

22. It has pitted the majority of government ministers against **Christian leaders**, who were assumed to hold huge sway over the population.

The underlined relative clause implies that Christian leaders are dominant and have power over the whole country including the government ministers. This representation depicts Christian leaders as a powerful political group, contributing to the positive portrayal of Christians.

Regarding the remaining nominal choices *minister*, *member*, *politician* and *conservative*, they collectively consist of 27 instances. One pattern refers to the use of appositional equivalence (eight cases) to identify the Christian participants whereby further details (given names and positions) are provided as in *Unadim Kanna*, one of five **Christian members** of Iraq's parliament. Equating a political character to a high rank in a parliament is an indication of his own political affiliation. Providing names and professions, as Simpson and Mayr (2010, p. 74) state, shows that such participants are officials since they are nominated and functionalised. It may convey the fact that the writer has legitimised them; therefore, we obtain an insight into the writer's ideological viewpoint. As a result, the overlap between textual functions of naming and equivalence is brought together to define participants officially according to their political roles. This linguistic feature has not been observed in the construction of Jews, thus indicating a difference in the representation of the religious groups. Another pattern represents Christian participants by virtue of modifiers showing their political standpoints: *democratic*, *right-wing*, *culture*, *foreign* and *leading*. The overall effect of this discussion is that Christians are positively represented in terms of political roles, underpinning the positive portrayal of Christian referents.

### 5.6.3 Muslims

The number of instances identifying Muslims in the field of politics is 147 (64%), including the noun choices *leader*, *politician*, *ruler*, *MP*, *minister*, *member*, *president*, *peer* and *officer*. This percentage is higher than that for Christians (53%) and Jews (32%), suggesting that Muslims are more likely to be perceived as politicians than the other participants. The

contextual information plays a role in the interpretation of these nominal choices. It is worth stating that the noun choices *president* and *ruler* have not shown any significant patterns distinguished from the other choices because of their low frequency of occurrences; five and six instances respectively. Therefore, I have excluded them from the analysis.

Starting with the predominant word *leader* (65 occurrences, 44%), one of the most common patterns is the use of countries and cities (12 cases): *Britain*, *Europe*, *the US* and *Luton*, suggesting areas where Muslim leaders often occupy a dominant position.

Another prevailing pattern is the use of pre/post-modifiers. In 19 instances, Muslim leaders are portrayed positively using the items *community*, *prayer*, *intellectual*, *prominent*, *principle*, *senior* and *mainstream*. Also, there are 12 instances viewing pre-modifiers through the frame [N+ of/from/with/among], divided into three negative-denoting phrases: *pressure from Muslim leaders*, and nine positive contexts: *gaining the confidence of Muslim leaders* and *close relationships with Muslim leaders*. It seems that Muslim leaders are represented as influential, seeking to be engaged in forming good relations with others, regardless of the few cases displaying some problems. With reference to post-modifiers, there are six cases of relative clauses used to post-modify the noun phrase, as shown below.

#### Concordance 5.20 Muslim leader/s

No.	Concordance		
1.	Document 378 of 878	Muslim	leader <b>who claimed</b> BNP abducted him was filmed
2.	as a "recruitment bonanza for al-Qaeda". With	Muslim	leaders around the world <b>sounding alarms</b> about
3.	in 2001 that he "is held up as a new generation of	Muslim	leader <b>capable of merging</b> East and West". As the
4.	town, was welcomed by the local MP and other	Muslim	leaders , <b>who accused</b> the group of a cynical
5.	as an alien threat and branded as extremist any	Muslim	leader <b>who dares</b> to campaign against western
6.	, " said Latif, who's one of a medley of	Muslim	leaders from Luton <b>who have been touting</b> their

The highlighted phrases in the concordance reveal that Muslim leaders are represented as either in a problem (lines 1, 2 and 5) or disapproving of a group's bad act (line 4), while in lines 3 and 6, Muslim leaders are positively viewed as active participants to cooperate with others. Occurring in these relative clauses, Muslim leaders' behaviour is packaged up into the

NPs. This is ideologically important as it allows a considerable amount of information to be included, and thus cannot be resisted by the reader because it is presented as a truism.

In eight instances, a final pattern constructs Muslim leaders in typical connections with others, such as *Jewish/Christian and Muslim leaders*, *Muslim leaders and scholars*, *local MPs and other Muslim leaders*, indicating good relations among people of high status. The effect of signifying Muslims in this way, highlighting their jobs, suggests that they are legitimate members of society.

The noun choices *Member*, *MP* and *peer* have to some extent equivalent meanings (19, 12 and 7 occurrences respectively). Examining these collocates in context collectively shows a pattern describing Muslims as political members of a government or an organisation. This is evident in the qualifying phrases: *of Nato*, *of staff*, *of a British cabinet*, *of al-Qaeda* and *of the House of Lords*, as presented in the concordance below:

#### Concordance 5.21 Muslim member, MP and peer

No.	Concordance		
1.	, Warsi is on the verge of becoming <i>the first</i>	Muslim	member <i>of a British cabinet</i> . She will be in
2.	seats. He singled out Lady Warsi, <i>the first</i>	Muslim	member <i>of a cabinet</i> or shadow cabinet. "Think
3.	and four women - including <i>the first female</i>	Muslim	member <i>of the cabinet</i> . Among the eye-catching
4.	Ahmed of Rotherham, who was <b>Britain's first</b>	Muslim	member <i>of the House of Lords</i> , accused ministers
5.	including Britain. Last week two British white	Muslim	members <i>of al-Qaeda</i> were reportedly killed in
6.	and a similar number of Turks. As <b>Nato's only</b>	Muslim	member , with an important US air base at
7.	wary of further antagonising Turkey, <i>the only</i>	Muslim	member <i>of Nato</i> , fearing Ankara is turning
8.	: Salma Yaqoob could become <b>Britain's first</b>	Muslim	<b>woman</b> MP. The hijab-wearing Question Time star
9.	chance of making history as <i>the first</i> British	Muslim	<b>women</b> MPs. Her result is looking close, while
10.	constituency, became <i>the second female</i>	Muslim	MP, followed later in the day by Rushanara Ali
11.	, who won in Newcastle Central. <i>The first</i> three	Muslim	<b>female</b> MPs were also elected, all of them for
12.	Full text: The son of <b>Scotland's first</b>	Muslim	MP returned to court yesterday to contest his
13.	; Labour's Baroness Uddin was <b>Britain's first</b>	Muslim	peer; Charity roles: Lord Bhatia; Global
14.	colleagues. Baroness Uddin, <i>the first female</i>	Muslim	peer, claimed Pounds 100,000 by registering as
15.	community worker who became <i>the first</i>	Muslim	peer, claimed more than Pounds 100,000 by

The dominant pattern in these collocational pairs is the use of pre-modifiers such as *first* (15 times), *only* (6 times), *female* (5 times) and *woman* (2 cases) as highlighted above, describing the involvement of a Muslim woman in governmental institutions. This construction is interesting as it involves more focus on Muslim women in the British newspapers, making a clear reference to gender and religious identity. Moreover, the existential presupposition of those Muslim political members is triggered by the definite article *the* (nine times) and a genitive marker (-'s) in addition to – *of* construction in 11 occurrences, as italicised, for example, in lines 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 11, 12, 14 and 15, making the information less vulnerable to debate as it is presented as taken-for-granted.

A similar pattern is also observed in *minister* (17 occurrences) wherein *first* occurs 12 times and *female* six times, associated with the names of the organisations or institutions; the most frequent is *cabinet* (nine times) and *government*. The most prevalent country mentioned is *Britain* (eight occurrences), indicating that Muslims, in particular Muslim women, officially are given high status in the UK government.

Moving to the words *politician* and *officer*, these are equal in terms of frequency (8 occurrences), but different in terms of statistical measures 5.83 and 5.58 respectively. This is because *politician* tends to be more distinguished than *officer*, which may refer to any position of authority in an organisation, e.g. *Muslim police officers*, creating therefore a difference in their representation. *Muslim politician* is used in positive contexts in which one pattern is observed through pre/post-modifiers: *the most respected Muslim female politician in Britain* and *a Muslim politician fighting antisemitism*, portraying Muslims as powerful and dominant. There is then a focus on gender representation, highlighting the roles in which Muslim women are engaged, reiterating the political position Muslims hold in Britain.

Regarding *Muslim officer*, one observed pattern is the use of negative descriptions in four cases. The noun phrase is used on the same level as ethnic minorities: *ethnic minority and Muslim officers*, or a Muslim officer is accused of unacceptable activities: *a Muslim officer who had been in e-mail contact with Anwar al-Awlaki, an extremist cleric based in Yemen*. Here, the accusation embedded in the relative clause is uncontentious as it is presented as given knowledge.



Comparing the thematic category of occupational role between the three participants, it is shown that the percentage of occurrences in the political sector is higher with Muslims (64%) than with Christians (53%) and Jews (32%), which results in more linguistic patterns. Furthermore, the contextual information has affected the interpretation of all noun choices, revealing that all three groups are highly portrayed as authority figures, providing positive associations despite a few cases of negative representations.

## 5.7 Gender

In this last thematic category, the frequency of instances for each participant is varied; Muslims make up the highest proportion (525 instances, 23%), while it is the lowest for Christians (31, 5%). The prevalence of this category in my data indicates that the British newspapers have a tendency to report topics pertaining to cultural differences. Gender is the way people perceive human identity based on the appropriate ways for males and females to behave, dress, work, think and speak (Baker et al., 2013, p. 197). Another gender perspective is also considered by Sunderland (2004, p. 14) who states that gender (original italics):

[E]ntails any differences between women and men being socially or culturally *learned*, *mediated* or *constructed*. *Gender* thus contrasts with the biological essentialism of the term *sex*, and was an important concept for feminism as *learning* entails tendencies and variation rather than absolutes.

Previous studies investigated gender from a feminine and masculine perspective. Researchers carried out certain strategies to compare the representation of males and females, such as Baker (2014); Caldas-Coulthard (1994); Pearce (2009) and Taylor (2013). However, my study is different; it considers the choice of nominal groups from a critical stylistic perspective, focusing on the language used to represent males and females as being Jews, Christians and Muslims. It is worth stating that *woman* and *man* are the most dominant collocates in my data though *man* in the case of Christians has very few occurrences (five times). Therefore, I will carry out the analysis focusing on these two prevailing nouns to discover how gender is represented and to observe any differences in representation among the three groups. Similar to the previous thematic categories, the contextual information determines the interpretation of the noun choices of this category.

### 5.7.1 Jews

As indicated above, *woman* (45 occurrences, 28%) and *man* (46, 29%) are the most frequent immediate right-hand collocates of *Jewish* representing gender. Starting with *Jewish woman*, an observed pattern is a set of modifiers showing mostly religious characteristics (13 instances): *orthodox*, *Hasidic*, *devout*, *young* and *devoted*, but only one occurrence for *black* denoting a racial difference. This indicates that the collocation *Jewish woman* shows a preference for religious beliefs, suggesting the context of religion as a way to represent Jewish women. Another pattern is linked to the traditional forms of social life (seven instances), such as wearing the burka and marriage cases as shown below:

23. Israeli rabbis are to clamp down on the growing number of devout **Jewish women** wearing the burka by declaring the garment an item of sexual deviancy.
24. This caused uproar among Orthodox **Jewish women**, who, upon marriage, wear a wig in public.

In these two examples, associating Jewish women with their religion is established by the underlined relative clauses. This has the effect of portraying Jewish women as socially committed to their religious practices. In another pattern, there are four instances in which Jewish women are constructed in terms of different countries, such as *from Warsaw*, *French*, *in Czechoslovakia* and *in Boston*. This figure is insignificant when compared to other noun collocates, such as *community* and *immigrant* in sections 5.4.1 and 5.5.1.2, in which more references to nationalities and countries are involved. This finding is also notable in the construction of *Jewish man* (only three cases), meaning that there is little emphasis on identifying the nationality of Jewish women and men in news coverage.

In addition, the collocation *Jewish woman* occurs in the repeated pattern representing the conflict issue with the Nazis or any war-related situations in five instances. For example:

25. An 85-year-old Jewish woman who survived Auschwitz [...].
26. [...], in which she portrayed a Jewish woman murdered by the Nazis.
27. From Germany, [...] of a Jewish woman, Esther Bejarano, whose life was saved in Auschwitz [...].

The context of conflict is realised by the underlined relative clauses, showing the difficulties Jewish women experienced during the war, therefore constructing them as victims. As this dates back to the World War II, such representation creates a stereotypical image of the Jews who fell victims to war discrimination. This construction helps us to demonstrate that newspapers present the Jewish people within the historical context.

Moving to the collocation *Jewish man*, the analysis reveals various patterns associated with religious practices. The most common is realised by the use of pre-modifiers showing aspects of religious beliefs, age and social backgrounds in 20 instances, such as *orthodox*, *elderly*, *young*, *assimilated upper-class*, *old*, *skull-capped*, *bearded*, *single*, *lonely*, *black-clad*, *black* and *white*, in addition to two items displaying their personal characteristics: *honest* and *rude*.

The other pattern is established by using relative clauses (nine cases) as post-modifications, in which four occurrences describe the religious practices of Jewish men: *a Jewish man wearing a kippah skullcap* and *Jewish man leading a woman in an abaya*, signifying that they are committed to their religious identity and practices. Other examples describe Jewish men's solidarity with their community: *Jewish men who [...], have been "policing" the streets of their community in Hackney*, showing their engagement with others which represents a positive side of their behaviour. However, a Jewish man is described as a rude person in *a very rude Jewish man, who had sent me abusive emails*. In this underlined relative clause, the impolite behaviour of the Jewish man is packaged up within the NP, making it given information that is less open to discussion.

### 5.7.2 Christians

According to the raw frequency in Table 5.2, Christians make up the less (5%) than the other two groups. There are 31 instances, represented by *woman* (20 occurrences), *girl* (6) and *man* (5), which are all analysed collectively to identify salient patterns. The most common one is the use of modifiers. In nine instances, these noun choices are pre-modified by the positive attributive adjectives *young*, *good*, *straight* and *nice*, describing them as good participants. Another pattern of pre-modifiers describes ethnic background such as *white* and *black* (three cases), which are realised as marked forms implying a racial difference, while *fundamentalist* shows an extreme level of belief. Such representation tends in general to describe the characteristics of their behaviour.

Despite of such pleasant references of the referent, another pattern displays an unpleasant depiction, realised in the form of relative clauses (seven instances), as shown in concordance 5.22 below.

#### Concordance 5.22 Christian gender-related nouns

No.	Concordance		
1.	Majority in 1979. It is this image, of the good	Christian	woman protecting her family, that Palin's
2.	Aung San Suu Kyi also campaign for <b>the</b> Pakistani	Christian	woman <b>sentenced to hang?</b> IAN COWIE Senior debt
3.	Document 515 of 597 <b>The</b>	Christian	woman <b>facing death over a work squabble</b> Author:
4.	. A death sentence for blasphemy handed down to a	Christian	woman in Pakistan this week has sparked
5.	called for the release of two Egyptian	Christian	women who are married to Coptic priests and are
6.	priests killed. Iraqi refugees tell me that	Christian	women have suffered kidnap and rape, little of
7.	Taseer, Governor of Punjab. Asia Bibi, <b>the</b>	Christian	woman <b>accused of blasphemy</b> , will not suffer a
8.	Zardari, Pakistan's President, may pardon a	Christian	woman <b>who faces the death sentence</b> for
9.	Fears are growing for the safety of Asia Bibi, a	Christian	woman <b>condemned to death</b> under Pakistani
10.	Full text: Hopes were raised yesterday that a	Christian	Pakistani woman <b>who has been sentenced to death</b>
11.	to the troops. When the dead body of the raped	Christian	girl is held aloft, the German troopers start to
12.	<i>alleged rape of a 12-year-old Muslim girl by a</i>	Christian	man last year. A Muslim security guard was also
13.	, and in Ainkawa there is a memorial to the	Christian	young men <b>who died in Saddam's war against Iran</b> .

The collocational pairs in lines 2, 3, 7, 8, 9 and 10 are qualified by restrictive relative clauses (highlighted) presenting the death penalty of a Christian woman convicted of blasphemy. Although blasphemy is considered a crime against religious beliefs, this construction might have the effect of representing the Christian referent as oppressed in a Muslim country (i.e. Pakistan). In addition, the definite article in lines 2, 3 and 7 presupposes the existence of such woman who received the act of punishment, making it taken-for-granted as given knowledge that is unquestioned by the reader. Here the author presents Christian individuals in the context of crime, i.e. they have experienced difficult situations in a Muslim-majority country. However, in only one case, in line 12, the Christian man is represented as a source of a crime, but the use of the NP *the alleged rape* (italicised) within the nominal element shows that the Christian referent is under suspicion; it is not a proven bad or illegal act.

### 5.7.3 Muslims

In terms of frequency, the percentage of occurrences associated with Muslims is (23%), higher than that of Jews (11%) and Christians (5%). This high occurrence could be due to a special focus on female and male Muslims in the UK press. The choices *woman* and *man* constitute the majority, with 363 and 109 occurrences respectively, though *woman* is thrice the size of *man*. Concentrating frequently on one choice would ‘encode important information about the writer’s attitude to the individual referred to in a text’ (Simpson, 1993, p. 129). The choices *woman* and *man* may not reveal any meaning out of context. Therefore, reading the concordances in context is required to interpret the representation of these nouns. Regarding the dispersion of the collocation *Muslim women*, it is distributed over the whole corpus due to the French government’s ban in 2010 to outlaw Muslim women wearing any form of face-covering in public, making the veil the dominant discourse in the data.

Starting with *Muslim woman*, the most dominant pattern is that of wearing the veil. The contextual information helps in interpreting the meaning of this collocation, established by a set of pre/post-modifications. One of the patterns representing the veil worn by Muslim women is in terms of relative clauses as post-modifications in 29 instances. For example:

28. This alone is worth digesting before considering that the people concerned are Muslim women who wear a full-face veil, or niqab.

The underlined relative clause represents the veil packaged up in the NP, which is further embedded in a *that*-clause complement to indicate that the veil is seen as a problem which causes concern for Muslim women. The issue of veil is then seen as problematic, which may stereotype an image of Muslim women in Western countries. Another pattern is also observed in the use of qualifying prepositional phrases: *from wearing* (11 cases), *from covering* (3 cases) and *for wearing*. For example:

29. France will today take the first step towards barring Muslim women from wearing the full veil when using public services [...].

The underlined phrases indicate that there is a bill passed with a view to banning the veil of Muslim women, implying that the veil is a problem. Linguistically, this representation is established through a long object, making it less open for debate because it is taken for granted

as common knowledge. Additionally, the concordances of *Muslim woman* describe the veil of Muslim women most frequently in Britain and France in 27 and 15 times respectively, implying that the veil is given more focus in these two countries where a high number of Muslims populate. Such discussion shows that Muslim women are represented as problematic because of their veil, which is viewed as a concern.

Another observed pattern represents the characteristics of Muslim woman established by a set of positively evaluated adjectives (22 instances), such as *prominent, progressive, devout, modern, powerful, polite* and *beautiful*. This construction portrays Muslim women as powerful and liberal. However, there are five cases of modifiers, such as *strict, poor, fundamentalist* and *blind*, which reveal undesirable descriptions of Muslim women, in addition to seven occurrences of items using the veil as a modifier, such as *veiled* and *fully clothed*, describing the women according to their Islamic dress.

A close examination displays a pattern focusing on representing Muslim women in terms of their number by using pre-modifying quantifications (39 instances) such as *a lot of, minority, many, a million, some, 1,500,000* and *number of* as evident in the following sentences:

30. [...] difficult for the minority of Muslim women who wear the cultural garb.

31. Yet the French security services estimate that only 2,000 out of approximately two million adult Muslim women in France - 0.1 per cent - wear the full-length veil.

This naming strategy highlights the veil associated with Muslim women, denoting that the banning of the veil is a problem only for a limited group of Muslim women. This collocation then shows a preference for quantification. Focusing on the women's veil is related to the context of their culture. In their study of press representations of British Muslims in Britain, Moore et al. (2008) found that the wearing of veils is one of the topics that 'highlighted cultural differences between British Muslims and other British people' (p. 10). Such portrayal confirms the recurrent focus on reporting women's Islamic dress, stereotyping the veil as problematic in the UK and the West. I cannot assume that the representation of Muslim women is positive or negative, but since the veil of Muslim women is viewed as a problematic case, Muslim women might, in turn, be viewed as problematic.

Regarding *Muslim man*, the representation is established via two patterns: quantity and quality, drawing upon a stereotypical representation of Muslim men, especially the young, maintained by quantifications and modifiers. With reference to quantity, there are 39 instances where the collocation is pre-modified by quantifications, such as *thousands*, *8,000*, *47 per cent*, *7,000* suggesting that *Muslim man* has a preference for quantification. The exact quantities *8,000* and *7,000* are used predominantly to refer to the killing of Muslims in Srebrenica as in *the massacre of more than 7,000 Bosnian Muslim men and boys at Srebrenica*, indicating the high proportion of Muslims being murdered. Such representation brings back the historical context of the Bosnian war, where the massacre of 8,000 Muslim men and boys occurred in 1995. Baker et al. (2013) have found similar results about Muslim men within two periods under study (2002 and 2006). This recurrent construction in 2010 (the focus time of my study) presents a stereotypical view of Muslims being in a problem situation.

On the left side of *Muslim man* in the concordance, there are 17 lexical collocates describing Muslim men in problematic situations and undergoing suffering – this establishes the second pattern (i.e. quality). Some of these lexical phrases are emphasised in the concordance below:

### Concordance 5.23 Killing of Muslim men

No.	Concordance		
1.	charges of genocide over <b>the massacre of 8,000</b>	Muslim	men in Srebrenica in 1995 but until the last
2.	told US investigators that about <b>20 other young</b>	Muslim	men were being coached in Yemen to blow up planes
3.	too grieve <b>the deaths of thousands of</b> ordinary	Muslim	men, women and children," he said. Mohammed
4.	to a spa, and features <b>unflattering views of</b>	Muslim	men.
5.	this was the question raised to me by angry young	Muslim	men." Khan joined the party at 15, he explains,
6.	a regular at a local gym patronised by young	Muslim	men. "We started hearing that he was saying
7.	Full text: <b>Five</b>	Muslim	men accused of yelling abuse at soldiers during
8.	The Hague - that <b>the massacre of more than 7,000</b>	Muslim	men and boys at Srebrenica in 1995 is a myth. "
9.	"evil" had to be confronted. More than <b>8,000</b>	Muslim	Bosnian men and boys were slaughtered in the
10.	. The potential for <b>radicalisation of young</b>	Muslim	men through madrasas is significant. Visiting
11.	working for Muslim terror suspects, adds: "	Muslim	men and women here and across the world are
12.	culminated with <b>the execution of about 8,000</b>	Muslim	men and boys in Srebrenica by Bosnian Serbs. The
13.	to protest against <b>the killing of the young</b>	Muslim	men. Police have imposed a strict curfew in an

Using phrases such as *massacre*, *deaths of thousands*, *radicalisation*, *execution* and *killing*, highlighted in lines 1, 3, 8, 12 and 13, as pre-modifiers portrays Muslim men as persecuted, showing thus a semantic preference for violence and a negative prosody. Killing is existentially presupposed using the definite article shown in the above-mentioned lines, thus making it unavailable for debate. Another pattern represents suffering and disapproval of Muslim men illustrated in the following concordance:

#### Concordance 5.24 Muslim men in troubles

No.	Concordance		
14	Full text: The family of a	Muslim	man <u>who was put under a control order</u> has called
15	through Luton were harangued by a group of	Muslim	men , <u>five of whom were later convicted</u> of being
16	Full text: Five	Muslim	<u>men who accused British soldiers</u> of being
17	, prohibition supporters don't attack devout	Muslim	men , <u>whose unacceptable ideas can be concealed</u>
18	Full text: Five	Muslim	men <u>accused of yelling abuse at soldiers</u> during
19	, become involved in heated exchanges with the	Muslim	man <u>who said he was forced to sign over his house</u>
20	included in the 136, have been brought by young	Muslim	men <u>living in London who allege</u> that they were
21	Full text: Cherie Booth has allowed a	Muslim	man <u>who broke someone's jaw in a fight in a bank</u>
22	to mean whatever you want it to. A British	Muslim	man , opposed to the war on terror, wears his to
23	Mellanby has been hearing the case of the seven	Muslim	men <u>who are accused of disrupting</u> the
24	, of "perjury" over his claims that he saw up to 20	Muslim	men <u>forced to dig their own graves</u> before a Serb
25	13 images of naked women and jokes about	Muslim	men <u>committing suicide</u> . Mr Pearl said the

In the concordance, the post-modifying relative clauses highlighted in lines 14, 16, 19, 20 and 24, for example, describe Muslim men in difficult conditions. Within these relative clauses, the troubles that Muslim men had are parcelled into the nominal groups and presented as presupposed information. Expanding concordance line 20 shows clearly the problematic context:

32. Six of the most recent allegations, [...], have been brought by young Muslim men living in London who allege that they were harassed and blackmailed by MI5 to spy on Muslim communities.

The underlined relative clause portrays Muslim men in trouble, being subject to aggressive pressure to perform illegal activities by spying on Muslim communities. This construction



displays Muslim men as stressed and under pressure. However, the underlined lines 15, 17, 18, 21, 23 and 25 represent Muslim men themselves as a source of trouble, in which 16 occurrences of *young* suggest that young Muslims received great attention and were targeted for illegal issues, perhaps because they can easily be seduced, as evidenced below:

33. [...] easy converts to radicalism among the country's large population of young and disaffected Muslim men.

The underlined phrase presupposes the existence of such young Muslim men triggered by the use of the genitive marker -'s, implying that these young men are easily targeted for radical acts. This supports my argument that Muslim men are depicted in problematic contexts.

The discussion has shown that the contextual analysis confirms that there is a difference in representation among the three religious groups regarding the gender-related nominal choices. Apropos the Jews, Jewish women and men are framed in the context of religious practices and values. This portrays them as socially and religiously more committed to their religion, creating therefore a positive image of Jewish participants. As regards Christians, although Christian males and females are portrayed as good Christian referents, they are also represented in the context of crime, portraying them as victims. Finally, Muslim women/men are viewed as problematic, in that the veil of Muslim women is seen as a problem while Muslim men are depicted more negatively, not necessarily because they are at risk of radicalisation, but they were accused of or exploited mostly for terrorist activities. The interpretation signalled images based on perpetuated stereotypes of Muslim women and men in the British newspapers.

## 5.8 Summary and discussion

After conducting my analysis of naming practices, it is time to find whether the analysis has answered the two questions raised at the beginning of this chapter. There is a strong tendency of the relation between the noun choices and the contexts in which these choices are made. Ideologically speaking, not only noun phrases but also modifications are equally important.

Overall, although there were some commonalities in the choices made to refer to Jews, Christians and Muslims, these were less notable than the differences. There are four common thematic categories: collectivity, conflict, occupational roles and gender. This finding

addressed the first question regarding the thematic categories of collocates, which can reveal the underlying ideologies within the texts.

Although the themes are shared, I have found thematic categories which are overused while others are underused in relation to the instances observed in the discussion above. For example, the collectivity and gender categories make up the highest proportions, in particular collectivity which is more dominant for Christians (277 times, 46%), followed by Muslims (817, 36%) and then Jews (476, 32%). This indicates that there is a tendency to focus on portraying people that look alike in terms of religious identities, beliefs and attitudes. The construction of social actors as homogeneous groups contributes to depicting the persecution of Christians in societies where Christianity is not the main faith, in addition to positive representations of their characteristics, while Muslims are negatively portrayed. Jews are less negatively depicted because they are mostly viewed in war situations where they are vulnerable to attacks.

Another important finding is related to the thematic category of conflict. There are differences in representation among the three groups. This category rarely occurs in the representation of Christians (only 46 instances, 8%) compared with Jews (16%) and Muslims (12%), indicating that text producers have less preference for representing Christians in the context of conflict. A number of linguistic patterns contribute to portraying Jews as victimised, while Muslims are commonly seen as a source of threat or in the context of terrorism. This thus perpetuates a negative stereotype towards Muslims. These findings concur with what Reisigl and Wodak state to be ‘social actors’ *exclusion from or inclusion in the linguistic representations*’ because they ‘can serve many different psychological, social or political purposes or interests on the side of the speakers or writers’ (2001, p. 47 [original italics]).

Regarding the occupational role, all three participants are highly portrayed as dominant figures, especially in the political sector. The gender category is also focused and high with reference to Muslims (23%) compared to Jews (11%) and Christians (5%). The analysis has shown that Jews are portrayed as socially and religiously more dedicated to their religious practices, creating thereby a positive image of Jewish participants. Christians are represented as being exposed to criminal acts in Muslim societies, in addition to some good features

related to their characters. With Muslims, they are viewed in problematic situations related to the veil of Muslim women and accusation and exploitation of Muslim men for terrorist acts.

According to other studies in portraying Muslims in the press, the analysis has also shown that the newspapers frame Muslims as a threatening group involved in conflicts. This structure may create relevant stereotypes among people. Jews are notably identified in the context of war and dispersion, contributing to representing them as a national minority. They are, thus, better conceived through two patterns: national/religious identity and persecution. Christians are constructed as a collective entity sharing political and religious principles, where they are sometimes associated with the religious bigotry showing their extreme views against others. They are often represented in unpleasant ways as having troubles in Muslim-dominated countries.

The analysis has indicated that the text producers have employed various linguistic features – naming, presupposition and categorisation of social actors – to label Jews, Christians and Muslims either positively or negatively so that the writers can manipulate the language used in the texts.

Chapter five focuses mainly on the lexical items used to label Jews, Christians and Muslims in the texts. The next chapter covers the linguistic analysis of transitivity choices, showing how verbal elements contribute to uncovering the assumptions in the texts.

## Chapter 6

### Representation of Jews, Christians and Muslims as social actors: collocational patterns of process types

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#### 6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the textual-conceptual function of representing actions/events/states to discover how Jews, Christians and Muslims are represented in the British newspapers. I chose these target words as the basic elements in the qualitative analysis because they are identified as occurring frequently. This is prompted by an observation of all verbs identified via word sketch. Word sketch generates the singular and plural forms of, for example, *Jew* and *Jews* separately. For the purpose of precision, I collected both forms together to carry out the analysis. This is more appropriate than separating them as most of the examples appear in both forms. The selected forms are collectively, then, referred to as Jews, Christians and Muslims henceforth.

The principal question addressed in this chapter is how *Jews*, *Christians* and *Muslims* are represented through transitivity choices. This is mostly related to the meaning of the verbal element in the clause which is based on ‘what is being done (actions), what is happening (events), or what simply *is* (states)’ (Jeffries, 2010a, p. 38 [original italics]). The choice of verbs can have ideological consequences on the reader’s perception (Jeffries, 2010a).

The remaining sections cover the procedures followed in the process of moving toward the data analysis. Sections 6.2 and 6.3 present a general account of the transitivity system, including the process types, appended with the frequency of each process alongside each participant. Section 6.4 provides a full account of the representation of *Jews*, *Christians* and *Muslims* as actors while section 6.5 examines their construction as goals. In the final step, the chapter raises some important issues in integrating two process types, where the verbal and other processes are intertwined and reconstructed in the representation of the three groups. The chapter concludes with a deconstruction of the patterns that reflect the differences in the representation of the three participants and the implications that arise from the overlap between the textual-conceptual functions elicited during the course of analysis.

