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Semantic Associations, Epistemic Priming and Cognitive Mechanisms in Media Discourse:
A critical analysis of the British press use of the term Muslim women

Otaif, Fahad

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Semantic Associations, Epistemic Priming and Cognitive Mechanisms in Media Discourse: A critical analysis of the British press use of the term Muslim women

By
Fahad Otaif

A Thesis Submitted for the Fulfilment of
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School of Languages, Literatures and Linguistics
College of Arts and Humanities
University of Wales, Bangor

In the Name of Allah,

The Compassionate and The Merciful

يَا أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ إِنَّا خَلَقْنَاكُم مِّن ذَكَرٍ وَأُنثَىٰ وَجَعَلْنَاكُمْ شُعُوبًا وَقَبَائِلَ لِتَعَارَفُوا ۚ إِنَّ أَكْرَمَكُمْ عِندَ اللَّهِ أَتْقَاكُمْ ۚ إِنَّ اللَّهَ عَلِيمٌ خَبِيرٌ ﴾

(سورة الحجرات الآية ١٣)

"O mankind, indeed We have created you from male and female and made you peoples and tribes that you may know one another. Indeed, the most noble of you in the sight of Allah is the most righteous of you. Indeed, Allah is Knowing and Acquainted".

(The Holy Quran, p. 49:13)

To:

The blessed veiled woman the Virgin Mary peace be upon her,

The blessed souls of the veil/hijab martyrs Marwa El-Shirbini and Nahid Almanea and to,

Every woman who wore the face-veil or Hijab out of an autonomous belief to please her God.

Acknowledgement

Praise be to Allah, the Almighty God and peace be upon His prophets and his final messenger, who teaches that anyone who does not thank people is never grateful to Allah. I take this opportunity to express my gratitude to my supervisor Professor Johnathon Charteris-Black for his insightful comments and suggestions on previous versions of this work. His advice and support have guided me on how to improve my critical thinking and have a clear presentation of my PhD thesis and its findings.

Abstract

Although lexical priming is claimed to provide a way 'forward' for textual critical discourse analysis (CDA) to update its paradigm (Hoey, 2004), not many priming CDA studies have yet been undertaken. Recent CDA research has just begun to appreciate the phenomenon but failed to explicate it; Baker (2010) identified the lexical priming of *terrorism* in the press discourse representing Muslims, however, he called for a cognitive account to untangle the phenomenon of lexical priming in corpus-based CDA. The current CDA research explores how the use of the term *Muslim wom(a)en* (MW(s)) has developed diachronically in the British press, in an attempt to show how current representations of Muslim women (Al-Hejin, 2012; Baker, et al., 2013) can be understood and explicated through a cognitive-assisted corpus-based CDA that utilises the concept of lexical priming. I argue, here, for greater incorporation of cognitive semantics into corpus-based CDA (Otaif, 2015) in a model (a priming model of CDA) that is expected to capture the ideological orientations (social bias) embodied cumulatively in media discourse. For this purpose, corpora of five British newspapers were constructed with a total size of 2,473,680 tokens/words, representing the range of ideological orientations and the conventional dichotomies in the British press.

It was found that the Left-wing (LW) press significantly associates (epistemically primes) Muslim women with negativity by representing them as powerless and agentless patients affected by violent (Islamic) force who need to be 'empowered' and 'emancipated'. On the other hand, the Right-wing (RW) press is more interested in narrowing the image of Muslim women, after 7/7, to controversies over veiling and presenting them as problematic social actors who 'resist' and 'refuse' to adhere to judicial and political calls for 'removal' of face-veils (bans). The most used source domain in the conceptual structures associating Muslim women was that of force-dynamics where a force is used against or for Muslim women which, in turn, reflects a power conflict between the 'liberal' governments and Muslim minorities in Europe.

Keywords: critical discourse analysis, media discourse, semantic associations, priming, cognitive mechanisms, cognitive linguistics, corpus linguistics, Muslim women, British press, newspapers.

List of Abbreviations

BNC = British National Corpus
BPC = British Press Corpora about Muslim women
CDA = Critical Discourse Analysis
CF = Conceptual Framing
CG = Cognitive Grammar
CL = Critical Linguistics
CMA = Critical Metaphor Analysis
CMT = Conceptual Metaphor Theory
DHM= Discourse-historical Method
ConcL = Concordance line
ConcLs = Concordance lines
F = Frequency
RF = Raw Frequency
NF = Normalised Frequency
FoR = Frame of Reference
LW = Left-wing
W = WOMAN
Ws = WOMEN
W-collocates = collocations with the node WOMAN
Ws-collocates = collocations with the node WOMEN
W(s) = WOMAN or WOMEN
MW = MUSLIM WOMAN
MWs = MUSLIM WOMEN
MW(s) = MUSLIM WOMAN or MUSLIM WOMEN
MW-collocates = collocations with the node/phrase MUSLIM WOMAN
MWs-collocates = collocations with the node/phrase MUSLIM WOMEN
OC = overused categories
P_1= period from January 1992 to 10th of September 2001
P_2= period from the 11th of September 2001 until the 6th of July 2009.
P_3= period from the 7th of July 2005 to the 30th of May 2009
P_4= period from June 2009 to the 17th of February 2014
RQ = Research Question
RSA = Representation of Social Actor Model
RW = Right-wing
SFL = Systemic Functional Linguistics
TDM = The Daily Mail
TDM_1 = The Daily Mail from Jan 1992 to the 10th of September 2001
TDM_2 = The Daily Mail from the 11th of September 2001 until the 6th of July 2005
TDM_3 = The Daily Mail from the 7th of July 2005 to the 30th of May 2009
TDM_4= The Daily Mail from June 2009 to the 17th of February 2014
TDT = The Daily Telegraph
TDT_1 = The Daily Telegraph from Jan 1992 to the 10th of September 2001
TDT_2 = The Daily Telegraph from the 11th of September 2001 until the 6th of July 2005
TDT_3 =The Daily Telegraph from the 7th of July 2005 2009 to the 30th of May 2009
TDT_4=The Daily Telegraph from June 2009 to the 17th of February 2014
TG = The Guardian
TG_1 = The Guardian from Jan 1992 to the 10th of September 2001
TG_2 = The Guardian from the 7th of July 2005 2009 to the 30th of May 2009
TG_3 = The Guardian from the 7th of July 2005 to the 30th of May 2009
TG_4= The Independent from June 2009 to the 17th of February 2014
TI = The Independent
TI_1 = The Independent from Jan 1992 to the 10th of September 2001
TI_2 = The Independent from the 11th of September 2001 until the 6th of July 2005
TI_3 = The Independent from the 7th of July 2005 to the 30th of May 2009
TI_4 = The Independent from June 2009 to the 17th of February 2014
TM = The Mirror
TM_1 = The Mirror from Jan 1992 to 10th of September 2001
TM_2 = The Mirror from the 11th of September 2001 until the 6th of July 2009
TM_3 = The Mirror from the 7th of July 2005 to the 30th of May 2009
TM_4 = The Mirror from June 2009 to the 17th of February 2014

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1 Chapter One

1.1 Introduction

Media discourse is a form of language use that contributes to our thought and reality in explicit and implicit ways (Fairclough, 1992). The relationship between media discourse and abuse of power i.e. coercion in modern societies is of a main interest in the sub-field of linguistics called Critical Discourse Analysis (Charteris-Black, 2014). Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA, henceforth) is a field which investigates how "social power, abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk" as forms of language use in the social and political context (van Dijk, 2001a, p. 352). It is 'an academic movement' that does "discourse analysis from a critical perspective" and "often focuses on theoretical concepts such as power, ideology and domination" (Baker, et al., 2008, p. 273). Common concepts shared by the two definitions are language, ideology and power, which, are basic elements that CDA usually attempts to explicate the link it sees among them. Though much research in Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) has been devoted to the 'image'/ representation of social actors, minorities and immigrants in social and media discourse (e.g. Fairclough, 1992 and 1995a&b; van Dijk, 1998; van Dijk, 2000, Wodak, 2001; Hart, 2007), there have been only a modest number of studies about the representation of Muslim women in the British media and press discourse, a topic that deserves more attention particularly given that some reports have linked racism and lslamophobic attacks on Muslim women in Europe and Britain to social and media discourse (European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia, 2002; IRR NEWS, 2009; HRW, 2010).

Previous research on the topic has included reference to negative representations of Muslim women (such as Richardson, 2001b and 2004; Al-Hejin 2007b; Elgamri, 2008; Baker et al. 2013), yet, very few CDA studies dealt with the topic exclusively (e.g. Al-Hejin, 2012 in relation to the BBC discourse). The current research explores how the use of the term Muslim wom(a)en (MW(s), henceforth) in the British press has developed diachronically over the period of

22 years (from 1992 to the early months of 2014), in an attempt to show how current representations of MWs (Al-Hejin, 2012; Baker, et al., 2013) can be understood and explicated.

1.2 Motivation and scope: why Muslim women in the British press

CDA has always targeted 'biased' language use in politics and the media (e.g. Fairclough, 1992 and 1995a&b; van Dijk, 1998 & 2000, Wodak, 2001; Koller, 2004 and 2006; Maalej, 2007; Hart, 2007, 2010 and 2013). In fact, for CDA practitioners, discourse "is always harnessed to pull for a social agenda" (Santa Anna, 2002, p. 314). In this sense, it can be said that CDA "has a straightforward political agenda, which serves to distinguish it from other forms of discourse analysis and text linguistics, pragmatics and sociolinguistics" (Elgamri, 2008, p. 85). Given its agenda, it is important, therefore, for CDA to find and analyse types of discourse which evidence the employment of linguistic strategies to promote some kind of social change, or to control, construct or challenge a world view.

In this vein, Ahmad (2002) has pointed that British Muslim women are largely absent from government consultations and that Muslims` positive interventions in the public arenas were 'invisible' i.e. neglected in the media. It is also argued that the media writings about Muslim women after 9/11 have been negative e.g. associated MWs with forced marriages and usually took the form of writing about them rather than by themselves (Ahmad, 2006; Ahmed, 2014); a phenomenon that has led to Muslim women experiencing a sense of loss of 'control' over their images and self-definition (Ahmad, 2006, p. 980). McGinty (2006) similarly emphasized that Muslim women who are converts to Islam experience stress and difficulty in defining themselves and their identity especially due to the prevailing negative image and stereotypes of Muslim women in the West. Elgamri (2008) also stressed that measures applied by the Talibani government, particularly those related to women, and controversies over gender equality and women's rights, as well as the Islamic perspective on the veil, are "negative stereotypes of Muslim women in some Western media"

that have "branded Islam as a backward and 'fundamentalist' religion in its treatment of women" (p. 156). These 'stereotypes have been argued to bring about the view that "Islam cannot be thought of as rational, democratic and modern" (Elgamri, 2008, p. 170).

Roughly, many of these stereotypes have been found in previous CDA studies that dealt with the topic (e.g. Richardson, 2001b & 2004; Al-Hejin, 2007b & 2012; Baker et al., 2013). Some have attributed this phenomenon to the language of the British media and press, especially in the aftermath of the horrible events of 9/11/2001 and 7/7/2005 (Baker, et al., 2013, p. 258); a claim that is also found in British Muslim women`s writings about themselves in the current era:

> As any young Muslim woman can attest to, growing up post-7/7 hasn't been easy. I would know: we're the subject of countless headlines, from being told to learn English or face deportation, having to contend with endless calls to ban the hijab, to supposedly having "split loyalties"... (Haidrani, 2016, para. 1)

In fact, in CDA, 'moments of crisis' - such as the 7/7 bombings in London- are usually thought to influence social discourse and are always considered to be a good place for data collection for CDA research (Fairclough, 1992, p. 230). In Britain, and more widely in Europe, in the last decade, there has been an intense and controversial socio-political discussion reported by the British media about issues related to Muslim women (Joppke, 2009; Diab, 2017). For example, Ahmed (2014) reported that British women - who are Muslims and university students - think that the media reports negatively about them and portray them as being not integrated into the British society because of the way they dress. Their image as given in the British media led some of these women to be socially avoided and/or excluded - though they wear the hijab and do not cover their faces - (ibid).

Similarly, Silvestri (2009) stated that the "news coverage of dramatic stories of forced marriages among immigrant-origin communities in Europe has created anxiety among the non-Muslim European public" (p. 2). Furthermore, she stressed the importance of involving Muslim men in the solution to these

growing representations and stereotypes towards the well-being of Muslim women.

> However, inability to speak the language of the country of settlement, ignorance and stereotypes about Muslim women's oppression (both within and outside Muslim communities), societal prejudices against Islam, and draconian laws in the name of secularism do not seem to help this process of emancipation from within. Similarly, no successful transformation is likely to happen until Muslim men are involved in the reconsideration of the link between sacred and fixed Islamic values on the one hand and more fluid societal habits and cultural traditions on the other." (Silvestri, 2009, p. 17)

Despite the fact that there are Muslim scholars, 'clerics' and women who have dynamic and modern interpretations of the scripture and its Islamic values in relation to Muslim women, the question is whether such interpretations e.g. (Al-Albani, 2002; An-Na'im, 2011) have found their ways to the media discourse using the term MWs or not? Although recently, both Muslims and non-Muslims have begun to research this important topic (e.g. Al-Hejin, 2007b; 2012 and partly Baker, et al, 2013), it remains under-researched. Baker, et al. (2013) found that British press discourse not only "occasionally displays a dislike or disapproval of" Muslim women but that they were also "doubly problematized", compared to Muslim men (p. 229).

Therefore, future CDA research is required to untangle the situation, especially that, as discussed above, there seems to be a scholastic agreement that the use of the term Muslim women in the British media is surrounded with scepticism as well as a continuing level of dissatisfaction among British Muslim and educated women, c.f. (Ahmad, 2010; Ahmed, 2014; Haidrani, 2016).

Nevertheless, despite the fact, that I may - as a Muslim CDA analyst - fall into what is called in social research 'intended bias', the current research was designed to be a rigorously guided corpus-based CDA such as (Baker, et al., 2013) of the use of the term *Muslim woma(e)n* in the British press during the last two decades, more details will be given in 1.4 and Chapter 4.

Lastly, it is worth noting, that there are also other international discourses which disseminate similar stereotypes and representations of Islam and Muslims, e.g. American newspapers (Alazzany, 2009) and Australian

newspapers (Alharbi, 2012), however, the scope of the current research is due to time and length restraints is restricted to British press discourse. This study does, on the other hand, have secondary goals to explore whether there have been variations in the representation of MW(s) in the British press over time (diachronically) and whether there are (synchronic), differences in the representation of MWs between our selected British newspapers.

1.3 Theoretical framework

Language has both ideational and interpersonal functions (Halliday, 1985; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004), through which the claim that language "may strongly influence perception and behaviour" (Holmes, 2001, p. 317) i.e. *linguistic relative relativity* can be justified. The dominant theoretical idea behind CDA is that discourse – language use as social practice - is one of the main activities through which "ideology is circulated and reproduced (Foucault, 1972)"; that is why the "goal of CDA is to uncover the ways in which discourse and ideology are intertwined" (Johnstone, 2002, p. 54).

In this sense, CDA research is about unpacking how language is used to construct, change or challenge particular socio-cognitive representations. These representations take the form of ideologies and mental models of aspects of social reality (van Dijk, 1998) which cannot be read directly from the text but have to be inferred from the linguistic findings (Koller, 2012, p. 23) of CDA research. Ideology could be defined as any organised system of beliefs, values or cognitive models or representations shared by a particular social group (van Dijk, 1998) e.g. *feminism, liberalism, conservatism, 'Islamism'*, etc. These ideological and similar socio-cognitive representations are "reflected, negotiated and shaped in discourse" (Koller, 2012, p. 34).