## 6.2 The transitivity model

The fundamental component of the ideational meta-function of language is transitivity, which construes the world of experience into a manageable set of process types expressed in a clause (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 170). The textual-conceptual function of representing actions/states/events is derived from Halliday's model (1994) of Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG). The model focuses on the semantic functions that a language performs in any text rather than the traditional functions of grammar that distinguish between transitive and intransitive verbs. The transitivity system refers to the manner whereby language construes the world in terms of processes 'of happening, doing, sensing, saying, being or having' (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014, p. 213). The transitivity analysis concentrates on how participants, processes and circumstances are connected to each other. Participants are not regarded as traditional subjects and objects; they are instead entities with certain functions. Transitivity analysis helps to reveal both what is in a text and what is 'absent' from it (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p. 105).

I have used the transitivity model set out by Simpson (1993, 2004) because it is the version of SFG used in CS in which the process types are 'subdivided on the basis of finer distinctions in meaning' (1993, p. 83). According to Jeffries (2010a, p. 50), Simpson's model brings the fields of stylistics and CDA together by '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'. According to Simpson (1993, p. 96) the transitivity model 'provides one means of investigating how a reader's or listener's perception of the meaning of a text is pushed in a particular direction and how the linguistic structure of a text effectively encodes a particular worldview'. This thus helps to distinguish completely the process types used in the clause and how meaning is foregrounded or backgrounded in the clause.

The clause contains three parts: the process itself identified by a verb phrase to describe different actions and activities; the participants involved in the process expressed by the NPs and the circumstances realised normally by either adverbs or prepositional phrases. The participants vary according to the processes used in the clauses. As for circumstances, some of them are optional because they provide information about time, place and manner. In terms of grammar, the process, its participants and its circumstances are typically represented as

constituents in the transitivity structure of a clause (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 79). They, in turn, provide the frame of reference to interpret the experience of what is going on (Halliday, 1994, p. 107).

The analysis conducted in this chapter is three-fold. First, reading the concordances of the collocational patterns of verbs generated via word sketch; second, identifying the types of processes, participants and circumstances; and third, grouping the processes into thematic categories and drawing conclusions from the analysis. In the following sections, I have demarcated the process types and then presented the findings of the analysis of Jews, Christians and Muslims.

### 6.2.1 Material processes

These are verbs of ‘doing’, showing what is going on. Material processes involve two participants: the performer of the action (actor) and the recipient of the action (goal). Material processes view the outer aspects of the experiences (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014, p. 214). These processes can further be subdivided based on the ‘finer distinctions in meaning’ (Simpson, 1993, p. 83). There are intention processes (actions performed voluntarily), supervision (performed involuntarily) and material events. For example:

1. The firm that makes them was **founded** by a devout Christian. (Intention process)
2. Jack Straw said the ceremony was intended to commemorate not only the Jews who **lost** their lives in the Holocaust... (Supervention process)
3. The niqab is a rare sight and one that **alienates** some Muslims as much as it does others. (Event process)

In (1), *Christian* is the animate actor of the material intention process *found*, and *the firm* is the goal. In (2), the process *lose* is an unintentional action, and in (3), *one (the niqab)* is the inanimate actor of the process *alienate*, which is then referred to as an event rather than an action such as that which the intention and the supervision processes involve.

The picture created via the passive and active roles given to the participants is different. The instances that signal intentional material verbs are greater than the other two subdivisions in my data. This may help to find which participant is more constructed in an active role or a

passive one, which may have the effect of interpreting the type of role that, for example, *a Muslim* is associated with. As a result, the text producer can present the world to the reader with an ideological implication in terms of those participants' behaviours.

### **6.2.2 Relational processes**

These are processes of states of 'being'. They are used to show that a stable relationship exists between entities: the relationship of Carriers and Attributes. Simpson (1993, p. 85) points out that such a relationship does not mean that one participant might affect the other in any way. Relational processes can be divided into three subtypes: intensive relations (RI), identified via the copular 'to be' and other synonymous verbs, such as *become*, *consider* and *symbolise*, as in *His mother is a devout Muslim*; possessive relations (RP), expressed through verbs 'to have', as in *Christians have rituals and beliefs*; and circumstantial relation (RC), indicated by verbs relating to place and time, such as *observant Jews are required to be at synagogue [...] at sunset the night before Yom Kippur*.

### **6.2.3 Mental processes**

Mental processes express processes of 'sensing'. In contrary to material processes, mental ones describe the inner aspects of the experiences (Halliday & Mattiessen, 2014, p. 214). They can be divided into three types: mental reactions such as *hate*, *like*, *want*; mental cognitions, for example, *know*, *believe*, *perceive*; and mental perceptions such as *see*, *feel*. The mental process constructs two participants: sensor and phenomenon, e.g. *Jews feel vulnerable here now*; in which *Jews* is the sensor. This kind of process is of interest as it shows how certain participants are constructed in terms of mental activities. However, the number of instances I have captured is not as a good reference as it is for instances of material and relational processes, and therefore mental processes are not included in my transitivity analysis.

### **6.2.4 Verbalisation processes**

Verbal processes are processes of 'saying', such as *accuse*, *urge*, *call* and *tell*. They involve three participants: Sayer and Verbiage which are obligatory entities, and Target which is optional. As with mental processes, I have not involved the verbalisation processes in my analysis as they are not prevalent as relational and material processes. However, I carry out a

textual analysis using the examples that constitute verbal processes associated with other process types by virtue of complex verbal phrases (see section 6.6). This method is important to reveal patterns for ideological implications.

### **6.2.5 Existential processes**

This category of processes represents existence. It appears at the border between material and relational processes. It typically employs verbs ‘to be’ or other synonymous verbs such as *occur* and *exist*. In the existential clauses, the word *there* is the ‘Theme’, and what is introduced is regarded as the ‘New’ information (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014, p. 308). The participant identified in the existential process is the Existent which follows *there* as its empty subject to fill the grammatical structure of a sentence. It indicates the feature of existence as in *There are around 350 Muslims serving in the UK armed forces*. In this clause wherein *Muslims* is the Existent, it is quite clear that the existential process *be* represents the existence of Muslims in the UK armed forces.

### **6.2.6 Behavioural processes**

This last type of process lies in between material and mental processes. They ‘denote psychological or physical behaviour’ (Simpson & Mayr, 2010, p. 67) such as *describe* and *depict*. The participant identified in the behavioural process is the Behaver, as in *He was said to have described Jews as the "natural enemies" of Catholicism*. In this clause, the semantic implication of verbs sometimes causes a change in the semantic notion of the actors and goals as in the case of the verb *describe*; the behavioural process, wherein *Jew* is the Behaver.

However, the process types of existential and behavioural are neither included in Simpson’s model of transitivity (1993) nor used in Jeffries’ framework of critical stylistics (2007, 2010a). Simpson later added both processes to his model proposed in 2004.

## **6.3 Frequencies of transitivity processes**

Table 6.1 below presents the distribution of process types used to portray *Jews*, *Christians* and *Muslims* across my data alongside their total frequency.



**Table 6.1** Total frequency of process types of *Jews*, *Christians* and *Muslims*

Target words	Process types					
	Material	Relational	Mental	Verbal	Existential	Behavioural
Jews	368	264	40	21	15	9
Christians	140	240	47	33	15	0
Muslims	286	476	73	77	27	0
<b>Total</b>	794	980	160	131	57	9

These process types help to identify the contexts in which the three groups occur. There is a divergence in frequency among the three participants, making a substantial contribution to understanding various messages the text producer seeks to put on view. Material and relational processes are the dominant types found in my data, with 794 and 980 instances respectively. This may be indicative of the portrayal of each group in terms of narrations and descriptions: what they do and how they are described. This also demonstrates the writer's preference for describing inherent aspects of the participants rather than actions and events. Moreover, what differentiates the relational processes from the material ones is that the former represents static relationships between the entities, while the latter is concerned with dynamic actions. The instances of the other process types are less frequent for meaningful textual analysis. Such observations indicate that text producers are less concerned with presenting Jews, Christians and Muslims in terms of what they feel or think than with presenting what they do or are like. It also indicates that the three participants are not given voice; most of the instances describe them as receivers of verbiage, as will be shown in section 6.6. The results of these process types are not adequate to show patterns, and therefore are not involved in the qualitative analysis. Therefore, material and relational processes are used to explain how each group is represented in the newspapers. These process types help identify which contexts are applicable to one group rather than another. Regarding the relational processes, Table 6.2 below provides frequencies of the three sub-types of relational process - intensive, possessive and circumstantial - across the three corpora.

**Table 6.2** Frequencies of relational process types with *Jews*, *Christians* and *Muslims*

Target words	Intensive	Possessive	Circumstantial
Jews	230	33	1
Christians	226	10	4
Muslims	424	47	5
<b>Total</b>	880	90	10

According to the table, the intensive type constitutes the higher proportion of relational processes, indicating that the text producers are concerned with showing what the three groups are like, rather than what they have or where they are. Compared with the low frequency of possessive and circumstantial types, the analysis will focus on the intensive relational process, which demonstrates the authors' intention to identify inherent aspects of the three participants. However, due to the short space and the overlapping themes of material and relational processes that do not show new patterns in constructing ideology, I have decided to focus on material processes to conduct the qualitative analysis in this chapter. The relational processes are best suited to exploring the synonyms and antonyms in the 'equating and contrasting' function of textual analysis discussed in chapter seven. It is worth mentioning here that investigating the dispersion plots of the frequency of the verb processes is not possible for two reasons. Firstly, the frequency of most of the verbs is not high when compared to that of noun collocates discussed in chapter five. Secondly, verb phrases are either in the passive or active structures which resulted in a few occurrences of each verb, in addition to the different tenses that also resulted in limited occurrences in the corpus.

Since the aim of this chapter is to show the thematic categories of the three groups, the main aims of the following analyses are to reveal how Jews, Christians and Muslims are portrayed as actors and goals in the British newspapers and to discover if there are any differences in their representations.

#### **6.4 Representation of *Jews*, *Christians* and *Muslims* as actors**

This section provides the processes that portray *Jews*, *Christians* and *Muslims* as actors. The analysis consists of three steps: identifying the verb collocates, grouping them into thematic

categories and identifying linguistic patterns to uncover differences and similarities in representation. The table below illustrates the verb collocates alongside their raw frequency (RF) and normalised frequency (NF), which is obtained by dividing the raw frequency by the total number of the material process of each group.

**Table 6.3** Verb collocates of *Jews*, *Christians* and *Muslims* as actors

Target words	Verb collocates	RF	NF
<b>Jews</b>	Suffer, flee, live, escape, settle, kill, leave, run, do, lose, fight, die, wear, support, build, arrive, come, move, try, begin, pretend, take, want to leave, want to eat.	125	34%
<b>Christians</b>	Flee, suffer, find, welcome, do, face, use, run, take, live, pray, seek, visit, work, fall, die, go and have.	84	60%
<b>Muslims</b>	Hold, come, live, support, pray, kill, attack, travel, take, go, run, do, try, swamp, worship, make, contribute, seek, flee, use, break, leave, begin, follow and suffer.	106	37%

The table shows a number of points worth mentioning. The first is that the percentage of occurrences related to Christians is higher (60%) than that of Muslims (37%) and Jews (34%). This indicates that Christians are more represented as active participants than the other groups. Another point is that these material processes construct *Jews*, *Christians* and *Muslims* as active actors, who ‘make things happen and can therefore influence their environment’ (Baker & Ellece, 2011, p. 88). The third point is that the three participants share some verbs: *flee*, *run* and *suffer*. However, there are differences in the number of instances. *Suffer*, for example, has a higher frequency for Jews (14 instances) than Christians (7) and Muslims (3); it presents Jews as experiencing critical conditions. In addition, the verb *kill* is only attached to Jews and Muslims. Such construction indicates that Christians are not portrayed in the context of crime. Another observation is that the verb *attack* co-occurs exclusively with Muslims, depicting them as aggressive actors.

Overall, the majority of these verbs are different and mostly negative. Finally, some verbs may be classified into different process types, depending on the context. For example, the verb *make*, collocating with *Muslims*, is coded as material and relational, e.g. *Muslims also now*

*make up 12% of the prison population in England and Wales*; *make* here is a relational process. As such, I argue that the representation of the material verbs is influenced by their contexts. To obtain a clear picture, the processes are grouped into thematic categories which help to uncover linguistic patterns surrounding Jews, Christians and Muslims. This allows me to determine what thematic categories that the three groups share. However, the process types contribute to identifying distinct patterns of representation across my data. Each category is presented below.

#### **6.4.1 Thematic categories of Jews**

The range of themes emerging from the processes is different and the interpretations are sometimes derived from expanding the concordances to give more access to the co-texts. There are 125 instances divided into three themes inferred from the verb choices: movement, conflict and business and power, which are discussed in the following sub-sections.

##### **6.4.1.1 Movement**

A number of verbs represent Jews as moving, including *escape*, *flee*, *settle*, *arrive*, *move*, *leave*, *come* and *live* (61 instances in total). The semantic implication of these verbs classifies the material actions as intentional and less intentional depending on the context in which they appear. As far as these verbs are concerned, *flee* (12 occurrences) and *escape* (4 occurrences) are performed less intentionally, which is an indication that Jews ran away to save their lives. The construction is identified in two patterns: the areas which Jews left to seek refuge and the hard situations that forced them to flee or escape, such as *the Jews who fled the siege returned after the war*, *Jews fleeing Hitler's persecution*, *Jews who escaped from Germany just before the Holocaust* and *Jews who escaped Germany before the war*. The action of fleeing and escaping is logically presupposed (Levinson, 1983), triggered by the temporal clauses such as *after/before the war* and *before the holocaust*. This highlights when the actions happened, making their action less intentionally performed as they escaped/fled under the effect of hard conditions. Therefore, expanding the concordances is necessary in interpreting the meanings of the verbs in context, as Simpson (2004, p. 186) argues, to recognise whether or not an action is done accidentally or deliberately.

Also, in 15 cases, the verbs *flee* and *escape* occur in lower levels, making the given information less important but also less susceptible to question as it is taken for granted as given information. This representation confirms Van Dijk's argument (2000b, p. 40) that the events of ethnic minorities 'may be strategically played down by the syntactic structure of the sentence, for example, by referring to the event in a "lower" (later, less prominent) embedded clause'. Accordingly, the overlap between transitivity and prioritising choices contributes to obtaining a comprehensive interpretation of the representation of Jews. This interpretation assigns an unpleasant characteristic to the portrayal of Jews, presenting them as weak and victims.

With reference to the verbs performed intentionally, the verbs *leave*, *settle*, *move*, *come* and *arrive* display neutral meanings in contrast to *flee* and *escape*, although in a few cases they occurred in contexts which suggest negative implications, as shown in the following concordance:

#### Concordance 6.1 Jewish movement

No.	Concordance		
1.	reason: he is a Jew. Of the community of Sephardi	Jews	who had first <b>settled</b> in Sarajevo in the
2.	. The majority are Yiddish- speaking Ashkenazi	Jews	who <b>settled in Germany</b> and central Europe and
3.	. * Further congregations of ultra-orthodox	Jews	have also <b>settled in the North-east</b> around
4.	from Soviet control. In Absurdistan, a Russian	Jew	newly <b>settled in New York</b> travels to an anarchic
5.	of that measure, introduced in 1210, many	Jews	<b>left the country</b> . Even before that, Jews in
6.	Franks says covering the region as a	Jew	<b>left him</b> , at times, 'flat and depressed' 20
7.	and the Nixon administration had helped many	Jews	<b>leave the Soviet Union</b> . Credit: By Toby Harnden
8.	for Moses either existing or for two million	Jews	having <b>left Egypt</b> for Canaan. There was,
9.	to provide blanket refugee status to those	Jews	<b>left in Yemen</b> thought to have relatives already
10.	Ukrainian village? After all, there are no	Jews	<b>left in his ancestral village</b> , hardly any in
11.	Julius describes, which took root when	Jews	<b>arrived in England</b> in the wake of the Norman
12.	to give up their family names, the thousands of	Jews	who <b>arrived in France</b> <u>after the war</u> were
13.	Full text: Early 1930s Large numbers of	Jews	<b>arrive in Palestine</b> <u>driven by persecution</u> in
14.	, with around 3,000 in southern Sweden. "	Jews	<b>came to Sweden</b> <u>to get away from persecution</u> , and
15.	the Anglos came a wave of Jews, and after the	Jews	<b>came the Cubans</b> and other Latinos. The city was a
16.	in New York in 1921, the son of Austrian-born	Jews	who had <b>come to the US</b> after a period spent in

The concordance above shows that the verbs are not followed by any goal. Instead, in 17 instances, the material actions are followed by ‘scope’ indicating the domain where the process has taken place (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 192) to further elaborate the meaning of the verbs. The reason for using the scope is semantically related to processes that lack lexical contents unless they are elaborated further by nouns functioning as scopes. The performance of the action processes in the underlined lines 12, 13 and 14 is influenced by problematic situations as in *driven by persecution* and *to get away from persecution*, in addition to the temporal clause in line 12 suggesting a logical presupposition. However, in 13 occurrences, the information of these actions is given less attention as it is embedded in subordinate clauses, making these actions less questionable by the reader.

As far as the scope is concerned, the context in which the verb *live* occurs is also indicative of the areas of Jews’ residence in 22 instances, such as *more than 500,000 Jews living in the disputed territories*, *a list of 6,000 Jews living in Spain*, *many Jews living abroad* and *400 to 600 Jews still living in Yemen*. In these clauses, the material process *live* is followed by a scope (underlined phrases) which involves the areas where Jews live, suggesting a semantic preference for movement. The adverbials are inherent in the process construing to enhance the meaning of movement. Close examination of the meaning of the domain reveals a significant implication regarding the demographic dispersion of Jews across the world. Such construction has the impact of showing important information about their cultural and religious backgrounds.

The examples above show Jews’ determination to move, whether unintentionally or deliberately, in search of safety but these actions are given less significance as the actions performed are placed at a low level in the sentence structure. This has the effect of representing Jews as dehumanised and so less important.

#### **6.4.1.2 Conflict**

The verbs *lose*, *die*, *kill*, *fight*, *take over* and *suffer* (31 instances in total) occur in conflict-related contexts, showing a semantic preference for violence and expressing negative meanings. Verbs such as *suffer*, *lose* and *die* are material action supervision (MAS); there is an absence of intention, whereas the verbs *fight*, *take over* and *kill* are material action intention (MAI). The verbs *suffer*, *die* and *lose* construct Jews as patients not actors, indicating someone

that suffers or undergoes a process (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004; 2014), thus making them less active. These verbs are followed by ‘scope’ to further elaborate the meaning of the processes. The following underlined phrases illustrate the scope elements:

1. Jews suffered pogroms
2. "collective violence" suffered by the Jews
3. the Jews had suffered unprecedented, historic wrongs
4. the persecution suffered by the Jews
5. Jews suffered from a host of economic discriminatory measures
6. 32,000 Jews had died in the ghetto
7. a Hungarian Jew who had lost most of her family in the Second World War

In these instances, the verbs are followed by the scope (underlined) to express the violent meanings of the verbs. The scope here is either a prepositional phrase to indicate the nature of the scope or a noun phrase to specify the process further. This pattern shows an unpleasant representation of Jews who are unwillingly liable to suffering but affected by the violent actions; thereby portraying Jews as persecuted. This construction reiterates the assumption that Jews are victimised (see sections 5.5.1.2). Moreover, in 17 instances out of 20, these verbs occur in a subordinate level, making such construction a taken-for-granted portrayal of Jews. For example:

8. His mother, Paula, a Hungarian Jew who had lost most of her family in the Second World War, died in 2000.

In this sentence, the information of the loss of the Jew’s family is presented in a lower level of the clause. Such construction plays a role in giving a low value to the Jew’s suffering, but it is also less contestable because it is represented as given knowledge. This linguistic structure may have an ideological significance to identify which actions are to be backgrounded or foregrounded.

Regarding the three material verbs *kill*, *fight* and *take over*, they construct the Jews as intentional actors although each has a different connotation: *kill* and *take over* are related to criminal acts whereas *fight* connotes forms of defeating or achieving something. For example:

9. [...], that the Jews **killed** Christ; on a later visit, by way of ostensible apology.
10. [...] in which venal, immoral Jews **take over** and ruin a German city,
11. The Jews who **fought** to create their state are almost absent; never named, they appear only in the background.

Jews are represented as actors of aggressive actions in examples 9 and 10, while they have worked for their country in 11, in which the verb *fought* is used to depict Jews as determined, though the complement of the sentence suggests an unpleasant portrayal. The six instances where the verb *kill* is used contradict Van Dijk's argument (1991, p. 215) concerning the reduction of the negative acts of in-groups in terms of effect when they are placed in lower levels. In examples 9 and 10, Jews' negative actions (out-groups or other ethnic minorities) are diminished because they are positioned at a low structure level.

The analysis has shown that the actions are given less importance as they are placed in low-level structures. This comes in line with Jeffries' argument (2010a, p. 86) that 'putting something at a high syntactic level may mean it is more important'. According to the contextual information, the overlap of transitivity and prioritising helps in depicting the Jews as either victims in the cases of *suffer*, *die* and *lose*, or aggressive actors as in the case of the processes *kill* and *take over*. Such linguistic structure contributes to drawing the reader's attention away from what the Jews have performed or suffered.

#### 6.4.1.3 Business, power and social aspects

The verbs *run*, *do*, *build*, *pretend*, *begin*, *try*, *wear*, *eat* and *support* are clearly MAI and consist of 33 instances in total. Although the number of instances is less than those in the movement category, the instances reveal contexts away from the war and conflict issues which are considered newsworthy. The verbs incorporate concepts showing their business, dominance and other social practices, contributing consequently to a positive portrayal of Jews. However, most of these verbs do not explicitly refer to any of the categories already mentioned, but are connected in one way or another to such contexts. For example, the following sentences construct the Jews as dominant:

12. if the Jews really **run** the world to the extent we're always being told they do [...].



13. The old canard goes that the Jews **run** Hollywood.

14. [...] apparently Muslims are incapable of governing a polity and the global financial conspiracy is **run** by the Jews.

The highlighted verbs are in the present simple tense, indicating that the actions are permanently and generally true, hence showing their dominance. In other five instances, the processes are associated with social practices: *it's a wig worn by observant Jews, the same day that Jews begin Rosh Hashanah* and *the 300,000 Jews who have built their homes in the conviction that it is their God-given right to live there*. These verbs are also followed by a scope, which further describes the positive meaning of the actions. This structure has the effect of representing the Jews as socially committed to their faith and community. The analysis also reveals other observations. Four instances portray Jews as concerned with what the Israeli authorities do. For example:

15. [...] that not all Jews **support** Israeli policy."

16. But it is not just Jews who are **beginning to despair** at Israel's actions.

The examples above construct the Jews as active participants who disagree with the Israeli policy. What is noteworthy here is that the context plays a role in the interpretation of the verbs. In (15), it is the negator *not* that shows Jews' stance towards the policy of Israel, while it is the semantic implication of the verb *despair* in (16) which reveals their objection to Israel's actions. This represents Jews as dominant actors who seem critical of the Israeli government's policies. In addition, there are only three cases describing Jews positively, as shown below:

17. [...] in which Jews who **try to make** peace are portrayed as deceivers.

18. [...], which is an alliance of Christians, Muslims and Jews who are **trying to take** practical steps to better the lives of the poor.

19. [...] We were just four Jews **trying to get** a laugh."

The highlighted verb phrases are realised by a complex verbal group in which the second non-finite verb determines the process type (Martin, Matthiessen, & Painter, 1997, p. 117). Thus,

*to make peace, to take practical steps* and *to get a laugh* construct Jews as having the initiative to do something, showing a pleasant representation. In addition, whatever Jews have done, the action role is put in a sentence-final position, making their contribution insignificant, as shown in (17) in which making peace is further embedded in a subordinate clause, thus making it less susceptible to questioning. Such structure presents one part of a story as more important than another.

One significant effect of subordination is to belittle the positive actions that Jews perform. In all the examples above, the actions of Jews are given less prominence in the sentence structure. This has resulted in portraying Jews as performers of insignificant positive actions, though they show some power and control as observed in the analysis. From ideological significance, positioning in low-level structures draws the focus away from what Jews have achieved, implying that the good actions of Jews are less important.

#### **6.4.2 Thematic categories of Christians**

As illustrated in Table 6.3, Christians are constructed as actors in 84 instances. Compared with Muslims (37%) and Jews (34%), the frequency of Christians is big (60%), showing therefore salient patterns. The focus of the analysis in this section will be on the verbs that have significant patterns because some verbs, such as *find*, *take*, *work*, *run*, *do* and *have* do not contribute to the representation of Christians. Therefore, the instances are split into two basic themes: conflict and discussion of religious perspectives, as shown below.

##### **6.4.2.1 Conflict**

This thematic category consists of 44 instances, including the verbs *flee*, *suffer*, *die*, *face*, *seek*, *live*, *use* and *fall*. The dominant pattern of these verbs is that of victimisation. The context and the semantic implication triggered play a role in deciding upon the interpretation of these verbs. The highly occurring processes are *flee* and *suffer*, which contain 13 and 7 instances respectively. The contextual information helps in interpreting the meaning of these two verbs provided by two syntactic features. The first is realised by the scope that follows the verbs, as shown in the following concordance:

## Concordance 6.2 Christians *flee/suffer*

No.	Concordance		
1.		Christians	flee <b>threats</b> of fresh attacks
2.	Jos	Christians	fled <b>villages in central Nigeria</b> yesterday
3.	massacres at three Christian villages. Many	Christians	fled <b>their homes</b> this week. Page 15
4.	with most states adopting Islamic law and many	Christians	fleeing <b>southwards</b> . "They now want to extend
5.	Casmoussa. According to the UN, 4,098	Christians	fled <b>Mosul</b> between February 20 and 27 this year
6.		Christians	flee <b>massacre</b> Author: Anonymous. Publication
7.	as a significant presence. About 200,000 Iraqi	Christians	have already fled <b>the country</b> ; they once made up
8.	Biblical proportions. Almost half of Iraq's	Christians	have fled <b>their country</b> <u>since the first Gulf War</u>
9.	Iraq: Bombed out: the Baghdad	Christians	fleeing <b>terror in their own country</b> : Minority
10.	Iraqi	Christians	flee <b>Baghdad</b> <u>after cathedral massacre</u> : UN says
11.	with those of Iraq. About 120,000 Iraqi	Christians	have fled to <b>Jordan</b> in the past seven years.
12.	the new year's holiday." Thousands of Iraqi	Christians	have fled to <b>northern Iraq</b> <u>since October</u> when at
13.	rather than the church. One of the reasons	Christians	have suffered in <b>Iraq</b> is simply that they have
14.	last Sunday, with six bishops alleging that	Christians	suffer <b>discrimination</b> in today's <b>Britain</b> , was
15.	, senior Church of England figures believe that	Christians	are suffering from <b>discrimination</b> and that
16.	of the Lords, who recently complained that	Christians	were suffering <b>discrimination</b> and demanded
17.	as well as Muslims, and per capita the	Christians	suffer from ' <b>honour</b> ' crimes more than the
18.	the religious <b>persecution</b> suffered by	Christians	in <b>Pakistan</b> , recalled the hardships of the

The scope (highlighted words) and the verb are joined together to extend the meaning of the process. The items such as *threats*, *massacre*, *terror*, *discrimination* and *persecution* in lines 1, 6, 9, 14 and 18 respectively display the type of the violent actions directed at Christians. In other occurrences, the violence is highlighted further by the places that are associated with the process, as in lines 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12, showing the areas where the actions happened. In these clauses, Christians are described as the patients undergoing the process; therefore, they are represented as victims. Furthermore, Christians' flight is also represented by adverbs of time as shown in lines 8, 10 and 12 (underlined), such as *since the first Gulf War*, displaying that the action of fleeing took place after some hard conditions arose, making Christians' fleeing unintentional. The expanded concordance line 5 clearly shows this idea:

20. According to the UN, 4,098 Christians **fled** Mosul between February 20 and 27 this year after the murder of eight Christians.

The underlined phrase indicates that flight took place after a crime, portraying Christians as vulnerable to violence. Given that Christians are repeatedly represented as persecuted in Muslim-dominated countries, this construction reiterates the unpleasant portrayal of Christians in the British press as evidenced in the previous chapter. Furthermore, in 13 instances, the information of Christians' suffering is given priority and prominence by positioning it at a higher level in the sentence structure, as shown in example (20) above. This portrayed Christians as persecuted and victimised, which might evoke sympathy. Generally, *Christian/s* tends to hold an unpleasant prosody and a semantic preference for suffering. Such an unpleasant depiction has an ideological effect on the display of an underlying religious difference, particularly if religious groups constitute minorities. This reiterates an existing discourse of racism, contributing to a stereotypical image of Christians in Muslim societies (see section 5.4.2 ). Moreover, the intransitive verb *die* is the only verb interpreted by its semantic implication, which represents Christians as patients as in *1,960 Christians have **died** there in targeted attacks*, constructing them again as victims.

Suffering is another meaning of victimisation expressed by the verbs *face*, *live* and *seek*, in which *face* is encoded as MAS, but *live* and *seek* as MAI. As mentioned for the previous verbs, the occurrence of the scope plays a role in identifying the meaning of the verbs further, as shown in the concordance of the verb *face* below:

### Concordance 6.3 Concordance of the verb *face*

No.	Concordance		
1.	of Sheffield? What about the situation faced by	Christians	<b>in the public sector</b> suspended or fired from
2.	across the Middle East. For not only <b>in Iraq</b> are	Christians	<b>facing new persecution</b> . The Copts in Egypt are
3.	wearing religious symbols. Dr Williams said	Christians	often faced a " <b>strange mixture of contempt and</b>
4.	Amen". Mr Jin preached on the <b>persecution</b> early	Christians	faced. It was an apt sermon. "We often get
5.	are rapidly emptying. Now Iraq's	Christians	<b>face two further unthinkable realities: that</b>

The scope (highlighted words) and the verb are used together to describe the violent meaning of the process *face* and the domain where the actions have taken place. This again represents Christian participants as persecuted. This persecution is logically represented in line 2 by using the adjective *new*, presupposing that Christians were persecuted before. Similarly, the verbs *seek* and *live* are followed by a scope: *Christians are seeking the West's help* and *he [...]*

*expressed fears for Christians living in Pakistan and Iraq.* The use of scope provides further information that signifies Christians' suffering, thereby reiterating the difficult situations Christians have experienced in non-Christian societies based on their faith. The use of the verb *live* indicates that Christians are living in unstable countries (i.e. Pakistan and Iraq), which means they are in danger.

Prioritising is the second syntactic feature affecting the interpretation of victimisation patterns. In six occurrences, the information of their suffering is prioritised by being placed in main clauses, signifying salient importance. While prioritising promotes the pattern of victimisation when the information appears in the main clauses, some negative actions ascribed to Christian participants appear in subordinate clauses to marginalise their negativity. The verbs *use* and *fall* exemplify these contexts. In six instances, these verbs are used to describe Christians having done negative actions though these verbs carry neutral meanings, as in the following examples:

21. [...] "the dirty place of the infidel that Iraqi Christians **have** long **used** as a base to fight Islam".
22. There have been a number of recent cases where practising Christians **have fallen** foul of employment law through demonstrating their faith.

In (21), the material process is used to refer back to *the dirty place of the infidel* where the action happened, backgrounding the involvement of Christians in fighting Islam. Similarly, sentence (22) portrays Christian participants negatively, i.e. they broke the rule. However, all the information is placed at low structure levels, indicating that their bad actions are given less prominence. Such representation supports Van Dijk's argument (1991, p. 215) that 'negative acts of in-group members [...] may be reduced by placing them later in the sentence'. Accordingly, the transitivity analysis of these material processes foregrounds the ill-treatment that Christians have experienced, signalling a perception of Christians in Muslim societies, while it backgrounds their negative actions.

#### **6.4.2.2 Promoting religious practices**

In comparison to the conflict context (52%), this second category shows a low proportion of occurrences (18%). Examining the concordances displays different contexts including the verbs *pray*, *visit*, *welcome* and *go* (15 instances in total). These processes do not have explicit

meanings related to religion (except for *pray*), but the examination of the co-texts leads to contexts denoting religious activities. By way of examples:

23. [...] that Benedict XVI will be **welcomed** here by many non-Roman Catholic Christians.
24. Scandal, schism and secularisation leave Christians **praying** for new reformation.
25. Hundreds of thousands of Christians **visit** the Holy Land each year, many to be baptised in the Jordan.
26. Naylor adds: "It is a wonderful affirmation of faith for Christians who **go** along on Good Friday. [...].

As shown, the highlighted verbs are used to display the positive actions that Christians are engaged in. This representation brings to the fore a positive image of Christians who are willing to achieve peace and reformation, indicating that they are active and determined.

The transitivity analysis has demonstrated how the processes contribute to representing Christians negatively or positively by either contextual information or semantic implication, which helps to conclude that it is important to consider the context and semantics of verbs before deciding on their interpretation.

### 6.4.3 Thematic categories of Muslims

Muslims are realised as actors in 106 instances. Similar to the textual analysis of Jews and Christians, the instances are composed of two prevalent themes: conflict-related issues and promoting religious and social practices. The analysis focuses on the processes that identify salient patterns that help in interpreting the portrayal of Muslims, as illustrated next. To clarify this, verbs such as *come* and *travel* show the destination to and from where the actions happened. Therefore, they are excluded from the analysis, as they do not show any significant patterns of ideological implications.

#### 6.4.3.1 Conflict

This category constitutes 56 instances including the verbs *kill*, *attack*, *suffer*, *flee*, *hold*, *swamp*, *take*, *live*, *do*, *go* and *try*. The semantic implication and the contextual information

again determine the interpretation of these verbs. The verbs *attack* and *kill* occur eight and three times respectively; they describe Muslims attacking and killing people, portraying them as criminals. The following concordance displays the context of the collocation *Muslims attack*:

#### Concordance 6.4 Muslims *attack*

No.	Concordance		
1.	communi- ties. While there are some reports of	Muslims	<b>attacking</b> Hindus, few dispute that most
2.	the congregation that they could be <b>attacked</b> by	Muslims	at any time. "Some people lived in real fear that
3.	in real fear that we really would be <b>attacked</b> by	Muslims	during the religious services," Thomas, a
4.	Delhi, Mumbai and Hyderabad. Ten years later,	Muslims	<b>attacked</b> and killed 58 Hindu passengers on a
5.	Full text: ABUJA:	Muslims	<b>attacked</b> a Christian village in central
6.	war. Awlaki was also in contact with militant	Muslims	who later <b>attacked</b> American targets, such as
7.	mentioned in the Bible were still <b>attacked</b> by	Muslims	in the region. This was because most of the
8.	, said yesterday. "We were not <b>attacked</b> by all	Muslims	. And there were Muslims killed there." Mr

In lines 1, 4 and 5, the verb *attack* is used to portray Muslims as involved in the action of attacking people of other faiths (i.e. Hindus and Christian), which constructs Muslims negatively. Further, the MAI verb in lines 2, 3, 7 and 8 is in the passive structure to turn focus onto the negative action that consequently constructs Muslims negatively.

Regarding the verbs *flee* and *suffer*, Muslims are portrayed as undergoing suffering. These verbs are followed by a scope which describes the negative meaning of the process further, as in *Muslims fleeing ethnic cleansing* and *British Muslims are suffering persecution*, constructing Muslims in a problem situation and therefore as ill-treated or abused. It is worth stating that the frequency of occurrence of these two processes is low (six occurrences) compared with Jews (26) and Christians (20). This indicates that text producers are less interested in representing Muslims experiencing critical situations. Such a finding confirms the difference in representation between the three religious groups.

As far as contextual information is concerned, the second group of verbs *hold*, *take*, *do*, *go*, *try*, *swamp* and *live* are interpreted according to the context surrounding them<sup>17</sup>. For example, the verb *swamp* collocates in the BNC with words *mangrove*, *wave*, *sea* and *water* – they are inanimate identities constructed as covering something either with flood or a problem. However, the most frequent collocate is *wave* as in ‘she was swamped by a wave of impotent anger at and violent dislike for the man whose dogged persistence bordered on persecution’, connected to an unpleasant personal feeling. *Swamp* is therefore used to represent Muslims as unwanted or as a source of concern.

Regarding the verb *hold*, although it is neutral, the context affects its interpretation in various ways. For example:

27. A Muslim **holds** the keys to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre to prevent Armenian and Orthodox priests fighting each other at Easter.
28. "It would be naive to deny that there are, within the prison population, Muslims who **hold** radical extremist views, or who may be attracted to them for a variety of reasons," she said.
29. A Yemeni journalist who interviewed the group's leader a year ago said he saw Muslims **holding** Australian, German and French passports at a training camp south-east of Sana'a.

The three examples above construct Muslims in positive, negative and neutral meanings depending on the context that surrounds the verb *hold*. In (27), the context displays a positive representation of a Muslim participant who is seeking to bring about reconciliation. In contrast, example (28) portrays Muslims negatively by referring to their extremist views. However, example (29) presents a neutral portrayal of Muslims.

Regarding the processes *take*, *do*, *go*, *try* and *swamp*, though they hold neutral meanings, the contextual information reveals an unpleasant representation as in the following concordance<sup>18</sup>:

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<sup>17</sup> Although the verb *live* occurs in contexts that suggest negative implications, the verb itself does not give any negative meanings, and sometimes a neutral meaning is also indicated through contextual information.

<sup>18</sup> The verbs *try* and *go* are used in two different thematic categories, depending on the contextual information.



### Concordance 6.5 Processes of *do*, *try*, *go*, *take* and *swamp*

No.	Concordance		
1.	have to meet with the law, just like the radical	Muslims	<b>do</b> . But to say that we are simply not going to talk
2.	church right now, with his shotgun, in case the	Muslims	<b>try</b> crashin' one of their jumbo jets into our
3.	need to be done on managing the millions. Some	Muslims	are also still <b>taking</b> risks with their hajj by
4.	the EDL, helped by equally unrepresentative	Muslims	who <b>took</b> to the streets to scream at returning
5.	between religion and democracy. Hard-line	Muslims	have <b>taken</b> to the streets, warning the
6.	to the internet. Yesterday five young American	Muslims	<b>went</b> on trial in the city of Sargodha, accused of
7.	how the neighbourhood is about to be <b>swamped</b> by	Muslims	or how the UK is going to be Islamified by 2040,
8.	being cultivated is that we are to be <b>swamped</b> by	Muslims	. Again, the notion is an absurdity. Not just
9.	else Europe will turn "black" and be <b>swamped</b> by	Muslims	. During an EU-Africa summit that ended

In line 1, for example, *do* refers back to *have to meet with the law*, meaning perhaps that Muslims are illegal. Also, *take* in line 3 depicts Muslims as being in danger, and in lines 4 and 5, they are in problematic situations in which they are depicted as angry and upset, while Muslims are viewed as suspects in line 6. Such construction has the effect of portraying Muslims in an unpleasant situation. However, the verb *swamp* occurring in the passive structure in the last three lines portrays Muslims negatively because of the activity they have done which is similar to invading, reflecting, therefore, a negative representation of Muslims.

#### 6.4.3.2 Promoting religious and social practices

Contrary to what has been indicated in the previous section, this thematic category includes 40 instances that display positive portrayals of Muslims as the theme is concerned with stimulating good practices. The contextual information and the semantic implication again determine the interpretation of these verbs, which are divided into two sets. One set includes the verbs *worship*, *pray*, *break the fast*, *begin to fast*, *follow*, *leave* and *go*. These verbs shape Muslims in the context of their faith, though the verbs *leave* and *go* do not show that explicitly. By way of example:

30. Selection bolter Khawaja, a practising Muslim who **prays** every Friday at his local mosque they are initiating humanitarian assistance.

31. [...] she said Muslims **praying** on the street were like Nazi occupiers.

32. Muslims **went** to Friday prayers yesterday.

33. [...] many Muslims **follow a tradition** that regards such images as blasphemous.

In these clauses, Muslims are portrayed as committed to their religious practices, reflecting thus a positive representation. The other set of processes include *run*, *make*, *contribute*, *seek*, *support*, *try* and *use*. Looking at concordances in context displays Muslims promoting common activities. Instances are shown in concordance 6.6 below.

**Concordance 6.6** Verb collocates of *run*, *make*, *contribute*, *seek*, *support*, *try* and *use*

No.	Concordance		
1.	The East London Mosque is <b>run</b> by British	Muslims	of diverse backgrounds, with deep roots in the
2.	Qureshi -- an Indian Hindu and Pakistani	Muslim	<b>using</b> their partnership <u>to promote peace</u> in
3.	life decisions is still widely <b>used</b> by modern	Muslims	across the world, according to
4.	, how can we expect social cohesion? British	Muslims	<b>contribute</b> billions to our GDP, but that's
5.	reflect the ways in which Jews, Christians and	Muslims	have <b>contributed</b> to the development of the book
6.	through satellite TV and YouTube, these young	Muslims	<b>seek</b> <u>to relate</u> to a Palestinian "neighbour"
7.	. God and Mammon Several ethical funds serving	Muslims	<b>seeking</b> Sharia-compliant investments have
8.	Muslims say that the trouble started when	Muslims	<b>seeking</b> <u>to rebuild a property</u> , destroyed in
9.	want nothing to do with such extremists.	Muslims	have <b>made</b> a deep and historic contribution to
10.	and emulation. The book looks also at	Muslims	who have <b>made</b> their homes in Europe -- in the
11.	until 2001. The Taleban's hardline Sunni	Muslims	<b>make</b> unnatural allies with Iran's Shia
12.	in his farewell pilgrimage in 632. Millions of	Muslims	<b>try</b> <u>to make</u> it to Mecca but it is estimated that
13.	, he feels, is much harder now for young	Muslims	<b>trying</b> <u>to integrate</u> with British life. "Your
14.	for occupying Muslim countries. "We are only	Muslims	<b>trying</b> <u>to defend our religion</u> , people, homes
15.	in recent years by theories <b>supported</b> by devout	Muslims	and Christians. So-called "young Earth"
16.	mostly back the governing PDP, while	Muslims	generally <b>support</b> the opposition ANPP, and

The highlighted verbs construct Muslims in positive meanings depending on the context that surrounds the verbs, such as *the development*, *deep and historic contribution*, *Sharia-compliant investment*, *their homes*, *unnatural allies* and *the opposition ANPP*, representing Muslims as engaged in social and political activities. In addition, the verbs underlined in lines 2, 6, 8, 12, 13 and 14 are realised by complex verbal elements such as *to promote peace*, *to relate*, *to integrate* and *to defend our religion*, which further contribute to the positive

representation of Muslims as initiating good deeds. According to these examples, Muslims are represented as active participants and bear responsibility for working towards integration, which therefore foregrounds the positive evaluation of Muslims. It is worth noting that the processes discussed in this section are not as frequent as other items such as *militant*, *prisoner* and *extremist* (see section 5.5.3). The construction is therefore a marked sign as it is less typical to perceive Muslims positively. It reflects how the newspapers link Muslims to religious, social and political endeavours.

According to the analysis above, two thematic categories are shared among the three groups: conflict and promoting social practices, with the former being more dominant. The percentage of occurrences of the conflict-related context is divergent. The frequency of Muslims and Christians is somewhat alike with 53% and 52% respectively, while the percentage of Jews is lower (25%) than the other groups as more discussion about Jews' suffering occurs in the category of movement (49%) which is exclusively used to describe Jews' movement, depicting them as victims. Starting with Jews, they are affected by the violent acts; thereby they are portrayed as persecuted groups. However, Jews are also seen as actors of aggressive actions as displayed by the processes *kill* and *take over*. Apropos Christians, they are also represented as victims, in which the ill-treatment that Christians experienced is foregrounded, but their negative actions are backgrounded as shown in the case of the verbs *fall* and *use*. Muslims are portrayed as criminals and as a cause of concern. Although the three groups are represented differently, they are constructed as patients undergoing hard conditions as in the case of the verbs *suffer*, *flee* and *die*. Accordingly, such findings confirm the difference in representation among the three participants.

So far, I have presented the findings of the transitivity choices of *Jews*, *Christians* and *Muslims* represented as actors. In the next section, I will present the transitivity analysis of the three groups represented as goals.

### **6.5 Representation of *Jews*, *Christians* and *Muslims* as goals**

In this section, *Jews*, *Christians* and *Muslims* are represented as goals. In this construction, the three participants are associated with lacking power and control. The aim of this analysis is also to discover whether there are differences among the three participants. Initially, a list

of all material processes is provided attached to the three participants alongside their raw frequencies (RF) and normalised frequencies (NF) as shown in Table 6.4 below:

**Table 6.4** Verb collocates of *Jews*, *Christians* and *Muslims* as goals

Target words	Verb collocates	RF	NF
<b>Jews</b>	Save, kill, murder, help, perish, rescue, protect, gas, hide, send, attack, destroy, exterminate, force, bear, take, get, lead, round up, capture, expel, transport, drive, deport, forbid, strip, allow, find, transform, marry, readmit, exile, persecute, fight.	243	66%
<b>Christians</b>	Persecute, target, kill, force, treat, feed, invite, leave, allow and lead.	56	40%
<b>Muslims</b>	Offend, alienate, marry, inspire, bomb, convert, anger, outrage, criminalise, infuriate, help, radicalise, kill, bear, treat, stigmatise, attract, attack, target, drive, arrest, involve in, allow, see, meet, give, hold, make, lead, blame.	180	63%

The number of occurrences varies among the three participants. The instances of Jews and Muslims constitute a high proportion (66% and 63% respectively), while they are the lowest in the case of Christians (40%). Such divergence in frequency may also reveal contrasts in reporting. This indicates that newspapers are less interested in presenting Christians as affected participants. Although there are some shared verbs, such as *kill*, *allow*, *force* and *bear*, the textual analysis identifies certain patterns resulting in different representations of each participant. The contextual information and the semantic implication contribute to interpreting these verbs. In most cases, the scope is the syntactic decisive feature interpreting the patterns of the transitivity processes. To better understand the portrayal of Jews, Christians and Muslims as goals, the following sections are divided into a consistent set of thematic categories.

### 6.5.1 Thematic categories of Jews

There are 243 instances in which the verbs *kill*, *murder*, *save* and *help* constitute the majority. They imply negative implications by themselves to the extent that their presence in the texts

links Jews to events that are more negative. However, the verbs *save*, *help*, *take*, *protect*, *send* and *hide* imply neutral meanings but they occur in contexts which represent Jews as subject to violence. Regarding the verbs *bear*, *find*, *marry* and *get* which also imply neutrality, they do not show new patterns contributing to the representation of Jews. Therefore, they are excluded from the analysis. Contextually, the instances are grouped into two themes: victimisation and movement, as respectively presented in the following sections.

#### 6.5.1.1 Context of victimisation

Jews are portrayed as victims in 192 instances. Examining the contexts reveals topics discussing the difficult situations that Jews experienced. These are recorded in different contexts such as documentaries and anniversaries, in which wars and holocaust can form a backdrop for the representation of Jews in the British press. The most dominant pattern is that of victimisation, which is represented through three sets of verbs. The first set of verbs *kill*, *murder*, *gas*, *perish*, *persecute*, *exterminate*, *destroy*, *fight*, *capture* and *attack* report violence towards humans and violence leads to have victims. These verbs therefore carry negative meanings, showing therefore a semantic preference for genocide and a negative semantic prosody. In this regard, the scope serves to decide the interpretation of the meaning of these verbs, as illustrated in the following concordance:

#### Concordance 6.7 Jews as victims (1)

No.	Concordance		
1.	to carry them to the gas chambers. The Polish	Jews	<b>murdered in Sobibor</b> hoped to the very last that
2.	the nation and "an insult to the 65,000 Austrian	Jews	<b>murdered during the Holocaust</b> ". Vienna's
3.	, or Memorial Book, which lists all the	Jews	<b>murdered in the Holocaust</b> , Liberskind's
4.	to persecute, expel and <b>exterminate</b> the	Jews	from the very beginning," he said. "It
5.	the site, near Krakow, where more than a million	Jews	were <b>exterminated during the Second World War</b> .
6.	knew all about the Nazi plan to <b>exterminate</b> the	Jews	but, with a long history of anti-Semitism
7.	towards the gas chambers. Once there, the	Jews	were <b>killed by carbon monoxide exhaust fumes</b> in
8.	the second world war. Hitler <b>killed</b> six million	Jews	in Europe and the Jews were fleeing to Portugal
9.	there in 1929 that Palestinians <b>killed</b> some 60	Jews	<b>in an uprising</b> against British rule. In recent
10.	shown in Sweden, he said: "200,000 to 300,000	Jews	<b>perished in Nazi concentration camps</b> , but none
11.	the work were Karl Maylaender and Moriz Eisler,	Jews	who were <b>persecuted by the Nazis</b> .

The scope (underlined phrases) are combined with the verbs (highlighted) to explain further the kind of the violent actions that Jews experienced. For Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, p. 193), such discursive structure serves to form a common sense of evaluation, as evident in the phrases *in the Holocaust* (line 3) and *by carbon monoxide exhaust* (line 7). In these clauses, Jews are portrayed as tremendously victimised, which may elicit empathy. This structure also allows the author to reduce the potential for question about these violent actions as they are embedded at lower syntactic levels, making them less susceptible to debate. Such portrayal of Jews as victims undergoing suffering during the war period is not peculiar to the British newspapers; Døving (2016) found that the representation of Jews in the Norwegian newspapers is associated with the concept of holocaust. In combination with such conventional reporting about what Jews experienced in the World War II, this representation contributes to the stereotype of Jews in the British newspapers.

The second group includes the verbs *save, help, rescue, protect, send, round up, hide, drive, deport, transport, lead* and *take*<sup>19</sup>. Although they imply neutral meanings, they occur in contexts that convey negative implications, for example, being in dangerous situations, thereby presenting Jews as weak and as victims. The examples are evidenced in the followed concordance:

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<sup>19</sup> One occurrence of the verb *take* has not been taken into account as it does not manifest any significant pattern. Regarding the verbs *drive* and *deport*, they are used in two different meanings based on their concurrence in context (i.e. victimisation and movement).

## Concordance 6.8 Jews as victims (2)

No.	Concordance		
1.	of many other ordinary French people to protect	Jews	<b>from arrest and deportation.</b> The
2.	indifferent to the fate of more than a thousand	Jews	rounded up in Rome and sent to <b>Auschwitz.</b> Pius
3.	. It tells of an ordinary Dutch couple who hide a	Jew	<b>during the occupation,</b> and have to dispose of
4.	testaments collected from those who had helped	Jews	and others <b>to escape persecution.</b> The play
5.	Dr Solomon Schonfeld, famous for rescuing	Jews	<b>from the Holocaust,</b> wanted to put on a charity
6.	occupiers to supply trains that took 76,000	Jews	and others <b>to German death camps.</b> Only about
7.	of anti-Semitism in a country that sent 76,000	Jews	<b>to concentration camps.</b> As a result, the
8.	and other enemies of the Nazis. At least 77,000	Jews	were sent <b>to their deaths</b> from French transit
9.	, the Nazi businessman who saved 1,200	Jews	<b>from concentration camps</b> in Poland and Germany
10.	of unspeakable acts, including driving naked	Jews	<b>into the gas chambers</b> with a whip, had managed to
11.	it has nothing to hide over transporting French	Jews	<b>to Nazi death camps.</b> A week ago, California
12.	station in Berlin, from which thousands of	Jews	were deported <b>to concentration camps.</b> Laying a

As stated before, verbs such as *protect*, *hide*, *help*, *rescue*, *take* and *send* themselves do not convey any violent meanings, instead, violence is encoded in the scope (highlighted above) that follows the verb, such as *from arrest and deportation*, *during the occupation*, *to their death* and *from concentration camps*. This construction illustrates the dangerous conditions that Jews had, portraying them again as victimised.

Being vulnerable to humiliation or belittled is another sense of victimisation expressed by the last set of verbs *forbid*, *strip*, *force*, *readmit* and *transform*, as shown below:

34. [...] with ancillary ones **forbidding** Jews to build new synagogues, wear certain clothing, ride horses or employ Muslims – [...].
35. But the hastily written Nuremberg laws **stripped** German Jews of their citizenship, [...].
36. At about the same time, Jews were **forced** to wear a tabula star, a chilling precursor to the Nazi era.
37. It was to be 350 years before the Jews were officially **readmitted**.
38. [...] that some Jews are **transformed** into pigs and apes and that the penalty for gay sex is execution.

The examples (34-37) above provide linguistic evidence of portraying Jews as being under the control of a high authority. In these sentences, Jews are represented as either being forced to comply with rules and regulations set by authorities, or described in an unpleasant way in (38). There can be no doubt that Jews are depicted as powerless and suppressed or dehumanised, contributing to how newspapers create an unpleasant picture of Jews as weak participants.

#### 6.5.1.2 Context of movement

In 22 instances, the movement of Jews is constructed by the verbs *expel*, *exile*, *deport*, *derive* and *allow*<sup>20</sup>. Similar to the previous section, the context and semantic implications serve to interpret the meaning of these processes. For example:

39. 727 - Jews are **expelled** from Ukraine by decree of Catherine I of Russia.

40. It is estimated that 76,000 Jews were **deported** from France between 1940 and 1944.

41. The previously enslaved Jews were **allowed** to return to Jerusalem.

42. [...], in return for Moscow **allowing** Soviet Jews to emigrate.

In these examples, the concept of movement is expressed by the verbs and the location where actions happened, revealing thus the troubles Jews had. In sentences (39) and (40), the semantic implication of the verbs *expel* and *deport* indicates that Jews were forced to perform the act of movement. The non-finite verbs in (41) and (42) construct Jews as given permission to move. The representation in these examples has the effect of displaying Jews as weak and as victims of conflict. It appears that the newspapers tend to produce a subtle picture in representing Jews, which contributes directly or indirectly to an unpleasant depiction, reiterating the existing discourse of victimisation as discussed in the aforementioned section.

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<sup>20</sup> One occurrence of the verb *allow* has not been taken into account as it does not manifest any significant pattern.



## 6.5.2 Thematic categories of Christians

Table 6.4 shows that the processes that represent Christians as goals constitute the least (only 56 instances, 40%) amongst the three participants. This indicates that newspapers show less focus on portraying Christians as passive participants than Jews and Muslims. The majority of the processes, comprising 48 instances, represent Christians in conflict contexts, while eight instances show good descriptions which are illustrated below.

### 6.5.2.1 Contexts of conflict

The verbs *persecute*, *kill*, *target*, *force*, *feed*, *treat*, *leave* and *lead* construct Christians in conflict contexts with 48 instances. The contexts help in interpreting the meanings of these verbs, in particular *feed*, *treat*, *target*, *leave* and *lead* as they tend to have neutral meanings. However, such contexts suggest a number of negative meanings. For example:

43. During the 35 years of Ba'athist rule, Iraq's Christians were **treated** relatively well, especially compared with Shias and Kurds.
44. UDGES are adding to fears that Christians are **treated** less favourably than other minority groups, claims a human rights campaigner.
45. The ebb-tide of empire **left** Christians exposed in countries like Iraq.
46. Since then, the terrorist group has **targeted** Christians in their homes, [...].
47. It was carried out in the name of an umbrella group for global jihad causes, known as the Islamic State of Iraq, which has previously **targeted** Christians and churches, [...].

In the first two examples, the verb *treat* conveys two different contexts in terms of drawing comparisons between different groups. In (43), the comparative adverb *relatively* logically presupposes that Christians were treated better than Shias and Kurds, implying that Christians were given priority. In (44), the mistreatment is logically represented using the trigger *less favourably*, presupposing that Christians have not been given the right treatment compared to other minorities. Therefore, the context helps in interpreting the meaning of the verb *treat*, revealing either bad or good descriptions. Additionally, the violent meaning of the processes *target* and *leave* is further expressed by the scope: *exposed in countries like Iraq* in (45) and

*in their homes* in (46). Literally, the process *target* connotes the aim to attack and *in their homes* maximises the negativity of their being targeted. As a result, the verb and the scope together describe the violent meaning of the processes as they are used to portray Christians as being under attack. In (47), the act of attacking is represented logically by the adverb *previously*, presupposing that Christians were attacked before. All these examples (except 43) portray Christians as persecuted and passive participants, showing an unpleasant representation.

The conflict-related meaning is also expressed by the verbs *kill* (11 instances) and *persecute* (12 instances), in which the semantic implications of such verbs suggest that Christians are exposed to violence. For instance:

48. Seven Christians **were killed** and at least 13 wounded yesterday in a US and Iraqi rescue operation to end a hostage drama at a church in the Iraqi capital.
49. Edmund Adamus, [...], said Parliament had turned Britain into a country which is more culturally anti-Catholic than nations where Christians **are violently persecuted** such as Saudi Arabia, China and Pakistan.

The above examples reveal the violent actions Christians underwent, constructing a victimised and persecuted identity. It is worth adding that these sentences are in the passive, shifting the focus onto who is being killed and persecuted. This point is supported by Van Dijk (1985) who argues that ‘news bias can even be expressed in syntactic structures of sentences, such as the use of active or passive structures, which allow the journalist to express or suppress the agent of news acts from subject positions’ (p. 73). The writer here tries to bring the focus onto the difficult conditions Christians experienced.

Contrary to the conflict context discussed above, eight instances produce a pleasant picture of Christians, realised by *invite* and *allow*. For example:

50. "There's always conflict," said Li Baiguang, a lawyer who was one of three Chinese Christians **invited** to the White House in 2006 by former President George W Bush.
51. THE POPE will this week urge the Government to protect religious freedoms to **allow** Christians to follow their beliefs.

These processes display neutral meanings, but the contextual constructions show good features being represented, for example, in an invitation to a government's office or practising their beliefs. Overall, the analysis of Christians as affected recipients resulted in framing them as ill-treated and victims. Newspapers thus tend to focus on the actors' violent actions as a strategy to upgrade the Christian participants' suffering. This displays the writer's technique to impact the view shared among the public since the media, as Matheson (2005, p. 2) points out, produce meanings that are shared in a society.

### **6.5.3 Thematic categories of Muslims**

In 180 instances, Muslims are highly represented as goals. The verbs shown in Table 6.4 are grouped into two themes: conflict contexts and religious and cultural aspects. These two themes are discussed in the following two sections.

#### **6.5.3.1 Contexts of conflict**

Muslims are constructed in conflict contexts in 129 instances. The verbs are further divided into three different concepts depending on the type of actions. Firstly, the verbs *radicalise*, *attract*, *criminalise*, *arrest*, *hold*, *lead*, *blame* and *involve in* indicate that Muslims are represented as performing bad actions<sup>21</sup>. Secondly, the processes *kill*, *bomb*, *attack*, *alienate*, *stigmatise*, *drive*, *treat*, *help* and *target* frame Muslims as victims and mistreated. Lastly, the verbs *offend*, *anger*, *outrage*, *infuriate* and *make* portray Muslims as easily irritated or displeased.

Regarding the first concept, the semantic implication of the verbs and the context show the portrayal of Muslims as guilty of bad actions in 22 instances, as illustrated in concordance 6.9 below:

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<sup>21</sup> The verb *attract* is used in two different thematic categories, depending on the contextual information.

## Concordance 6.9 Muslims being condemned

No.	Concordance		
1.	lecturer who distributed <u>leaflets that blamed</u>	Muslims	for the heroin trade was cleared yesterday of
2.	Iraq invasion radicalised British	Muslims	and raised terror threat, says ex-MI5 chief:
3.	a complete rethink of all our plans. With young	Muslims	<u>being radicalised and their plots being</u>
4.	specific problem of a small minority of young	Muslims	<u>being attracted to violent groups</u> ". The Home
5.	to increase with a drive to attract more	Muslims	<b>into the armed forces</b> , along with others from
6.	plan acts of terror and not criminalise young	Muslims	for thought crime and possession of propaganda
7.	. The strikingly accelerated rate of American	Muslims	<u>arrested for involvement in terrorist</u>
8.	with an immigration offence. Five other	Muslims	<u>arrested over alleged links to threats to kill</u>
9.	profiling after rise in number of British	Muslims	<u>held by border officials</u> Hundreds of British
10.	and Afghanistan as well as the release of all	Muslims	being held <b>in Belmarsh prison</b> . Writing under
11.	takes the form of relentless attempts to expose	Muslims	involved in wider politics as secret fanatics
12.	" sentences handed down to young	Muslims	<u>involved in demonstrations against the</u>
13.	that he argues are factors in leading young	Muslims	to turn <b>to extremism</b> . Mr Wahhab, who chairs a

The verbs *radicalise*, *criminalise* and *arrest* represent Muslims as involved in bad actions: terrorism, extremism and criminality, or in military enlistment as in *armed forces* in line 5. Such verbs show a semantic preference for crime, suggesting therefore a negative prosody. In some cases, the violent meanings of the verbs *attract*, *held*, *involve* and *lead* in lines 4, 5, 10, 12 and 13 are not encoded in these processes themselves, but in the scope following them, such as *violent groups*, *armed forces*, *prison*, *demonstration* and *extremism* (highlighted items). However, in 17 occurrences, the writer subordinates the act of condemnation that is part of restrictive relative clauses as underlined in the concordance lines 1, 3, 4, 7, 8, 9 and 12 above, which is also clarified in the following sentence:

52. The plan to reduce the number of Muslims being **radicalised** by giving those in the mainstream the confidence to challenge extremists is sensible, [...].

Embedding the action of radicalisation at a lower level structure makes it less important, but also less open to debate by the reader. These processes, therefore, show the negative actions of Muslims who are depicted as criminals. This outcome suggests that transitivity analysis is powerful to realise other supplementary clauses contributing to interpreting the context further.

In contrast, the second set of verbs portrays Muslims as being exposed to violent acts in 71 instances. This set is also divided into two groups. The first includes verbs that hold negative meanings by themselves such as *kill*, *bomb*, *attack*, *alienate* and *stigmatise*, wherein *kill* and *alienate* are the largest: 20 and 12 occurrences respectively. For example:

53. A BNP member spent a decade building up an arsenal of weapons that could have been used to **attack** Muslims.
54. Shahzad said that US drone attacks were "**killing** all Muslims".
55. Muslim police claim that attempts to counter extremism may **alienate** and **stigmatise** Muslims.
56. He wondered under what circumstances would Nato, acting for the UN, have **bombed** the Muslims as it had the Serbs?"