Therefore, CDA investigates how language can be manipulated to influence thoughts and/or serve coercive power to dominate particular group(s) in society (Charteris-Black, 2014). In this vein, I see the concept of priming in cognitive psychology and social cognition to be of importance to CDA to incorporate in its theoretical and methodological apparatus. The beginning of my

appreciation of this analytical concept came after reading a theory developed by the British linguist Professor Michael Hoey i.e. lexical priming.

Hoey first proposed his initial observation of lexical priming in (Hoey, 2004) before he expands it into a complete theory in his well-known book *Lexical Priming: A new theory of words and language* (Hoey, 2005). Lexical priming is a theory of the linguistic behaviour of words in close lexical co-occurrence in discourse - beyond the collocational level of co-occurrence (Sinclair, 1991)-. The theory was driven from a corpus-based analysis of language samples written for different genres where Hoey noticed that certain words have constant tendency (are primed) to co-occur in particular discourse(s) with particular connotations and avoid others. Hoey (2004) emphasised that lexical priming is both a theory of language use and discourse analysis and "offers a way out for grammarians'' to "become chemists rather than alchemists'' (p. 386). Though he stressed it`s importance to CDA and discourse analysis - "lexical priming is linguistic'' and "offers a way forward for critical discourse analysis" (Hoey, 2004, p. 410), - unfortunately, not many discourse analysis studies have adopted the concept yet, except very few studies such as Tao (2007) in discourse analysis and Baker (2010) in corpus-based CDA[2].

In cognitive psychology, the concept of priming is more encompassing and illuminates – through experimental studies - on how recurrent manipulations of stimuli such as discourse can influence people`s perception and behaviour including their ability to judge, understand and evaluate (Greifeneder, et al., 2018). Therefore, priming in discourse can be very dependent on the recurrent cognitive aspect of meaning. In other words, the recurrence of particular semantic associations[3] is important - for CDA - but can be latently encoded in variant schemas and/or scripts particular conceptual structures can evoke through discourse e.g. *Muslim women need to be integrated in the society, the veil is a form of separation, the veil is a barrier to integration,* and others, which imply that these women are separated/isolated from the fabric of their society.

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[2] More details will be given later.

[3] Which can also occur beyond the limited level of 'lexical priming' suggested by Hoey (2004, 2005).

> Priming serves to constrain an other-wise open and indeterminate memory search process to those knowledge structures (categories, schemas, scripts, or other structures) that the prime helps to retrieve. The crucial premise here is that world knowledge is rich enough to offer a large number of knowledge structures for interpreting the same behavior in many different ways. Every person belongs to multiple categories, with regard to his or her race, profession, religion, age, hobbies, and citizenship, and countless other attributes. Depending on which of these multiple categories is primed, different subsets of knowledge will be retrieved, with the result that the same target person's behavior can be given quite different interpretations. Social knowledge is so rich and multi-faceted that only a small portion of that knowledge is activated at any time. Very often, the currently activated information is appropriate to the problem to be solved in a given context. Sometimes, however, the selectivity of activated world knowledge makes social judgment susceptible to errors and biases (Greifeneder, et al., 2018, pp. 63-64).

It can be inferred from the quote above that social discourse can influence the opinion of the public in some ways through the priming of particular/ limited ways of perceiving social actors such as Muslim women. Such concepts are of indispensable importance to CDA and its interest in the discursive use of language in public discourse. For example, recent Corpus-based CDA[4] research has called for incorporating 'priming' in CDA research but stressed that it is beyond corpus-CDA to analyse lexical priming in discourse; it needs a cognitive account of meaning to be explicated (Baker, 2010, p. 333). In fact, the "notion of priming is a well-established and widely-tested phenomenon of the human mind" that should be incorporated in any study of language use (Pace-Sigge, 2013, pp. 167-168).

On the other hand, though some cognitive CDA[5] was alert to the importance of the recurrent schemas evoked through conceptual structures in discourse, they failed to use a quantitative apparatus in their CDA to trace the recurrence or 'entrenchment' of these structures e.g. (Hart, 2007; 2010) i.e. its priming in discourse. Despite the fact that priming is acknowledgeable concept

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[4] An approach that utilizes concepts and tools from corpus linguistics in its CDA e.g. (Baker, 2006, 2008 and 2010).

[5] An approach that utilizes concepts from cognitive linguistics in its CDA e.g. (Chilton, 2004 and Hart 2007; 2010).

in manufacturing the political and media discourse (Scheufele & David, 2007), it remains a missing link in the analysis of discourse in both corpus and cognitive CDA approaches, with the exception of the current research which will incorporate the concept of priming in its analysis through utilising a cognitive-assisted corpus-based approach to CDA, more details will be given next.

1.4 Approach of the current study

One of the main labels that are often associated with CDA today is its 'inter-disciplinarity' and 'multidisciplinary' (Garrett & Bell, 1995; van Dijk, 2001b; Hart, 2007). In addition, CDA is also seen as 'multifarious' (Wodak, 2006a). This leads to the question of why CDA, in particular, receives such a characterisation. In reality, this is due to the undeniable fact that discourse is by its nature multifarious. Biber, Connor & Upton (2007) attributed this multidisciplinarity of research in discourse analysis to the fact that *discourse* can be approached from so many perspectives e.g. cognitive CDA (Chilton 2004; Hart 2010), corpus-based CDA (Baker, 2010), cognitive corpus-based CDA (Charteris-Black, 2004, 2006 and 2014; Koller, 2004, 2006 and 2012), content analysis (Hesmondhalgh, 2006), multimodal discourse analysis (Jewitt, 2006; Halloran, 2008; van Leeuwen, 2011; Jewitt, et al., 2016) and a number of other approaches.

However, knowing that discourse is 'language use as a form of social practice' (Fairclough, 1992), takes us to the conclusion that language is an indivisible component of aspects of our everyday life, e.g. ideological, emotional, religious, political, educational, etc. This complex nature of discourse makes its analysis more challenging and necessitates, I would say, an inter-disciplinary rather than multidisciplinary perspective towards the text or speech being analysed. Therefore, the focus in the current research, will be on the language used as retrieved in the textual data of the press discourse which means that other 'semiotic resources' (van Leeuwen, 2011; Jewitt, et al., 2016) - such as images, videos and the font shape or size - despite their importance, are beyond the scope and technical capacity of the current analysis[6].

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[6] More details will be given in Chapter 4.

In this research, the view that cognitive linguistics such as (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980) can complement traditional e.g. (Fairclough, 1995b; van Leeuwen, 1996; van Dijk, 1998 & 2001b; Wodak, 2001) and contemporary CDA e.g. Corpus-CDA approaches such as (Baker, et al., 2008; Baker, 2010; Al-Hejin, 2012; Baker, et al., 2013) in accounting for historical, linguistic and social aspects of meaning inside and outside the text is adopted. Cognitive Corpus-based CDA – is a recent methodological trend- which combines both cognitive linguistics and corpus linguistics in its CDA analysis. This methodological integration helps the analyst automate the selection of the patterns for analysis through corpus-linguistic tools (quantitative methods) before, he analyses them qualitatively through analytical concepts from CDA, corpus and cognitive linguistics. The main practitioners in this trend are Charteris-Black (2004; 2006 and 2014) and Koller (2004, 2006 & 2012). Nevertheless, the current research is not exclusively a critical metaphor analysis (CMA) such as Charteris-Black (2004; 2006 and 2014) and Koller (2004, 2006 & 2012), but will be mainly a corpus-based analysis such as (Al-Hejin, 2012; Baker, et al, 2013) that additionally utilises cognitive linguistics to analyse the found conceptual structures.

On the other hand, a central area of interest to the approach of the current study is the diachronic use of the term Muslim woman which requires the analysis to be able to document and trace the cumulative development and the use of the term MW(s) in the British press discourse i.e. its 'priming' in media discourse over time. As raised earlier, the concept of lexical priming in discourse is limited and mainly related to the recurrent lexical co-occurrences that contribute to semantic associations at the text level.

In other words, lexical priming, in fact, fails to account for semantic connotations and associations that may arise from recurrent conceptual structures e.g. *Muslim women are oppressed, Muslim women are enslaved, Muslim women are imprisoned in their veils* that can evoke a particular schema recurrently in a given discourse beyond what is literally apparent in the text. Therefore, I devised the term 'epistemic priming', for the purpose of the current research, to distinguish it from the limited concept of 'lexical priming' (Hoey, 2005, p. 13) and

differentiate the term from the notion of 'semantic priming' conventionally used in psycholinguistic studies (Smith, et al., 2001; Jiang, 2002; McNamara, 2005; Smith, 2010; Greifeneder, et al., 2018).

In this way, the term epistemic priming will provide a more comprehensive and encompassing account of both the lexical co-occurrence and other types of semantic associations such as conceptual structures that are primed for co-occurrence with the term *Muslim woma(e)n* (MW(s), henceforth) but may occur beyond the level of close lexical co-occurrence suggested by Hoey (2005). The need to incorporate this concept in the current CDA analysis arose from several trial analysis where the term MW(s) was found to be associated with different lexical and conceptual structures across different levels of the discourse structures i.e. at the headlines versus the paragraph and sentence levels, c.f. (Otaif, 2015). For example, it is commonly believed in western communities that Muslim women are 'oppressed' or that they are incompatible with the western lifestyle in their countries. Nonetheless, it is of central importance to the current CDA analysis to investigate how similar representations – if they exist – are linguistically constructed inside the press discourse; are they semantically and/or lexically associated with the term MW(s)? In this vein, if the analysis was restricted to either the corpus or the cognitive tools, a substantial part of the epistemic priming and uses of the term MW(s) in the analysed discourse will go unnoticed, more details will be given in Chapters two, three and four.

The current research, therefore, represents the first cognitive-assisted corpus-based CDA to investigate British press discourse representing and reporting on issues related to MWs. Through this research endeavour, I hope that I will be able not only to shed further light on how MW(s) are constructed in the press but also contribute to the fields of Corpus and Cognitive CDA. The next section will present the research's specific questions.

1.5   Research questions

The current research aims to answer the following questions.

1- How are Muslim women represented in the British press media?
   a. What are the main keywords and collocates that co-occur or are epistemically primed with MWs in the British Press Corpus (BPC) (corpus-based perspective)?
   b. What are the main conceptual structures, cognitive semantic mechanisms and schemas that co-occur with or construe the image of MWs in the BPC (cognitive-assisted perspective)?
2- What are the linguistic differences or variations found within the British Press Corpus regarding how Muslim women are represented?
3- What are the conceptual and cognitive differences found within the British press regarding how Muslim Women are represented?'
4- How can the proposed model of epistemic priming inform CDA research?

1.6   Organisation of the thesis

The current thesis will be divided as follows. Chapter One has stated the research problem, the methodological and empirical significance of the topic as well as research questions. Chapter Two will discuss the theoretical and analytical framework utilised in this research, i.e. CDA exploiting both cognitive and corpus linguistic tools. Chapter Three will review the previous literature in relation to how language is used to construct the image of Muslims and Muslim women, principally in the British press. Chapter Four will discuss the detailed methodology including the analytical parameters and decisions taken in this research to achieve its analytical goals and answer the research questions (given in 1.5 above). It will include coverage of methodological issues such as the statistical measures, corpus size, analytical procedure and the criteria used to construct the BPC. The research findings will be given in chapters 5, 6, 7, and 8. Chapters five and six will present and discuss the main macro-semantic structures found in the BPC i.e. *keywords* (Chapter five) and *woma(e)n's collocations in the BPC headlines* (Chapter Six). Chapter Seven will zoom in to present and discuss the main collocations that were found to associate with the nodes *woman*

and *women* in the BPC. Chapter Eight will discuss the main collocates that suggest a conceptual structure and cognitive mechanisms including schemas found to co-occur with the *Muslim woma(e)n* i.e. *MW(s)*. Finally, a number of limitations, theoretical and methodological conclusions, as well as some recommendations for further research, will be given in Chapter Nine.

2 Critical discourse analysis: Theoretical framework

In this chapter, I will discuss the theoretical framework, method and analytical tools utilised in the current research, including the nature of CDA methodology and its concepts. CDA, in general, is characterised as having modern and traditional approaches which have – together - contributed to its modern applications and practices. First, traditional approaches such as critical linguistics e.g. (Fowler, 1991), the dialectical-approach (Fairclough, 1995a), the socio-cognitive model (van Dijk, 2001b), the socio-semantic Representations of Social Actors (RSA) (van Leeuwen, 1996; 2008) and the Discourse Historical Method (DHM) (Wodak, 2001) will be presented and discussed according to their chronological order and relevance to the current research (in sections 2.1 to 2.5) before a number of their limitations are raised (in Section 2.6). Then the modern approaches of CDA such as Cognitive Corpus-based CDA (Charteris-Black, 2004) and Corpus CDA such as Baker, et al. (2008) and Baker, et al. (2013) will be discussed in relation to the scope of the current research (in sections 2.8 to 2.10) before our new approach of epistemic priming is introduced (2.11).

2.1 Early CDA of media discourse

The beginning of CDA can be traced to the early work in *Critical Linguistics* (CL) at the University of East Anglia e.g. (Fowler, et al., 1979; Hodge & Kress, 1979). CL, such as Fowler, et al., 1979 and Hodge & Kress, 1979, is a branch of linguistics that studies how language is used and structured according to ideological values and beliefs (Fowler, 1991, p. 5). Some researchers often use the two terms *Critical Discourse Analysis* (CDA) and *Critical Linguistics* (CL) interchangeably, nonetheless the use of the term CDA has prevailed (Wodak, 2006a).

Fowler (1991) can be considered the first CDA of the British press, he stated that "there are always different ways of saying the same thing and they are not random, accidental alternatives. Differences in expression carry ideological distinctions and thus differences in representation" (1991, p. 4). Fowler (1991) analysed how the language of a number of British newspapers

present the same reality/ incident from different perspectives allowing different implications to be inferred by the readers, e.g. *1) PC shot boy from inches, 2) Boy was shot from 9 inches by PC, 3) Robber`s Son, five, Killed in his bed,* and many others. Fowler (1991) stressed that different linguistic and grammatical choices in the press can lead to different readings of the same incident. However, early CDA, like Fowler (1991), usually relied on qualitative analysis of a limited sample of public discourse. It can be said that this was the common practice in CDA before the advent of Corpus-based CDA e.g. (Charteris-Black, 2004; Koller & Mautner, 2004; Baker, et al., 2008).

2.2   The dialectical approach

The dialectical-approach (Fairclough, 1995a) in CDA proposes a dialectical constitutive relationship between *social reality* and *discourse.* It proposes that discourse (language use as social practice) (Fairclough, 1992, p. 63) is constituted by social reality and can constitute it (Fairclough, 1995a, p. 131). That is why most of Fairclough's work is aimed at unpacking and explicating the discourse of *neo-liberalism* (Fairclough, 2001), *capitalism* (Fairclough, 2002) and *globalization* (Fairclough, 2006). This approach has three analytical areas: **text** e.g. a *news report*, **discourse practices** i.e. *the process of discourse production and consumption*, and **socio-cultural practice** i.e. the *social and cultural happenings which the communicative event is a part of* (Fairclough, 1995b, p. 57). The socio-cultural practice area "involves an explanation of the relationship between the discursive practices and the social context" (Al-Hejin, 2007b, p. 7). The three main analytical stages in this model are summarised as *identification*, *interpretation* and *explanation*, which are based on Halliday (1985) and "comprise the methodology of CDA" (Charteris-Black, 2004, p. 34).