The highlighted verbs represent Muslims as victims affected by violent actions presented by the above-mentioned verbs. Further, this violence is presupposed as the information is further embedded in subordinate clauses, and hence less open to be questioned by the reader. The second group of processes include *treat*, *help*, *target* and *drive*, identifying Muslims as being abused. These verbs do not convey any negative meanings, but the contextual information displays undesirable situations as in the examples below:

57. Staff **treating** Muslims as potential terrorists, prison watchdog warns [...].
58. Jihad Jane, [...], was arrested last year over her plan "to do something, somehow, to **help** suffering Muslims".
59. The new strategy focused on prevention, **targeting** young Muslims to prevent them from being attracted to jihad and from becoming future suicide bombers.
60. More than 250,000 Muslims were **driven** from the area and only a few have returned permanently.

The violent meanings of verbs *treat* and *help* are not stated overtly, but the contexts surrounding them show phrases such as *potential terrorists* and *suffering* that express the violent meaning of these processes wherein Muslims are viewed in problematic situations and needing support as a result. The verbs *target* and *drive* in (59) and (60) convey negative implications in themselves, constructing Muslims as mistreated. In this respect, I agree with

Simpson and Mayr (2010) who state that it is hard to expound the ideological functions of processes alongside participants out of context. As a result, these processes contribute to the unpleasant portrayal of Muslim participants as victims.

The third concept represents Muslims as easily angered or expressing overreaction, including the processes *offend*, *anger*, *outrage*, *infuriate* and *make* in 36 instances. The semantic implication of these verbs explicitly constructs Muslims in terms of their disapproval. The following instances show that Muslims are over reactive due to a sense of aggression against them:

61. The TV channel recently aired a controversial episode of South Park that **angered** some American Muslims by depicting the prophet Muhammad in a bear costume.
62. The cartoon, one of 12, **outraged** many Muslims, who make up around 3% of Denmark's 5.5 million population.
63. The competition has **infuriated** many Muslims, especially in Pakistan, [...].
64. In a statement Politiken said that it "recognises and deplores" that Muslims were **offended** by the caricature.

The verbs *anger*, *outrage*, *infuriate* and *offend* promote violent acts which mean that Muslims are involved in dramatic situations as a consequence of previous demonstrations or protests that led to stressed situations. The representation of this context contributes towards describing Muslims as liable to anger. As for the verb *make*, it is used to represent Muslims as being forced to do something as in: *make Bosnian Muslims, [...], "disappear from the face of the earth"* and *Muslims are made to go and watch the lashes and the death penalties*. Accordingly, the representation constantly contributes to shaping negative stereotypes of Muslims as a cause of trouble. The information is placed at lower structure levels, making it not only less important, but also less susceptible to debate by the reader. Such linguistic construction shows a taken-for-granted representation that directly assigns Muslims into negative representations.

### 6.5.3.2 Religious and social practices

This second thematic category is different from the previous one. The instances portray Muslims in various contexts not connected to conflict issues, such as marriage, worship and social interaction. It includes the verbs *marry*, *see*, *bear*, *convert*, *inspire*, *attract*, *allow*, *give* and *meet* occurring in 51 instances, in which verbs such as *see*, *bear*, *allow*, *give* and *meet* indicate neutral meanings, as shown below. Samples of instances are provided in the following concordance:

#### Concordance 6.10 Muslims as goals in different contexts

No.	Concordance		
1.	, warned Catholic women against <b>marrying</b>	Muslims	. The Italian Cardinal Giacomo Biffi also urged
2.	; Said he would not want his children to <b>marry</b> a	Muslim	. The candidate defended his actions last night
3.	horrific sharia laws. A Muslim can only <b>marry</b> a	Muslim	. Who is the racist? Frank Walker Cessnock what
4.	becomes Little Iqbal, a wise and personable	Muslim	<b>given</b> to wise statements in the heat of battle. "
5.	group, stressed that it is vital that young	Muslims	<b>are given</b> <u>a sense of hope</u> if they are to be less
6.	law, as positive signs of the <u>greater freedom</u>	Muslims	<b>are given</b> in this country. He warned that any
7.	to imply that they are a greater threat than <b>born</b>	Muslims	and this is simply not true. "It is also
8.	, in Saudi Arabia, which <b>attracts</b> three million	Muslims	. Overcrowding at Kumbh Melas has led to tragedy
9.	brings in tourists, but they do not <b>allow</b> the	Muslims	<u>to pray</u> ." He said a space for Muslim prayers
10.	to certain media reports, Jews, Christians and	Muslims	<b>ARE allowed</b> to build their homes anywhere in the
11.	a few streets are occasionally blocked to <b>allow</b>	Muslims	<u>to pray in the open air</u> . "You say to me that a
12.	possibly could transpire if you do not <b>allow</b>	Muslims	<u>to practise their own faith</u> ," he said. "This is
13.	, saying: "We ask Allah for her action to <b>inspire</b>	Muslims	to raise the knife of Jihaad against those who
14.	hurling abuse at a Muslim juror, but added: "A	Muslims	is not <b>allowed</b> to be on a jury convicting another
15.	, visas and summer camps. Attempting to <b>convert</b>	Muslims	is illegal, but there is no law against
16.	global caliphate here. He also <b>meets</b> British	Muslims	who appear unable to imagine anything worse,
17.	to speak at universities, where she <b>meets</b> young	Muslims	who could be tempted to embrace radicalism. "
18.	like anyone else I knew. "Td hardly ever <b>seen</b> a	Muslim	before, so I didn't have any preconceptions,

This concordance shows that Muslims are involved in contexts related to religion and social practices. The positive meaning of the verb *give* in lines 5 and 6, for example, is supported by the underlined phrases *a sense of hope* and *greater freedom*, indicating that Muslims are supportive and confident. In lines 9, 11 and 12, the verbal elements *not allow to pray*, *allow to pray in the open air* and *not allow to practice their own faith* indicate that Muslims are

restricted or given permission to practise their faith, which means that they are not free enough to worship. However, lines 1, 2 and 3 display a sense of racism and prejudice among Muslims and people of other faiths. Regardless of the few cases indicating unpleasant portrayal, these instances occur in contexts not linked to terrorism. However, the examples do not necessarily refer to violence on the part of Muslims, but the recursive occurrences of Muslims in negative contexts result in recurrent negative stereotypes, as shown in this chapter and the previous one.

The analysis shows that the three religious groups share the thematic category of conflict. However, the percentage of occurrences is also different. It is higher in Christians (86%) than in Jews (79%) and Muslims (72%). Though the difference is slight, the representation is different. With reference to Christians, they are portrayed as persecuted, experiencing difficult situations in Muslim-based societies such as Iraq and Pakistan. Similarly, Jews are also represented as targets or victims affected by the violent actions in war situations, which is reiterated in sections 6.4.1.1 and 6.4.1.2 above. However, Muslims are portrayed differently. They are represented as they are involved in bad acts, badly-treated and easily infuriated. This confirms my argument that despite such similarity in the thematic category, there is a difference in representation among the three religious groups.

## **6.6 The co-occurrence of process types**

The following analysis describes different process types being incorporated to construct Jews, Christians and Muslims, which entail ideological implications. In doing so, I have conducted the analysis using the examples that comprise two different process types linked by means of complex verbal phrases. For example, verbal processes are most often linked to material ones as in the frame [verbal process + nominal group + material process], e.g. *accusing Jews of hurting blacks*, *encourage Christians to emigrate* and *urge Muslims to avenge*. For the sake of clarity, I have examined the three participants together, which serves as a manageable way of analysis to show patterns. Such construction helps to define the roles of participants or events in context. The aim of this analytical procedure is to interpret the meaning of the processes that construct Jews, Christians and Muslims and to explore whether the British newspapers are biased negatively or positively in representing the three participants.



Starting with Jews, there are 11 instances wherein the verbs *accuse* and *blame* are utilised in combination with material actions: *use*, *hurt*, *block*, *murder* and *kill*. These verbal processes construct Jews as receivers of verbiage. This means that all the negative verbal actions assign negative meanings to them, while they are not given opportunity to react or defend themselves. As a result, they are passive receivers as shown in the concordance below:

**Concordance 6.11** Complex structure of process types of Jews

No.	concordance		
1.	trade chief apologised yesterday for blaming	Jews	and the "Jewish lobby" in Washington <b>for blocking</b>
2.	- to make the streets clean again". He blamed	Jews	<b>for encouraging</b> "disgustingly high levels" of
3.	lot like the man who set out to make a film blaming	Jews	<b>for killing</b> Christ. For years I have been struck
4.	them. "There were a lot of comments blaming the	Jews	<u>for Iraq</u> and he got up to say that he was Jewish and
5.	as Barcelona dismantled Real 5 Bishop ' blames	Jews	' <u>for criticism</u> of Catholic church record on
6.	in their anti-semitic world by blaming the	Jews	. Poor Benjamin Netanyahu! All in all, then, the
7.	street. Elsewhere, there's talk of blaming the	Jews	<u>for the outbreak</u> . In secret, Bucky begins to
8.	about Hitler, would have publicly blamed the	Jews	<u>for the banking crisis</u> of 2008? Whether there is
9.	Daily News as a Jewish "wasps nest" and accused	Jews	<b>of using "neutral camouflage"</b> to disguise what
10.	social stigma. The first blood libel, whereby	Jews	were <b>accused of murdering Christian children</b> ,
11.	to Jewish organisations in the US accusing	Jews	<b>of hurting blacks</b> and seeking what he calls "
12.	pulled him over for drunk driving. He accused	Jews	<b>of being responsible for "all the wars in the</b>

The verbal processes *blame* and *accuse* present the speakers' attitudes towards Jews who are the receivers of the verbiage in these clauses. These processes are followed by material ones that ascribe crimes to Jews as shown in the highlighted phrases in lines 1, 2, 3, 9, 10, 11 and 12. This has the effect of focusing on the wrong or illegal actions because each is the second part of a complex verb phrase that has significance from the transitivity perspective. Such syntactic structure suggests that Jews are accused of bad actions which is indicative of negative evaluations. However, the construction of verbal groups in lines 4, 5, 7 and 8 is different; though verbal processes are not followed by material actions, prepositional phrases (underlined) are used to confirm that Jews are also in the position of accusation. As a result, the verbal processes create a negative portrayal of Jews who are not given voice in the newspapers; they have instead been accused indirectly of involvement in crime. Throughout

the analysis, this representation shows a distinct and marked image of Jews being connected to crime; they are constantly portrayed as innocent victims (see sections 6.4.1.2 and 5.5.1.1).

Moving to the representation of Christians, I found 16 cases of incorporating two process types in the representation of Christians as receivers of verbiage and not speakers. The instances show 14 occurrences of the processes *urge* and *encourage*, while *tell* (two instances) is a neutral verb. The verbs *urge* and *encourage* are followed by material processes: *to care more deeply*, *to "do penance"*, *to display their faith* and *to "stand together"*; mental processes: *to remember*, *to look inward* and *to view*; and relational processes: *to keep a sense of proportion* and *to keep fears*. These verbal groups provide deeper meanings conveying that Christians are directed to positive activities. This reflects a sense of bias towards the actions and behaviours of Christians, therefore the writers display a good image of Christians as positive receivers.

However, only four cases indicate that Christians are responsible for bad actions in which the verb *accuse* is used with material actions: *Christians accused of trying to abduct 33 young Haitian children* and *accuse fundamentalist Christians of blocking pregnant women*. Such a verbal process shows the speaker's attitude which negatively represents Christians as receivers of bad verbiage.

As for Muslims, there are 26 integrated processes. The verb *urge* (in 14 cases out of 16) is linked to material actions *to avenge*, *to ignore the election campaign*, *to help assassinate* and *to conduct attacks*. Most of these actions connote contexts of conflict. Unlike Christians, the verbal process *urge* attached to Muslims appears to be used in negative contexts, demonstrating a sense of bias against Muslims. This structure reveals that similar processes can be used differently with two different groups; different concepts can be implied, depending on the context. The process *urge* is not necessarily critical of Muslims. The problem here is that *Muslim* is constantly used in close proximity to negatively-charged lexis that makes other neutral items occurring in the same context look negative. This indicates that 'recurrent collocates often provide replicable evidence of evaluative connotations' (Stubbs, 2001, p. 449). Nevertheless, the representation is different for *accuse* and *blame*, which occur in the frame [verbal process + Muslim + preposition + noun/ing] as shown in the concordance below:

## Concordance 6.12 Integrating process types of Muslims

No.	Concordance		
1.	and slandered for everything. No one blames the	Muslims	<b>for anything.</b> " Asked what he would tell
2.	as leader of the Czech church. He did not blame	Muslims	<b>for the crisis</b> , he said, because Europeans had
3.	Lecturer cleared in hate trial after blaming	Muslims	<b>for the drug trade</b> [Scot Region] Author:
4.	, " Karadzic said as he again accused Bosnian	Muslims	<b>of staging the Markale market massacre</b> , in
5.		Muslim	accused <b>of polygamy</b> hits out at French
6.	the anti-Islamic film Fitna, who has accused	Muslims	<b>of trying to "colonise"</b> his country. Three
7.		Muslim	accused <b>of raping wife</b> becomes symbol of
8.	. Karadzic, who has repeatedly accused Bosnian	Muslims	<b>of staging the market attack</b> for propaganda
9.	sentenced to death by stoning as prominent	Muslims	called <b>for clemency</b> . News, page 3

The two processes *blame* and *accuse* appear to show what the speakers think about Muslims. What follows the verbal processes (highlighted phrases) implies negative implications, except for lines 5 and 9 which are neutral. In lines 1, 2 and 3, *blame* is followed by the frame for + nouns, e.g. *for the crisis*. This verb is not an action verb but it indicates that Muslims were blamed for unacceptable actions. The effect of such construction still suggests that Muslims are construed as receivers of accusations. This again reiterates a negative stereotypical view of Muslims.

It is worth adding that there are 13 cases where items are in quotation marks, which are called *scare quotes* (Bell, 1991, p. 208), a way of distancing from what is said. This indicates that these items are part of the original source, showing the fact that they are in question, thereby keeping the writer's voice outside the context.

The significant pattern of meanings within the verbs is that Jews, Christians and Muslims are always receivers of sayings and rarely depicting as sayers. The three groups are similar in being receivers of verbiage but different in their interpretations, showing therefore the ideological bias of the broadsheet newspapers, in which Jews and Muslims are portrayed as negative receivers while Christians as positive receivers. This confirms again the argument that the three religious groups are represented differently. The newspapers are negatively

biased against both Jews and Muslims, while they are less negatively biased towards Christians.

## **6.7 Summary and discussion**

This chapter has examined the types of actions and events that portray Jews, Christians and Muslims as actors and goals. The transitivity system has played a powerful role in conveying what the texts reveal towards the three participants. Findings reveal similarities in some material processes but with discrepancies in the representation of the three groups. Answering the focal question of this chapter of how text producers represent Jews, Christians and Muslims through transitivity choices can be based initially on the frequency information and the themes defined from reading the concordances in contexts. First, the predominance of material processes has shown that Jews (34%) and Muslim (37%) hold low frequency compared to Christians who constitute a high proportion (60%) in their representations as actors. However, as goals, Jews (66%) and Muslims (63%) are the most frequently recurring, while Christians (40%) occur less frequent (see Tables 6.3 and 6.4). This suggests that the collocational patterns have revealed distinct attitudes, especially in terms of stereotypes of ‘others’, i.e. minorities.

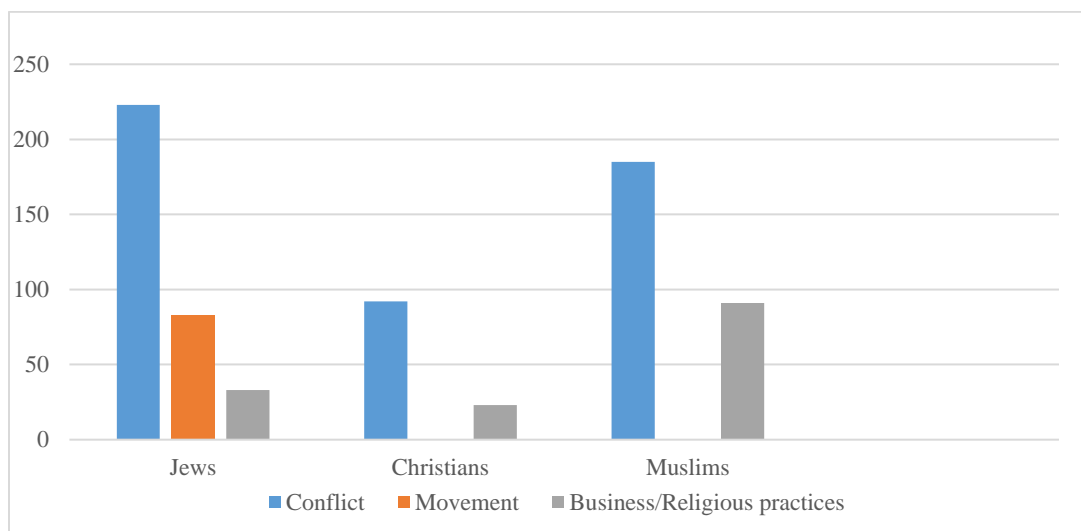
The textual analysis has revealed that the construction of Jews, Christians and Muslims is different, suggesting that each participant is associated with certain contexts. The context of Jews is predominantly concerned with describing their movement and distribution throughout the world, whether voluntarily or not, and most often, they are exposed to conflict. This has created a stereotyped view about Jewish immigration. Christians are represented as undergoing suffering in mostly Muslim-dominated societies. Muslims are portrayed as frequently engaged in problems or they are themselves seen as the source of trouble. Such discussion indicates that the conflict issue is prevalent in the representations of the three participants, highlighting specifically suffering on the part of Jews and Christians.

With reference to the syntactic structure of sentences, transitivity analysis together with prioritising feature can expose a potential ideological implication in the construction of the three groups in the newspapers. This has demonstrated Van Dijk’s (1991) ideological square of representing ‘in-groups’ and ‘out-groups’, realised by the syntactic structure of clauses. In their representation as actors, the construction of Christians as undergoing suffering has been

emphasised when placing it at higher syntactic structure levels, but it is minimised by being at lower levels in the occurrences of Jews likewise experiencing suffering. In some cases, the violent acts of Muslims are given priority when they are engaged in a war or protest regardless of what they were seeking to achieve.

Another interesting structure is associated with the combination of two process types: verbal and material processes. Such co-occurrences stress another depiction different from the material processes examined in isolation. It appears that Jews are portrayed according to certain process types as accused of doing something wrong or illegal. This displays a different image of Jews being repetitively portrayed as victims. The representation of Christians is also different; they are portrayed as engaged in positive activities and influential, reflecting therefore a positively evaluated description of Christians. However, there is a bias in the representation of Muslims when comparing the use of similar process types with two different participants (i.e. Christians and Muslims), e.g. *urge*. Muslims are represented in a consistently negative light (the words used are negatively charged) making other neutral items occurring in the same contexts look negative.

The transitivity system is, therefore, essential to analysing different representations of the three groups to view the world or construct reality. This may be ideologically motivated as it has the implications to represent the social actors as having agency or power (Fairclough, 1992, pp. 177-185). The transitivity analysis has clearly shown different themes resulted in different levels of representation among the three groups, in which the thematic category of movement is exclusively used with Jews, and the conflict-related contexts are highly used in the representation of Jews and Muslims as illustrated in Figure 6.1 below.



**Figure 6.1** Themes within the transitivity choices

Stereotypes are therefore incorporated into the portrayal of Jews, Christians and Muslims and are reflected in the language of the texts. To that end, it is worth considering ‘whether or not there is a relation between the normalised stereotypes in daily use and the propaganda produced in time of conflict’ (Ferguson, 1998, pp. 138-139). This signifies that newspapers represent certain events and groups stereotypically in different contexts. This chapter, then, has addressed the first and second research questions regarding the similarities and differences in representing the collocational patterns associated with Jews, Christians and Muslims that reveal their representation in the corpus.

The next chapter concludes the analysis part of this study. I examine how the texts construct equivalences and oppositions in relation to Jews, Christians and Muslims. This involves stating what the three groups are like and whether they contribute to negative or positive representations.

## Chapter 7

### Representation of Jews, Christians and Muslims through equivalence and opposition

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#### 7.1 Introduction

In this last chapter of analysis, the textual-conceptual function of equating and contrasting is utilised in order to consider how the texts construct the world in terms of equivalence and opposition, and how this can generate ideological implications (Jeffries, 2010a). The aim of this chapter is to discover how the function of equating and contrasting is realised linguistically through synonyms and antonyms that can create sense relations between concepts. This is '[o]ne of the most important things a text can do' (Jeffries, 2007, p. 102). I approached this task by addressing two basic questions:

1. What types of equating and contrasting are distinguished in the range of equivalence and opposition constructions?
2. What kind of syntactic triggers can be assigned to each of the different equivalence and opposition constructions?

In order to answer these questions, this analytical function is used to examine the examples of synonyms and opposites set up through syntactic triggers since the lexical items can have the possibility to 'be semantically similar or semantically opposed' in texts (Jeffries, 2010a, p. 52). This textual construction can have the potential to construct non-conventional synonyms and opposites between words that are not related to each other. This can then show the influence on the readers from the perspective of ideological assumptions. I aim to engage with a textually based strategy to examine how entities are represented on various levels. It offers a nuanced understanding of newspaper portrayals of the three religious groups.

Since equivalence and opposition are signalled by certain syntactic frames, it is possible to look for them by carrying out a POS search using, for example, the *Wmatrix* corpus tool. I was also able to identify instances of comparative or contrastive conjunctions and negations for oppositional analysis, but it is difficult to identify such frames for appositions. Also, for both cases, as I have three target words that I have to identify sense relations between, it would

be time-consuming to perform such a search due to the great number of examples observed via the *Wmatrix* tool, which may result in missing instances of patterns. Accordingly, I searched for equivalences and oppositions through the examples identified for naming strategies and transitivity analysis of relational processes. This made my search more manageable as it provides good evidence that reveals patterns of ideological implications. Furthermore, I also show instances where the textual-conceptual function of equating and contrasting is overlapped with textual-conceptual functions of naming and implying and assuming. This is a good device to enable me to produce a better interpretation of ideologies. It is worth stating here that creating the dispersion plots in this chapter is also not manageable because the analysis is based on the instances identified for naming strategies and transitivity choices (discussed in detail in the next section) involving expanding the concordances to have more access to the context. This means that there are different choices of words not identified according to their frequency but to their use in the context to suit the requirements of equating and contrasting.

The analytical procedure followed in this chapter is two-fold. Section 7.2 illustrates the strategy of equating and how it demonstrates the creation of similarity in meanings between entities. This section is further subdivided into section 7.2.1 to illustrate types of equivalence, followed by sections 7.2.2, 7.2.3 and 7.2.4 in which the analyses of intensive relational, appositional and parallel structure equivalences are presented respectively. The second procedure of analysis describes the model of contrasting (section 7.3). This is followed by three sub-sections explaining types of the syntactic triggers of opposition, the categories of Jews, Christians and Muslims through opposition and their superordinate constructions. The chapter ends up with a summary and discussions of the main findings (section 7.4).

## **7.2 Equating**

Given that instances of equivalence are identified through the examples of naming and transitivity strategies; the instances are found frequently occurring in my data. I followed Jeffries' textual function of equivalence (2007, 2010a) based on a range of syntactic triggers: noun phrase appositions, intensive relations and parallel structures (discussed in detail in the following section). Additionally, metaphorical equivalence is also identified in a few cases using a copular verb to create a metaphorical relation between the subject and the complement.



This in turn would reinforce who they are and what they do. The next sections present a detailed account of each type of equivalence.

### 7.2.1 Types of equivalence

As illustrated above, it is possible to look for instances of equivalence indicated by the syntactic trigger of intensive relation through using the list of relational process choices identified via word sketch, such as *Kashmiri Muslims **are** understandably bitter*. However, this procedure is not applicable for the other triggers: apposition and parallelism, because both frames require longer parts of sentence structures to have more access to the context for the purpose of equal concepts. Therefore, I was able to identify instances for both frames through the examples identified for naming strategies and transitivity choices. In the case of apposition, e.g. *Asia Bibi, the **Christian woman** accused of blasphemy, will not suffer a death sentence*, the noun phrase *the Christian woman* is identified from the noun choices used to label Christians in chapter five. An example of parallelism is *“It’s hard to be a Jew,” insists Phillip. “It’s hard to be anything,” counters Harry*. This strategy could be feasible to identify patterns of equivalence. The findings of the analysis have shown instances, which can be divided into common thematic categories in which linguistic patterns contribute to portraying the three groups in different ways.

There is no fixed set of equivalence triggers; however, Table 7.1 below illustrates those widespread in my data alongside their frequency in relation to each group.

**Table 7.1** Frequency of equivalence triggers among the three groups

Target word	Types of equivalence		
	Intensive relation	Apposition	Parallelism
Jews	269	98	19
Christians	247	76	0
Muslim	405	127	7
Total	921	301	26
	1248		

It seems that appositional and intensive relational equivalences are the most dominant forms of synonymy used in the description of the three groups. Parallel equivalence is frequently small, i.e. only 26 cases 2% compared with the other categories, but ideologically interesting (see section 7.2.4) in describing how two entities are similar through the repetition of linguistic structures. Furthermore, the number of intensive relational instances is higher than that of appositions due to the prevalence of the copular verb in my corpus. This suggests that writers give preference to labels and characterisations. As intensive relations construct propositions, they therefore reflect a newspaper preference for topics which emphasise the proposition of a sentence. It is also evident that there is a divergence in the frequency of equivalence types among the three participants, in which Muslims make up the biggest proportion (43%), followed by Jews (31%) and Christians (26%). In addition, I have not observed any instances of parallelism in the construction of Christians which might be due to the idiosyncrasies of my data. These types of equivalence are the focus of the following sub-sections.

#### **7.2.1.1 Intensive relational equivalence**

Intensive equivalence is the relation of two noun phrases most often via the verb ‘to be’ in which the complements are either adjectives or noun phrases, e.g. *we are a Christian nation*. The proposition of this frame, unlike apposition, indicates that an equivalence relation exists, and it is thus open to debate by the reader or hearer as it is presented as the proposition of the clause. In terms of ideology, the assumption is therefore less hidden than the production of appositional equivalence, which is difficult to question for the reader (Jeffries, 2007, p. 104). The purpose of equivalence is then to create a sense relation between the same referents.

#### **7.2.1.2 Appositional equivalence**

In apposition, two elements (often NPs) have the same syntactic structure and view semantically the same referent, in which the relation between the two entities is interpreted in terms of identification – one element serving to identify the other in a different way. It is worth noting that appositions can also function as predications (Loock & O’Connor, 2013), suggesting that such constructions identify information about the participant. This kind of structure aims to construct an equating relationship on the linguistic and textual level. It is one of the semantic and syntactic structures that invent similarities in meaning and cause semantic relations. It does not construct explicit propositions that are open to question by the reader or

hearer. In the example *Ms King, the daughter of a Jewish mother*, equivalence is triggered syntactically by juxtaposition. Here, the use of the appositional construction and existential presupposition by virtue of the definite NP *the daughter* suggests that there is a relationship between *Ms King* and *the daughter of a Jewish mother* which is likely to be incontrovertible where no proposition is implied as in the case of intensive relation. Appositional equivalences can also be created by using the punctuation dash as in [...] *emigre Jewish intellectuals - Yiddish authors, literary critics and artists - whom he encountered in London's East End*, and the stative verb *include*, such as *Cageprisoners has defended some jihadi Muslim prisoners, including Khalid Sheikh Mohammed*. In this example, two different ways used to refer to the same Muslim referent; a given name and his status as the result of a legal process.

The stative verb *include* and the punctuation dash can also be used to create lists, as in *This, too, brought protests, led by Jewish groups including the Anti-Defamation League, the Simon Wiesenthal Centre and the Central Council of Jews in Germany*. This sentence can be interpreted as either a complete three-part list achieving the textual-conceptual function of enumerating or an appositional equivalence triggered by the verb *include*. However, I have identified a few examples of lists using *include* and punctuation marks which I then discard from the analysis of appositional equivalence.

### 7.2.1.3 Parallelism

Another syntactic trigger includes parallel structures which are used to create a sense relation between two entities by using two similar grammatical structures with identical words. In the instance, e.g. *we're all Jews, we're all on the same team*, the subject pronoun 'we' and the predicator 'are' are the same though their complements are not identical. The implied proposition is then that *all Jews are on the same team*, which is not stated overtly but the parallel structure is used to show such a relation.

The following section is dedicating to presenting the thematic categories of intensive relational equivalence of Jews, Christians and Muslims.

### 7.2.2 Thematic categories of intensive relational equivalence

This section takes into consideration the most common thematic categories found in the construction of Jews, Christians and Muslims in terms of intensive relational equivalence. The equivalence occurrences are referred to by the use of complements, either noun phrases or adjectives. As the number of instances appears frequently to be high, I have grouped all instances into three thematic categories, shown in Table 7.2 below:

**Table 7.2** Categories of intensive relational equivalence

Target word	Categories of relational equivalence		
	Religious identity	Positive and negative characteristics	Nationality and place of residence
Jews	157	99	13
Christians	167	69	11
Muslims	254	132	19
<b>Total</b>	578	300	43
	921		

In terms of frequency, the largest category emphasising equivalence is the religious identity (63%). Such predominance might be expected as it is more relevant to religious characteristics and identities, such as *Merlin is a Jewish natural scientist*, *He is still a committed evangelical Christian* and *Labour's Baroness Uddin was Britain's first Muslim peer*. This category is then concerned with the portrayal of the three groups according to their religious backgrounds as well as affiliations and beliefs, creating equivalence to represent their religious identity.

Moreover, some instances of this category are overlapped in the same way as that of naming strategy discussed in chapter five. For instance, in *Labour candidate Shabana Mahmood is the first Muslim woman to be elected*, in *Birmingham Ladywood*, the subject *Labour candidate Shabana Mahmood* is equated with the complement *the first Muslim woman*; here the NP *Muslim woman* indicates the concept of gender which is discussed in section 5.7.

The second prevalent category of intensive equivalence is associated with positive and negative descriptions in 300 instances (33%). Table 7.2 shows a difference in the number of instances among the three groups, in which the percentage is less dominant in the construction

of Christians (23%) when compared with Jews (33%) and Muslims (44%). This might indicate a difference in representation which reflects an ideological assumption and the impact upon the reader's perception. Regarding the last category, i.e. nationality and place of residence, the percentage of occurrences is small (5%) and might not show any salient patterns compared with the other categories in terms of ideology.

According to the discussion above, it appears that references to religious identities and nationalities overlap with instances already discussed in chapters five and six above. Also, they have not shown sufficient evidence of new synonyms to identify new patterns of ideologies. Therefore, the analysis of relational equivalence in section 7.2.2.1 will focus on positive and negative evaluations in which the referents are ascribed a permanent identity.

### **7.2.2.1 Positive and negative characteristics**

There are a number of equivalents which have a tendency to equate the three groups with positive and negative characteristics and qualities. The intensive relations are expressed through verbs *to be* and also other synonymous verbs, such as *be + concern/accuse, represent, become, symbolise* and *consider*. The instances give information about certain identities: what they do and who they are. The use of these characteristics may also reveal an ideological position of the author (Van Dijk, 1995). The following sub-sections show the equivalence construction of the groups according to this category.