2.2.1   Dialectical CDA and Systemic Functional Linguistics

Like critical linguistics, the dialectical approach has benefited, in a number of ways, from Systemic Functional Linguistics *SFL* or Grammar *SFG* (Halliday, 1985). SFL is a usage-based theory which claims that each element in language

has a function to serve a social need. It proposes that language has three meta-functions: 1) the *ideational meta-function* which denotes the ideological content of the text, e.g. ideas, concepts and representations, 2) the *interpersonal meta-function* which carries the dialectical component which enables the speaker to interact with others, and 3) a *textual meta-function* which embodies 1 and 2 (Halliday, 1985; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). In their analysis of language use, practitioners of dialectical CDA and critical linguistics have utilised a number of the SFL analytical tools such as the identification of *transitivity*, *nominalisation*, and *modality* which are seen as essential to make an analysis ideologically revealing (Alazzany, 2009, p. 46). These will be briefly explained in the following section and will be utilised in the current study.

2.2.2   Transitivity, nominalisation and modality

Transitivity is a fundamental part of the ideational function of language which has proved illuminating in critical linguistics (Fowler, 1991, p. 70). Its meaning extends beyond the traditional distinction made in English grammar between 'transitive verbs' which take objects and 'intransitive' verbs that do not. It refers to the 'semantic configuration'[7] of 'a process' and its 'participants' within the clause. More specifically, transitivity is concerned with the attribution of agency to particular participants (agents/actors/sensors) and the way receivers of an action or process, whether objects or humans (patients), are semantically represented through the clause (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, pp. 175-181), e.g. *Alan abused his wife* versus *The wife was abused.* While the Agent *Alan* who performed the process of *abuse* is foregrounded in the first example he is suppressed[8] (deleted) in the second example.

The second example, is in fact, an example of **passivisation** where an Agent is deleted. In this example, *the wife* was the Patient who receives the process of *abuse*, however, the Agent or the doer of this process is apparently

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[7] in Halliday's terms
[8] In van Leeuwen's terms (1996)

absent from the text of this example; such absence i.e. what is excluded is substantial to the text meaning too (van Leeuwen, 1996, 2008).

In a similar way, the category of **nominalisation** involves a conversion of the verb denoting a particular process into a noun so as to speak about actions (processes) but not their doers/agents e.g. *oppression* from *oppress*. Through nominalisation, the meaning shifts focus to the process itself instead of the Agent(s). Therefore, it can be summarised that, transitivity has the facility to analyse one event in different ways providing, in this sense, an ideologically significant possibility for the analyst to elaborate more on why particular choices have been suppressed and some others were chosen in the press discourse (Fowler, 1991, p. 71).

Modality is another SFL category and refers to certain lexico-grammatical choices that have an interpersonal function, e.g. *can, must, should*; the most thorough discussion of modality and its importance to CDA is given by Charteris-Black (2014). According to Charteris-Black (2014), modality is a linguistic term that explains how speakers/writers use language to give perspective on their utterances; it is an effective tool in CDA as it can reveal the speaker`s/writer`s attitude and his/her degree of commitment to the certainty, the truth or the accuracy of the claims he says (ibid). Modality can be expressed through different modal verbs and with different degrees of commitment and certainty e.g. Muslim women *should* remove their veils versus Muslim women *may* remove their veils, see Table 2-1 below.

Table 2-1 Modality-degrees of commitment and certainty (adapted from Charteris-Black (2014).

Must, have to, will, ought	Highest degree of commitment to truth or obligation.
May, could, should, might	Low degree of commitment to truth or obligation.
Should not, Could not, must not	Negative degree of commitment to truth or obligation.

Modality is usually divided into 1) deontic modality and 2) epistemic modality. First, deontic modality refers to obligatory deontic modals that suggest a moral or social obligation/prohibition (Evans & Green, 2006, p. 625) e.g. *Should* and *must*. They "express a speaker's [/ writer`s] belief about the necessity or

possibility of acts performed by morally responsible agents" (Lyons, 1977, p. 823) (cited in Charteris-Black, 2014) e.g. *Muslim women should remove their veils*.

On the other hand, epistemic modality are expressions that exhibit the speaker`s/writer`s commitment to the certainty, truth or accuracy of what s/he is saying (Charteris-Black, 2014) e.g. *I **think** Muslim women who wear the veil **are/may be** oppressed*; both types of modality (the deontic and epistemic) are gradable from high to lesser degrees of truthiness/certainty or necessity and obligatory (ibid), see the following examples.

1- *Muslim women **must** remove their veils.*

2- *Muslim women **should** remove their veils.*

3- *Muslim women **may** remove their veils.*

Different degrees of commitment to the given idea and obligation can be inferred from the examples given above, these degrees range from high to low level of truthiness and/or obligation, see Table 2-2 below.

Table 2-2 Level of modality (adapted from Charteris-Black (2014)).

Levels of modality	Truth	Obligation	Modal verb
High	Certainly	Required to	Must/ have to
Medium	Probably	Supposed to	Could/ would/ should
Low	Possibly	Allowed to	May/ might

In brief, modality is "the grammaticalisation of a speaker/writer`s attitude and or opinion" (Palmer, 1986, p. 16 cited in Charteris-Black, 2014) and can reveal the social and evaluative attitude of a particular discourse producer towards a particular individual(s), issue or proposition, as in *immigrant women must be banned from entering our country*.

2.2.3 Relevance and power in (of) media discourse

CDA is concerned "with the abuse of social power by a social group", in other words, "the way a particular group enforces its will over other social

groups" mainly through language use (Charteris-Black, 2014, pp. 83-84). Language "is so structured to mirror power relations that often we can see no other ways of being, and it structures ideology so that it is difficult to speak both in and against it" (Parker, 1992). Power can be signalled with both lexical choices and grammatical structures in discourse. In the examples below, if the verb in statement 1 was substituted with the other verbs in statement 2 and 3 then how does each verb affect the overall meaning of the statement and the person in the discourse?

> *1. She <u>has dropped</u> her life in the religious community.* (possible degree of unhappiness)
> *2. She <u>has left</u> her life in the religious community.* (greater degree of voluntary decision)
> *3. She <u>had to leave</u> her life in the religious community.* (greater degree of force)
> Adapted from Jorgensen & Phillips (2002, p. 150)

Each discourse structure in the examples above evokes different conceptual structure with distinctive cognitive, i.e. ideational and interpersonal, meaning. However, while similar lexico-grammatical patterns and choices will be analysed in the current research, it is worth emphasising that "power is signalled not only by grammatical forms within a text, but also by a person's control of a social occasion, by means of the genre of a text, or by access to certain public spheres" (Baker, et al., 2008, p. 280), e.g. mass media and the press. Fairclough (1989) referred to three different types of discourse power, 'face to face' spoken discourse, 'cross-cultural discourse' - when participants belong to different ethnic and cultural backgrounds - and 'hidden power of mass media discourse' (p. 41). The power of "mass media discourse is interesting because of the nature of the power relations enacted, it is often not clear, and there are reasons for seeing it as involving hidden relations of power" (Fairclough, 1989, p. 41).

The most appropriate description of power is contextual i.e. it varies according to the situational context (ibid, p. 126) including its relevance to particular recipients. For instance, a speech delivered by the prime minister or a judge is more powerful than a speech delivered by the local sheriff or mayor,

conversely a speech by a layperson could be more powerful than that of the prime minister if delivered in a court. Nevertheless, the concept of power is a complex one, yet vital to the meaning of discourse. Power is not only a facet of language and intelligibility but also relate to what people can materially do to others: torture them, incarcerate them, stigmatise them, fire them, or jail them! Power is about control – and that can be material or psychological (in which case 'coercion' is often used) (Charteris-Black, 2014); therefore, CDA is concerned with untangling forms of bias, coercion and abuse of power as found in public discourse.

2.2.4 Discursivity and intertextuality and CDA

It is fundamental for the critical discourse analyst to note what terms recurrently occur and which social group or class enjoys this discursive constant attention (Fowler, 1991, p. 82). Language provides us with the potential vocabulary and grammatical patterns to say many different things, and this potentiality is used recurrently in common discourse patterns which reflect a view of the world socially shared in a particular discourse community (Stubbs, 1996, p. 158) e.g. the phrase *tolerant society*. Hence, Stubbs (1996) and Fowler (1991) appear to share the same view of vocabulary's discursive and ideological significance in conveying recurrent meanings in discourse.

In a similar vein, the concept of intertextuality refers to the use of snatches or perhaps discourse patterns taken from other text or speech in the main text (Fairclough, 1992). In media and press discourse, it is a common stylistic practice that journalists cite the speech of others with or without quotations marks (Richardson, 2007). In fact, this is a prominent textual feature of press discourse that the analyst should take into account as followed in the current research. Discursive power in text is that kind of recurrent/repeated linguistic choice, quote, allusion, or topic that draws on a previously introduced concept or idea and has the nature of pushing towards social change of a particular kind.

The three elements of *power*, *intertextuality* and *discursivity* are key concepts that I utilise in the current study from Fairclough (1995a&b). Although intertextuality can be discursive in media discourse, discursivity in itself is the concept that can, in my view, establish why certain quotes and topics are included, repeated and preferred over others that are excluded or avoided. In this research, I argue that recurrent lexical terms in the discourse of a particular newspaper can be explicated through incorporating 'lexical priming'[9], which is a discourse theory which proposes that lexical items have a semantic preference to co-occur with particular words, in a particular discourse, and avoid others (Hoey, 2004 & 2005), e.g. *MWs are oppressed* and *MWs are the victims of forced marriages* (see Section 2.11). In this way, the audience/ readers of a particular newspaper – which constitute its discourse community- are recurrently primed with distinctive semantic connotations and pragmatic inferences given through the discourse of their favourite newspaper. In this regard, corpus searches can help researchers to identify some of these allusions and discursive lexical choices/quotes that come from other texts in the analysis (Baker, 2006), more details will be given in 2.10, 2.11 and Chapter 4.

2.3 The Socio-cognitive Model

The socio-cognitive model could be summarised in the theoretical triangle of discourse-cognition-society (van Dijk, 2001b, p. 98), where cognition mediates the relationship between discourse (textual structure) and society (social structure). It is seen as an exceptional approach in comparison with the other traditional approaches in CDA due to its emphasis on cognitive (mental) models (van Dijk, 1998), an objection which many analysts see but van Dijk disputes with (van Dijk, 2001b, p. 97).

2.3.1 Mental models of events and Schemata:

The socio-cognitive model (van Dijk, 1998) proposes that discourse "meanings derive from mental models of events" (p. 27). These mental models

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[9] Which I reformulate to epistemic priming.

(representations) of events are defined as those values, beliefs and information shared by individuals of a particular society (ibid), i.e. what is known as **ideology**. One other prominent feature of this model is what is known in CDA as the '**ideological square of bias**', where on the one hand we "say a lot about Our good things and Their bad things, and say little about Our bad things and Their good things" (ibid: p. 42). The emphasis in this approach is mainly on the cognitive side of discourse meaning which is somewhat similar to our approach in this research except that it does not deal with cognitive semantic/conceptual structures. In sum, although this model includes a socio-cognitive treatment of discourse, it has neglected the conceptual approaches to discourse structure, i.e. cognitive semantics.

However, *mental models of events* are related to the concept of **schemata** in social cognition. Schemata are "abstract mental representations of events and people, which are formed through experience [including discourse], stored in long-term memory and provide the basis for our expectations. They provide a sense of control over the vast amount of sensory information one is exposed to" (Augoustinos, et al., 2014, pp. 67-70). They include event schemata e.g. *terrorist attack, armed robbery,* etc., people schemata: *terrorists/ thug / mafia,* etc. It is worth noting here that this concept is related but distinctive from the concept of image schemas (Johnson, 1987) in cognitive psychology that will be discussed in detail in 2.8.2.

2.4 The Socio-semantic approach: Representation of Social Actor (RSA)

van Leeuwen's model (1996), reintroduced in van Leeuwen (2008), is a CDA model which is concerned with socio-semantic Representations of Social Actors (RSA) in discourse. The RSA model cautions that overreliance on the SFL (Halliday, 1985) grammatical concept of *transitivity* may not be beneficial in CDA. Since "there is no neat fit between sociological and linguistic categories" then if CDA limits its analysis mainly to linguistic operations, e.g. *nominalisation*, or

categories, e.g. *transitivity*, then many realisations of the social actor's agency will be overlooked (van Leeuwen, 2008, pp. 23-24).

The RSA model provided a detailed list of socio-semantic categories beginning with the main dichotomous concept in CDA *inclusion* versus *exclusion*. The RSA approach stressed that representations can include or exclude social actors: "[s]ome of the exclusions may be 'innocent', details which readers are assumed to know already, or which are deemed irrelevant to them, others tie in close to the propaganda strategy of creating fear, and of setting up immigrants as enemies of 'our' interests" (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 29). In fact, this is similar to Fairclough's (1995b) emphasis that CDA should extend its 'linguistic analysis' not only to what is present in the text but to include what is absent from it (p. 58).

Representations "include or exclude social actors to suit their interest and purpose in relation to the readers for whom they are intended" (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 28). *Exclusion* can be maintained through *suppression* and *backgrounding*; *suppression* is a process where a social actor is completely absent and not mentioned anywhere in the text. On the other hand, *backgrounding* is a lesser form of exclusion where a social actor is pushed to the background but can be inferred from the co-text.

However, when a social actor is mentioned, the RSA categories include *Aggregation, Indetermination, Functionalisation*, *Identification*, *Nomination and categorisation*. *Aggregation* is a category where the representation of social actors is "realised by the presence of definite or indefinite quantifiers" (p. 38) e.g. *Thirty immigrants* versus *many immigrants*. *Indetermination* is a relevant category where social actors are unspecified but referred to in general as anonymous individuals or groups e.g. *people*. *Indetermination* can be *aggregated* as in *some people launched an anti-terror campaign*.

Functionalisation[10], refers to social actors in terms of their occupations or something they do e.g. *a doctor, correspondent, chairperson, musician, assistant* (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 42). On the other hand, *Identification* is a wider category which

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[10] This the original term used by van Leeuwen, (1996; 2008).

"occurs when social actors are defined, not in terms of what they do, but in terms of what they, more or less permanently, or unavoidably, are" (p. 42) e.g. *Muslims*. Sub categories of *Identification* include 1) *classification* of social actors based on socially shared characterisations such as age, gender, origins, class, race and religion e.g. *a Muslim woman, a middle-class customer,* 2) *relational identifications* e.g. *a cousin, colleague, aunt,* 3) *Physical identifications* e.g. *tall (*adjective*), blonde (*noun*)* (pp. 42-44). Finally, *Nomination and categorisation* refer to the way social actors are named in the text with their proper names, titles and status (p. 40). These are the main RSA categories that are seen as relevant to the scope of the current research; however, they seem to overlap with a number of other categories giver in other CDA models, more details will be given in 2.6 later.