#### **7.2.2.1.1 Jews**

There are 99 instances used to categorise Jews in positive and negative characteristics. In 36 instances, Jews are portrayed positively, with general characteristics of their behaviour such as *people of hope*, or personal qualities such as *successful* and *clever*. The following examples demonstrate such characteristics realised by adjective phrases and noun phrases:

1. Jews **have been** indigenous to Israel for 3,000 years.
2. I hope you publish a chorus of letters from the increasing number of Jews who **are** strongly opposed to the appalling treatment of Palestinians.
3. [...] Jews **have been** the largest community there throughout the ages.

4. Indian and Chinese people in Britain are actually twice as likely to be employed as professionals as white British people and the trend is moving upwards; Jewish men **are** highly advantaged in the labour market, with 80 per cent in managerial, professional and associate professional jobs, followed by Hindu men (62 per cent).
5. Until he lost all his money, my father **was** a successful north London Jewish businessman.
6. Wolfson **was** an observant Jew [...], and took an active role in the community, though he was less high profile than his father.

The phrases *indigenous*, *strongly opposed to the appalling treatment* and *the largest community* are good features that might be perceived by the reader as synonyms of ‘positive’ characteristics. Also, phrases such as *highly advantaged*, *successful* and *observant* reveal personal qualities of Jews, which are perceived as ‘good’, indicating they are bright and focused. Such good features provide information about their characters as Jewish individuals. However, it is worth noting that, in example 4, although Jewish men are represented as having good qualifications, indicating that they receive high attention and gain status positions in the UK, this could also be seen as an implicit claim of unfairness when compared to other groups, e.g. Hindus.

However, in 63 instances, Jews are allocated bad qualities contributing in some cases to negative representations. These are split into two arrays. One is associated with portraying Jews as seen as problematic or assigning them undesirable descriptions as in the following examples:

7. "Fucking Jews," he told a Jewish policeman. "The Jews **are** responsible for all the wars in the world."
8. "[...]. If he says that of me, I wonder what he feels about Art Spiegelman in Maus. In Maus the Jews are characterised as mice. But **were** the Jews mouse-like in the Warsaw ghetto uprising? I wonder how he feels about that characterisation."

Example (7) shows that Jews are viewed as guilty by being accused of war circumstances, suggesting therefore a negative portrayal. It is worth stating that the strip of speech above is produced by the Hollywood actor Mel Gibson which is a negative representation of his character. In terms of the categories presented by Goffman (1981), Mel Gibson is the ‘principal’, the speaker who allocated that bad quality to Jews and not the text producer. This

structure may show an ideological stance of the writer in positioning the actor as the actual speaker of the words as Seals (2012) states that ‘choice of what to directly quote allows the author to position the quoted speaker in a particular ideological stance’ (p. 236), exhibiting perhaps a sense of anti-Semitism held by the actor.

Similarly, in (8) the description is quoted speech in the form of a question claiming how to ascribe Jews a particular quality of a particular animal, i.e. having the characteristic of a mouse denoting timidity. Including examples (7) and (8), there are 24 cases within 63 instances which are stated by other individuals, suggesting they are not the writers’ own speech. Using direct speech to represent the characteristics of Jews could be used to present the truthfulness of the utterances or the text producers intend to distance themselves from appearing critical in these negative attitudes. Since the author has decided to relay what others have said, s/he would agree or support these statements. If not, they could have not mentioned them at all. Such portrayal could be read by many people and may affect the readers’ views about the personality of Jews.

The other array presents instances that depict Jews as victims, echoing the context of victimisation discussed in section 6.5.1.1. This, then, incorporates unpleasant characterises about Jews. For example:

9. [...] there is a completely different standard of law enforcement between cases in which Arabs and Jews **are** the victims.
10. Though nominally the whole nation goes to the poll today, half the people are more or less in dread and the Jews **are** in terror.

In both examples, Jews are represented as victims and in fear. Also in (9), there is an explicit equivalence between Arabs and Jews by the coordinator *and*, suggesting that both groups are victims, creating an unpleasant representation. It is worth stating that although these equivalences (especially examples 5 and 10) could be interpreted as temporary states or events, they still inform us of defining characteristics about the Jew/s in these instances. Such representation is reiterated in the data as shown in the previous analysis chapters. All instances of positive and negative characteristics can be found in Appendix B, Table B.1.

### 7.2.2.1.2 Christians

The number of instances used to identify Christians in this category is nearly equivalent: 34 instances show positive descriptions and 35 instances show negative ones (see Appendix B, Table B.2). The former comprises expressions showing personal characteristics and feelings such as *pure-blooded*, *keen*, *tolerant*, *loving*, *strong*, *tolerant* and *proper* or presenting good senses of being and status, such as *highest-ranking*, *CNN's senior editor*, *proper persons* and *fit people*. Other lexical items present Christians' willingness to cooperate sincerely in their religious practices, with mostly positive implications. For example:

11. In Jordan, Christians **are** free to profess their faith, build churches, schools, hospitals and universities.
12. Arthur Cornell Eastbourne, East Sussex SIR - Is it really only Christians who **are** interested in allowing the expression of traditional or unfashionable beliefs?

In these examples, the two underlined phrases show a tendency towards praising Christians, indicating they are devout and faithful to their religion. These descriptions serve in one way or another to emphasise their positive characteristics as Christian participants. Apropos the negative features, the instances are themselves divided into either portraying Christians with undesirable features in 13 cases or being depicted as victims or targets of violence in 22 occurrences. Examples of the former include:

13. Most British Christians **are** badly dressed, unattractive people.
14. Cardinal Walter Kasper, 77, said that a "new and aggressive atheism" pervaded Britain and that Christians **were** at a disadvantage in this country.
15. Christians **are often seen** as the natural allies of western occupiers and, as a minority, are highly vulnerable to retaliation.

The underlined complements are used to describe Christians as unappealing, suspect and weak, suggesting unpleasant characteristics of Christians. The different characteristics in the complement positions, then, are put into equivalence relations, making the reader assume that they refer to the same entity. What is of interest in particular is that the predicative adjectives in example 13 above indicate a negative portrayal of Christian participants, but this is probably part of an article written by Frank Skinner, an English writer, comedian and actor. Skinner in



his article aims to be funny, but still shows that he is committed about his faith, i.e. Christianity. As the equivalences in the sentences above define certain characteristics about Christians, they could describe permanent states. Regarding the second set of instances of involving acts of violence in 22 cases, examples are as follows:

16. Iraq's Christians **have been** frequently the target of violence since the US-led invasion in 2003.
17. He argues that Christians **are** the victims of persecution, [...].
18. Among the victims of the continuing tragedy that is Iraq **is** the country's tiny Christian community.

The underlined phrases reveal that Christians are persecuted and exposed to violence, demonstrating an unpleasant portrayal of Christians. As the examples display, the equivalences (especially sentence 16) could be interpreted as temporary events, but they still describe certain situations that Christians experienced. This reiterates the point that Christians are persecuted, especially in Muslim countries (e.g. Iraq). Furthermore, the violent actions are presupposed to exist through the definite determiner *the* in these examples. However, this representation results in the existing propositions being open to debate by the reader.

#### 7.2.2.1.3 Muslims

The number of instances is 132 divided into 56 instances of positive characteristics and 76 instances of negative ones (see Appendix B, Table B.3). The former involves good features that describe Muslims positively. For example:

19. The imam addresses the worshippers - now amassed over the two floors - through speakers. "Islam is a religion of peace. Muslims **are** tolerant people. [...]."
20. The vast majority of Muslims **are** moderates who want nothing more than to live a decent life and see their children educated.
21. It found that almost six out of ten people believed Muslims **were** well integrated into Scottish society.

The underlined phrases *tolerant people*, *well integrated* and *moderates* tend to portray Muslims as open-minded referents and as working towards integrating into the society where

they live. The positivity of Muslims is represented as propositions, which may be a marked feature in the representation of Muslims by indicating explicitly positive descriptions due to the recurrent use of prejudicial images to represent Muslims negatively, as shown in the previous chapters of analysis.

Moving to the negative feature in the construction of equivalence, there are 76 instances focusing on three images: a source of threat and terrorism; subject to insulting, offensive remarks and non-socialised Muslims; as well as victimisation. There is a tendency to equate Muslims with what they do through ascribing negative characteristics of terrorism, extremism, or criticism. These negative descriptions are contradictory to the previous features which hold positive attitudes.

Regarding the image of threat and criticism, 38 instances are associated with issues of conflict in which Muslims are equated with traits charged negatively, such as *guilty*, *extremist doctrines*, *armed* and *terror attacks*. For example:

- 22. It adds to the fear that the Muslim community **is** a suspect community.
- 23. The Muslim men **were** yesterday found guilty of planning the attack on Holsworthy army base, [...].
- 24. American officials believe European Muslims are more likely [...] to subscribe to extremist doctrines.

The underlined phrases reveal that Muslims are guilty or extreme groups, showing therefore negative evaluations. In terms of ideological assumptions, the production of these equivalence creations is not hidden, making it susceptible to debate by the reader. Apropos the second image of being subject to insulting, offensive remarks and non-socialised (27 instances in total), sentence (25) below reveals a kind of abusive treatment, in addition to showing cynicism, unwilling to socialise and holding negative qualities in examples (26) and (27) respectively:

- 25. It added: "[...]. The climate is such that Muslims **are** subject to daily abuse in a manner that would be ridiculed by Britain, were this to occur anywhere else."
- 26. The mere fact that we are there voting, canvassing and lobbying gives the lie to claims that Muslims **are** somehow incompatible with British life.
- 27. The book's stance veers from merely reactionary to grossly offensive: apparently Muslims **are** incapable of governing a polity [...].

Although Muslims are not seen as a threat or a source of problem, they are assigned negative descriptions for being inappropriate in their involvement in social activities as shown in sentence (26) which is refuted by stating *gives the lie to claims*, suggesting that Muslims are socially involved in the society. This finding contradicts the good feature of Muslims who are working to engage with others found in the discussion above regarding the positive characteristics. This has the effect of casting Muslims in a critical light. The same is true, to a lesser extent, of example (27) in which the negative view is described as *grossly offensive* as it is attacking Muslims directly. However, the textual connection might trigger the negative schema and might therefore affect the readers' perception to what actually said about Muslims' behaviour.

Regarding these three examples, it is important to draw a distinction between attribution and averral. As Hunston and Thompson (2000, p. 178) points out, '[i]f a piece of language [...] is attributed, it is presented as deriving from someone other than the writer. If a piece of language is averred, the writer him or herself speaks'. In this case, examples (26) and (27) are averred as the writer is responsible for the propositions. However, in example (25), the writer is the source of the proposition but it is, at the same time, attributed to another source, i.e. 'it', earlier in the quoted text, which refers to the National Association of Muslim Police. This means that it is the journalist who is accountable for this attribution, but it is the association that is responsible for that attributed proposition. This is based on the fact that 'every attribution is embedded within an averral' (p. 179). In this respect, it is the National Association of Muslim Police that is accountable for that unfavourable portrayal due to the strategy of the government to prevent terrorism which might trigger divisions in communities. However, the use of such a quote could be seen as a way of recounting indirectly what Muslims experience.

Regarding the third image of victimisation, it is not necessarily that Muslims are themselves a problem; they may also be prone to problems or be targets of violence, as identified in 11 cases. For example:

28. Mr Choudary has announced plans for 500 members to parade with empty coffins **symbolising** Muslim victims through the town.

29. "Ahmadiyya Muslims have **been** victims of serious organised violence in Bangladesh, [...]," he says.

In (28), the writer presents Muslim victims as ‘empty coffins’ metaphorically, indicating they have already been targeted before being disposed to death, representing Muslims as targets of violence. Equating Muslims to dead people indicates that they are portrayed as victimised, rather than abusing other people.

The analysis has shown that equivalence creations resulted in portraying positive and negative features among the three groups differently. From the frequency information, the percentage of occurrences is varied; it is 44% for Muslims, 33% for Jews and 23% for Christians. This has resulted in different levels of representations, and hence recurrent co-occurrences of certain religious groups in problematic situations within the same data. For example, Jews are depicted as a source of problem and victims, Christians as being mistreated and assigned unpleasant characteristics and Muslims as a source of threat through features of terrorism and criticism, in addition to the context of victimisation. Such equivalence of relationship is achieved to draw the reader’s perception to the characteristics and permanent aspects associated with the three groups. This means that various attitudes are linked to them and the debate about such existing qualities, in terms of ideology, is open to query by the hearer or reader because they are not taken for granted as given knowledge.

### **7.2.3 The thematic categories of appositional construction**

As shown in Table 7.1, the linguistic apparatus of apposition is also dominant and the number of instances is also varied between the three participants. Apposition is ‘the juxtaposition of two or more noun phrases in the same syntactic role’ (Jeffries, 2007, p. 104). It could be seen as a predication strategy that attributes further information realised in the kind of details given. As in the previous section, the instances are divided into categories based on their occurrences in the context which serves to identify Jews, Christians and Muslims in different patterns, as illustrated in Table 7.3 below:

**Table 7.3** Categories of apposition

<b>Target word</b>	<b>Categories of apposition</b>		
	<b>Professional identity</b>	<b>Social identity</b>	<b>Collective identity</b>
Jews	45	39	14
Christians	29	32	15
Muslims	28	70	29
<b>Total</b>	102	141	58
	301		

According to the table, the most frequently occurring categories are professional and social identities. There is a tendency to focus on occupational roles and social identities in the portrayal of Jews, Christians and Muslims. The professional identity here includes occupations representing the three participants in terms of their career such as *minister*, *MP* and *politician*. The social identity includes not only occupations but also other labels such as gender, religion, family relations and age as discussed below. Furthermore, the thematic categories of professional roles and collectivity overlap with those of naming and transitivity choices. Such recurrent themes do not reveal as much potential for ideology purposes. Therefore, the analysis focuses on the social identity category to discover whether the linguistic strategy of apposition constitutes different ways of representation based on the assumption that the production of appositional equivalence is significant in terms of ideological implications as it serves to give more information about the referents recognised in terms of religious and cultural background.

### 7.2.3.1 Social identity

This category refers to constructed attributes that are ascribed to individuals in terms of occupations, gender, religion, family relations and age (Baker & Ellece, 2011, p. 135). This brings together social elements defined in terms of equivalence relationships. The following sub-sections therefore present the appositional construction of the three groups separately.

#### 7.2.3.1.1 Jews

There are 39 instances representing Jews in terms of their social identities, revealing three recurrent patterns. In 22 instances, Jews are represented with social references such as *couple*,

*survivor, woman, refugee, citizen and teenager*. Such items are most often followed by adverbials of place which is a common pattern found in the construction of Jewish dispersion, e.g. *Jakob Rosenblum, a Jewish refugee from Nazi Germany* (see Appendix C, Table C.1 for all the instances of social identity). Being referenced according to different places may be informative of Jews' movement, as shown below:

30. He quickly settled, setting up home in Tel Aviv and employed Esther HOFFE, **a fellow German-speaking Jewish refugee from Prague**.
31. [...] a lonely eight-year-old girl in Australia, and a 44-year-old obese, Aspergery, **Jewish man in New York**.
32. It was part of a 150-piece collection formed by Fanny and Ernst Egger, **a Jewish couple who were arrested with their family and died in a concentration camp**.

In these sentences, appositions are created by juxtaposed NPs without any co-ordinations where Jews are identified by their given names. In (30), the writers used a NP that offers more elaboration to identify the social background of the referent. In (32), the second NP is represented by the social identity *couple* which is packaged up by further information constituting a relative clause *who were arrested...*, making it thus less open to debate by the reader as it is presented as factual information. This construction serves to show an unpleasant image of Jews as persecuted, contributing to a persistent picture of the situations that Jews experienced. This reiterates the idea of suffering which is discussed in chapters five and six.

Another common pattern displays 12 references where the text producers represent the Jews in terms of nationality, giving thus more information about their social identification. For example:

33. The son of two refugees - his father **a German Jew who fled the Nazis**, [...].
34. Unseen colour films are layered with the personal stories of 12 soldiers, **including an Austrian Jew who fled to New York**.
35. His mother, Paula, **a Hungarian Jew who had lost most of her family** in the Second World War, died in 2000.

In these examples, the writer represents the Jews with reference to their background identity in the first NPs, showing common nouns such as *refugees, soldiers* and *mother* involving

‘objectivation’ in which social actors ‘are represented by means of reference to a place or thing closely associated either with their person or with the activity they are represented as being engaged in’ (Van Leeuwen, 1996, p. 59). Furthermore, the appositive construction in example (33) is created via a hyphen while it is a stative verb *include* in (34). Such structures are other forms of punctuation to provide information in apposition, which are not utilised in Jeffries’ textual-conceptual function of equivalence. In both examples, the writer referred to the Jewish participants by their nationality and the dangerous situations they experienced embedded in the relative clauses as given knowledge that is unquestioned. This construction clearly indicates an undesirable image of Jews, which might affect the reader’s view.

The last pattern refers to words of beliefs in five instances, such as *Yousef al-Khattab, a former secular Jew, Chabad Lubavitch, the Orthodox Jewish group* and *my Jewish grandfather, an avowed atheist*. Here the word *orthodox* shows a high level of beliefs and status, while *secular* and *atheist* display less or no religion. The representation of beliefs is relatively low when compared with the results in section 5.4.1, signifying that the writer has fewer tendencies to use words associated with beliefs to identify individuals in appositive structures. In this section, the use of social identity in an apposition identifies the Jews in terms of their dispersion, most often related to hard conditions of war situations. This representation further indicates perpetual recurrences in the context of movement and nationality linked to war situations.

#### 7.2.3.1.2 Christians

The number of instances constructing Christians in terms of social identity is 32. These reveal two patterns of identity: religion and gender/social roles (all instances are found in Appendix C, Table C.2). Most appositional equivalences are triggered by two juxtaposed NPs without any co-ordinators. One of these patterns represents Christian participants in 24 instances by their actual names attached to religious identities as in: *Mr Siswanto, a Christian pastor, Robert Park, an American Christian missionary, Nikki Haley, a Christian convert, Mr Jones, a fundamentalist Christian pastor* and *seriously religious Christian characters* -- *Ned and Reverend Lovejoy*. Having such religious positions, the text producer also provides more elaboration to show their levels of belief, such as *fundamentalist* and *seriously religious*. The following example is of interest as the noun *evangelist* is qualified by a relative clause,

packaging up further details in the nominal group, thus introducing the information as a non-debatable assumption:

36. [...], ripping into Pat Robertson, an American Christian evangelist **who routinely seizes on any major crisis to claim it as an example of God's righteous rage**.

In this example, both noun phrases *Pat Robertson* and *an American Christian evangelist... righteous rage* refer to the same referent. The appositional equivalence constitutes different ways of referring to the Christian figure; the former in terms of his given name and the latter in terms of his occupational role including further details about his religious perspective and behaviour. Such representation serves to provide a clear picture of a Christian character which might influence the reader's perception of that participant. Within this set of instances, there are four instances showing a reference to different Christian denominations, as in *Catholics - Britain's second largest Christian denomination*, *the Free Kirk*, *my favourite other Christian denomination* and *the People's Church*, *a Christian denomination*, which clearly show the dominant denomination. Also, the identified NPs triggered by a definite article (*the*) and possessives ('s) and (*my*) are existentially presupposed, reporting that both noun phrases have the same referent, and so are less open to debate by the reader.

Another pattern displays a reference to gender in six cases and only two references to social roles, for example, *Leigh Anne Tuohy*, *the Christian, Republican wife* and *Opposition Leader Tony Abbott*, *an honourable, generous and frank-to-a-fault Rhodes scholar* and *Christian father of three liberated daughters*. What is interesting in the second example is that the text producer used two NPs *scholar* and *father* to refer to the same referent *Tony Abbott*. These NPs are identified positively by attributive adjectives: *honourable* and *generous*, making the equivalence relation between the two referents assertive; thus they are taken for granted as given knowledge. According to the aforementioned cases, the appositional construction serves to represent Christian participants as official actors who hold high status and seek to achieve good deeds. This clearly indicates a positive portrayal, making this equivalence one of common sense. This structure of address shows a kind of formality towards the Christian referents.



### 7.2.3.1.3 Muslims

There are 70 instances in which Muslims are equated with what they do. This displays distinct references to Muslims, such as *student*, *woman*, *immigrant*, *prisoner* and *cleric*, which occur in three common patterns. One of the repeated patterns is that which conveys their religious identity in 45 instances as in *Paul Martin, a Muslim convert* (see Appendix C, Table C.3). However, the writer uses different ways to identify Muslims. S/he provided negative (9 cases) and positive (9 cases) evaluations. For example, in *Anwar al-Awlaki, the radical American Muslim cleric* and *Abu Hamza, the notorious Muslim cleric*, the writer represents Muslim participants by their names *Anwar al-Awlaki* and *Abu Hamza*. However, the second juxtaposed NPs serve to show more about their negative characteristics: *radical* and *notorious*. Also, the use of the definite article presupposes the existence of *Anwar al-Awlaki* and *Abu Hamza*, thus not available for debate, but rather it is taken as part of a common sense ideology in the text (Jeffries, 2007, p. 103). In addition, *Abu Hamza* is a less formal way of addressing an individual as the participant is referred to by his nickname instead of his real name.

In examples such as *Little Iqbal, a wise and personable Muslim*, *Khawaja, a practising Muslim* and *Bokar, a Muslim spiritual teacher*, the underlined phrases are alternative expressions, representing them as active and committed. This provides positive descriptions of their personality. Such construction displays a packaged up content within the apposition structure to reduce the opportunity for a potential debate by the reader as the information is represented as background knowledge.

Moreover, there are six cases wherein the writer represents the identity of Muslims by referring to branches of Islam, such as *sheikh of Al-Azhar, the highest Sunni Muslim cleric*, *Feisal Abdul Rauf, the Sufi Muslim cleric* and *Premji, a Shia Muslim*. This shows that newspapers have a tendency to differentiate between branches of Islam, not only focusing on using the term *Muslim* solely as a reference to the followers of Islam.

The second pattern makes references to gender in 16 occurrences as in *Baroness Uddin, a Labour peer and the first Muslim woman*, *Fit, a young Muslim boy* and *a quiet 17 year old Muslim girl, Leila*. In all cases, the text producer identifies the Muslim individuals by their personal names, whereas in the second underlined NPs, s/he makes a reference to their gender distinctions in addition to their age and professional status, providing full descriptions of their

social identity. With reference to social roles, only four instances are captured as shown in Appendix C, Table C.3.

In the third pattern, the writer uses an apposition to represent the identity of the Muslim referents in relation to conflict contexts in only five references. For example:

37. The organisation, which campaigns on behalf of Muslim prisoners, **including convicted terrorists**, [...].

Here, the writer presents the identity of social actors *Muslim prisoners* in the first NP equated with *convicted terrorists* via the appositional indicator *including*, making the two referents the same. S/he uses the appositive apparatus to identify Muslim individuals by two different NPs without mentioning their names. This representation does not suggest any formal kind of addressing individuals as they are identified by the action they are engaged in: *prisoners* and *terrorists*, which are represented negatively because they are affected by the activities attributed to them within the context of crime.

According to the discussion above, the apposition construction of the three groups is different in terms of frequency and representation. It is highly used in the portrayal of Muslims (50% instances) more than Jews (28%) and Christians (23%), providing more information in appositional structures which is taken for granted as common knowledge. Regarding their representation, more information is given to depict the Jews in terms of social roles and nationality linked to war situations, in addition to a few cases of their religious identity. Christian referents are commonly identified according to their religious background, showing a pleasant representation. With reference to Muslims, a great deal of information about their religious identity, including branches of Islam and gender, are identified. This clearly indicates a neutral portrayal, making this equivalence one of common sense. The depiction of Christians and Muslims shows a difference in representation compared to the Jews.

#### 7.2.4 Equivalence through parallelism

The parallel structure is another syntactic frame that creates equivalence by placing two entities in the same grammatical structure. Parallelism then ‘requires identity of syntactic patterns’ (Van Dijk, 1988b, p. 28). The number of instances is varied; there are 19 cases in the representation of Jews, whereas it is seven in the case of Muslims. However, I have not

observed any examples of parallelism in the representation of Christians. Nevertheless, there are some cases of parallelism in the representation of Muslims that show instances of parallels related to Christians, as will be shown later. As a result, the aim of this analysis is to investigate parallelism in the construction of Jews and Muslims to focus on the similarities between two entities and the differences in representation.

#### 7.2.4.1 Jews

There are 19 cases dominated by two patterns. The first contains 12 instances that construct Jews as equated with individuals of other backgrounds or populations. For instance:

38. He told the Welt am Sonntag paper: "All Jews share a particular gene, Basques share a certain gene that sets them apart."
39. [...]” The Jews have certain traits. The Irish have certain - for example, the Irish can't drink. [...]."
40. While New York is better known for its large Jewish population, Chicago's, which totals about 300,000, is also one of the biggest in the world outside Israel.

In the above examples, the parallel structure is created to equate Jews with *Basques* and *the Irish* by placing them in the subject position with identical verb phrases and complements in (38) and (39) respectively, suggesting that all Jews have the common genetic descent with other Jewish people just as Basques have with other Basque people. However, in (40), parallelism is used to set up equivalence between *New York* and *Chicago* wherein the construction of Jews is in the complement; both states have large Jewish populations settled there, reiterating the idea of dispersion of Jews throughout the world. Parallelism is also created between Jews and Palestinians in the following example that describes the long state struggle between the two groups:

41. "Just as you expect us to be ready to recognise a Palestinian state as the nation state of the Palestinian people we expect you to be prepared to recognise Israel as the nation state of the Jewish people," he said.

In this sentence, the parallel structure is effected in the complement positions with identical wordings: *Palestinian state as the nation state of the Palestinian people* and *Israel as the nation state of the Jewish people*. This implies that both Palestinians and Jews have their own

state. The use of the parallel structure may manipulate the reader's perception of the right to a state for each group. The same ideological outlook is also evident in three instances that put both Jews and Muslims on the same level, e.g. *The Jews have one set of laws, so do the Muslims*, suggesting that both Jews and Muslims have laws, and *communities, stereotypes, ideas that Muslims have about Jews and Jews have about Muslims*, emphasising the mutual attitudes that both religious groups have towards each other. This means they coexist in a way that makes them very knowledgeable about each other's cultural backgrounds.

The last pattern contributes to presenting the idea that Jews are in trouble, with mostly negative implications in seven instances. For example:

42. Moses Constantinis, head of the Central Board of Jewish Communities in Greece, said: "We are worried, the Jewish community is worried."

The parallel structure is created between two clauses, in which the copular *be* and the complement are the same in both clauses, constructing the two subjects *we* and *the Jewish community* as equivalents. The implied equivalence between the two subjects suggests that both *Jewish community* and *we* represent one group. The speaker (Moses) uses this pronoun, as he is the head of all Jewish communities in Greece, to produce himself as a representative of all Jews and thus as equivalent. The concluding proposition might be that *all Jews are worried*. This also shows anxiety within the Jewish community, and so distances them from other groups. However, in the following example, Jews are represented differently:

43. As the Professor is condemned for his ideological impurity and the dog is condemned for being an animal, so Raskatov, when he lived in Russia, was condemned for being a Jew.

Here, parallelism is made between two clauses, making a comparison between a Jew and a dog. Equating a Jew to a dog holds a metaphorical meaning that contributes to belittling him, hence showing that the Jew (Raskatov) is assigned an unpleasant identity. According to the discussion, the representation of Jews shows that the parallel structure is used to represent certain qualities between Jews and other ethnic and religious groups.

#### 7.2.4.2 Muslims

There are seven instances that show parallelism revolving around two main themes: Muslims in conflict and being compared to others from another faith. The first theme is considered in the following lines:

44. In Afghanistan and in Kashmir, Muslims were "as oppressed" as they were in Palestine, I was told.
45. London Muslims are a target for serious violence in the way black and Asian Londoners once were, the report says.

In (44), parallelism occurs in the adverbials of place. The writer used the parallel structure to create equivalent meanings between three territories: *Afghanistan*, *Kashmir* and *Palestine*, signifying that Muslims are in trouble and experiencing suffering in such Muslim societies, thus allocated an unpleasant depiction. Additionally, the parallel structure in (45) is used to place Muslims and other people in the same position; *London Muslims* is equated to *black and Asian Londoners*. This indicates that Muslims, blacks and Asians are equally subject to violence; they are at risk, thus underpinning racism which suggests a negative representation. It is worth stating that this piece of utterance is attributed to the report, but the text producer is responsible for this attributed utterance. This suggests that the newspaper, to some extent, aligns itself with this reported representation.

In the second theme, the text producer equates Muslims to people of other faiths, i.e. Christians, in three instances. For example:

46. Nigeria, for example, has the largest number of Muslims in Africa: almost all its Hausa population are Muslims, almost all its Igbo are Christians, and the Yoruba are split in the middle.
47. One of the biggest drivers of growth is China; by 2050 it could be the biggest Muslim nation, and the biggest Christian one.

The use of parallel equivalence in (46) is made between three clauses; the emphasis is put on three areas where Muslims and Christians make up the population. The grammatical equivalence of *Hausa*, *Igbo* and *Yoruba* is indicative that Islam and Christianity are predominantly practised in these three tribes. In (47), the writer also used parallelism to show

that Islam and Christianity are equally practised in China, suggesting that both Muslim and Christian communities are primarily becoming the largest communities in China. This fact may influence positively on how such communities are perceived and treated in future, given that they will no longer be a minority, at least in numerical terms.

The above discussion has shown that parallelism functions to equate the Jews to other groups from different backgrounds, informing the reader therefore that Jews have certain characteristics shared with other groups in different areas. With Muslims, parallelism is used to assert that they have suffered violence in certain Muslim worlds, in addition to a few cases comparing Muslims to other ethnic groups and faiths. The parallel structure might then trigger the reader's awareness to infer that Jews, Christians and Muslims have something in common. However, there is also the impact of creating oppositions on the ideological implication regarding the three groups in this data, demonstrated in the following section.

### **7.3 Contrasting**

The second part of this chapter is dedicated to exploring the construction of oppositions based on a number of syntactic frames. Each frame is realised by different triggers which help the text producers to create new oppositions and allow the reader to interpret how two things are contrasted. I have followed Jeffries' (2010a) and Davies' (2008, 2012) approach of analysing opposition in the construction of the three participants: *Jews*, *Christians* and *Muslims*. They acknowledge that the use of contrasting contributes to creating new oppositions based on the conventional oppositions that construct ideologies. Jeffries demonstrates that 'the creation of new oppositions in the news may reflect and reinforce conflicts of ideology repeatedly and eventually establish a naturalized new conventional opposition' (2010a, p. 107). The instances identified for the analysis in this section categorise the three participants according to differences in level of beliefs and a tendency to produce negative and positive behaviours of the three participants.

#### **7.3.1 Types of opposition**

The model I used in the analysis of opposition is that proposed by Davies (2008, 2012) and Jeffries (2010a, 2010b). The categories of syntactic triggers that help in creating opposites are outlined with examples from my data in Table 7.4 below:

**Table 7.4** Types of opposition

Category	Syntactic trigger	Example
Negated opposition	X not Y Not X, Y	"We're <b>not</b> militants, we're ordinary Bible-believing Christians who want a quiet life," he said.
Contrastive opposition	X or Y X but Y X and Y	He said that some Italians had saved Jews during the war, <b>but</b> others had "not opened their houses".
Comparative opposition	Compared to X,Y etc	The report said that "Asian men of Pakistani heritage often believe white girls have low morals <b>compared with</b> Muslim girls".
Concessive opposition	Despite X, Y Although X, Y etc	He was baptised, <b>although</b> he recalled that his parents were not very devout Christians.
Transitional opposition	X became Y X turns into Y etc	Rosen, an Orthodox Jew who <b>became</b> a Baptist minister, began to spread this message in 1973 in San Francisco.
Replacive opposition	X over Y X rather than Y X instead of Y	[...] that they were being used to spy on Muslim communities <b>rather than</b> prevent crime.
Explicit opposition	Difference between X and Y X contrasted with Y, etc.	It's a bit like the <b>difference between</b> an armed white supremacist <b>and</b> a Christian fundamentalist."
Parallelism	He is X. He is Y	Jaballa was a devout Muslim, Hisham a doubter.