2.5   Discourse Historical Method (DHM) and *discursive strategies*

The Discourse Historical Method (DHM) (Wodak, 2001), which is partially dependent on the RSA (van Leeuwen, 1996, 2008), differs from other CDA approaches in taking into consideration all available historical background information in the analysis, as we have reviewed in Chapter Two. The DHM specified a number of *discursive strategies* through which racism and discrimination is manifested in discourse (Wodak, 2001, p. 73). Discursive strategies are "a more or less accurate and more or less intentional plan of practices (including discursive practices) adopted to achieve a particular social, political, psychological or linguistic aim" (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001, p. 54), c.f. *discursivity* in 2.2.4.

First, there are *referential* and *nomination* strategies – similar to the ones introduced in the RSA model in (2.4) - through which social actors are constructed and represented in the news story e.g. *Three <u>terrorists</u> were interrogated* is distinctive in its meaning from *three <u>Muslims</u> were interrogated*. This type of strategies in the RHD pertains more explicitly to the representation and construction of in-groups and out-groups through various linguistic devices and lexical choices including metaphors and metonymies (Wodak, 2001, p. 73). Second, *predication strategies* are the "very basic process and result of

linguistically assigning qualities to persons, animals, objects, events, actions and social phenomena" (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001, p. 54), i.e. labelling social actors more or less positively or negatively, e.g. *he is an extremist*. Third, *mitigation* versus *intensifying* strategies are the linguistic means through which the illocutionary force of an utterance or proposition is qualified or reduced. This can be achieved through adverbs (e.g. *perhaps*), modals (e.g. *may*) and verbs (e.g. *claims*). For example, *she **claims** "wearing the veil protects her"* versus *she stressed/confirmed "wearing the veil protects her"*.

The fourth strategy is *perspectivation, framing* or *discourse representation;* it refers to the "means by which speakers express their involvement in discourse, and position their point of view in the reporting" (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001, p. 45). For example, a business rivalry between two companies can be described as a *battle* (Koller, 2004). It is worth noting here that *perspectivation* and *framing* can be "applied to qualify" or reduce/mitigate "the epistemic status of a proposition, the degree of certainty, or modify the speakers'/writers' expressiveness as well as the persuasive impact on the hearers and readers" (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001, p. 81) e.g. *Ford declares satellite war on car thieves* (BNC, 2017), *war on crime/unemployment/drugs* (Semino, 2008, p. 100). Framing the treatment of a social problem within the WAR domain, through the use of metaphorical expressions, has on the one hand imposed a particular perspective (*perspectivation)* and, on the other hand, intensified or "emphasised" the urgency of the problem in question as well as the seriousness of the effort taken to solve it (Semino, 2008, p. 100).

These are called the main discursive strategies which in turn contribute to the dichotomous discursive construction of 'us' versus 'them' which represents a "salient" feature for "discourses of discrimination" (Wodak, 2001, p. 73).

Thus far, I have provided a brief synopsis of the main traditional approaches in CDA, relating the discussion to the methodological and analytical scope of the current research. Next, I will discuss the limitations of traditional

CDA, paving the way for the place I see for cognitive semantics and corpus linguistics to complement CDA.

2.6   Limitations and criticism of traditional CDA approaches

Though the DHM approach (Wodak, 2001) utilised linguistic concepts like *metonymies* and *metaphors* in its apparatus, it did not provide a cognitive conceptual explication of their use in the discourse structure as cognitive semantics does, i.e. particularly in relation to the discursive strategy of *framing* (see 2.5). This is why the DHM, among other traditional types of CDA (mentioned in 2.1-2.4), is criticised for neglecting and overriding conceptual structure as analysed in cognitive semantics, even if Wodak argues the opposite as we will see later in this section.

On the other hand, although the dialectical approach (Fairclough, 1995a&b) is widespread (Widdowson, 2004, p. 90), some of its requirements do not seem practical ones, especially for a linguist. In particular, the importance of accessing discourse practices, i.e. the process of discourse production, may suit journalists and people who work for media organisations and have access to certain types of information. That is why researchers in journalism discourse like Richardson (2007) claim that the Faircloughian (1995a&b) approach provides a "more accessible method of doing CDA than alternative theoretical approaches", and hence he feels that it is the model he is 'most satisfied with' for doing CDA (p. 37). For Richardson, I suggest, the issue is not how one feels about a particular model but rather it is what is the claimed accessibility here? For an ordinary analyst, however, it is a demanding approach because of the inaccessibility of information about discourse practices, i.e. the production agenda and criteria in the newsrooms. Even in the case where the analyst is a media person who works for a particular media channel s/he still may not be able to access the agendas or publishing criteria of other newsrooms.

In addition, investigation of the circular nature of the socio-cultural practice (where it is claimed that social reality constitutes discourse and is constituted by discourse) requires ongoing survey research, so would this not

distract the flow of the analysis and go beyond the bounds of what could really be called CDA research in this case? I doubt the practicality of the idea that any analyst would be ever able to deal efficiently with the circular nature of the dialectical model.

Dialectical CDA was also criticised for interpreting the text on behalf of the reader, as Fairclough (1995b) himself implied in his attempt to address this criticism directed at his model; he suggested that reception (consumption) studies (e.g. exploring the reader's interpretations of the text as part of the *discourse* and *sociocultural practice*) would complement the textual analysis of media discourse, but stressed that the main focus should be on the analysis of text (p. 16). In fact, many analysts who use this approach end up giving rather partial and superficial information about the *discourse practice,* and *sociocultural practice* elements in the dialectical approach (e.g. Al-Hejin, 2007b). Figure 2-1 below describes how each of the traditional CDA approaches deals with explicating the relationship between *discourse* and *social practice*.
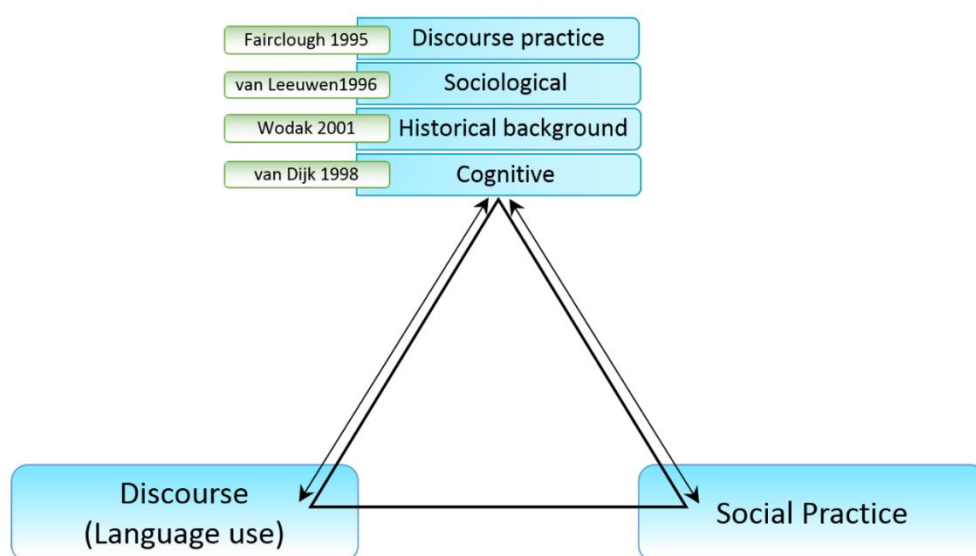
Figure 2-1 The different CDA Models of discourse in relation to social practice

Though the socio-cognitive approach (van Dijk, 1998) was seen as superior to other CDA traditional approaches for its early appreciation of the cognitive side of the analysis[11], see Figure 2-1 above, it was also criticised among all the

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[11] as a bridge between *discourse* and *social practice*

former traditional CDA, for 'neglecting' (Hart, 2007, p. 107) and 'overriding' (Maalej, 2007, pp. 132-3) the conceptual approaches to the structure of discourse i.e. cognitive semantics. On the other hand, unlike Wodak (2001) where the historical background acts as a mediator between the text (as an instance of discourse) and the social practice, Fairclough's (1995a) concept of *discourse practice* acts as a mediator between the two, see Figure 2-1 above. However, the main problem of the Faircloughian/dialectical approach is, as I said, its dependence on the information it can gather about the *discourse practices* which are usually inaccessible to the critical analyst who adopts this model completely, see the discussion above.

Hart (2010, p. 6) has criticised the DHM for neglecting conceptual structures that would act as a mediator between *discourse* and *social practice*: "Wodak (2006b:179) would have us believe otherwise when she claims that theories by George Lakoff have had a large influence on her work. However, [there are] no real traces of Lakoff anywhere in the discourse-historical approach which she advocates.... this is not a determinant of this approach but highlights the need for a further complementary approach in CDA". Lakoff's work is mentioned here as the most revolutionary work in cognitive semantics, i.e. the *Conceptual Metaphor Theory* (CMT, henceforth) (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980); this theory is one of the main theories that inspired the emerging Cognitive CDA approach and will be incorporated in the current research (see 2.8).

On the other hand, the RSA approach (van Leeuwen, 1996; 2008) depends on sociological explanation as a mediator between *discourse* and *discourse practice,* see Figure 2-1 above. A problem with this type of information, though it is essential to any type of CDA, is that it is not immune to variant CDA interpretations with regard to what counts as a 'sociological' aspect of meaning.

> "Items other than proper names may be used for nomination, especially when, in a given context, only one social actor occupies a certain rank or fulfils a certain function. Nominations of this kind in fact blur the dividing line between nomination and categorisation." (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 41)

For example, while we can nominate somebody as *Smith*, others can nominate him as *the colonel*, or *the surgeon* in a given social context, e.g. *relatives*, *work* or *interrogations*. This 'blurring' of the line between *nomination* and *categorisation* could be attributed to the absence of clear-cut divisions between categories in the RSA model. The RSA model states that "in actual discursive practices, the choices need not always be rigidly 'either/or'. Boundaries can be blurred deliberately, for the purpose of achieving specific representational effects, and social actors can be, for instance, both classified and functionalised" (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 53). For example, *Muslim doctor* (see 2.4 for the difference between *classification* and *functionalisation*).

In this research, incorporating insights from the cognitive linguistic theory of Cognitive Grammar (CG) (Langacker, 2008), particularly the concept of *profiling*, may resolve the blurriness or overlap between the RSA categorisations as mentioned above. The argument is that while the RSA approach sees representations of social actors to be socio-semantic, I see them as socio- and cognitive semantic ones. Highlighting someone's *name, religion, profession, age* or other aspects of his/her identity can convey distinctive cognitive and socio-semantic information about a social actor within a given context, e.g. *the Muslim student* versus *the Pakistani student* in a school context. Nevertheless, despite this blurriness and overlap in the RSA categorisations, the model remains "useful for making explicit how the social actors are represented" (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 53). Hence, complementary support for the RSA categorisation should be provided by the insights taken from cognitive semantics, e.g. *profiling* (Langacker, 2008) (see section 2.8.2).

2.7   Ideology, language and cognition

Language has both ideational and interpersonal functions (Halliday, 1985; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004) (see 2.2.1), through which the claim that language "may strongly influence perception and behaviour" (Holmes, 2001, p. 317) i.e. *linguistic relative relativity* can be justified. The dominant theoretical idea behind CDA is that discourse is one of the main activities through which "ideology is

circulated and reproduced (Foucault, 1972)"; that is why the "goal of CDA is to uncover the ways in which discourse and ideology are intertwined" (Johnstone, 2002, p. 54).

In this sense, CDA research is about unpacking how language is used to construct, change or challenge particular socio-cognitive representations. These representations take the form of ideologies and mental models of aspects of social reality which cannot be read directly from the text but have to be inferred from the linguistic findings (Koller, 2012, p. 23). As mentioned in 2.3.1, ideology could be defined as any organised system of beliefs, values or cognitive models or representations shared by a particular social group (van Dijk, 1998) e.g. *feminism, liberalism*, '*Islamism', extremism*, etc. These ideological and similar socio-cognitive representations are "reflected, negotiated and shaped in discourse" (Koller, 2012, p. 34). In other words, discourse can influence the knowledge and beliefs a receiver may have based on the quality and amount of information, and the level of power of the discourse producers s/he is exposed to.

Gentner and Gentner (1982) trained two distinct groups about electricity with a different type of analogy for each (Hydraulic system model vs. Moving crowds model). It was "revealed that different 'choices' of language representing concepts can indeed affect non-linguistic thought such as reasoning and problem-solving" (Evans & Green, 2006, pp. 98-99). Similarly, Thibodeau and Boroditsky (2011) in a series of experiments investigated how two different representations i.e. metaphors of crime –as a wild beast preying versus crime as a virus - can influence people`s ability to reason and evaluate social phenomena. Two different groups of participants were presented with two similar paragraphs along with the same crime statistics; the only difference was the metaphor through which crime is conceptualised in the text.

Despite the fact that both groups were given the same crime statistics; the group that received the metaphor of crime as a virus " were more likely to propose treating the crime problem by investigating the root causes of the issue and instituting social reforms than participants who read that crime was a beast" (Thibodeau & Boroditsky, 2011, p. 7). On the other hand, "[p]articipants who read

that crime was a beast were more likely to propose fighting back against the crime problem by hiring police officers and building jails – to catch and cage the criminals – than participants who read that crime was a virus" (ibid). They concluded that "metaphors can have a powerful influence over how people attempt to solve complex problems and how they gather more information to make ''well-informed'' decisions" (Thibodeau & Boroditsky, 2011, p. 9). The researchers concluded that conceptual structures and their schematic representations as suggested by each of these two metaphors can significantly affect the participants` ability to reason and evaluate social phenomena such as crimes and their prevention.

In these and similar studies, there is a growing experimental evidence that conceptual choices in discourse is a determinant factor in the non-linguistic performance and thought. In this sense, language could impact social representations and reality i.e. in relation to MWs. Given this importance of conceptual choices in discourse, it can be summarised that incorporating cognitive semantics into CDA is essential to any research that attempts to uncover how ideology and language are entangled in discourse (Johnstone, 2002, p. 54).

2.8   The cognitive linguistics approach (Cognitive CDA)

Cognitive CDA (Chilton 2004, 2005; Hart, 2007, 2010) embraces claims of Cognitive Linguistics that language is both a mental/conceptual phenomenon and a social one. Indeed, there is an ongoing trend in modern CDA to explore a number of variant ways in which theoretical and conceptual claims of cognitive linguistics can inform CDA. Many recent studies (Chilton, 2004; Musolff, 2007; Maalej, 2007; Hart, 2007, 2010 & 2013) pursue this, including those I referred to in Chapter One (see 1.4) as *cognitive corpus-based CDA* (Charteris-Black, 2004; Koller, 2004).

2.8.1   Cognitive semantics: basic concepts

The claim in cognitive linguistics is that the language "system itself can be seen as a window that enables the direct investigation of conceptual structure (knowledge representation, including the structure and organisation of concepts) and conceptualisation (the process of meaning construction)" (Evans & Green, 2006, p. 54). Recall the conceptual structure which all the traditional approaches to CDA have been accused of overriding and neglecting (see Section 2.6). Conceptualisations and conceptual structures are essential concepts in cognitive CDA but involve a number of other cognitive terms (and models) that should be explained first.

Cognitive semantics, as an experiential and encyclopaedic approach to meaning, has integrated a number of approaches (borrowed from cognitive psychology) like *Image Schemas* (Johnson, 1987), *Mental Spaces* (Fauconnier, 1985), *Frame Semantics* (Fillmore, 1975), *Conceptual Metaphors* (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980), *Idealised Cognitive Models* (Lakoff, 1987), *Profiling* (Langacker, 2008) etc. These are **interrelated concepts** which need to be briefly explained before the discussion of some of the studies that have utilised a number of them in CDA.