It seems that each syntactic frame has its different function that identifies an opposition between the pair. The opposition frame 'X not Y' negates one antonym as a device to increase the other (Jones, 2002, p. 88). This means that two concepts are contrastive, triggered by the negator *not*. The 'X rather than Y' frame expresses, as Davies (2013, p. 44) points out, 'a weaker preference for X over Y'. While the 'X and Y' frame shows equality between two entities, the concessive opposition instantiated by *although*, *despite*, *however* and *yet* expresses a contrast between them.

Nevertheless, I found that parallel structures are ubiquitous in my data as they are used to express both equivalence and opposition. It ‘involves the repetition of certain structures within which specific lexical items are foregrounded, inviting the addressee to relate them in some way’ (Davies, 2008, p. 135). Regarding the transitional opposition frame ‘X turn into Y’, instances in my corpus express situations of converting from one religion to another on one hand, and racial differences on the basis of religion on the other hand. Furthermore, I discover overlapping between these syntactic frames wherein two or three triggers work together to help understand the items as opposites.

### 7.3.2 Categorising Jews, Christians and Muslims through opposition

In this section, I introduce the instances that demonstrate the textual construction of Jews, Christians and Muslims through oppositions. The purpose is to observe patterns that show any similarities and differences between the three participants. There are three common features: superordinate opposition, oppositions signalling religious, social and attitudinal differences and oppositions signalling conflict issues. The following table shows the total number of these oppositional relations across my data:

**Table 7.5** Construction of opposition in my corpus

Target word	Superordinate opposites	Oppositions signalling religious, social and attitudinal differences	Oppositions signalling struggles
Jews	27	55	24
Christians	12	21	10
Muslims	41	58	48
Total	80	134	82
	296		

There is a divergence in the frequency in the three features among the three participants: Jews (36%), Christians (15%) and Muslims (50%). It is also apparent that oppositions signalling religious, social and attitudinal differences and struggles are predominant, in terms of raw frequency. Additionally, the categories of religious and social oppositions involve instances that overlap with intensive and appositional constructions, while instances signalling conflict issues include examples overlapping with the naming and transitivity patterns discussed in



chapters five and six. Such instances do not have the potential for constructing new patterns for ideological purposes that the superordinate concepts have. As a result, the analysis of opposition construction in section 7.3.3 focuses on the role of superordinate opposition in the ideology construction of the three participants.

### 7.3.3 Superordinate oppositions

The way of understanding new opposites, according to Jeffries (2010a) and Davies (2008; 2012, p. 47), is based on processing conventional oppositions. My analysis confirms Davies' view that concepts at a higher opposition level are necessary for discovering of textually-constructed instances. The oppositional pairs in my data are understood at superordinate conventional levels of acceptable versus unacceptable pairs. In the textual construction of the female body in women's magazines, Jeffries (2007) found that the majority of the constructed opposites fall into the categorisation of 'good versus bad'.

In the following sub-sections, I decided to carry out a textual analysis of contrast to explore new, non-canonical oppositions created from conventional pairs of each participant separately.

#### 7.3.3.1 Jews

I found 27 instances which are constructed under the superordinate pairs of safe/unsafe, positive/negative and belief/disbelief. These oppositions are created by virtue of negation, parallelism, contrastive conjunctions and contrastive phrases, whether verbs, nouns or adjectives, as illustrated in more detail below.

One of the most common patterns portrays Jews in war situations relying on the conventional safe/unsafe pair in nine instances. By way of examples:

48. Seventy years after the Kinder transport, when nearly 10,000 Jewish refugee children **fled** from Hitler and found **refuge** in Britain, we need to ask where our humanity has gone.
49. There are honourable precedents such as the Kinder transport programme during the Second World War, which **saved** 10,000 Jewish children by bringing them **from** Nazi Germany **to** Britain.

50. He [...], added: "We do not live in the past, the past lives in the present." He said that some Italians had **saved** Jews during the war, **but** others had "not opened their houses".

Opposition in (48) is achieved by virtue of the verb *flee* and the noun *refuge*. These opposites indicate that Jewish refugees flee from being unsafe to being safe, evoking therefore a canonical opposite safe/unsafe or secure/insecure. The same technique is applied to the other two examples as they are describing the same war situation of saving Jewish children. In (49), the prepositions *from* and *to* create a kind of opposition between *Germany* and *Britain* where Jews again fled from an unsafe place to a safe one, implying that Jews were saved after being in danger, again established on a superordinate safe/unsafe concept. The conjunction *but* in (50) signals a contrast between *some Italians* and *others* to highlight those who saved Jews and those who did not. This also confirms an alteration from being secure to insecure, inducing the superordinate opposition safe/unsafe.

The second pattern consists of seven instances where the opposed lexis depends on the conventional level of a positive and negative pairing, indicating good/bad qualities of Jews so that the reader can interpret them as complementary opposites:

51. The case, with its apparent racial undertones, has raised questions about ethnic identity in a country whose 20 per cent Arab minority often complain that they are treated like second-class citizens by the Jewish majority.
52. "Religion is the new race," she says. "If you look at the group which is stigmatised in terms of the far Right, then just as in **the past** they picked on the Jewish community or the African or Irish community, **the new target** for them is the British Muslim community. They will always feed into the prejudice which they think the country will tolerate."
53. Jews were useful - indispensable even - **but** dangerous.

Opposition in (51) is constructed via the words *majority* and *minority*, showing a contrast between Jewish people and Arab people who are treated as second-class citizens. This implies that second-class citizens are inferior to the superior groups represented by the Jewish majority. The writer here tries to highlight one kind of discrimination within a state. This helps the reader to deduce that Arabs are not accepted or liked as members of a society. In this context, such opposition shows an undesirable social inequity, displaying the unacceptable behaviour of the Jewish majority.

The textual construction of opposition in (52) brings the superordinate pair old/new to create a contrast between the Jewish community and the Muslim community. The use of the phrases *the past* and *the new target* suggests that the direction of the gaze upon the enemy has turned from the Jewish community to the Muslim community, suggesting that these opposites are also hyponyms of the superordinate pair good/bad. Example (53) utilises the contrastive conjunction *but*. This trigger is used to indicate that the adjectives *useful/indispensable* and *dangerous* are opposites, though they are unrelated as antonyms. This new opposition brings in the connotative meaning of these attributes. Therefore, being useful and indispensable is considered as a contrast against being dangerous. Then, the reader will interpret the words as opposites based on the canonical superordinate positive/negative pair.

Regarding the conventional opposite pair belief/disbelief, there are only three examples that show how negated and contrastive oppositions are used to demonstrate good/bad concepts:

- 54. He is a Jew with **no** religion who has questioned the legitimacy of the state of Israel; [...].
- 55. [...]; he was a **non**-observant Jew who **converted** to Catholicism to ease his Vienna appointment; [...].
- 56. [...] it was right to highlight the sense of superiority some **Jews** have towards **gentiles**.

The syntactic triggers *no* and *convert* make an opposition between *a Jew* and *no religion* and *non-observant Jew* and *Catholicism* in (54) and (55) respectively. In both examples, the opposite pairs indicate that a Jew has a belief while the phrase *no religion* means having no belief in a religion. Thus the newly opposed terms are indicative of a conventional opposite belief/disbelief. In (55), the verb *convert* indicates a change from Judaism to Catholicism (Christianity). This transition trigger indicates that a non-religious Jew turned into a religious Catholic by virtue of the adjective *non-observant*, relying again on the conventional opposition belief/disbelief. Example (56) does not use any structural triggers of opposition, but depends on the link between two conventional opposites *Jews* and *gentiles*. Both are different in their religious and cultural aspects. Lexically the two nouns do not seem to be antonyms; however, context and convention make them opposites. Since Jews are regarded as superior, then gentiles are inferior, suggesting that gentiles are of a lower rank. Therefore, a

superior/inferior opposition is triggered at the conceptual level, although the word *inferior* is not involved in the text

In addition to the syntactic triggers that create non-conventional opposites, there is a set of opposed lexical items constructed by the use of verb phrases in eight instances. An analysis of the positive and negative connotations is perceived, relying on the conventional oppositions of acceptable/unacceptable:

57. What the Muslim community in the UK **lacks** are the kind of networks, community monitoring centres, spokespeople and media contacts that the Jewish community has **built up** over the years.
58. "The Europeans **killed** six million Jews out of 12 million, **but** today the Jews **rule** the world by proxy," he said.
59. [...]... If a Jew **kills** an Arab the whole world goes against him **but** if an Arab **kills** a Jew it is good for them and the world lives with it as well."

Example (57) constructs opposition using two different verbs (*lack* and *build up*) to set up a contrast between two groups of people. Having the verb *build up*, one of the conventional pair, helps the reader to infer that the opposite counterpart would be 'demolish' involved in *lack*. Therefore, these two contrastive verbs create an opposition between the Jewish community (positively evaluated) and the Muslim community (negatively evaluated), relying on the canonical superordinate pair good/bad.

The items *Europeans* and *Jews* in (58) are set up differently, but the opposition is inclusive (Davies, 2008, p. 220) in which the coordination *but* creates a contrast between the verbs *kill* and *rule*. This opposition confirms the negative act done by Europeans, where the verb *kill* is evaluated as negative, and the positive one *rule* that portrays the Jews positively. At the same time, it also indicates a transitional meaning from being weak (victims) into being strong by having authority (rulers).

Likewise, opposition in (59) is constructed via three syntactic triggers: the contrastive conjunction *but*, the verb *kill* and the parallel structure. These triggers are used to indicate that *Jews* and *Arabs* are opposites, resulting a contrast between the two clauses. This opposition brings in the denotative meaning of the word *good*. Therefore, the clause *a Jew kills an Arab*

is considered as bad while *an Arab kills a Jew* is good. The reader, thus, can interpret the two clauses as opposites based on the canonical superordinate acceptable/unacceptable.

### 7.3.3.2 Christians

As shown in Table 7.5, superordinate opposition of Christians is the least frequent (15%), compared to Jews (34%) and Muslims (51%). There are 12 instances of opposition construction created by different syntactic triggers such as comparison, concession and negation. In my data, the instances provide evidence that demonstrates three patterns based on the concepts of fair/unfair, peace/violence and positive/negative pairs, evoking good/bad concepts. The first pattern displays instances relaying on the conventional opposition fair/unfair pair in five cases. For example:

60. Medvedev's statement might appear fair minded, guaranteeing equal teaching rights to the **major religions**, **but** he significantly omitted any reference to Russia's **minority Christian denominations**.
61. Compared with a white British Christian man with similar qualifications, age and occupation, Pakistani and Bangladeshi Muslim men and Black African Christian men have an income that is 13-21% **lower**. Nearly half of Bangladeshi and Pakistani households are in poverty.
62. UDGES are adding to fears that Christians are treated **less** favourably **than** other minority groups, claims a human rights campaigner.
63. As The Sunday Telegraph disclosed recently, senior Church of England figures believe that Christians are suffering from discrimination and that **greater** tolerance is shown for other faiths.

In all the above examples, the contrastive trigger is used to evoke an opposition presented between Christian participants and other groups, creating canonical superordinate concepts of fair/unfair. Opposition is created between *major religions* and *Russia's minority Christian denominations* in example (60) evoked by *major* and *minority*. This produces an oppositional meaning between major Christian denominations and minor ones, indicating that one group is major (positive) while the other is minor (negative), emphasising therefore a difference between the majority and the minority as it shows something analogous to discrimination. Such representation could show one kind of unfair treatment, presenting the canonical oppositional concept of fair/unfair pair.

The same procedure is carried out in (61) between *White British Christian man* and *Black African Christian men*, triggered by the adjective *lower*. Though the opposite adjective *higher* is not employed, it still emphasises a difference between white British Christians and black African Christians in earning money. This, then, helps the reader to infer that opposition is constructed between Christians (evaluated as superior) and the others (as inferior). This example utilises the adjective *lower* to highlight one of undesirable social inequities, in which groups of people are given more opportunities than others representing again the superordinate concept of fair/unfair pairing.

Likewise, the difference between *Christians* and *minority groups* in (62) suggests a difference between them by virtue of the comparative 'X is less [adv.] than Y'. This portrays Christians as not treated fairly, thus highlighting the negative and positive evaluations of these two groups. This confirms a non-canonical opposition, relying on the superordinate fair/unfair opposition. In (63), religious discrimination is constructed between *Christians* and *other faiths* via the comparative adverb *greater*, in which the 'than Y' element is left out but is embedded in the prepositional phrase *for other faiths* that are shown more tolerance than Christians who are treated unequally. This makes the reader assume that Christians are not granted tolerance. Therefore, the comparative construction in all these instances triggers a conventional opposition fair/unfair, which may evoke sympathy.

The following sentences establish opposed items based on the peaceful/violent pair (four cases) represented in relation to their political and religious attitudes:

64. "We're **not** militants, we're ordinary Bible-believing Christians who want a quiet life," he said.
65. According to Open Doors, an organisation that monitors religious harassment, North Korea persecutes Christians **more** severely **than** any other nation.
66. GEORGE PITCHER We need Muslim peacemakers, **not** Christian soldiers.

In (64), the negator *not* sets up an opposition between *militant* (negative) and *ordinary Bible-believing* (positive). Though the two items do not seem to be antonyms, it can be perceived that the relative clause *who want a quiet life* indicates they are seeking to make peace not war. This helps the reader to interpret the two words as opposites, relying on the superordinate

conventional peaceful/violent pair. In (65), although the comparative element *more than* triggers the opposition between the North Korean state and other states, it suggests that Christians are ill-treated in North Korea when compared with another nation. This opposition assumes that Christians are victims while the actions of North Korea are cruel, relying therefore on the superordinate conventional victim/criminal pair to highlight the negative act of North Korea. Such opposition also evokes the canonical oppositional pair of peaceful/violent.

The same procedure is carried out in (66) between *Muslim peacemakers* and *Christian soldiers*, created by the negated trigger *not*. Both are non-conventional opposites, so the reader depends on the syntactic frame ‘X not Y’ and the evidence attached to these opposites. The NP *Muslim peacemakers* suggests that Muslims are peace makers (positively evaluated), while Christians are regarded as war makers. This helps the reader to infer that the opposite of ‘peace’ is ‘war’, which is not overtly involved in the text. This then seems to contain positive and negative constructions, bringing the superordinate interpretation of peaceful/violent pair.

With reference to the negative and positive attributes, the third pattern reveals three sentences representing Christians in the context relying on the conventional superordinate antonyms positive/negative. For example:

67. Although Mr Cameron has previously voted to reduce the abortion limit, [...]. It will be **welcomed** by many Christians **but** may **anger** women's groups.
68. Though Hitchens sometimes slips into the strident register characteristic of his Mail on Sunday columns, his new book is largely a sober piece of work. On the whole, it is religion's cultured despisers, **not** Christian apologists, who now display greater shrillness.

Opposition is utilised in (67) via the concessive conjunction *but*. This conjunction produces a contrastive meaning between the two verbs *welcome* and *anger* to create a gender difference between two groups: women and Christians. The comparison is evoked by the ‘X’ element while the ‘Y’ frame is implied. This construction works due to the conventional complementary opposite of man/woman codified in the language. Using such opposed verbs confirms the positive behaviour of Christians because they welcomed Cameron’s decision of

reducing abortion, and the negative behaviour of women who were against such decision, constructing the superordinate conventional opposite positive/negative pairing. The trigger *not* in (68) draws a contrast between two characters: *despisers* and *apologists*, presenting religiosity as a binary concept. They are constructed contextually as opposites, making an actual contrast between negative and more negative values as the latter has shown more negativity due to the complement clause *who display great shrillness*.

### 7.3.3.3 Muslims

There are 41 instances detected for superordinate opposites. Various syntactic frames are recognised in creating non-canonical opposites including parallelism, comparison, concession and negation. The construction of opposites falls into six patterns creating the superordinate headings of moderate/extremist, victim/crime, belief/disbelief, fair/unfair, positive/negative and safe/unsafe, wherein opposites are articulated to show what actions and attitudes are acceptable or unacceptable.

The first pattern displays 11 cases that portray Muslims in terms of moderate/extremist opposites, highlighting positive or negative attributes of Muslims. By way of example:

69. Timothy Garton Ash fails to explain why "young Muslim men out there will **become** so radicalised that [they] will **turn into** a bomber or axeman".
70. American officials believe European Muslims are **more** likely **than** their counterparts in the United States to subscribe to extremist.
71. [...], warned Timothy Roemer that **though** "there was evidence of some support for [Islamist group Lashkar-e-Taiba] among certain elements in India's indigenous Muslim community, the bigger threat may be the growth of radicalised Hindu groups, which create religious tensions and political confrontations with the Muslim community".

In (69), two transitional oppositions *become* and *turn into* are triggered to generalise that young Muslim men turn out to be radicals and bombers or axemen. Though the antonym of 'radical' is not explicitly stated, it still indicates a transformation from moderate into radical on one hand, depicting a change from good Muslims into bad ones, and to a bomber or axeman on the other hand, which is metaphorically used to suggest a more murderous stance. Similarly, in (70), opposition is constructed via *more than* between *European Muslims* and



*their counterparts*; these European Muslims are involved in extremism rather than their American coreligionists. This suggests a negative depiction of Muslims in Europe and positive associations of those in the US, confirming therefore a non-conventional opposite. However, the concessive trigger *though* in the last example shows a contrast between two adjectives *indigenous* and *radicalised*. Although *indigenous* is not the opposite of *radicalised*, it indicates that Muslims, as an indigenous people of India, are not radicalised compared to Hindus who are seen as radicalised people.

The second pattern shows the contrasting concepts of victim/criminal in six examples which construct Muslims as being involved in conflict situations, suggesting therefore the status of positive/negative pair. For example:

72. Anjem Choudary of Islam4UK said that 500 of his supporters would carry empty coffins in memory of Muslim civilians **killed** by coalition forces. Bereaved relatives condemned Mr Choudary's plans as "sickening" and "offensive".
73. "[...] when the fighting is done with spiritual weapons which Europe **lacks** while Muslims are **perfectly armed**, the fall of Europe is looming."
74. She looks like a typical American woman, pretty, blonde and a mother of a young son. **But** Jamie Paulin-Ramirez was yesterday named as the second American Muslim woman linked to a plot to assassinate Swedish cartoonist Lars Vilks.

The verb *kill* in (72) is used to trigger a contrast between *Muslim civilians* and *coalition forces*. This non-canonical opposite presents positive and negative relations of this pair. The use of *kill* confirms the negative connotation of *coalition forces* (killers) and the positive one of *Muslim civilians* (victims), though being a victim does not suggest a good feature. However, the two phrases draw a contrast between killers and victims; being a killer is usually seen as guilty while victims are seen as innocent.

On the contrary, in (73), there is a contrast between *Europe* which is unarmed and *Muslims* who are totally armed. This opposition is triggered by the verb *lack*. It helps the reader to infer that Europe and Muslims are opposites, relying on the superordinate opposites good/bad, where *armed* is evaluated as negative and *unarmed* as positive, thus representing Muslims negatively. In (74), the syntactic trigger *but* constructs an example of transitional opposition, indicating that the same woman turned from *typical* (positive) to criminal (negative).

Although the second opposite ‘criminal’ is not involved, the verb phrase *linked to a plot to assassinate* implies the concept of crime. In utilising such opposition, the writer presents a context of crime as a binary construction to portray the behaviour of a Muslim participant. Such instances indicate that the representation of Muslims in issues related to war or crime is of importance for the text producers.

In six instances, opposition relies on the superordinate pair belief/disbelief to highlight the levels of commitment or beliefs, as shown below:

75. Her family were from Tuzla; they are Bosnian Muslims, **but** non-practising.

76. "He's not a very strict Muslim **but** a decent Muslim and he knows the rules over there."

Opposition is triggered by the concessive conjunction *but* to show a contrast between being practising and non-practising, though ‘practising’ is not involved as opposite to non-practising in (75). A contrast is set up between two unrelated adjectives *strict* and *decent* in (76). Since there is no link between *strict* and *decent*, it seems that not being strict is a decent behaviour, thus referring to a moderate or liberal participant. The opposition construction evokes a contrast between the negatively evaluated quality instantiated in *strict* and the positive attribute *decent* of the Muslim referent. Therefore, being non-practising or decent indicates different levels of beliefs.

The fourth pattern consists of five instances of comparative opposition depending on the superordinate opposition fair/unfair to highlight less importance being shown to Muslims:

77. The Pope recognises this, [...], whose friends include atheist thinkers whose respect for the West's Christian heritage is far **greater than** that of Muslim community leaders or their multiculturalist allies.

78. [...]," Mr Tanko said. "The United States is the number one target for its oppression and aggression against Muslim nations, particularly in Iraq and Afghanistan, and its blind support to Israel in its killings of our Palestinian brethren."

The comparative trigger *greater than* in example (77) shows different views towards the West's Christian heritage and Muslim leaders. This indicates that the positive is ascribed to the West's Christian heritage and the negative is ascribed to the Muslim leaders. Here,

opposition presents a sense of respect which produces a contrast between showing respect to Christian heritage and less respect to Muslim leaders. Being respected and disrespected are usually seen as positive and negative aspects; these oppositions are also hyponyms of the canonical opposition desirable/undesirable. In (78), parallelism helps in the construction of Muslims and Israelis as opposites. The parallel structure includes conventional opposites in the complements: *its oppression and aggression against Muslim nations* and *its blind support to Israel*, therefore, the subject is also the same, represented by the US that shows its oppression against Muslim nations and its support to Israelis. This shows that Muslims are treated unfairly (lacking support), while Israelis are treated fairly (enjoying support). Therefore, the two groups are opposed to each other. Such construction helps the reader to understand that the two groups are seen as opposites, relying on the superordinate opposites fair/unfair.

With reference to the fifth pattern, there are 10 instances of opposition relying on the superordinate construction positive and negative, highlighting the good/bad attributes of Muslims. For example:

79. Muslims have the right to be free and equal **but** what they do not have the right to do is promote practices that violate the fundamentals of good societies anywhere, not just in the West.
80. He said he was "saddened" that Christians were often treated as "second-class citizens" in the Islamic world, **while** Muslims were free to build mosques in Britain.
81. [...]: apparently Muslims are **incapable** of governing a polity and the global financial conspiracy is **run** by the Jews.

A parallel structure in (79) creates an opposition between two clauses via the conjunction *but*, suggesting that being free and equal is contrasted with acting against the law. Here, this construction is used to view Muslims on the basis of good/bad opposition. In (80), the concessive opposition *while* contrasts between Christians and Muslims. The syntactic trigger depends on the positive-negative link between two phrases used as unconventional opposites: *second-class citizens in the Islamic world* and *free to build mosques in Britain* respectively. Lexically the two phrases do not seem to be antonyms; however, they can complete each other. If someone is free, s/he is certainly not restricted. Nevertheless, the context makes them opposites, suggesting that Muslims are permitted to do everything in a Christian country (i.e.

Britain), whereas Christians are not permitted to do so in a Muslim society. This indicates that Muslims do not treat Christians as normal citizens.

Conversely, opposition in (81) constructs opposites between Muslims and Jews which result in creating two NPs as opposites: *incapable of governing a polity* and *the global financial conspiracy*. Such opposites rely on the superordinate opposition positive/negative. The use of the verb *run* in the second clause creates an opposition between separate groups: Muslims are portrayed as incapable and Jews are represented as running a conspiracy, though the word *conspiracy* has a negative connotation. Although the opposite of *incapable* is not involved, it is clear that Jews inspire a positive association and Muslims can be negatively represented.

The last pattern consists of only three cases creating oppositions based on the conventional level of the safe and unsafe pair, indicating good/bad qualities of Muslims so that the reader can interpret them as complementary opposites. For example:

82. 9/11 anniversary: 'We are the target now': hate grows for Islam in the US: On the anniversary of 9/11, Chris McGreal reports from the Tennessee town where Muslims have lived in harmony with Christians for decades - **but** where they now feel under threat.

In this example, the co-ordinating conjunction *but* is used to create a contrast between two situations Muslims have experienced in the US because of the September attacks. Such contrast is achieved by using two phrases *in harmony* and *under threat*. These two opposites suggest that Muslims were safe in certain periods, but the aforementioned attacks have made them be in a non-safeguarded position. This indicates that the place, i.e. the US, is no longer safe for Muslims. Such construction therefore confirms a superordinate safe/unsafe concept.

In summary, the analysis of the opposition construction is achieved via different syntactic frames. With reference to Jews, different concepts are based on the superordinate conceptual levels of the safe/unsafe pair describing war situations, positive/negative attributes and belief/disbelief showing, to a lesser extent, different levels of religious affiliations. These concepts represent Jewish referents as either acceptable or unacceptable. The construction of Christians is identified based on peculiarity; of religious differences and of seeking peace, to some extent, in which Christians are most often depicted as good or in unpleasant situations. Regarding Muslims, the analysis has shown that the construction of opposition can contribute

to various meanings that perceive Muslims as either good or bad in terms of positive/negative qualities. The findings seem to polarise different levels of opposition among the three participants, confirming the argument that there are differences in representation that shows a bias.

#### **7.4 Summary and discussion**

This chapter has examined the textual construction of equivalence and opposition in terms of the representation of Jews, Christians and Muslims in the broadsheet newspapers. As mentioned earlier, the frequency of occurrence of equivalences and oppositions among the three groups differs, as shown in Tables 7.1 and 7.5. More specifically, there are 1248 instances of equating which are higher than those of contrasting (296 instances) due to the great number of intensive relational equivalences associated with the copular *be*. It has been shown that the frequency of instances in reference to Christians is the lowest in terms of appositional and oppositional constructions in comparison with Jews and Muslims.

This chapter has demonstrated that most of the lexical items have an identification function in terms of religion, profession, nationality and social attributes of the social actors. This structure can best be served by the equivalence construction of intensive and appositional structures. Despite the identical attributes ascribed to the three referents, they are represented differently. Jews are represented with more extreme negative attributes associated with strong beliefs and negative evaluations creating an impression of unpleasant characteristics. Regarding Christians, they are highly identified in relation to religious identity, affiliations and beliefs. Although they are ascribed positive and negative evaluations, their negative representation is concerned with identifying the hard situations they experience, thus portraying them as persecuted in the Middle East in particular. With reference to Muslims, a great number of instances contribute to defining their religious identity, viewing them as different from other groups, which can accordingly have an impact on how newspapers view them. The main prejudiced qualities and traits explicitly or surreptitiously ascribed to Muslims are linked to terrorism, radicalisation or criticism. In addition, there are contradictory representations suggesting that it is not necessarily the case that Muslims have negative associations. This construction comes in line with what Reisigl and Wodak (2001) have adopted as ‘predicational strategies’. These strategies serve to label social actors positively or

negatively and can be realised as discriminatory stereotypes and evaluative attributions of negative and positive traits are represented either implicitly or explicitly.

The analysis has also shown that appositional equivalence avails in naming practices in which the three participants are attributed qualities used as predication strategies such as personal names, religious and political affiliations portrayed according to the status they hold. Linguistically, the apposition construction has then ascertained the stereotypical representation of Jews, Christians and Muslims in terms of predications and evaluations. This is evident in the information given about the referents about their religious and social backgrounds.

Moving to the second part of this chapter, the construction of opposition in the contexts occurs across a range of categories but may seem less clearly identifiable. The categories are often linked to the superordinate oppositions of safe-unsafe and belief-disbelief in relation to Jews; fair-unfair, peace-violence and positive-negative evaluations in the case of Christians; and moderate-extremist, belief-disbelief and victim-criminal with reference to Muslims.

As stated earlier, despite the presence of such common features among the three groups, an in-depth examination has shown a divergence in their representation. The overwhelming presence of opposed lexis, at conventional and unconventional levels, indicates that similar opposition triggers are repeated across the textual analysis, such as parallelism and comparative and concessive oppositions, in order to show differences between, for example, Christians and Muslims or Muslims and Jews, or sometimes Christians and other faiths. This has also involved a stereotypical view, meaning that repeating patterns show that evaluations, as Stubbs asserts (2001), are not only personal and idiosyncratic, but also shared in a community in which a word or a construction may create a cultural stereotype.

The representation indicates that the newspapers present greater amounts of information in recounting the negative evaluations than the positive cases in the categories. This is mostly unsurprising in the news outlets which tend to focus on hard news.

## **Chapter 8**

### **Conclusion**

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#### **8.1 Introduction**

As explained in the introductory chapter, the general aim of this study is to investigate the representation of the three Abrahamic religions, Judaism, Christianity and Islam, in the broadsheet newspapers with reference to corpus linguistics (CL) and critical stylistics (CS). The current chapter includes a number of sections. Section 8.2 is devoted to presenting the main findings of this thesis in relation to the research questions raised. Section 8.3 illustrates the discussions and perceptions of this study. This is followed by listing the contributions of this thesis in terms of methodology and the existing field of knowledge in section 8.4. A summary of the limitations of this study with some suggestions for future studies are presented in section 8.5 before concluding remarks are offered in section 8.6.

#### **8.2 Research findings**

The main findings of the analysis chapters show the existence of stereotypes in the representation of the three religions. My approach has focused on a wide-ranging analysis of Jews, Christians and Muslims in the British press. As indicated by the brief account of news genres and values in chapter four, the British broadsheets constitute an important source of news in the UK and other countries. The analysis has centred on the linguistic patterns of statistically significant collocates as a way to examine the representation of the three religious groups. This has revealed that common thematic categories are shared by the three religious groups but their representations are different. The examination of the significant collocates has contributed to shaping certain stereotypes of Jews, Christians and Muslims, as will be shown below.

The findings in relation to the three research questions reveal certain patterns and themes across all three-analysis chapters. The research questions are restated below, along with the answers arrived at as a result of my analysis.

## **1. What are the differences and similarities in the representation of the three religions in the British press?**

Results have shown that the most important similarities among the three groups are the thematic categories emerging from examining collocates. The most common themes include collectivity, conflict-related contexts, professional roles and gender as found in chapter five and contexts of conflict and references to religious practices in chapter six, in addition to categories identifying positive and negative evaluations, the social identity and the superordinate opposites of acceptable/unacceptable pairings found in chapter seven.

Across the analytical stages, the representation of the thematic categories is different based most often on the context in which collocates are embedded. The dominant themes amongst the three groups are collectivisation and conflict-related contexts, giving priority to depicting Jews, Christians and Muslims collectively. Collectivity is prevalent in the representation of Christians, in which the percentage was 46%, higher than the percentages observed with Muslims (36%) and Jews (32%), as illustrated in chapter five. The dominance of this category indicates that there is a tendency to represent the three participants as collective homogenous groups in different contexts, in particular the context of conflict. This is shown in the contextual evidence of items found, for example, in the portrayal of Muslims such as *terrorism, problems, hatred, racist attacks, danger, extremism, radical* and *threats* co-occurring with the collocations *Muslim community* and *Muslim group*, and *riots, attacks, offence* and *fundamentalism* in the case of the collocation *Muslim world*. Such finding is also congruent with Richardson's (2004) and Baker et al.'s (2013) studies, signifying that there is a stereotypical view representing Muslims in terms of collectivity. To underline the differences among the other groups, Jews, as collective entities, have been represented through references to nationalities and countries. There is also a focus on the contexts of war situations, where Jews are portrayed most often as victims and as exposed to suffering. In this context, there is a particular focus on World War II and the Nazis, in addition to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict in the case of the collocation *Jewish settler* when reporting the struggle with Palestinians in the West Bank. This might contribute to a debate over the historical and political contexts of media discourse. Regarding the representation of Christians collectively, there is a tendency to portray Christians as minorities and ill-treated in Muslim-dominated countries, such as Iraq, Turkey, Egypt and elsewhere in the Middle East, focusing



in particular on portraying them as being exposed to suffering and in danger situations. Therefore, this construction plays an important role in shaping unpleasant pictures of Christians as persecuted in Muslim societies, evoking thereby sympathy. There is also a focus on portraying Christians according to their religious status and their achievements, as in the case of *denomination* and *missionary*, contributing indirectly to positive portrayals (see section 5.4.2).

It seems therefore that there is widespread coverage of conflict-related contexts. This validates the findings of previous studies, such as Marsden and Savigny (2009) and Al-Azami (2016), that the media tend to focus on conflict issues in religion representation. Such outcomes as the consequences of war are also observed in the second thematic category of conflict-related contexts, which is also dominant among the three groups; however, the frequency of occurrences varies, resulting therefore in different representations. The number of instances co-occurring with Christians is 46 instances (8%), which is the lowest compared to Jews 239 (16%) and Muslims 285 (12%), as shown in Table 5.2. There is a prevalence of broadsheet coverage placing Jews and Muslims in the context of conflict more frequently than Christians. Such occurrence in conflict situations might be due to the world affairs in which Muslims and Jews are involved. Coverage of Muslims in broadsheets, for example, is commonly related to situations of terrorism (Baker, 2010a), while the representation of Jews is linked to their long history during World War II which forms ‘a distinct backdrop for the presentation of Judaism and Jews in the press, even when the news is about something explicitly present’ (Døving, 2016, p. 12).

Additionally, the thematic category of conflict-related contexts is also observed in the representation of Jews, Christians and Muslims as actors and goals, illustrated in chapter six. Such findings reveal, to some extent, corresponding representations in the thematic category of conflict contexts shaping therefore a stereotyped image, as shown in chapter five.

The idea of differences also continues in the representation of gender among the three religious groups. Collocates related to gender in the data were examined to determine how the religious participants’ gender identity is constructed in the newspapers. In terms of relative frequency, the number of instances in the representation of Muslims is 23%, which is a high level of occurrences compared with Jews 11% and Christians 5%. Even with this small

proportion, Christians were represented focusing on positive attributives, while also describing the death of Christian participants, portraying them as victims. Regarding the collocation *Jewish woman/man*, religious practices and commitments are used to reinforce the strength of the religious identity of Jewish participants. However, in the portrayal of *Muslim woman/man*, the issue of covering Muslim women was contentious and problematic, creating tense relations for Muslim women in Western countries, while Muslim men are portrayed as being accused of or exploited mostly in contexts of terrorism and extremism, creating therefore a negative representation.

In the equivalence construction, the category of positive and negative evaluations shows a high frequency in the representation of Jews and Muslims, with 33% and 44% respectively, while it is low in the case of Christians 23%. This demonstrates that Christians are less seen in the construction of negativity and positivity. The results have shown different levels of representation. In terms of negative descriptions, Jews are depicted as victims or a source of problems; Christians are represented as victims as a result of violence or they are assigned unpleasant characteristics, while Muslims are ascribed characteristics of terrorism, extremism or criticism in addition to the image of victimisation, creating as a result an unpleasant portrayal of Muslims. In terms of positive qualities, all the religious groups are assigned good features, contributing to positive representation. Jews, for example, are portrayed as smart, determined and focused, Christians as devout and faithful to their religion and Muslims as progressive and working to engage in the society where they reside.

## **2. What are the collocational patterns found in the representation of the three religions across the data under scrutiny?**

The collocational patterns reveal a number of instances which are also shared among the three participants. The principal noun choices used to label the three groups are *community*, *group*, *population*, *leader*, *society*, *majority* and *minority*, implying homogeneity within the group and differences with others outside the community. There are also some noun collocates which are exclusively and frequently used in the representation of one group rather than another. Noun collocates such as *people* and *settler* occurred more frequently in the representation of Jews; *denomination* and *missionary* occurred exclusively in the case of Christians and *world*, *woman*, *man* and *nation* were highly seen in the construction of Muslims.

It is worth stating that such frequent nouns do not imply negative meanings in and of themselves. However, the contextual information helps in interpreting these nouns as realised by packaging up certain ideological contents within the nominal elements. There are, for instance, adjectives and post-modifiers which contribute to different representations. There are more references to nationalities and locations in 61 instances found in the construction of Jews and Jewish communities. Amongst the examples are *Russia, Rome, Britain, Egypt, Lebanon, Germany, Morocco* and *Sydney*, which are used in contexts that describe conflict situations that Jews have experienced. This pattern is also accompanied by references to quantifications, signifying factual aspects regarding their identity and residence. Also, the most common adjectives used to describe the Jewish community are *orthodox, ultra-orthodox, religious, moderate* and *messianic* which project an image of traditional or extreme beliefs. As for Christian participants, the collocations *Christian community, Christian population* and *Christian minority* are used to describe the hard experiences of Christians, mostly in Muslim-dominated societies. This is realised in the nominal components such as, *violence against the Christian community, the persecution of the Christian communities, the physical suffering of the Christian minorities, attacks on Christian minorities* and *the loss of the Christian populations*. I have also found textual evidence suggesting patterns related to politics and religious status, such as *conservative, evangelical, religious* and *right-wing*, in addition to modifiers, such as *leading, major, biggest, main* and *different*, signifying a positive depiction of Christians. These items thereby represent Christians generally as of highly positioned religious and political status, but also as persecuted groups.

Apropos the nominal choices that represent Muslims as collective entities, *community* and *world* tend to represent Muslims as involved in problematic situations. These two collocates occur in the contexts of terrorism and conflict through embedding further details in the nominal elements, such as *terrorism on the Muslim community, damaging relations with Muslim communities* and *racist attacks on members of the Muslim community*. Furthermore, the negative description is emphasised by a set of pre-modifiers packaged up inside the NPs, such as *riots, attack, fundamental hostility, focus of hate, radical, violent, assault* and *outrage*. Therefore, the occurrence of these collocates shows a tendency to appear in negative contexts most often linked to conflict, troubles and stressed relations between Muslims and the West. Another pattern is also found in the collocation *Muslim group*, which occurs with items that

project images of extremism and terrorism, such as *fringe*, *danger among*, *hardline*, *radical*, *terrorist* and *threats of bloody retribution*. Such results echo the conclusions of Baker et al. (2013), suggesting therefore consistent negative stereotypes of Muslims in the British press.

Turning to transitivity choices, the majority of material processes that construct the three participants as actors and goals reflect violence and conflict contexts. With reference to the construction of actors, verb collocates are varied in terms of frequency. This is evident in particular in the verbs shared by the three participants, such as *flee*, *run* and *suffer*, but with divergence in their frequency. For example, *suffer* is commonly used in the representation of Jews (11%) in comparison with Christians (8%) and Muslims (3%). It presents Jews as experiencing hard times. Despite such differences in number of occurrences, the three groups are portrayed as patient when undergoing suffering. Moreover, the verb *kill* is exclusively found with Jews and Muslims; portraying them in the context of crime. Similarly, the exclusive co-occurrence of the verb *attack* in context with Muslims depicts them as explicitly implicated in violent acts.

Regarding the representation of the three groups as goals, the conflict context is predominant and the number of occurrences as goals is also varied. It is occurring frequently with Christians 86% higher than Jews 79% and Muslims 72%, which might be due to the strategy of newspapers of portraying Christians as persecuted participants. The instances of Jews are used to represent them in the context of victimisation as being targets of violent acts, such as *kill*, *murder*, *gas*, *save*, *rescue*, *protect*, *persecute*, *destroy* and *attack*; it is the context of persecution in the case of Christians, such as *kill*, *target* and *force*, while Muslims are represented in the context of conflict, resulting in various ways of representation. Verbs such as *radicalise*, *criminalise*, *arrest*, *blame*, *kill*, *bomb*, *attack*, *alienate*, *offend*, *infuriate*, *stigmatise* and *target* are negatively charged, portraying Muslims as being maltreated, victimised, disapproving or condemned something bad, contributing thus to certain stereotypes linked to problematic situations. It is obvious then that the dispersion of negative processes is represented differently among the three groups in my data, indicating bias in the representation of the three participants in the British newspapers.

The investigation of differences and similarities is also incorporated in exploring equivalences and oppositions. This is shown in the selected collocational patterns used to portray the

participants in terms of, for example, nationality. The analysis has shown different representations in which Jews and Christians were described as descended from different backgrounds, such as *Eastern European, Russian, Israeli, German-born, Manchester-born, Palestinian* and *North-London* in the case of Jews, and *Iraq, Britain, Egypt, Australia, America* and *Palestine* in the case of Christians. However, the pattern is different in the representation of Muslims, in which most references are to the Muslim-dominated countries, e.g. *Egypt, Turkey, Doha, Pakistan, Algerian, Sudanese, Palestinian, Bangladeshi* and *Turkish*. It is consequently evident that the religious groups fall into the overarching themes of religious identities and nationalities, as discussed in chapter seven. This representation reflects the religious and cultural background that the three groups are descended from.

In terms of characteristics, the findings have displayed a set of pejorative and positive traits, in which unpleasant features are predominantly employed. Jews are described as *biggest plague, aggressive, self-hating, avaricious, incapable, responsible for wrecking Germany's economy, responsible for every disorder* and *gullible*, representing them as a problem. However, Jews are also depicted as victims as in *Jewish groups in Chicago and New York that they may be a target for dangerous packages*, reiterating the context of victimisation. Regarding Christians, they are either allocated undesirable features as in [...] *Christians were at a disadvantage in this country*, or framed as victims of violence as in *victims of the continuing tragedy, terrified, at pains, at risk, targets, the victims of persecution, second-class citizens, under attack, unfairly targeted* and *poor*. Conversely, the Muslim participants are described as *terrorists, guilty, radicalised, aggressors, perpetrators* and *dangerous*, which generate negative perceptions linked to terrorism. However, Muslims are also portrayed as victims, e.g. *Mr Blair said a "narrative" that Muslims were under attack from the US and its allies*. The unpleasant features are therefore represented differently among the three groups, suggesting that they have been unfairly characterised or treated in the British newspapers.

### **3. What linguistic strategies which could affect readers' perception are employed in the representation of the three religions?**

It is useful to consider the syntactic structures and discursive strategies used in the representation of Jews, Christians and Muslims, which might reflect certain ideologies embedded in discourse. Based on the discussion in section 6.4, Jews, Christians and Muslims as active agents are represented differently. For example, Jews figure in material action

intention (MAI) structures and are projected as agents of actions performed with intentions and sometimes less intentions. However, their performance is given less prominence as the actions are further embedded in lower structure levels. Christians are constructed as patients undergoing the bad actions they experienced. Such actions were given priority and prominence as they were placed at a higher level in the sentence structure (see section 6.4.2.1). The actions of Muslims are represented in low levels of sentence structures, taking Muslims' roles as active participants defocused. Furthermore, positive performances by Muslims were also perceived as less significant as they are subordinate to main clauses. Accordingly, the linguistic structure also contributes constantly to shaping different stereotypical depictions of the three groups. Most often, the information is placed in lower levels in the case of Jews and Muslims, making it not only less important, but at the same time taken-for-granted as given knowledge that is not up for debate.

Moreover, the negative standpoint of the British newspapers is also reproduced through using more undesirable nominal choices for Jews, such as *survivor*, *prisoner*, *immigrant*, *refugee*, *victim*, *inmate*, *extremist*, *soldier* and *emigre*, indicating that they are seen as victims or have troubles. However, the depiction of Christians is different, whereby they are less represented negatively, such as *fundamentalist*, *refugee*, *soldier*, *militia* and *martyr*, making them more linked to war situations. For Muslims, nominal choices include *radical*, *extremist*, *prisoner*, *militant*, *terrorist*, *bomber*, *rebel*, *fundamentalist*, *inmate*, *suspect*, *fanatic*, *protester* and *gang*, portraying them as a source of threat. The contrasting ways that are framed in the linguistic construction of the three groups are particularly evident in context. This may reflect the discourses based around distinguishing between the negative acts of the 'out-group' and the positive acts of the 'in-group' (Van Dijk, 1991) by reducing the effect through placing the acts in low levels in sentence structures.

### **8.3 Discussions and perceptions**

It is important to consider how the representation of the three religions, which is the principal focus of this thesis, might reflect the ideological perspectives of the newspapers. Overall, the study has not found much direct evidence of the creation of stereotypes of the three religious groups as 'violent Muslims', 'victimised Jews' or 'persecuted Christians'. Instead, what has emerged from examining the concordance lines of collocation lists is a subtle picture, which

contributes to stereotypical representation of these groups. This conclusion is also highlighted by Baker et al. (2013) that the British press contributes indirectly to negative stereotypes about Muslims. It seems that there is an overstated set of negative aspects in the representation of Muslims which are likely to resonate with other Muslims, because they are often seen as problematic and as terrorists. This portrayal alone can be of concern when compared to the representation of Jews and Christians.

Additionally, there is a clear focus on conflict-related contexts in news reporting, in which certain concepts are associated with a certain group (e.g. victimisation is associated with the representation of Jews), as discussed in chapters five and six. This shows that the British press represents conflict issues to pursue specific ideologies. They seek to maintain the values of freedom and human rights and advocate democracy to encounter any security threat. This provides the British public with an opportunity to view, in particular, Jews and Muslims in a contextual position centred on certain concepts. Jews are represented more frequently in the contexts of war situations and victimisation while terrorism and extremism issues are used to shape subtle opinions about Muslims that may manipulate the readers'/hearers' perception.

By comparing the differences and similarities across the thematic categories, the British newspapers tend to represent Jews, Christians and Muslims in stereotypical ways. The fact that the UK press contains stereotypical representations of Muslims and Islam is not surprising. With much of the textual evidence found in the instances provided in the study, I would argue that the British newspapers are negatively biased when reporting on Muslims linked to terrorism. The concepts of terrorism and extremism may, therefore, become strongly associated with Muslims and dissociated from, for instance, Jews and Christians. It seems that there is a focus on religion when Muslims are involved in terrorism but when, for example, Christians are involved, religion is not mentioned. What the newspapers never appear to do is simply to talk about terrorists. Terrorists are either defined as Muslims or they are not described as terrorists at all (in the case of, for example, white supremacists in America).

However, this strategy may be designed to shape certain characteristics of Jews and Christians. This is evident in the representation of Jews in the newspapers through unpleasant stereotypes when being associated with war situations in reporting issues of immigration and persecution. Moreover, it is worth bearing in mind that the concept of anti-Semitism in the

United Kingdom is relatively minor. As found in a piece of contemporary research on anti-Semitism in Great Britain (Staetsky, 2017), the British Jews are seen positively by the majority of the British population, to the point where that ‘levels of antisemitism in Great Britain are among the lowest in the world’ (p. 5). In this respect, it is perceived that the British newspapers are biased towards the representation of Jews when reporting their suffering. Despite the existence of the people in the UK who reported that they have no religion in the 2011 Census (see section 1.1), there is a focus on portraying the difficult situations that Christian people have experienced in Muslim-dominated countries, indicating that the British press is biased towards advocating and supporting Christians in different countries, particularly in the Middle East. By becoming aware of the language used to reveal discourses surrounding the representation of the three religions, a word, phrase or grammatical construction may create a stereotype or suggest the existence of a discourse. This is referred to by Baker (2006, p. 13) as ‘incremental effect of discourse’. Accordingly, it is obvious that the UK press tends to make a connection between a certain concept and the group associated with it, creating as a result a stereotypical image that occurs when there are minority people in certain societies and communities, wherein specific traits become associated with the representation of those minorities. Also, by repeatedly creating stereotypes using certain images, the press can be accused of pursuing certain ideologies.

#### **8.4 Contributions of the study**

This section describes the various contributions (intellectual, analytical and methodological) that this thesis makes to the area of critical corpus-based studies of language use. This study contributes to the existing literature investigating religion in media discourse in several ways. Firstly, this research contributes to the field of critical studies of language by investigating the linguistic representations of the three Abrahamic religions in news discourse. In an attempt to explore the linguistic patterns across a large dataset compiled from the broadsheet newspapers, my aim, therefore, contributes to showing how the British press uses language to represent these religions in its news reporting. Previous studies have focused on studying religion from other disciplines integrating different approaches, such as religion and media (Hoover, 1998; Mitchell & Gower, 2012); language, media and culture (Hoover & Lundby, 1997); media, religion and culture (Hoover & Clark, 2002); religion, language and sociology (Omoniyi & Fishman, 2006); the effect of conflict on religion in media (Marsden & Savigny,



2009); and media, language and religion (Al-Azami, 2016). However, there has been little empirical research on newspaper representations of religions and the religious groups together, particularly on the perception of media, religion and conflict. To the best of my knowledge, this thesis is the first study seeking to investigate the language employed to reveal existing discourses surrounding the religious groups from a critical stylistic perspective. This study will contribute to drawing attention to the issues of conflict and world religions with the aim of perceiving different aspects of language manipulation existing in the texts, which might reflect the readers' understanding of world religions.

Secondly, a methodological contribution that sets this study apart from other corpus-based studies is the employment of the corpus software *Sketch Engine* with the framework of critical stylistics (CS) as a guide to the linguistic qualitative analysis of the British press in an objective fashion. The application of CS helps to reveal how language is used in order to uncover ideological implications in the texts. It also helps reveal the discursive construction of power relations behind the representation of the three religions. Additionally, from a corpus perspective, this is the first study to use corpus-based techniques to investigate the differences and similarities in collocational patterns using concordance lines adopting a critical stylistic approach, which has been uncovered in previous studies. Another methodological contribution is related to the processing of materials selected for the analysis. They are replicable and objective as collocation lists are based on statistical measures. Also, no previous studies have used data covering one year of news reporting in the British broadsheet newspapers to investigate the representation of the three religions.

Lastly, this study also adds an empirical contribution to the fields of critical stylistics and corpus linguistics, such as covered by (Jeffries & Walker, 2012; Tabbert, 2013). This research testifies to the efficacy of carrying out critical stylistic analysis into the examination of the significant collocates identified via *Sketch Engine*. Examining collocation lists of a large volume of data enables researchers to focus on salient patterns of collocates based on their grammatical relations. In conclusion, this thesis has demonstrated that the textual-conceptual functions of critical stylistics can be valuable at the stage of corpus analysis to investigate the representation of the three Abrahamic religions, and has clarified the processes by which stereotypes can be construed.

## **8.5 Limitations and suggestions for future research**

It is necessary to acknowledge that there are certain limitations to this study. Firstly, the focus of this thesis was restricted to the British press, not all British media; therefore, my findings pertain only to the British broadsheets. Secondly, while the focus here is on the British newspapers, a full analysis of the research findings along with the political standpoints of the broadsheets is beyond the scope of this study. Finally, given the vast amount of data, I have not used the meta-data to compare different types of articles, such as letters and comments. I suggest that this would be a useful aim for future research to compare different types of articles. For example, the section of letters may provide evidence that helps to determine whether the selected letters are representative of a certain group. One issue raised when carrying out the qualitative analysis was in the manner of interpreting instances in their contexts as at times I observed some explicit negative representations in the types of articles, which might result in subjective interpretations.

Accordingly, this research encourages future studies in relation to the three Abrahamic religions. First, there is still a need to investigate the representation of religion in other media outlets, in other languages, such as Arabic media or those of other countries, such as America and Australia. This will show how issues of bias, legitimacy and (im)balance are addressed. Secondly, since investigating the language used is the primary factor of this study, it is recommended that researchers compare the portrayal of religion in other British news outlets. For example, a study of the representation of religion in the tabloid newspapers could be conducted to examine the most significant collocates used and compare them to the broadsheets. Another suggestion for future study is to perform a comparative analysis by investigating the linguistic construction of religion in other British media, such as radio or television, to provide further evidence regarding its discursive representation in media discourse. Lastly, my corpus is synchronic; a diachronic study could also be used to discover how language features change over different time periods. For example, it would be of interest to compare the representation of the three Abrahamic religions before and after the September 11<sup>th</sup> events or the 7/7 attacks to discover whether those events have affected the representation of all three religions or only of Islam and Muslims.

## **8.6 Concluding remarks**

The present study has concentrated on studying the collocation pairs associated with Jews, Christians and Muslims in the British broadsheets from a methodological perspective aimed at providing rigour, replicability, systematicity and objectivity. Future researchers are encouraged to carry out keyword examination to supplement the analysis as it focuses on different lexical items. Using log-likelihood or Chi-square tests to derive keywords will help to determine which lexical items occur statistically more often in one corpus than another.

As my analysis progressed, it became apparent that the UK press tends to focus on conflict-related contexts in such a way that the negative portrayals of the three religious groups are constructed differently. It seems that there would be merit in undertaking a good account to cover news reporting with consideration of contexts beyond discourses associated with violence, issues of war and terrorism. Providing contextual information about the relationship of Britain with Judaism, Christianity and Islam helped to understand the discourses and form a conclusion that news discourse is biased in its shaping of world religions. Possibly, any form of representation might create a general perspective. This shows that the British broadsheets are biased for and against certain groups. It would be better that the newspapers work fairly in their portrayal of minority groups, rather than differentiating between them.

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## Appendix A

**Table A.1** Noun collocates of *Jewish* and their thematic categories

Religion	Salience	Tragedy	Salience	Place/country	Salience	Social and cultural practices	Salience	Organisation	Salience	Other	Salience	Social actors	Salience
Faith	7.12	Cemetery	7.11	Settlement	10.45	Museum	8.22	School	7.87	Construction	8.30	Community	10.20
Sabbath	5.71	Holocaust	6.29	State	10.38	Tradition	7.67	Organisation	7.64	Law	7.53	family	9.71
Temple	5.70	Diaspora	6.12	Quarter	7.10	History	7.66	Centre	7.34	Root	7.49	People	9.60
Star	5.57	Suffering	5.43	Ghetto	6.68	Chronicle	7.64	Council	5.94	Building	7.42	Settler	9.54
Synagogue	5.40			Homeland	6.44	Identity	7.52	Agency	5.79	Life	7.34	Group	8.92
Prayer	5.29			Home	8.19	Heritage	7.48	Board	5.66	Calendar	6.11	Immigrant	8.73
Religion	5.04			Area	6.17	Joke	7.39	Institution	5.40	Force	6.05	Refugee	8.64
Text	3.62			Federation	5.70	Humour	7.00	Charity	5.09	Experience	6.02	Woman	8.32
				Site	5.33	Origin	7.00	Care	5.08	Blood	5.92	Parent	8.32
				Exile	5.12	Holiday	7.00			Book	5.60	Population	8.15
				Kippur	5.10	Festival	6.98			Problem	5.59	Man	8.14
				Suburb	5.09	Comedy	6.93			continuity	5.45	Leader	8.10
				City	4.86	Day	6.88			Journal	5.43	Girl	7.99
						Neighbourhood	6.88			Living	5.42	Child	7.96
						Wedding	6.56			Expansion	5.42	Friend	7.83
						Study	6.64			Connection	5.42	Boy	7.69
						Ancestry	6.44			Growth	5.42	Mother	7.35
						Novel	6.25			Movement	5.37	Resident	7.24
						Background	6.25			Year	5.10	Prisoner	6.98
						Descent	6.11			Side	5.00	Writer	6.84
						Culture	6.00			Project	4.99	Father	6.74
						Ceremony	5.85			Authority	4.96	Lobby	6.57
						Camp	5.67					Neighbour	6.56
						Custom	5.45					Intellectual	6.56
						Housing	5.43					Majority	6.55
						Theme	5.42					Student	6.48
						Status	5.40					Doctor	6.41
						Influence	5.40					Bachelor	6.30
						Food	5.37					Musician	6.25
						Voice	5.35					Novelist	6.25
						Music	5.32					Historian	6.25
						Month	5.21					Scholar	6.08
						Upbringing	5.12					Couple	6.05
						Ethic	5.12					Activist	6.03
						Revolt	5.12					character	5.99
						Conspiracy	5.12					Orphan	5.93
						Race	5.07					Israeli	5.92
												Victim	5.89
												Kid	5.89
												Survivor	5.86
												Citizen	5.84
												Society	5.73

												Matriarch	5.71
												Émigré	5.70
												Sect	5.70
												Boxer	5.70
												Household	5.70
												Extremist	5.70
												Comedian	5.69
												Member	5.68
												Lady	5.67
												Nation	5.64
												Person	5.60
												Solider	5.60
												Officer	5.45
												World	5.45
												Inmate	5.45
												Communist	5.44
												Banker	5.42
												Voter	5.42
												Businessman	5.42
												Teenager	5.42
												Professor	5.38
												Brother	5.35
												Tailor	5.12
												Dentist	5.12
												Bride	5.12
												Grandmother	5.12
												Grandfather	5.12
												Brigade	5.11
												Chaplain	5.11
												Owner	5.10
												Scientist	5.09
												Driver	5.08
												Judge	5.07
												Rabbi	5.04
												Wife	5.03
												Artist	5.03
												Committee	5.01

**Table A.2** Noun collocates of adjective *Christian* and their thematic categories

Religion	Salience	Politics	Salience	Place/ country	Salience	Social and cultural practices	Salience	Organisation	Salience	Other	Salience	Attitude	Salience	Social actors	Salience
Faith	10.50	Democrat	8.78	Church	8.90	Name	8.74	Charity	9.11	Root	7.70	Value	9.20	Community	9.31
Belief	9.53	Party	7.94	South	8.29	Heritage	8.51	Organisation	7.97	Calendar	7.79	View	7.04	Group	8.84
Message	8.02	Ministry	6.16	Village	7.72	Tradition	8.42	Unity	6.63	Right	7.23	Conscience	6.44	Denomination	8.74
Worship	7.79	Vote	6.14	Country	7.71	Teaching	7.49	Bookworld	6.46	Foundation	7.00	Understanding	6.78	Missionary	8.20
Festival	7.74	Coalition	5.89	Home	6.71	Principle	7.40	Aid	5.83	Life	6.88	Background	6.38	Family	8.13
Religion	6.90	Movement	5.37	Site	6.62	Ethos	6.82	Agency	5.46	Iconography	6.66	Socialism	5.98	Leader	7.92
Doctrine	6.81			Bookshop	6.23	Assembly	6.60	Union	5.45	Concern	6.38	Ideal	5.97	Population	7.79
Theology	6.79			Area	6.19	History	6.56	Centre	5.42	Storey	6.35	Love	5.88	Minority	7.66
Compassion	6.66					Virtue	6.45	House	5.25	Station	6.04	Morality	5.64	Woman	7.48
Prayer	6.60					Culture	6.25	School	5.14	Court	5.73			Fundamentalist	7.34
Burial	6.25					Symbol	5.94			Context	5.64			Owner	7.40
voice	6.13					Identity	5.89			Circle	5.59			Nation	7.09
Conviction	5.94					Service	5.70			Case	5.43			Martyr	6.97
Soul	5.94					Imagery	5.64							Pastor	6.92
Dogma	5.66					Narrative	5.63							Soldier	6.85
Gospel	5.66					Neighbourhood	5.62							Militia	6.81
Commitment	5.63					Era	5.59							Sect	6.80
Book	5.60					Marriage	5.56							Preacher	6.77
Text	3.65					Camp	5.51							Worker	6.55
						Education	5.51							Counsellor	6.46
														Couple	6.45
														Pilgrim	6.44
														Parent	6.33
														Minister	6.25
														Registrar	6.25
														Society	6.25
														Evangelist	6.24
														Witness	6.23
														Believer	6.22
														Convert	6.21
														Conservative	6.20
														Lawyer	6.17
														Audience	6.16
														Activist	6.11
														World	6.06
														Politician	6.05
														Girl	6.03
														Mob	5.97
														Lobby	5.96
														Wife	5.88
														Father	5.87
														Mission	5.86
														Character	5.85
														Friend	5.75

														People	5.74
														Apologist	5.66
														Refugee	5.63
														Member	5.62
														Youth	5.62
														Scholar	5.59
														Doctor	5.57
														Mother	5.55
														Man	5.30

**Table A.3** Noun collocates of adjective *Muslim* and their thematic categories

Religion	Saliency	Place/country	Saliency	Social and cultural practices	Saliency	Organisation	Saliency	Other	Saliency	Conflict	Saliency	Social actors	Saliency
Faith	8.00	Country	9.67	Veil	7.77	Organisation	7.77	Book	6.64	Extremism	6.44	Woman	10.95
Prayer	6.81	North	7.69	Immigration	6.83	Centre	7.16	Neighbourhood	6.33	Protest	4.90	Community	10.74
Month	6.78	Area	7.45	Culture	6.79	Association	5.22	Force	5.38			World	10.43
Life	6.48	State	7.45	Name	6.59	Charity	4.97	Rule	5.22			Population	9.47
Law	6.03	Land	6.86	Festival	6.57	Police	4.72	Yesterday	5.21			Man	9.17
al-Awlaki	5.95	Region	6.60	Wedding	6.03	Party	4.63	Plot	5.18			Cleric	8.98
Holiday	5.81	Republic	6.35	Dress	5.98	Movement	4.69	Presence	4.98			Nation	8.93
Religion	5.73	Quarter	5.83	School	5.97			Version	4.98			Extremist	8.83
Stereotype	5.36	Suburb	5.80	Headscarve	5.86			Background	4.98			Prisoner	8.52
		Province	5.46	Headscarf	5.85			Vote	4.81			Group	8.48
		Site	5.39	Calendar	5.83			Today	4.81			Leader	8.35
		Graveyard	5.37	Opinion	5.79			Day	4.55			Convert	8.18
		Grave	5.34	Clothing	5.62							Family	7.92
		Enclave	5.04	Belief	5.55							Scholar	7.90
		Cemetery	5.02	Identity	5.54							Girl	7.83
		City	4.99	Heritage	5.33							Student	7.45
		Market	4.92	Ceremony	5.30							Inmate	7.40
		Side	4.91	Headgear	5.05							Immigrant	7.23
		Hall	4.91	Anger	5.02							Neighbour	7.23
				Heart	5.01							Child	7.22
				Tradition	4.95							Soldier	7.20
												Minority	7.19
												Driver	7.12
												Ally	7.09
												Brother	6.97
												Fundamentalist	6.93
												Member	6.92
												Boy	6.90
												Household	5.84
												Politician	5.83
												Sect	5.83
												Peer	5.82
												Civilian	5.82
												Pupil	5.82
												Doctor	5.79
												Suspect	5.77
												Teacher	5.74
												Male	5.62
												Teenager	5.62
												Tourist	5.60
												Ruler	5.60
												Bomber	5.59
												Officer	5.58
												Audience	5.58

												Villager	5.37
												Chaplain	5.35
												Imam	5.34
												Businessman	5.33
												Guy	5.31
												Couple	5.30
												People	6.85
												Gang	6.80
												Youth	6.71
												Friend	6.69
												Father	6.68
												Voter	6.65
												Preacher	6.57
												Parent	6.55
												Protester	6.48
												Victim	6.41
												MP	6.32
												Activist	6.32
												Society	6.29
												Minister	6.25
												Militant	6.25
												Cricketer	6.20
												Resident	5.97
												Majority	5.94
												Writer	5.93
												Terrorist	5.92
												Citizen	5.90
												Fanatic	5.85
												Worker	5.13
												Inhabitant	5.05
												Herder	5.05
												Schoolgirl	5.05
												Schoolchildren	5.05
												Constituent	5.04
												Consumer	5.04
												Butcher	5.04
												Pilgrim	5.03
												President	5.02
												Radical	5.02
												Rebel	5.01
												Wife	4.96
												Guard	4.94
												Adviser	4.91
												Candidate	4.81



## Appendix B<sup>22</sup>

**Table B.1** List of intensive equivalence relations representing the thematic category of positive and unpleasant characteristics of Jew/s

Rank	Positive characteristics	Rank	Unpleasant characteristics
1.	part of wider society and embracing secular culture	1.	Responsible for all the wars in the world (6)
2.	Capable of Mrs Merton look almost diplomatic	2.	Mouse-like, self-hating (2), gullible
3.	Liberating parties at the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp	3.	Very spoiled, ashamed (2), cowards
4.	highly advantaged	4.	Responsible for every disorder
5.	Human	5.	In desperate need of refuge
6.	Strongly opposed to the appalling treatment of Palestinians	6.	Behind "the French revolution, the communist revolution and most of the revolutions
7.	More successful	7.	Lower than animals
8.	successful (2)	8.	Brilliant at being victims
9.	Always be responsible for its own fate	9.	The biggest plague
10.	People of hope	10.	Aggressive, God-killers, ambivalent
11.	Good	11.	The Aryan's sworn enemy
12.	Free, Useful	12.	Against their government's policy
13.	Far from alone in being targeted for "hate crimes"	13.	US-born Jewish settlers were "Nazis" for whom he felt "nothing but hatred
14.	Briany	14.	Deeply uncomfortable, Rude

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<sup>22</sup> Numbers attached to the instances indicate the frequency of occurrences.