2.8.2   Schemas, schematization and profiling

Image schemas "emerge from recurrent patterns in early interactions with our body and the physical environment" (Hart, 2010, p. 109); they arise through human sensory as well as perceptual (embodied) experience when humans move and interact in the world (Johnson, 1987). In simple words, the proposal is that humans (sub-)consciously use their early physical experiences (movement, position in space etc.) as a pre-linguistic basis or model for thinking and talking about more abstract concepts and processes later.

There are various cognitive models (schemas) that we use in cognitive processes of reasoning, understanding etc., such as the SOURCE-PATH-GOAL schema e.g. *Rose went through a long time of uncertainty before she resigned*, the CONTAINER schema e.g. *Alan is in trouble*, and FORCE-DYNAMIC schema of vertical pressure *e.g. she is under work pressure*, etc. There are also some other

complex schemas like the REMOVAL OF RESTRAINT schema (Johnson, 1987) which captures the cognitive scenario of "an obstruction to force is removed, allowing the energy to be released. [It] describes a situation like leaning on a door that suddenly opens" (Evans & Green, 2006, p. 188). This type of schema is utilised in conceptualising situations like *she was finally released*. These are a few of many other schemas that integrate and structure a great deal of our thought and understanding of reality (Johnson, 1987), e.g. INTEGRATION versus SPLITTING force dynamics schemas (Talmy, 2000, p. 209), etc.

Mental spaces (Fauconnier, 1985) are "conceptual 'packets' of knowledge constructed during ongoing meaning construction" (Evans & Green, 2006, p. 279). They are built online for the purpose of meaning construction and are guided by a given context (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002) or 'discourse bound' (Evans & Green, 2006, p. 368). For example, in *The majority of our Asian students did well in mathematics*, *the majority* evokes a mental cognitive quantification (representation)/image schema that establishes its meaning in relation to another online mental space in the discourse which is a group called *our Asian students*. These mental spaces relate more to language use/pragmatics while the image schemas are stored and developed in long term memory and underlie experiential semantics e.g. *the majority*. The expression *majority* conceptually and experientially conveys an uncertain quantification that represents more than the half of the original group. The example discussed here exhibits how *mental spaces* and *schemas* are interrelated in unpacking the meaning of discourse. It is worth noting here that cognitive semantics does not draw a clear-cut division between the pragmatic and semantic level of meaning but sees them as interrelated (Evans & Green, 2006, p. 171) as in *the majority of our Asian students did well in mathematics*.

Profiling is an analytical concept from Cognitive Grammar (Langacker, 2008). It refers to the process whereby a part of some conceptual **base** is highlighted or chosen for a communicative purpose in discourse (p. 67). A **profile** is "the entity of relation designated by a word" e.g. *steering wheel*; it "functions by highlighting a substructure" (*steering wheel*) "within a larger unit [conceptual

structure] known as the **base**" (Evans, 2007, p. p172), i.e. a vehicle which could be a car, train or an airplane, etc. For example the expression, *steering wheel* profiles a *substructure* within the *larger structure* of a car.

An expression can either profile a thing or a relationship or both of them (Langacker, 2008, p. 67); for example *uncle* profiles a thing (person) and a relationship (of kinship) within a domain i.e. family and relatives. The base here is the familial relationship. Profiling is a cognitive 'mechanism'/strategy of giving focus to a highlighted substructure or a relationship within a particular domain to serve a communicative purpose in discourse. The profiled relationship in an expression like *Mark's uncle was odd* has a directional schematic relationship that comes from the side of *Mark's* father/mother to the person mentioned to serve a local communicative need or purpose in discourse e.g. specification or criticism. Similarly, while *an Asian woman* profiles ethnic origins, *a Muslim woman* profiles the religion from the base of her identity[12].

Language is highly complex and words often derive their meaning from experiential **schemas**, as in the case of the deontic modals *must/should* which derive their meaning from the necessity/compulsory force schema (Johnson, 1987) or mental space; for example *s/he <u>must</u> leave <u>now</u>.* In this example, the temporal word, *now*, with its cognitive semantic meaning - including its experiential sense - along with the obligatory modal *must*, have jointly constructed a mental space of pressing necessity (urgency). *Should* and *must* are obligatory deontic modals that suggest a moral or social obligation/prohibition (Evans & Green, 2006, p. 625). They also dictate a psychological necessity (Johnson, 1987) and suggest that certain conditions are not satisfied yet (Langacker, 2008, pp. 308-09). For further discussion of the FORCE-DYNAMIC schemas and conceptual structures in language use see Talmy (2000, p. 209).

In addition to these concepts, the concept of **construals** in cognitive semantics is relevant to our discussion of transitivity earlier (in 2.2.2). **Construals** relate to "the idea that different grammatical forms, like different words, give rise

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[12] Similar mechanisms are called *classification* in the RSA model of CDA (van Leeuwen, 2008) (see 2.4)

to distinct construals or 'ways of seeing' ". For example what we see in *John kicked the ball* is a distinctive viewpoint on the same action that we see with a different construal in *The ball was kicked by John* (Evans & Green, 2006, p. 467). In each example, there is a semi-stationary object and **frame of reference** (FoR, henceforth) in which the *ball* and *John* are spatially located.

Thus far, I have discussed, image schemas, mental spaces, profiling and frame of reference (FoR), next, I will discuss three other concepts that are central in Cognitive CDA: these are **frames** and **framing**, **metaphors** and **metonymy**.

2.8.3 Frames, framing and metaphors

Framing (Fillmore, 1975) came as a reaction to traditional approaches to meaning (Gibbs, 1994), and proposes that certain lexical choices can frame the scene of an event and hence shape certain perceptions through associated scenes and scenarios. Take for example *The New Government will fight unemployment*. The word *fight* frames the *unemployment* as a *targeted enemy* to be defeated, and it is only the choice of the metaphorical word *fight* that achieves this. The effect of metaphors and their associated scenarios on discourse meaning will be discussed below.

Framing, similar to *perspectivation and framing* in 2.5, tells us that a "lexical choice provides a different way of framing a situation, giving rise to a different construal. In other words, language is rarely 'neutral', but usually represents a particular perspective" e.g. *shore* vs. *coast* (Evans & Green, 2006, p. 230) and consequently evokes different scenarios and scenes. While the word *coast* evokes the scene of strip of land which is adjacent to the sea from the perspective of someone who is in the land side the word *shore* evokes the same scene but from the perspective of someone at sea (ibid, p. 230).

However, while Evans & Green (2006) place the emphasis on lexical choices in semantically framing a situation, there are others such as Luchjenbroers & Aldridge (2007) who place the emphasis on cultural norms and information associated with a particular lexical choice. Luchjenbroers & Aldridge

(2007) define a frame as the "culturally accepted information sets surrounding every lexical term" (p. 393). In fact, the cultural norms are more related to what is known in discourse studies as **discourse/semantic prosody**, which relate to the evaluative meaning (connotation) a particular word such as *absolutely* gains from its preference to occur in particular contexts, e.g. the recurrent positive meaning of *absolutely* in phrases such as *he is absolutely right* (Tao, 2007). More exactly, *discourse/semantic prosody* refers to the idea that a particular word or phrase which usually appears in negative contexts will evoke a negative connotation and vice versa (Partington, 1998, p. 68). Repeated "patterns show that evaluative meanings are not merely personal and idiosyncratic, but widely shared in a discourse community. A word, phrase or construction may trigger a cultural stereotype" (Stubbs, 2001, p. 215).

Although Luchjenbroers & Aldridge's (2007) definition of *frame* stresses the importance of this type of usage information, it is not sufficiently accurate. A more exact definition of a **frame** is that it is a "schematisation of experience (a knowledge structure), which is represented at the conceptual level and held in long-term memory" (Evans, 2007, p. 85) including the regular semantic connotation and context of occurrence. Chilton (2004) has referred to this in his definition of frames as 'conceptual semantic situations':

> These "situations involve 'slots' for entities (animate and inanimate, abstract and concrete, human and non-human), times, places, with relationships to one another and having properties. The properties include cultural knowledge about such things as status, value, physical make-up. Certain properties specify prototypical roles in relation to other entities - for example whether a participant entity is acting as an agent, on the receiving end of action, experiencing a sensation, and the like. For example, the meaning of the verb *kill, murder, assassinate, execute* can be defined in terms of stored mental frames in which different types of actor fill the agent and the victim roles, the killing is legal or not legal, and other kinds of social and political background is involved" (Chilton, 2004, p. 51).

In this sense, framing, as a linguistic behaviour, would be the inclusion of a word or concept inside a particular frame e.g. an iPad is an electronic device, however it is not a phone nor a computer. The iPad is framed within electronics but distanced from the frame of phones and that of computers. It is notable that

frames and image schemas can be cognitively evoked through discourse even when referred to in a negative way as in *Do not think of an elephant*: the image of an elephant is still mentally evoked (Lakoff, 2004, p. 3), and probably that of a zoo or trees as associated scenes in the frame. In fact, the meaning of a word is related to the frame it belongs to in reality or through context (Lakoff, 2004, p. 4) e.g. terrorist.

In relation to framing**, metaphors** are crucial**.** A metaphor is a conceptual representation that is linguistically manifested or realised in an indirect or shifted way, e.g. *I see what you mean* and *I can see your idea* are linguistic realisations of the metaphor UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING. Charteris-Black (2004) classified metaphors as words that cause semantic tension in one of three ways (linguistic criteria) (p. 21):

1. **Reifications**: to refer to something that is abstract using a word or phrase that in other contexts refers to something that is concrete.
2. **Personification**: to refer to something that is inanimate using a word or phrase that in other contexts refers to something that is animate.
3. **Depersonification**: to refer to something that is animate using a word or phrase that in other contexts refers to something that is inanimate.

The phrase *She broke her silence* is an example of **reifications**, *the computer let me down* is an example of **personification**, and finally, **depersonification** as in *his mind is a calculator*. In general, it can be said that metaphor is a 'linguistic representation' that arises from a shift in the use of a word from its normal context or domain, where it is usually expected to occur, to a context or domain where it is not expected to occur and hence causes semantic tension (Charteris-Black, 2004, p. 21). For example, while the word *attacked* in the sentence *The boss attacked her dress* represents a scene of aggressive arguing, this scene arose from a shift in the use of the word *attacked* from its regular context of battling to appear in the context of arguments/disputes to evoke the conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS BATTLING (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980).

2.8.4 Metaphors versus metonymies

CMT (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980) proposes that language reflects mappings between abstract and concrete conceptual domains which give rise to conceptual metaphors. However, the idea of target and source 'domains' was replaced by Grady (1997) with the claim that metaphors emerge out of a mapping between source and target concepts rather than complete domains. In this research, I adopt the latter version, which is a mapping between source and target concepts rather than complete domains of experience, e.g. the domains of VISUAL PERCEPTION and COMPREHENSION nor a shift between concrete and abstract meanings. Spelling out the source SEEING and the target concept UNDERSTANDING from a particular conceptual structure in discourse, i.e. UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING, is a cognitive explication of language production which is important in making the proper analysis of pragmatic inferences from discourse structure in CDA possible (Charteris-Black, 2004), i.e. ascertaining the intended meaning of a particular form of discourse.

In fact, conceptualisation, as "the construction of the mental representation" (Hart, 2010, p. 183), is not a feature of metaphor alone but also of other lexical processes like metonymy. The CMT "explains how people make sense of a wide range of linguistic phenomena not simply metaphorical expressions" (Gibbs, 1994, p. 263). Like metaphors, metonymies are grounded in our experience and can "structure not just our language but our thought, attitudes, and actions" (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 39). They emerge out of a close correlation between two aspects of real-world experience and involve mapping within the same cognitive domain rather than between different domains. However, unlike conceptual metaphors where the conceptual cognitive link/mechanism is that A is understood in terms of B, e.g. UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING, in metonymy X stands for Y, e.g. The Company stands for its executive employees.

Metonymy "is a cognitive process in which one conceptual entity, the vehicle, provides mental access to another conceptual entity, the target, within the same domain, or ICM" (Kövecses & Gunter, 1998, p. 39). ICM stands for the

idealised cognitive models shared in a community and is important in meaning construction (Lakoff, 1987, p. 70), for example, *Muslim's /Mormon's cognitive model of second wife in polygamy* versus *the liberal/ feminist model that does not include polygamy.*

Metonymy is motivated by a discourse communicative and referential need to activate and thus highlight a particular target (Evans & Green, pp. 311-12) as in *She got the Company's approval.* In this example, the WHOLE INSTITUTION *Company* stands for a PART OF IT**,** specifically the *authorised personnel*. For further discussion of the topic and many other examples see (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Kövecses & Gunter, 1998; Barcelona, 2003; Blanco-Carrión, et al., 2018). Many examples are conventional and would be hardly noticed in real life discourse and communication. Therefore, explaining cognitive mechanisms and experiential commonalities that underlie these expressions can help in uncovering the intended/pragmatic meaning of discourse and hence rigorously inform CDA.

2.9   Cognitive semantics in CDA.

Conceptual Framing (CF) (Fillmore, 1975) emphasised that what discourse analysis has to consider is the process of unpacking mental spaces through the discourse comprehension process (p. 124). Conceptual metonymy constitutes a key feature of the way people communicate and underlies a number of the cognitive operations (mechanisms) which people employ to make and retrieve inferences from each other's discourse (Gibbs, 1994, p. 321). For example, the use of the phrase *the illegals* in reference to non-European immigrants exhibits a metonymy where the immigrants' status stands for them, this is called in the RSA model classification. Conceptual metaphor, on the other hand, is 'fundamental to how' someone 'expresses' her/himself; "with metaphor we illustrate how we conceive of the world and our roles in it", therefore metaphor can reveal personal attitudes and beliefs (Luchjenbroers & Aldridge, 2007, p. 344), e.g. *they are at a crossroad in their relationship.*

Likewise, whether we call someone a *freedom fighter* a *rebel* or *terrorist* is a lexical choice that is very much dependent on our opinion of such a person, and

this opinion is in turn dependent on our ideological and social attitudes towards the group s/he belongs to (van Dijk, 2000). Lakoff (1996) argues that the way we use language is dependent on our conceptual systems which are in turn dependent on our particular values and cognitive models (ideology). Hence, it can be said that most of the language we use represents our communicative-pragmatic perspective (intended purposes)[13].

To CDA, these ideological conceptualisations are of great importance in the analysis of discourse. For example, the ideological positioning of identities in discourse represents a deictic and pragmatic model of a 'discourse world'[14] (Chilton 2004) and communication: 'discourse world' refers to the mental space entertained by the speaker or the utterer as 'real' (p. 53), i.e. the speaker/writer's (discourse producer's) ideology or perspective presented in the linguistic structure. This can be described as an approach to the 'indexicality' of discourse – where 'indexicality' means "one's choice of language" "e.g. choosing to speak a particular language; regional accent or words associated with particular ideologies rather than others or choosing a form of address e.g. pronouns that express distance or solidarity" (Chilton, 2004, p. 201) e.g. *these Muslim women* versus *British (Muslim) women*.

In relation to the representation of MWs in the British press, I argue in this research that media language is an influential political aspect in the 'legitimisation of coercive change' (Chilton, 2004, p. 46) and a reflection of the 'social order' of power in human societies, e.g. *veiled women are not integrated* (see 3.4.5).

Metaphors convey our daily thoughts in interaction in an unconscious and unnoticeable way (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Therefore, the investigation of such conceptual patterns in discourse (language use) can lead to important findings and intriguing hypotheses about the nature of 'cognition and mental experience' (Grady, 1997, p. 268) which could in turn assist the study of pragmatics in CDA.

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[13] Charteris-Black (2014) call these rhetorical purposes.
[14] The concept is based on Werth's (1999) concept of a discourse 'text world' which is derived from *cognitive psychology of mental spaces.*

It has been suggested, on the basis of linguistic evidence, "that most of our ordinary conceptual system is metaphorical in nature" (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 4), so discourse, in general, is no exception as it is filled with numerous conceptual/metaphorical features that have been found to have evaluative meanings (Maalej, 2007, pp. 132-34). In fact, cognitive semantics has already proved illuminative in earlier studies of discourse about metaphors in the gulf war politics (Lakoff, 1990), language and gender in the Australian press (Luchjenbroers, 1995), metaphors in the cold war (Chilton, 1996), metaphors in the American public discourse about immigrants (Santa Anna, 1999; Santa Anna, 2002), metaphors about asylum seekers in the Australian press (El-Refaie, 2001), metaphors about asylum seekers in the British media (Hart, 2007). It was also utilised in corpus-assisted CDA studies of the use of metaphors in 1) religious and social discourse (Charteris-Black, 2004 & 2006) and 2) business media discourse (Koller, 2004) (see also 3.2).

However, while cognitive semantics provides a distinctive account of how metaphors are 'understood' it "conceals a dimension of metaphor that is revealed by Critical Discourse Analysis; this is the way that metaphor selection in a particular type of discourse is governed by a rhetorical aim of *persuasion*. In many cases, therefore, metaphor choice is motivated by ideology" (Charteris-Black, 2004, p. 247). The importance of CDA here is that it places emphasis on meaning construction within the surrounding discourse, as recent research in cognitive semantics highlights; cf. 'contextual modulation' in Evans (2009). For example, the meaning of France in *France won the rugby game* can be inferred from the reminder of discourse to denote metonymically the French rugby team rather than the whole country, using the cognitive mechanism THE WHOLE STANDS FOR PART. The emphasis in CDA, described above, signals a shift towards the inclusion of discourse and ideology (mental models of events, see 2.3.1) in the study of cognitive semantics. Indeed, there is a mutual need for cognitive semantics, particularly CMT, and CDA to join together in the critical study of discourse meaning (cf. Charteris-Black, 2004; Maalej, 2007; Semino, 2008; Otaif, 2015).

For example, Musolff (2007) analysed three types of texts from different chronological periods (eras), examining the claim that an analyst can trace the 'life-cycle' of the conceptual metaphor *body politic*, which he described as a 'futile' task. Nevertheless, he argues that it could be achieved through combining cognitive semantics, conceptual history and discourse analysis, with the investigation of conceptual mappings, scenarios, the semantic elements and finally the argumentative functions in each chronological era. Musolff concluded that the evaluation of the continuities and discontinuities of such metaphoric discourse patterns should be socio-culturally and discourse analysis-dependent to enable critical reflection on them (pp. 20-21). What is interesting in this work is that it listed several variations in the associated scenarios and socio-political motivations that lie behind each use of the *body politic* metaphor, leading to a final call for integrating the conceptual history of particular metaphors in different discourses with cognitive semantics in CDA. This highlights the need for at least a partial account in CDA of the cumulative use and discourse preference for particular lexical choices over others, besides stressing the importance of the scenarios associated within a particular discourse. In a similar way, the current research will trace, with the help of corpus linguistic methods (see 2.10), the conceptual nature of the discourse using the term MW(s) in the British press from Jan 1992 to Feb 2014, through which the main diachronic variations can be identified and analysed in ways that previous CDA research on the topic was not able to do. For example, Al-Hejin (2012) stated that he found words like *Washington* difficult to classify; while it refers primarily to a geographical place (city), it was also used to refer to the US government as social actor; however he chose to consider both senses as geographical in his analysis of the main keywords (p. 79). In cognitive CDA, similar words are important in the analysis but, following cognitive semantics, are considered as instances of conceptual metonymy (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980); A PLACE STANDS FOR POLITICAL INSTITUTION ASSOCIATED WITH THAT PLACE i.e. *Washington* which is a feature of language that underlies a cognitive mechanism of using one entity to refer to another. The two entities share some kind of association

(physical/causal) which is driven by communicative need or discourse referential purpose (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 35). The word *Washington* also underlies a metaphorical meaning such as POLITICAL INSTITUTION (INANIMATE ENTITY) IS PERSON/PEOPLE (ANIMATE ENTITY) as in *Washington refused to comment*. This example shows two of the analytical concepts through which cognitive semantics can complement CDA in this research.

Thus far, I have discussed the analytical concepts that will be utilised from cognitive semantics; now, I will turn to those tools taken from Corpus Linguistics and used in the current CDA.

2.10 Corpus linguistics as a CDA methodology

In previous sections, I have outlined the main theoretical and conceptual approaches that will be utilised in this research. Now, I will discuss corpus linguistics as a methodology and why corpus and cognitive linguistics are needed to complement CDA. In fact, there was a recognition of the merits of corpus linguistic tools in CDA both early in (Widdowson, 2004; Koller & Mautner, 2004) and recently in (Baker, 2006; Baker, et al., 2008). In brief, while Widdowson (2004) and Koller and Mautner (2004) noted that corpus linguistic tools can help the analyst automate the selection of samples for analysis, others (Baker, 2006; Baker, et al., 2008) have shown that they help in uncovering common patterns in the corpus as well as providing an opportunity to analyse a more representative sample of text from which generalisations can be made. It "is probably fair to say that over the past fifteen years corpus-based methods have established themselves as the major empirical paradigm in linguistics" (Stefanowitsch & Gries, 2006, p. 1). In particular, Biber, Connor, & Upton (2007) have documented a recent trend among linguists to integrate corpus linguistics into the practice of discourse analysis (p. 239). Corpus linguistics is a term best defined as the study of language based on examples of real-life language use (McEnery & Wilson, 1996). A **corpus** is defined as "a collection of naturally-occurring language text, chosen to characterise a state or variety of a language" (Sinclair, 1991, p. 171) usually in electronic format analysed through software

such as *WordSmith₆ Tools*. **WordSmith₆ Tools** (WordSmith₆, henceforth) (Scott, 2000) is a famous corpus search engine that is used to assist in obtaining linguistic information from a corpus. In the current research, my corpus consists of British newspaper articles about MWs (see section 4.2).

WordSmith₆ is invaluable in uncovering commonalities in the concordance, linguistic *collocations, keywords*, and *clusters* (recurrent three-word sequences) and other patterns in a text (Baker, 2006).

Obtaining a **concordance** is often the first stage in the analysis: it is "simply a word list of all of the occurrences of a particular search term in a corpus, presented within the context that they occur in; usually a few words to the left and right of the search term" (Baker, 2006, p. 71). The **concordance** is often described as 'key words in context' or *KWIC* (Sinclair, 1991; Stubbs, 2001; Teubert & Cermakova, 2004). It is a 'basic tool' employed in the method abbreviated as 'search, find, and display', which is used for observing linguistic patterns in a particular corpus (Stubbs, 2001, p. 61) i.e. the BPC about MWs.

Collocations can be defined as a statistically significant tendency of two words to occur in close proximity to each other in discourse. Collocations "can be dramatic and interesting because unexpected, or they can be important in the lexical structure of the language because of being frequently repeated" (Sinclair, 1991, p. 170), e.g. *a cup of tea, women are oppressed,* etc. When looking for "a word's collocations, the significance of the co-occurrence frequency of that word and everything that appears near it once or more in the corpus" is tested (McEnery & Hardie, 2012, p. 51); the statistical standard in corpus linguistics for what counts as a significant collocational bond or relationship will be discussed later in 4.3.

Corpus software, such as WordSmith₆ (Scott, 2000), can usually display and count occurrences of collocates with a word of interest (called the *node*) e.g. in our study *Muslim woman*. Collocates appear within a span of words, usually four to five words to each side of the node, i.e. the **collocational span**. In discourse analysis, collocations are illuminative as they can be "idioms of encoding the speaker's/writer's message and are individually learned'' (Cruse, 2000, p. 76). In fact, "repeated instances of collocation across a corpus provide

objective, empirical evidence of evaluative meanings" (Stubbs, 2001, p. 215) and semantic/discourse prosody (Louw, 1993, p. 157; Partington, 1998, p. 68) which can "express the speaker attitude" (Stubbs, 2001, p. 65) e.g. *her dress <u>instigated</u> the debate*.

Semantic (discourse) prosody (Sinclair, 1991, pp. 74-75) is an analytical concept that is of mutual interest in corpus linguistics and CDA studies (Koller & Mautner, 2004, p. 222), it refers to the "consistent aura of meanings with which a form [e.g. absolutely] is imbued by its collocates [e.g. right]" (Louw 1993, p. 157) as in s*he is absolutely right* (Tao, 2007).

Keywords, on the other hand, are the most used words in a corpus and are identified by contrasting its wordlist to that of another reference corpus (Baker, 2006, p. 125). Keywords are identified based on statistical tests of significance (see Section 4.3) and are regarded as indicators of the authors' conscious repeated choices rather than occurring by chance (ibid). In CDA, keywords are very important as they reveal the recurrently included or excluded themes or "significant absences" (Al-Hejin, 2012, p. 17) from a discourse. It is commonly believed that a corpus-based CDA is about what the corpus include such as how a particular social actor or an issue is described and presented e.g. *The first Muslim woman to be charged with terrorism*. Nevertheless, CDA is a critical approach that also takes into account what is excluded from the corpus such as significant absence i.e. what does not occur in the corpus e.g. *the third Muslim woman to be designated as a prime minister in her country, the first Muslim woman judge in Britain is a white British judge who converted to Islam recently*, etc.

Overall, the use of these tools can both assist qualitative analysis and provide quantitative data on occurrences of lexical choices and patterns in large texts. Hence, it can help the analyst explore the linguistic patterns, expressions, collocations and semantic associations in discourse besides providing the frequency of each occurrence and some other features, all drawn from real language use (Baker, 2006).

2.10.1 Corpus approaches and discourse structure

Corpus-based studies suggest "ways to understand the impact of language use on language structure" (Tao, 2007, p. 5) and ''discover patterns of lexical co-occurrences'' which are sensitive to the writer's 'intended message' (Schönefeld, 2001, p. 227) at the microstructure level of discourse, e.g. sentence-level. However, "discourses are in principle characterised by an overall meaning or macrostructure that formalizes the theme or topic of the discourse as a whole. Such a macrostructure may often be expressed by titles or headlines, or by initial thematic or final summarizing sentences...... Without a semantic macrostructure, even a fragmentary one, there is no overall coherence and hence no point to the discourse'' (van Dijk, 1985, p. 107). Headlines are a macro-discourse level structure that was found to be a key means of revealing the discourse message (Alazzany, 2009).

Similar ideas were expressed in Fairclough (1995b): analysis of 'text' (spoken or written) involves linguistic analysis of vocabulary, grammar of sentences, semantics, and textual-organisation above the sentence level, "and things like organizations like the turn-taking in interviews or the overall structure of a newspaper article'' (p. 57). Hence, a critical analysis would be partial, insufficient and not reflective, if either the micro (sentence-level) or macrostructure (headlines) of the press discourse was not analysed. For this purpose, both micro- , corpus-based searches e.g. *collocations* at the sentence-level of discourse, and macro-level structures, e.g. *collocations* at the headline-level of discourse were analysed in the current research, see Figure 2-2 below & sections 4.3 and 4.4.

2.10.2 Analysis of discourse structure

In this research, I developed an approach that benefits from both the top-down 'functional' and the bottom-up 'lexical' perspectives in the analysis of the research corpus (Biber, et al., 2007). The two perspectives/approaches can also be called also *macro-level analysis* versus *micro-level analysis*. The micro-level analysis (bottom-up) will be carried through corpus-based tools such as

identifying the statistically significant keywords and collocations in each period covered by the corpus. The macro-level analysis, on the other hand, starts when 1) the corpus-based findings such as significant keywords and collocations in the headlines are categorised into inclusive semantic categories (Chapters 5 and 6) and 2) the conceptual structures are analysed through cognitive semantics so that their wider cognitive semantic associations are explicated e.g. MWs are not enslaved, see Figure 2-2 in 2-11. More details will be provided in the next chapter in 4.3 and 4.4.

2.11 Epistemic priming in CDA.

In this section, I will discuss the concept of epistemic priming, and its relation to similar concepts in other sub-fields of linguistics such as the concepts of *semantic priming* in psycholinguistics, the concept of *lexical priming* in corpus linguistics and the concept of *entrenchment* in cognitive linguistics paving the way for a thorough discussion of why I see **epistemic priming** a distinctive concept to be used in CDA studies in comparison to the former approaches.

2.11.1 Priming in linguistics

It is worth noting here that there are two common uses of the term *priming* in linguistics; these are 1) *semantic priming* in psycholinguistics studies and that of 2) *lexical priming* in corpus-based studies of discourse. As given earlier (see 1.4), I will use the term 'epistemic priming' in this research to distinguish it from 1) the limited concept of 'lexical priming' (Hoey, 2005 p. 13) in corpus-based studies of discourse and 2) the use of 'semantic priming' in psycholinguistic studies (Smith, et al., 2001; Jiang, 2002; McNamara, 2005; Smith, 2010).

First, **semantic priming**, in psycholinguistic studies such as Smith, et al., 2001; Jiang, 2002; McNamara, 2005; Smith, 2010 and others is almost the first use of the term *priming* in linguistics, it refers to the experimentally examined cognitive phenomenon where the speed of retrieving linguistic information can be influenced by previous experience (Jiang, 2002; McNamara, 2005). In other words, more semantically related (raspberry-strawberry) or recurrently

associated words (desk-school) were found to be retrieved and judged to be semantically related more quickly than other but less semantically related or associated pairs (space-flowers), see Jiang (2002). The claim in semantic priming is that "[e]ach presentation of a word causes all of the network connections participating in recognition to be altered, so as to increase the probability [and the speed] of producing the same response to the same input. This learning facilitates processing of the word if it reappears but also facilitates processing of words with similar representations (e.g., a semantically related target). Learning decays very slowly and is permanent unless undone by additional learning" (McNamara, 2005, p. 31).

It is worth noting here that though semantic priming is a cognitive phenomenon that is "caused by incremental learning" (ibid) of co-occurrence, yet, it is not suitable to be used in our textual CDA research as it is specifically concerned with examining the previous experience effect on memory and its speed of retrieving information in tight experimental settings which is beyond the scope of the investigation of our current textual CDA research.

Second, **lexical priming -** as raised in Chapter One - is a theory of the linguistic behaviour of words in close lexical co-occurrence in discourse - beyond the collocational level of co-occurrence (Sinclair, 1991)-. Lexical priming claims that lexical items are primed through recurrent co-occurrence to appear in particular discourses with particular connotations and avoid others. Though the theory has improved our understanding of corpus linguistics' notions such as 1) **semantic prosody** and 2) **semantic associations** in texts, yet it is limited in the sense that it only accounts for close lexical co-occurrences.