15.	First in line for everything	15.	Foreign colonialists, scapegoats, bad
16.	The largest community	16.	Nation's oldest minority
17.	Big on genealogy	17.	The Church's natural enemies
18.	Very clever	18.	The victims, KKK target, in terror
19.	Ingenious	19.	Neurotic wheeler-dealers
20.	A majority in Jerusalem since 1870	20.	Responsible for the Crucifixion
21.	Muslims and Jews are so close	21.	Enemy aliens
22.	Proud, generous and fierce	22.	Monkeys and pigs (2)
23.	Matriarchs	23.	Unwilling to become Christians
24.	Incandescent	24.	Christ-killers, invention
25.	Quick to respond	25.	Responsible for wrecking Germany's economy
26.	A nice Jewish boy	26.	Incapable, avaricious
27.	Talented	27.	Poor, desperate
28.	Modern liberal/liberal	28.	responsible for 9/11
29.	Saviours	29.	Among those arrested
30.	A successful toy manufacturer	30.	The biggest stumbling block
31.	Best friends	31.	An emblem of the suffering of all Holocaust victims
32.	Observant	32.	A target for dangerous packages
33.		33.	The targets were Jewish groups
34.		34.	The subject of claims
35.		35.	The only party criticised for faults
36.		36.	Jewish victims were already dead/ Jewish victims were dead
37.		37.	Neither I nor any other Jew is safe for a moment
38.		38.	Obvious target, tough
39.		39.	The Montagues are outlawed Jews
40.		40.	Jews were among those arrested by the authorities

**Table B.2** List of intensive equivalence relations representing the thematic category of positive and unpleasant characteristics of Christian/s

Rank	Positive characteristics	Rank	Unpleasant characteristics
1.	The most ardently	1.	The victims of the continuing tragedy
2.	Pure-blooded	2.	At risk of their lives (2)
3.	The true Christian	3.	Always at pains
4.	Willing to opt for litigation in place of dialogue	4.	Terrified and in shock
5.	Free to profess their faith, build churches, schools, hospitals and universities	5.	At risk, poor
6.	Highest ranking/highest-ranking	6.	Targets for kidnapping and killing
7.	Nationalistic	7.	A dying breed
8.	Lifelong	8.	second-class citizens (2)
9.	Wonderful at self-sacrificing love and cathedrals	9.	The victims of persecution
10.	Sincere, good (5), tolerant, soft (2)	10.	suspicious
11.	Interested in allowing the expression of traditional or unfashionable beliefs	11.	The target of violence
12.	Visible	12.	Vulnerable
13.	Fit people to adopt or foster children	13.	under siege, under attack
14.	CNN's senior editor for Arab affairs	14.	Most persecuted
15.	The shiny blonde Quinn	15.	Affected
16.	Spartacus-loving	16.	Minority of 10 million in the Middle East
17.	Fine	17.	frequent targets for insurgents
18.	first to switch from scrolls or parchments to books, contributing towards the dissemination of the written word	18.	unfairly targeted for committing hate crimes compared
19.	Consistent	19.	the victims of "an aggressive new atheism
20.	Strong	20.	susceptible
21.	Keen	21.	badly dressed, unattractive
22.	Humanists	22.	At a "disadvantage" in Britain
23.	Loving (2)	23.	cut off from global

24.	fit and proper persons	24.	the natural allies of western occupiers
25.		25.	Disadvantage in this country
26.		26.	Entirely ignorant
27.		27.	Increasingly concerned that the Government is ignoring their views
28.		28.	More to blame
29.		29.	Unimportant for their convictions...and too dangerous
30.		30.	ridiculed and dismissed
31.		31.	In Baghdad Christians are too few to have their own militia to protect them as they do in Christian villages around Mosul
32.		32.	The natural allies of western occupiers and, as a minority, are highly vulnerable to retaliation

**Table B.3** List of intensive equivalence relations representing the thematic category of positive and unpleasant characteristics of Muslim/s

Rank	Positive characteristics	Rank	Unpleasant characteristics
1.	Good 3	1.	Guilty yesterday of making threats
2.	Is well above average	2.	Criminals
3.	highly critical of initiatives	3.	Evil and non trustworthy
4.	France's growing Muslim community, which, at more than six million, is the largest in western Europe	4.	Terrorists (5)
5.	integrated and relatively successful	5.	A threat or different
6.	True (2)	6.	In the minority
7.	Fervent	7.	Terrified
8.	Most settled and, ... most safe in a current time of trouble.	8.	A suspect community
9.	open	9.	Genetically violent
10.	Best friends	10.	Guilty of planning the attack on Holsworthy army base
11.	Integrated	11.	Radicalised (5)
12.	The first female Muslim in a key government position.	12.	Guilty at Luton magistrates court yesterday of a public order offence
13.	Observant (2)	13.	being abusive
14.	Highest-ranking	14.	Suspected of being on their way to Afghanistan to fight with the Taliban, against US-led forces
15.	More heartening	15.	linked to crime
16.	A young Muslim with an education	16.	Perfectly armed
17.	Part of the whole	17.	More likely [...] to extremist doctrines
18.	Immune to radicalisation	18.	Ready to be deployed as suicide bombers
19.	More likely to forgive	19.	Incapable of governing a polity
20.	The most vociferous campaigners against stoning	20.	Dangerous
21.	As much a part of our city and our country	21.	Hypersensitive to criticism
22.	Out-breeding white	22.	Hypersensitive
23.	Responsible for its production, transportation and sale	23.	Aggressors

24.	Welcome to join Europeans	24.	Perpetrators (2)
25.	A favourite target	25.	Sympathetic to extremism
26.	Well placed to fill the spiritual void	26.	The biggest problem
27.	Less shackled by an obligation to visit the relatives "back home"	27.	brought up by lapsed Muslims
28.	Our fellow citizens ... our friends	28.	Radical
29.	Well integrated into Scottish society	29.	With guns
30.	Tolerant	30.	Convicted
31.	Moderates	31.	At the heart of a mini social revolution
32.	On the new project's steering group	32.	A former inmate
33.	Like one human body	33.	Witch-hunted for exposing the atrocities
34.	Not worried	34.	Radical Muslims are the shock troops
35.	Against terrorism	35.	Extremist
36.	The most prominent Muslim woman	36.	Real enemies
37.	The true upholders	37.	Victim (7)
38.	Supportive	38.	Empty coffins symbolising Muslim victims
39.	Moderate (3)	39.	Victims of serious organised violence
40.	Intellectual	40.	Under attack
41.	Proud (2)	41.	Most likely to fail in school and end up on benefit or in a world of crime
42.	First line of defence against terrorism	42.	Under unusual stress
43.	Smart	43.	Higher risk of being unemployed
44.	Perfectly content not covering their heads and they have not turned into slags.	44.	Increasingly exposed to an intolerant, politicised - and in some cases violent - interpretation of their faith
45.	More safe here than anywhere else in India	45.	Subject to daily abuse
46.	Young, have a higher fertility rate, are more devout than other groups	46.	Afraid to speak up after 9/11
47.	Sympathetic	47.	Unemployed (2)
48.	Socially acceptable	48.	In need
49.	free to build mosques in Britain	49.	Increasingly concerned that "Islamophobia" will become a political gambit

50.		50.	Notorious, the begs
51.		51.	Unbanked - who didn't have a standard current account
52.		52.	Latest in a depressingly long line of Muslim students attending British universities
53.		53.	Bitter
54.		54.	Tough kids
55.		55.	Unfit and unwilling to integrate into society
56.		56.	Reluctant to integrate
57.		57.	Reluctant to take part in "hearts and minds" anti-terrorism campaigns
58.		58.	Incompatible with British life
59.		59.	Unfit for the protections of the US constitution

## Appendix C

**Table C.1** List of appositional equivalence representing the thematic category of social identity of Jew/s

Rank	Social identity
1.	It was founded in 1933 by <u>Kurt Hahn</u> , a <b>Jewish refugee</b> from Germany.
2.	<u>Gita Peller</u> , a <b>Jewish refugee</b> who had fled Hungary , [...].
3.	An extract from the previously unpublished wartime diary of <u>Paula Littauer</u> , a <b>Jewish refugee</b> in Nazi-occupied Belgium.
4.	<u>Portuguese Marranos</u> - persecuted <b>Jewish refugees</b> for introducing fried fish to the UK in the 16th century.
5.	Fantlova fell in love with a <b>Jewish refugee</b> <u>named Arno</u> , [...].
6.	<u>Jakob Rosenblum</u> , a <b>Jewish refugee</b> from Nazi Germany, who arrives in London determined to fit in.
7.	His parents were <b>Jewish immigrants</b> , <u>Tillie and Gedaliah Tchernomoretz</u> , from what is now Belarus.
8.	[...], although it is generally held to be one opened by <u>Joseph Malin</u> , a <b>Jewish immigrant</b> from Eastern Europe, in Old Ford Road, in the East End of London, in 1860.
9.	<u>Esther Hoffe</u> , a fellow German-speaking <b>Jewish refugee</b> from Prague
10.	[...] <u>Anne Frank</u> , the <b>Jewish teenager</b> who kept a diary while hiding from the Nazis in occupied Holland during the Second World War.
11.	<u>Nicole Hamdan</u> , a <b>Jewish Israeli citizen</b> [...].
12.	Rosenfeld was born on 3 May 1953, to a <b>young Jewish couple</b> , <u>Seymour and Joan Blecker</u> , [...].
13.	[...], the son of <u>Beryl Dortort</u> , a <b>Jewish immigrant</b> from Eastern Europe who changed his name to Benjamin Katz.
14.	<u>The Newmans</u> - " <b>the stock nice Jewish couple</b> "- [...].
15.	[...] by <u>Fanny and Ernst Egger</u> , a <b>Jewish couple</b> who were arrested with their family and died in a concentration camp.
16.	<u>Sacha Baron Cohen</u> , a <b>Jewish, middle-class white man</b>
17.	[...], and a 44-year-old obese, <u>Aspergery</u> , <b>Jewish man</b> in New York
18.	A <b>Jewish girl</b> , a <u>friend</u> of his daughter's



19.	A charmingly diffident <b>Jewish boy</b> , <u>Aram (Justin Bartha)</u> , who can control her ghastly kids
20.	A <b>Jewish woman</b> , <u>Esther Bejarano</u> , whose life was saved in Auschwitz when she joined the concentration camp's orchestra.
21.	Arnold Mostowicz, the last <b>Jewish survivor</b>
22.	A young <b>Jewish woman</b> , <u>Ceil Starr</u>
<b>Nationality</b>	
1.	A wife - a <b>French Jewish woman</b> called Jeanette
2.	<u>Raphael Lemkin</u> , a <b>Polish Jew who fled</b> to the US in 1939
3.	<u>His mother</u> , Paula, a <b>Hungarian Jew who had lost</b> most of her family in the Second World War, died in 2000.
4.	The son of <u>two refugees</u> - his father a <b>German Jew who fled</b> the Nazis, his mother a Catholic Pole who escaped the Soviet
5.	<u>Abraham Adelsberger</u> , a <b>German Jew</b> who was a successful toy manufacturer in the early 20th century.
6.	Fictional protagonist <u>Mark Berman</u> , a <b>Lithuanian Jewish immigrant</b> who has moved to Toronto with his family
7.	The personal stories of 12 <b>soldiers</b> , including an <b>Austrian Jew who fled</b> to New York.
8.	<u>Yitzhak and Talia Imas</u> , <b>Russian Jewish immigrants</b>
9.	The eldest son of <u>Saul and Dora Pekar</u> , <b>Polish Jews who had recently moved</b> to the US from Bialystok
10.	<u>John Halas</u> , a <b>Hungarian Jewish emigre</b>
11.	the arrival of two <b>Jewish refugees</b> from Hitler, <u>one German and one Hungarian</u>
12.	Physicist <u>Edward Teller</u> , a <b>Hungarian Jewish refugee</b> to the US
<b>Religious identity</b>	
1.	It was founded by <u>Yousef al-Khattab</u> , a <b>former secular Jew</b> born Joseph Cohen who ran a bicycle pedicab in New York until he relocated to Morocco
2.	My <b>Jewish grandfather</b> , <u>an avowed atheist and a rascal to the core</u> , would delight in disparaging the "mumbo-jumbo" of religion when my mother's back was turned.

3.	However, he is a member not of the constabulary but of <u>the Stamford Hill Shomrim Rescue Patrol</u> , <b>a group of Orthodox Jewish men</b> who, for the past two years, have been "policing" the streets of their community in Hackney.
4.	<u>Rosen</u> , <b>an Orthodox Jew who became</b> a Baptist minister, began to spread this message in 1973 in San Francisco.
5.	The family also claimed that <u>Chabad Lubavitch</u> , <b>the Orthodox Jewish group</b> based in New York that runs Chabad Houses across the world, has delayed repairing the property, despite raising about \$1.6 million (Pounds 1 million).

**Table C.2** List of appositional equivalence representing the thematic category of social identity of Christian/s

Rank	Religious identity
1.	St Endellion was named after <u>St Endelienta</u> , a <b>Christian martyr</b> who crossed the Bristol Channel to bring Christianity to Cornwall in the 6th century.
2.	In Gainesville, <u>Mr Jones</u> , a <b>fundamentalist Christian pastor</b> from smalltown Florida, admitted that even he was shocked by the firestorm he had started.
3.	Since then, Pietersen has modelled himself on <u>Saint Sebastian</u> , an early <b>Christian martyr</b> .
4.	Spending her seventh Christmas behind bars, the 33-year-old sang, danced and prayed during the Christmas Eve service conducted by <b>the jail governor</b> , <u>Siswanto</u> , a <b>Christian pastor</b> .
5.	[...] <u>Pat Robertson</u> , an <b>American Christian evangelist</b> who routinely seizes on any major crisis to claim it as an example of God's righteous rage.
6.	Now, 20 years later, I've been doing interviews for cover stories for Christian magazines because they suddenly discovered that this was the only show with <b>two seriously religious Christian characters</b> -- <u>Ned and Reverend Lovejoy</u> , both of which I play.
7.	She crooned at <u>Stephen Baldwin</u> (ex- Hollywood bad boy, born-again <b>Christian evangelist</b> ).
8.	[...] the Church was built on the work of Peter and Mary and, in Rome, also on the martyrdoms of <b>Christian converts</b> such as <u>Sabina and her maid</u> .
9.	In 325 the Catholic Church's first ecumenical council met in Nicaea (modern Iznik, Turkey), summoned by the Roman emperor <u>Constantine the Great</u> , a <b>Christian convert</b> .
10.	Tyson insists that Holyfield was the best man he ever fought. <u>Holyfield</u> , a sometime <b>Christian preacher</b> , refuses to accuse.
11.	<u>Nikki Haley</u> , a <b>Christian convert</b> , overcame allegations of infidelity and a slur against her Sikh heritage to win the Republican primary runoff and could become South Carolina's first woman governor.
12.	When the native <u>American princess Pocahontas</u> , a <b>Christian convert</b> , [...].
13.	Stating his own personal opposition to the death penalty, <u>Mr Siswanto</u> , a <b>Christian pastor</b> , [...].
14.	[...] <u>Alpha International</u> - the <b>ever-growing Christian missionary group</b> that runs the Alpha Course.
15.	<u>Catholics</u> - <b>Britain's second largest Christian denomination</b> – [...].
16.	In the name of the half-shut tabernacle door, what has been afflicting <u>the Free Kirk</u> , my favourite other <b>Christian denomination</b> ?

17.	Having previously kept his options open, Peacock has now chosen the <u>Associated Gospel Churches</u> as his future home, a <b>Christian denomination</b> similar to the Baptists.
18.	Most members of the community now belong to <u>the People's Church</u> , a <b>Christian denomination</b> .
19.	There was no word yesterday on the progress of Carter's mission, although reports suggested he would return to the US with <u>Aijalon Gomes</u> , a 31-year-old English <b>teacher and Christian missionary</b> .
20.	<u>Robert Park</u> , an <b>American Christian missionary</b> who was freed by North Korea earlier this year after six weeks in jail for illegal entry, [...].
21.	North Korea is regarded by <u>militant proselytisers</u> (usually American <b>Christian fundamentalists</b> ) as the ultimate target, an officially atheist state that is crying out for Christ.
22.	A young <b>Christian martyr</b> , <u>Perpetua</u> , [...].
23.	St Alban's, Hertfordshire The pilgrimage to the town's cathedral on June 19 will include a procession in the footsteps of <u>Alban</u> , Britain's <b>first Christian martyr</b> , a soldier killed for sheltering a priest in AD 304.
24.	Mental health workers visited <u>Julia Lovemore</u> , a <b>bipolar Christian fundamentalist</b> , on June 17 last year, the day she killed six week-old Faith, Cambridge Crown Court was told.
<b>Gender and social roles</b>	
1.	This compared with a <b>Christian couple</b> in Liverpool, <u>Ben and Sharon Vogelenzang</u> , who were prosecuted and then cleared of a religiously aggravated hate crime after a religious discussion with a Muslim guest at their hotel.
2.	<u>Asia Bibi</u> , the <b>Christian woman</b> accused of blasphemy, will not suffer a death sentence; he says it will be struck down by the higher courts.
3.	Fears are growing for the safety of <u>Aasia Bibi</u> , a <b>Christian woman</b> condemned to death under Pakistani blasphemy laws, [...].
4.	Bullock is <u>Leigh Anne Tuohy</u> , the <b>Christian, Republican wife</b> of a Taco Bell millionaire, and the story is seen from her viewpoint. (2)
5.	I don't even mean her spin that Opposition Leader <u>Tony Abbott</u> , an <b>honourable, generous and frank-to-a-fault Rhodes scholar and Christian father</b> of three liberated daughters, [...].
6.	Tonight it is <u>the pupils'</u> first day of term, including a <b>Christian Iraqi refugee</b> .
7.	<b>Christian father</b> , a <u>former sweeper</u> at Lahore railway station.

**Table C.3** List of appositional equivalence representing the thematic category of social identity of Muslim/s

Rank	Religious identity
1.	the story focuses on <u>Bokar</u> , a <b>Muslim spiritual teacher</b> , who lived in French-occupied Mali in the 1930s
2.	The <b>Muslim woman</b> , <u>formerly a practising Catholic, named only as Elodie</u> , [...].
3.	<u>The sheikh of Al-Azhar</u> , <b>the highest Sunni Muslim cleric</b> in the land, to ask if there are squash courts in heaven.
4.	Or take our <b>most prominent Muslim cleric</b> , <u>Egyptian-born Sheik Taj el-dene elHilaly</u> .
5.	Selection bolter <u>Khawaja</u> , <b>a practising Muslim</b> who prays every Friday at his local mosque, [...].
6.	[...], where the character of Little John becomes <u>Little Iqbal</u> , <b>a wise and personable Muslim given to wise statements in the heat of battle</b> .
7.	The Obama administration has taken the rare step of authorising the killing of <b>a US citizen</b> : <u>Anwar al-Awlaki</u> , <b>a radical Muslim cleric</b> linked to the attempt to blow up a US airliner on Christmas Day.
8.	The Yemeni authorities conceded that Abdulmutallab appeared to have met <b>a radical American Muslim cleric</b> in Yemen, <u>Anwar al-Awlaki</u> .
9.	For the past six years this has been "home" to <u>Abu Hamza</u> , <b>the notorious Muslim cleric</b> .
10.	<u>Anwar al-Awlaki</u> , <b>the radical American Muslim cleric</b> who was already very much on the radar of the CIA and the FBI because of emails he exchanged with Major Nidal Malik Hasan, the US Army psychiatrist behind the Fort Hood massacre on 5 November.
11.	Yesterday, the European Court of Human Rights blocked the extradition to America of <u>Abu Hamza</u> , <b>the radical Muslim cleric</b> , and several other suspects who were set to stand trial for alleged terrorist offences.
12.	[...] <b>his fiancée's stepfather</b> ( <u>Yigal Naor</u> ) -- <b>a radical Muslim cleric</b> .
13.	In a separate incident, the daughter-in-law of <u>Abu Hamza</u> , <b>the radical Muslim cleric</b> , [...].
14.	The investigation was led by Armando Spataro, the Milan prosecutor who investigated the 2003 kidnapping and "extraordinary rendition" by the CIA of <u>Abu Omar</u> , a <b>Muslim cleric</b> suspected of abetting terrorism.
15.	<u>Abu Hamza al-Masri</u> , <b>the radical Muslim cleric</b> , and three other terrorist suspects have avoided extradition to the US after a decision by the European Court of Human Rights.
16.	<u>Imam Feisal Abdul Rauf</u> , <b>the Sufi Muslim cleric</b> spearheading the scheme, [...].

17.	All the artwork in the exhibition was made by practising believers in the various faiths ( <b>including Muslims</b> ) -- no disrespect was intended to Christianity or to any of the other faiths [...]."
18.	<u>Premji</u> , a <b>Shia Muslim</b> born in Pakistan.
19.	Other <u>religious dignitaries</u> , <b>including Muslims</b> and Zoroastrians, were also present.
20.	[...] <u>Dr Bilal Philips</u> , a <b>Muslim preacher</b> who was barred from entering Britain by the home secretary in July because of his extremist views.
21.	But it was the arrival in Yemen of <b>an American Muslim cleric</b> , Anwar al-Awlaki, and what subsequently transpired that has led to renewed US interest in the country.
22.	2002 - Indonesian police arrest a <b>Muslim cleric</b> , <u>Muklas</u> , whom they suspect of masterminding the Bali bombings that killed more than 200 people in October.
23.	In 2001, after receiving a judgment in the House of Lords in the case of a <b>Muslim cleric</b> ( <u>Rehman</u> ), who won his deportation appeal in SIAC, my house was stoned early the next morning.
24.	A reference to <u>Muqtada al-Sadr</u> , the Shiite <b>Muslim cleric</b> .
25.	<u>Harussani Zakaria</u> , a <b>Muslim cleric</b> from Malaysia.
26.	"I have 15 years of experience with extremists," said <u>Latif</u> , who's one of a medley of <b>Muslim leaders</b> from Luton who have been touting their calm good reason all over the media, [...].
27.	In June, <u>Abdul Hakim Mujahid Muhammad</u> , a <b>Muslim convert</b> being watched by the FBI and who had travelled to Yemen, murdered a US army recruit in Arkansas.
28.	In March, <u>Colleen LaRose</u> , a <b>blonde, blue-eyed Muslim convert</b> from Pennsylvania who went under the online alias Jihad Jane, was charged with plotting to murder a Swedish cartoonist who drew a controversial picture of the prophet Muhammad.
29.	<u>Shyloh Jayne Giddens</u> , a <b>Muslim convert</b> who had studied Arabic and Islam in Yemen, was among several women questioned after documents were seized from her house.
30.	[...] <u>Hassan Nasrallah</u> , the <b>Muslim group's leader</b> , who spends most of his time in hiding from the threat of Israeli assassination.
31.	Problems began at the school in 2003 when <u>Paul Martin</u> , a <b>Muslim convert</b> , [...].
32.	<u>The author of the post</u> , a <b>US-born Muslim convert</b> , said his message was "not a threat, but a warning of the reality of what will likely happen to them".
33.	<u>Nadia Rockwood's husband Paul</u> , a <b>Muslim convert</b> , had allegedly made a hit list of people to kill [...].

34.	Nadia Rockwood admitted making false statements over plans that <u>her husband</u> , a <b>Muslim convert</b> , had drawn up involving a list of people he apparently wished to execute.
35.	<u>Vinas</u> , a <b>Muslim convert</b> , had been in Pakistan since 2007 where he admitted receiving training from al-Qaeda, meeting Rauf and agreeing to become a suicide bomber to blow up a train on the Long Island Railroad.
36.	Those arrested included men from Stoke using the pseudonyms Abu Saif, 19, Abu Bosher, 26, and <u>Abu Sumayyah</u> , 25, a <b>Muslim convert</b> .
37.	In the wake of the Sahgal statement, that <b>strangely likeable but unreasonable Muslim convert</b> , the former journalist <u>Yvonne Ridley</u> , [...].
38.	He was told that <u>Paul Martin</u> , a <b>Muslim convert</b> , had tried to stir disaffection against the school and had made claims of anti-Muslim comments by staff, and that Mumtaz Saleem had been verbally abusive.
39.	When the trial began <u>the men</u> -- <b>two Muslim converts</b> and two German Turks -- were defiant, refusing to stand up for the judge.
40.	Abbas Iqbal, 24, his brother Ilyas, 23, and <u>Muhammad Ali Ahmad</u> , a white <b>Muslim convert</b> , were said to have been "intoxicated by the evil of terrorism" and had begun to train for the struggle ahead.
41.	<u>Buryatsky</u> , a <b>Muslim convert</b> who was born Alexander Tikhomirov, was among six militants killed in an FSB operation in Ingushetia on March 2.
42.	Imam <u>Asim Hafiz</u> , the <b>Muslim chaplain</b> for HM Forces
43.	Gbagbo has another wife, <u>Nady Bamba</u> , a <b>Muslim who runs</b> a newspaper and communications business.
44.	This refers to the one-ness of the international community of Islam, which is apparently the reason the sons of Saudi millionaires murder, by proxy, <u>innocent strangers</u> ( <b>including fellow Muslims</b> ) on London buses and in New York skyscrapers, in order to advance the cause of the poor Palestinians.
45.	Lloyd Russell Warriewood ALL this talk about whether the burqa should be outlawed or not: <u>Everyone including Muslims</u> should read the books written by Ayaan Hirsi Ali.
<b>Gender and socioial role identity</b>	
1.	<u>Baroness Warsi</u> , Minister without Portfolio and the first <b>Muslim woman</b> to sit in Cabinet, [...].
2.	<u>Lady Warsi</u> , the first <b>Muslim woman</b> to serve in the Cabinet, [...].
3.	<u>Dati</u> , the first <b>Muslim woman</b> of north African descent to hold a significant cabinet post, [...].

4.	She was joined by two other <b>Muslim women</b> from the party - <u>Shabana Mahmood</u> in Birmingham Ladywood and <u>Rushnara Ali</u> in Bethnal Green and Bow.
5.	<u>BARONESS WARSI</u> Minister without Portfolio, 39. First <b>Muslim woman</b> to be selected as Tory candidate and sit in Cabinet. Peer since 2007.
6.	<u>Baroness Warsi</u> , Britain's first <b>Muslim woman</b> to serve as a Cabinet minister, tells GMTV she would like to see more women in the Cabinet.
7.	The <u>minister without portfolio</u> , the first <b>Muslim woman</b> to serve in the Cabinet, [...]
8.	<u>Baroness Warsi</u> , the first <b>Muslim woman</b> to serve in the Cabinet, welcomed the appointment.
9.	The number of <u>minority ethnic MPs</u> , including the first <b>Muslim woman</b> and first African woman to win seats.
10.	<u>Ilham Moussaid</u> , a 21-year-old <b>Muslim woman</b> who describes herself as "feminist, secular and veiled", [...].
11.	No danger of apathy in Blackburn where Jack Straw's endless quest to make nice with the Muslim electorate faces an irksome challenge from <u>Bushra Irfan</u> , a <b>Muslim woman</b> .
12.	Another hailed her as " <u>a bridge builder</u> - a thoroughly modern British <b>Muslim woman</b> . metaphor
13.	<u>Lady Warsi</u> (30) TD The only <b>Muslim woman</b> in a Tory cabinet since, like, ever.
14.	<u>Baroness Uddin</u> , a Labour peer and the first <b>Muslim woman</b> to be appointed to the upper house, [...].
15.	A quiet 17 year old <b>Muslim girl</b> , <u>Leila</u>
16.	<u>Fit</u> , a young <b>Muslim boy</b> employed to type up her notes.
17.	"I will stand here until my toes freeze," said <u>Ayse Bayrak-de Jager</u> , a <b>Muslim student</b> taking part in a silent protest outside the town hall.
18.	<u>Zeitoun</u> is Syrian, a <b>Muslim immigrant</b> from the fishing town of Jableh; Kathy, who grew up in nearby Baton Rouge, converted to Islam before she met him.
19.	The vast majority of <u>French people</u> , including most <b>Muslims</b> , believe that face coverings should be banned completely.
20.	<u>Mr Akram</u> , a <b>Danish-born Muslim</b> who had come to the UK to study, suffered 47 per cent burns in the attack. He was left, according to one witness, looking like "a zombie".
<b>Conflict</b>	
1.	The organisation, which campaigns on behalf of <b>Muslim prisoners</b> , including <u>convicted terrorists</u> , developed close ties to al-Awlaki after his release from detention in Yemen in 2007.
2.	'It helps <b>Muslim prisoners</b> , including <u>convicted terrorists</u> '



3.	Cageprisoners has defended some <b>jihadi Muslim prisoners</b> , including <u>Khalid Sheikh Mohammed</u> , the alleged mastermind of the 9/11 attacks.
4.	Cageprisoners, a pressure group, has defended some <b>jihadi Muslim prisoners</b> , including <u>Khalid Sheikh Mohammed</u> , the alleged mastermind of the 9/11 attacks.
5.	After introducing Romain Duris in the former film, he has discovered another leading man of real charisma in Tahar Rahim, who plays <u>Malik</u> , <b>a new Muslim inmate</b> who must adapt fast to survive the attentions of a pugnacious Corsican gang.