First, in relation to semantic prosody, the concept of **semantic/ discourse prosody** was first introduced by Louw (1993) before it became commonly "attributed" to Sinclair (1991) who "developed the concept in later work e.g. (Sinclair, 2004)" (Hunston, 2007, p. 249). While Louw`s (1993) focus was on the evaluative meaning and semantic associations that result from the collocational level of recurrence (see 2.10 above), Sinclair's (1991; 2004) view was more encompassing to include the role of recurrent discourse functions in building the

prosody or evaluative/attitudinal meaning (Hunston, 2007) in the text. These two related but different uses of the term *semantic prosody* led to confusing uses of the terms among practitioners in corpus-based studies of discourse, (see the discussion in Hoey, 2005; Hunston, 2007; Stewart, 2010).

For example, Hoey (2005, p. 23) noticed the problematic use of the term *semantic prosody* in corpus-based studies of discourse; he described *semantic prosody* as 'inappropriate' term and replaced it with the term 'semantic associations'. Hoey (2005, p. 24) defined **semantic associations** as a phenomenon that "exists when a word or word sequence is associated in the mind of a language user with a semantic set or class, some members of which are also collocates for that user"; his "reason for not using Sinclair's term [i.e. semantic prosody] is that one of the central features of priming is that it leads to a psychological preference on the part of the language user" (Hoey, 2005, p. 24) rather than merely existing in the text.

In a similar way, Stewart (2010, p. 156) critically studied the notion of semantic prosody in corpus-based studies of discourse to conclude that a theory of semantic associations such as lexical priming (Hoey, 2005) would be more comprehensive and inclusive of the different semantic associations that can result from either the collocational or other forms of lexical co-occurrence in discourse.

> It is my view, that, we can take these characteristics of priming [i.e. lexical priming of Hoey (2005)] and apply them, to a degree, to the various descriptions of semantic prosody. In other words, we could posit that all items, whether words or word sequences, have prosodic features which may combine with each other across stretches of discourse to produce functionally complete utterances. The pragmatic element which is so crucial to semantic prosody would thus be expressed over longer stretches of discourse than has previously been envisaged. Of course just how long those stretches of discourse might be remains an open question, which subsequent investigations in corpus linguistics will help to answer. (Stewart, 2010, p. 156)

It is apparent that though Stewart (2010) sees lexical priming as a more comprehensive theory to account for the evaluative/ attitudinal meaning in the text, he remains uncertain about what could be the nature and the length of the stretches of discourse that can contribute to the pragmatic meaning. As raised earlier in Chapter One (in 1.3 and 1.4), this ambiguity and limitedness of the

existing terms in the field such as *semantic priming* and *lexical priming* is one of the reasons, why I devised the term '**epistemic priming'**. I devised the term '**epistemic priming'** in the model given in Figure 2-2 below to refer to variant types of 'primings' (Hoey, 2005) of word meaning (semantic and pragmatic) that appear recurrently occupying the same 'semantic slots' (Chilton, 2004, p. 51) in discourse with a particular pragmatic meaning but in variant lexical and grammatical forms. For example, in the sentences *Suzan was oppressed (patient/object), Suzan's disputes forced her to resign (patient/agent)* and *Suzan is unhappy in her plight (subject),* Suzan, whether agent/patient/object/subject has usually occupied the 'semantic slot' of a weak object/patient in the frame evoked by each example.
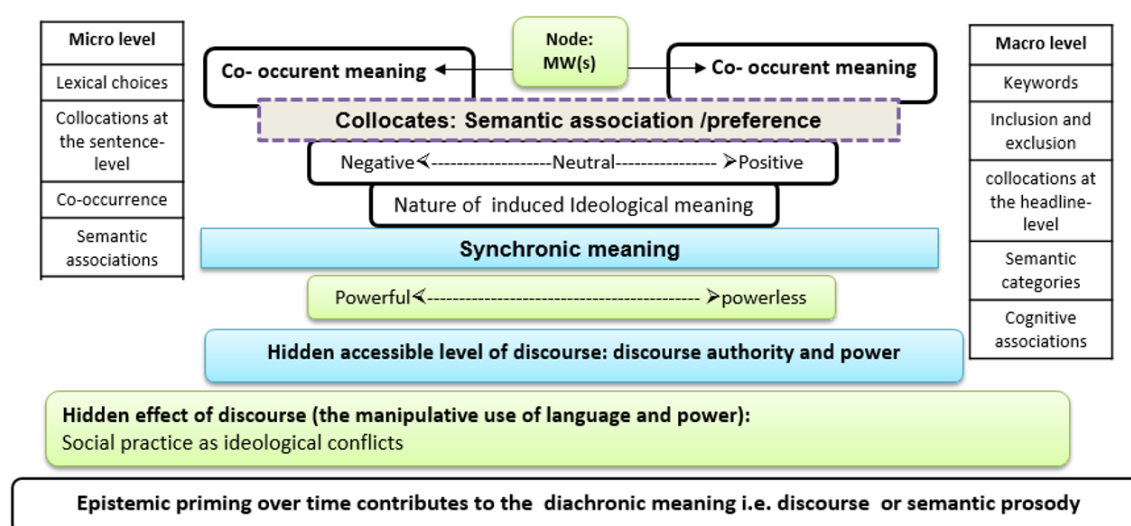
Figure 2-2 Epistemic priming model in CDA

Therefore, unlike Hoey (2005) who claims that priming of words, occurring in particular discourse with particular words and semantic/pragmatic meaning, is a lexical phenomenon of close co-occurrence (Hoey, 2005, pp. 9-13), I argue in this research that it is rather a feature of repeated co-occurrences and cognitive semantic associations made in/through discourse. The model in Figure 2-2 above aims to incorporate corpus and cognitive semantics in a CDA of how the use of MWs has varied and changed over time in the British press discourse.

In fact, Hoey (2005) noted that there could be "semantic associations that on the basis of corpus evidence do not have corresponding collocations" and labelled them 'general semantic associations'; he went further to attribute their infrequency to their sensitivity to a particular domain or user (p. 22). For example, certain collocates have been found to 'reveal our stereotypical knowledge of the real world but do not correspond to (or collocate in) the actual usage of language' (Stubbs, 2001). For example, *kick* and *foot* were found very rarely to occur together as 'they have no need to' (Stubbs, 2001, p. 119). Since it became established through experience and cognition that they are semantically and functionally related (or epistemically primed), it is part of our cognition that someone *kicks* with his/her *foot* and *foot* is used for several functions one of them being to *kick* something; e.g 1- *He kicked the ball* , 2- *He kicked the door*.

Therefore, it is clear that epistemically and semantically stored information which is not lexically primed or collocational also plays a substantial role in our logical understanding of social discourse and that CDA cannot neglect its role in the analysis. This is a general feature of aspects of meaning that are part of a definition of a word's semantic meaning /components or *situations* (in Chilton`s (2004) terms)[15], and are very important in CDA research as they underlie a semantic/pragmatic presupposed meaning.

Semantic associations can also be made through using conceptual structures which can appear in different lexico-grammatical patterns as in *Muslim women are enslaved, the Islamic`veil is a barrier to integration* and *the Muslim women are forced into arranged marriages*. For these types of conceptual structures, CDA analysts need to utilise theories and analytical concepts from cognitive linguistics (discussed in 2.8) in order to spell out the underlying semantic and pragmatic meaning in discourse of these and other similar conceptual structures.

In this vein, after reviewing the discourse studies that have incorporated cognitive semantics in studying media discourse (cf. Lakoff, 1990; Luchjenbroers, 1995, Chilton, 1996, 2004, 2005b ; Santa Anna, 1999 & 2002; El-Refaie, 2001;

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[15] see Section 2.8.3

Charteris-Black, 2004, 2006 & 2014; Hart, 2007, 2010, 2013; Maalej, 2007; Musolff, 2007; Semino, 2008; Koller, 2004, 2006 & 2012) and corpus-based studies of Muslim women (MWs) in media and the press (Al-Hejin, 2012; Baker et al., 2013), it was concluded that CDA needs to incorporate both corpus linguistics and cognitive semantics into its apparatus for the study of media discourse about MWs. This incorporation has not occurred previously in CDA studies of the topic (see sections 1.2., 1.4, and 3.3). An incorporation of this kind will enable the analyst in the current research to trace which conceptual structures get 'entrenched' or - in a more accurate term- are epistemically primed and commonly shared in press discourse about MWs. The next section will talk about the appropriacy of using term *entrenchment* of conceptual structures in the current CDA research.

2.11.2 Priming and entrenchment in CDA

As raised earlier, in 2.6, 2.7 and 2.8, conceptual structures in discourse can evoke different types of semantic associations and representations that are essential to CDA as they reflect attitudes and cognitive models of thought e.g. *MWs are imprisoned in the Islamic veil*; however, documenting similar conceptual structures quantitatively is a methodological gap in cognitive CDA (Hart, 2007, p. 125). While Hart (2007) has shown, partially, how cognitive semantics can be useful to CDA in revealing social inequality represented in conceptual structures such as *flood of asylum seekers* where the frame of natural disaster/danger is activated to talk about immigrants, he pointed to the need for a quantitative apparatus to account for the 'entrenchment' (spread) of similar conceptual structures in elite discourse; see Figure 2-3 below.

> since entrenchment depends in part on conventionality of usage, a complete and lucid framework requires quantitative analysis across different discourse genres in order to determine which linguistic structures are used conventionally in elite discourses and, by implication, which conceptual structures are most likely to be(come) entrenched (Hart, 2007, p. 125).
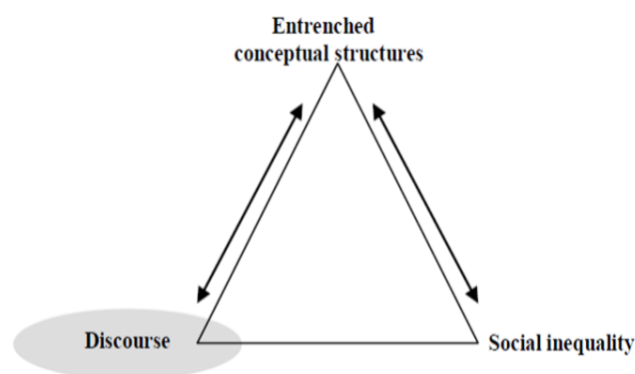
Figure 2-3 Model for conceptualisation in CDA (Hart, 2007)

This methodological shortcoming in cognitive CDA, i.e. its inability to trace quantitatively which conceptual structures gets 'entrenched' in elite discourse (Hart, 2007), could be attributed to the fact that cognitive linguists were rather late in discovering the merits of both CDA (Charteris-Black, 2004) and corpus linguistics (Grice & Stefanowitsch, 2006). However, it is worth stressing here that Hart`s (2007 & 2010) use of the term 'entrenchment' is bound within his cognitive CDA approach i.e. to trace which conceptual structures have spread or are being recurrently used in elite discourse. This means that Hart (2007) has chosen a different use of the term entrenchment in comparison to its original use, as first introduced by Langacker (1987). Langacker (1987) used the term **entrenchment –** which is a theoretical construct from cognitive linguistics - to denote the process through which a linguistic structure has been recurrently used before it becomes a salient/ fossilised unit of the cognitive grammar (Langacker, 1987) of a particular speaker (Stefanowitsch & Flach, 2017). In this vein, it is worth stressing here, that unlike CDA, cognitive grammar (Langacker, 1987; 2008) is not a critical theory of language use as social practice, as we will discuss in detail a few lines later, (cf. Schmid, 2017; Stefanowitsch & Flach, 2017; Geeraerts, 2017).

Nevertheless, an example of the methodological need for quantitative apparatus beside cognitive semantics in CDA – as raised by Hart (2007) above - is apparent in explaining the cognitive framing in the metaphoric collocation *tax relief* below, where *tax* collocates with *relief* reflecting the conceptual metaphor of TAXATION IS AN AFFLICTION:

> When the word tax is added to relief, the result is a metaphor: Taxation is an affliction. And the person who takes it away is a hero, and anyone who tries to stop him is a bad guy. This is a frame. It is made up of ideas, like affliction and hero. The language that evokes the frame comes out of the White House, and it goes into press release, goes to every radio station, every TV station, every newspaper. And soon the New York Times is using a tax relief. And it is not only on Fox; it is on CNN, it is on NBC, it is on every station because it is "the president`s tax-relief plan". And soon the Democrats are using tax relief— and shooting themselves in the foot. (Lakoff, 2004, p. 4)

It is clear from the quote above that the new lexical item *tax relief* evokes a particular frame or frames and gets lexically primed based on the level of power and the frequency of co-occurrence; "what started out (undoubtedly) as some individual's creative, online, conceptual achievement has become a shared, entrenched conceptualisation, presumably because the blend proved successful for some purpose, therefore arose again, and through repeated experience became conventional" (Grady, et al., 1999, p. 111) i.e. in other words, it became epistemically primed.

It is worth emphasising that cognitive linguists prefer the term 'entrenchment' to describe the recurrent and frequent uses of linguistic structures (e.g. Grady, 1999; Schmid, 2010; Schmid, 2017) which I see as a less appropriate term to be used in CDA studies, especially when we know that CDA traces the recurrent and discursive uses of lexical choices and linguistic structures in social discourse i.e. the use of language as a social practice (see 2.2.4). In this vein, Cognitive Critical Discourse analysts such as Hart (2010) argue that the 'entrenchment' of similar conceptual structures in public discourse "is a cognitive-cultural process. In its cognitive dimension, entrenchment refers to the fact that conceptual structures built up dynamically in working memory can become entrenched in longterm memory and available to be activated all at once (Fauconnier and Turner 2002: 103). In its cultural dimension, entrenchment refers to a diachronic process of normalisation" (Hart, 2010, p. 123). Normalisation here refers to an assumed 'manipulative' effect on the public or some social groups that can emerge from the recurrent – socio-political rather than cultural - use of a particular conceptual structure through discourse such as the discussed

normalisation of the conceptual structure TAXATION IS AN AFFLICTION, as given above.

Nevertheless, it is important to stress here that Langacker's (1987) concept of entrenchment is mainly cognitive rather than socio-cognitive one. In this regard, Geeraerts (2017, p. 153) states that:

> entrenchment is introduced as a primarily cognitive phenomenon, but that process assumes a sociocommunicative environment that is the product of a historical evolution [if so] then, an adequate treatment of entrenchment should embrace the social dimensions of language use, rather than relegating them to the background in favor of a dominant focus on psychological processes and cognitive representations.

Therefore, the use of *entrenchment* in cognitive CDA – as used by Hart (2007; 2010)- is inappropriate especially if we know that he claims that conceptual structures may have been already 'entrenched' in the social discourse and the remaining problem is to find an apparatus that can quantitatively identify them and analyse them in elite discourse (Hart, 2007). Despite the call that Hart (2007) made for quantitatively analysing which conceptual structures gets 'entrenched' in elite discourse, Cognitive CDA, needs first to operationalise the concept of entrenchment in CDA through reaching a theoretical definition that can turn entrenchment - which Langacker (2008, p. 230) described as "hard to measure"- into something measurable and identifiable in corpus-based studies of discourse; i.e. similar to Hoey`s (2004; 2005) attempts to operationalise the concept of lexical priming. This difficulty can be noticed in Stefanowitsch and Flach`s (2017) recent attempt to provide a corpus-based perspective of *entrenchment*.

Another problem with using the concept of *entrenchment* in CDA research is that conceptual structures are only one form of many other variant linguistic structures through which semantic associations and representations can be made in social discourse e.g. *MWs are not integrated, MWs are imprisoned in their veils, MWs should remove their veils*, and many others. Similar recurrent cognitive representations and semantic associations can form a consistent aura of meanings conveyed through different/ various linguistic (lexico-grammatical) choices in discourse as in the examples given at the previous section (2.11.1) where <u>Suzan</u> whether agent/patient/object/subject has usually occupied the 'semantic slot' of

a weak object/patient in the frame evoked by each example.

In this regard, I argue, in the current research, that based on the theory of lexical priming (Hoey 2005) and the analytical concepts of cognitive linguistics (given in 2.8 and 2.9), epistemic priming can account for the recurrent meaning in the text including which structures and semantic associations are recurrently used or co-occur with MWs in the BPC discourse.

2.11.3 Epistemic priming in discourse

It is worth noting here that what I call **epistemic priming** is not a one-step process, it is rather an ongoing dynamic process of meaning interaction and construction:

> [e]very time we use a word, and every time we encounter it anew, the experience either reinforces the priming by confirming an existing association between the word and its co-texts and contexts, or it weakens [crack (deprime)] the priming, if the encounter introduces the word in an unfamiliar context or co-text or if we have chosen to override its current priming (Hoey, 2005, p. 9), e.g. *cup of coffee* versus *glass of coffee*.

According to theories of discourse and communications, framing happens first and then priming; framing along with priming are essential concepts in manufacturing public discourse (Scheufele & David, 2007). For example, *Tax* is a word that comes from the frame of the modern economic system, and when it is made to collocate with the word *relief*, which comes from a totally different frame i.e *health care*, it finally results in a collocation with a distinctive positive semantic frame *tax relief* and the conceptual metaphor of TAXATION IS AN AFFLICTION (see 2.11.2 above). The expression *tax relief* became a collocation which is introduced in powerful discourse such as the media and government discourse written for the public, so as to achieve a greater level of 'semantic prosody'[16] (Sinclair, 2004; Partington ‹1998) and consequently epistemic priming as its new frame and conceptual structure are more likely to get primed in discourse and probably in the minds of the public[17]. The more frequently the expression is repeated and the more powerful it is, the stronger its cognitive semantic and

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[16] Which Hoey (2003) has reformulated to semantic association.
[17] See the discussion of TAXATION IS AN AFFLICTION in 2.11.2

social effect may become, affecting for example decision making and manufacturing the public consent, spreading stereotypes, etc. As mentioned earlier, Stubbs (2001) has stressed that repeated patterns are evaluative and socially shared as well as reflecting or triggering a cultural stereotype in a discourse community (p. 215), e.g. *Muslim women are oppressed*, see also *frame* and *framing* in 2.8.3.

Therefore, there is always a need for a cognitive account beside the corpus linguistic one to explicate the semantic behaviour and lexical priming in CDA. Baker (2010) compared keywords in British broadsheet and tabloid newspaper discourse 1999-2005 about Muslims and found that there is a type of lexical priming of terms like *terrorism.* However, he stated that corpus analysts should incorporate a cognitive approach in their corpus CDA to explicate the lexical priming phenomenon found (Baker, 2010, p. 333) which is essential to discursivity in CDA (see 2.2.4). In the current research, I adopt theories from cognitive linguistics to help me in analysing and explaining the different types of epistemic primings found in the BPC discourse about MWs.

Although it is argued that "priming is linguistic'' and "offers a way forward for critical discourse analysis" (Hoey, 2004, p. 410), very few 'priming' discourse studies have as yet been carried out (e.g. Tao, 2007; Pace-Sigge, 2013). The importance of priming to CDA is that it can create a kind of effect called *subversion*:

> Subversion can be found in a subliminal, sub-conscious psychological concept: namely that repeat-use reinforces an idea of an occurrence pattern that seems natural. This 'repeat occurrence' acts to prime one's mind to make automatic connections [semantic associations through repeated co-occurrence in the fame of extremism for example]. Priming can provide for sets of actions, or, in the lexical field, sets of words. So, for example, a listener, hearing the word bread will recognise words like baker, butter, knife more quickly than unrelated words like doctor, mortar, radiator (Pace-Sigge, 2013, p. 151).

The idea of subversion through recurrent semantic associations underlie the creation of mental and psychological effect which seems related to manipulation through discourse (language use as a social practice) in CDA. As

given earlier, Hoey (2005, p. 24) emphasised that "one of the central features of priming is that it leads to a psychological preference on the part of the language user" rather than merely existing in the text. This effect[18] can also happen through recurrent and 'entrenched' conceptualisations in public discourse e.g. *flood of asylum seekers* (Hart, 2007), *the floodgate is wide open for immigrants*, IMMIGRATION IS A NATURAL DISASTER (Charteris-Black, 2006, p. 568).

In sum, epistemic priming – which includes both lexical and recurrent conceptual structures and other forms of semantic associations- is an important analytical concept in the study of language use (cf. Hoey, 2004, 2005, Pace-Sigge, 2013) in public domains such as media discourse (cf. Baker, 2010) because it aims at influencing people`s perception and behaviour including their ability to judge, understand and evaluate (Greifeneder, et al., 2018), cf. (Scheufele & David, 2007). However, it is worth stressing here that CDA and lexical priming are theories of language use that do not measure the effect of language use/discourse on the public; "although a corpus description may be used to identify potential primings [in the text], only psychological experimentation can demonstrate whether the potential [effect of these primings] is realized" (Hoey & Shao, 2015) which is beyond the scope of the textual analysis of the current research.

The current research has incorporated 'epistemic priming' among the different analytical approaches described above to arrive at a more informative CDA approach to the topic, i.e. the use of the term MWs in the British press (see 1.5).

Thus far, I have reviewed and discussed the importance of cognitive semantics for the analysis of discourse and the importance of corpus linguistic tools and the notion of epistemic priming, which make these an essential part of any critical analytical study of discourse. Next, I will briefly discuss the last issue in this chapter concerning how corpus linguistics was found essential in the process of identifying metaphors in discourse.

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[18] Which Hart (2010) called the cultural normalisation of conceptual structures through discourse.

2.12 CDA and identifying conceptual structures in discourse

Metaphor identification is one of the essential tasks in any CDA that deals with the use of metaphors in discourse. In reality, in "all studies of metaphors, whether corpus-based or not, metaphors are identified and categorised based on more-or-less explicit commonsensical intuitions of the part of the researcher" (Stefanowitsch, 2006, p. 10). However, corpus linguistics has been utilised in a number of studies to assist the process of identifying metaphors in discourse (Charteris-Black, 2004; Koller, 2004), along with some other methods given in (Stefanowitsch, 2006; Pragglejaz, 2007; Semino, 2008; Deignan, 2009). In general, these approaches followed three main steps: 1) an examination of lists of either *collocates* (Charteris-Black, 2004) or *fixed lemmas* (Koller, 2004) or *expressions* such as *speed up*, *cold shoulder* (see, Deignan, 2009) that might have metaphorical meaning, 2) examining the discourse these lemmas occurred in, and other discourses, to ascertain whether the meaning in the given discourse is metaphorical and not literal, 3) and finally, explicating its use in discourse (Charteris-Black, 2004 & 2006). In this research, the searches for conceptual structures including metaphors, schemas and metonymies were usually restricted to those words that occurred as significant collocates, keywords or recurrent concordance patterns in the BPC (see 4.3- 4.4). To determine whether these words have metaphorical meaning or not, their usage and meanings were usually checked in dictionaries (LDCE, 2018), (OUP, 2018) and in the British National Corpus (BNC, 2017) e.g. liberate/emancipate women from the 'Islamic veil', etc.

3 Muslims in media discourse

In this chapter, I will review previous studies that dealt with media discourse in relation to the representation of different social actors such as asylum seekers and Muslims with special attention to CDA studies of the representation of Muslims and Muslim women in the British media and press discourse. This chapter will also give an overview of a number of the ideological themes that are thought to underlie many current representations of MWs in the British press; it will discuss the dominant stereotypes that surround the image of the Muslim women in the West and how Muslim women see themselves within different approaches to feminism. Then I will offer a way forward through presenting a contextual approach to feminism as seen by Muslim women living in the West and suggested by Bullock (2002; 2010). Lastly, the chapter will conclude with a discussion of the current controversy that surrounds the wearing of the veil by Muslim women in the West (mainly in France and Britain).

3.1 Media discourse and CDA studies

Language in use is rarely if ever neutral but seen as an "integral part of social actions" (Stubbs, 2001, p. 5); in many cases it also has 'instrumental' 'pragmatic' social functions, e.g. performing speech acts (Austin, 1962), conveying the intended pragmatic meaning implicitly (Thomas, 1995) or attempting to convert the audience to a point of view (Lakoff, 2004). The use of language in the media could, therefore, substantially contribute to shaping beliefs and "expectations about people's behaviour" (Koller, 2004, p. 178). It may either contribute towards a true understanding of other nations or negatively portray them (Meyers, 1997, p. 119; Reah, 1998, p. 54) e.g. African American women are seen as 'drug dealers' (Meyers, 1997, p. 119).

Media discourse is produced by various entities and institutions, then delivered through different social and media channels, e.g. the press, to be finally read by an audience. Different kinds of such discourse have attracted the attention of many discourse analysts and represented a challenge for them to figure out what kinds of ideological themes and impetus they promote

(Fairclough, 1995b; van Dijk, 2000; Koller, 2004 and many others). As a result, CDA was mainly concerned with representations of ethnic and cultural minorities in the press and other forms of media discourse.

3.2   CDA of the representation of immigrants in media discourse

Koller (2004), in a corpus-based study, analysed metaphors used in business media discourse. She built a corpus from news articles taken from four different business publications (Business Week, The Economist, Fortune, Financial Times) over the period 1996-2001. Each sub-corpus consisted of approximately 160,000 words (p. 44). Her approach has devised a predefined list of lemmas to identify and locate metaphors in the business discourse corpus. She found that the WAR/FIGHTING metaphors such as *takeover battle* are feminized to associate losing companies and were found in business discourse of different types but stressed that the conceptualisation of market competition could also be represented without excessive reference to aggression and antagonism; through metaphors like RACING e.g. *a number of front-runners have emerged*, which were found in a number of examples in her corpora (pp. 171-75). Koller (2004) also stressed that "implementing gender-neutral metaphors seems almost impossible in a society such as 'Western' culture, which is in large part still obsessed with gender differences" and suggested that media discourse has a role to play in challenging the dominant and harmful conceptualisations to "reduce the negative impact of metaphoric language and thought" (p. 178). In the current research, I expect to find metaphors playing a similar crucial role in constructing, challenging or reinforcing dominant and harmful conceptualisations of MWs in the BPC.

Charteris-Black (2006) analysed samples of British right-wing political and media discourse. His aim was to examine how metaphors can contribute to the creation of legitimacy in right-wing political communication on immigration. First, he carried out a lexical analysis of *immigration* and *immigrants* then searched the corpus for metaphors that are usually employed for immigration based on previous literature. After identifying metaphors, he classified them based on

their source domains, supplementing this step with an extra rhetorical analysis to identify how metaphors contribute to the legitimisation of right-wing political ideas (Charteris-Black, 2006, p. 568). It was found that metaphors such as IMMIGRATION IS A NATURAL DISASTER and BRITAIN IS A CONTAINER are pervasive in right-wing political discourse on immigration. The 'disaster' and 'container' metaphors have something in common which "is that they discourage empathy with immigrants by treating them as objects, rather than as the subjects of life stories" and in this way they exclude the human perspective that may encourage greater empathy and interest in immigrants themselves (p. 569). Both metaphors also arouse fear: "disaster metaphors arouse fears of destruction by penetration from without, while container metaphors arouse fears of a build-up of an unacceptable level of pressure from within the container leading to explosion. Penetration of the container is potentially disastrous – just as a leak in a ship can lead to it sinking" (p. 579). However, within the right-wing spectrum, it was found that the far-right discourse took a more racist stance with "metaphors that represent immigration as causing pressure from within leading to explosion of the 'national container' which can imply social violence" (p. 579). Hart (2007) further analysed a chapter from the 2005 general election manifesto of the British National Party (BNP) entitled *Immigration: A Crisis without Parallel* i.e. the far-right discourse. He found that "the entrenchment of conceptual structures" like a *flood of immigrants* as a natural disaster "equate to the spread of anti-immigration attitudes, which in democratic society facilitate social inequality through institutionalised discriminatory practices" (p. 125). Similarly, in this research, I will be tracing metaphors and conceptual structures that co-occur with the term MWs and/or represent their situation in society.

Baker et al. (2008), employing a useful 'methodological synergy', combined CDA and corpus linguistics to examine discourses about refugees and asylum seekers in the UK press. A corpus of 140 million words comprising articles related to racism and issues of asylum seekers, "taken from twelve national and three regional newspapers, as well as their Sunday editions, between 1996 and 2006", was analysed (p. 277). Findings revealed that certain

lexical choices and collocates with negative connotations dominated the discourse of asylum seekers in the British press, especially in certain historical periods. This coincides with Fairclough's (1992) assumption about discourse behaviour at 'moments of crisis' (p. 230). It was concluded that the integration of corpus linguistics into CDA can strengthen the findings of CDA research (Baker, et al., 2008, p. 297). In the current research, I have utilised tools from corpus linguistics (see section 2.10) to identify and trace common and significant features in the text of the BPC about MWs, and on the other hand, I have chosen data that spans two main moments of crisis, i.e. 9/11 and the 7/7 bombings in London.

3.3 CDA of the representation of Muslims in media discourse

Richardson (2001a) has analysed letters to the editor in a number of British newspapers. They were responses from the public to earlier newspaper articles in which Islam and Muslims were cited as 'actors'. He found that there is a 'negative othering' of Islam and Muslims which increases in letters that cite Islam as an 'interpretive factor' of social actions; this suggests that 'Islamicness' is used as an "argumentative resource in the 'derogation of 'Muslims and Muslim social actions'" in the British press (p. 164). He concluded that the negative representation of Muslims as 'others' was always socially located, in the British public sphere, and presented Muslims' presence in the UK as "an unwanted infringement of our values" which could be seen as "harmful to the wellbeing of a nation" (p. 164). Muslim violence, lack of freedom of speech and repression of women were the main themes found in discourse with a predominantly anti-Muslim rhetorical stance (ibid). It is worth noting here that The Daily Telegraph (TDT), was the newspaper most mentioned in this analysis, and I have included it in the current study.

Richardson (2001b) examined the representation of Muslims in the British broadsheet press using articles from The Independent, Financial Times, The Guardian, The Daily Telegraph, The Times and two British broadsheet Sunday newspapers (Sunday Independent and Sunday Times). His corpus included 2540 articles written between October 1997 and January 1998. The qualitative analysis

provided evidence that British Muslim communities are almost wholly absent from the news, excluded from all topics, and when they are included, it is 'predominantly' in 'negative contexts' as in the case of the Muslim women's *hijab* being referred to with linguistic choices such as "*stalking down the catwalk with bags on their heads'' ''Bags, how ghastly!*'' (p. 238). These are instances of non-conventional, i.e. 'novel', metaphors (Charteris-Black, 2004, p. 21) which would have been analysed more rigorously through cognitive semantics than simply identifying them as examples of social prejudice against the *hijab* and Muslim women. Conventional metaphors are those conceptual metaphoric instances that are commonly used and appear to be normal, e.g. *freedom of speech* where *speech* is conceptualised as something which is/might be restricted and needs to be free(d) (more discussion of metaphors were given in 2.8.3).

In relation to MWs in the British press, Richardson (2004) found that the 'subjugation' and 'repression' of Muslim women at the 'hands of their Muslim men' and 'social values' are "argumentative strategies that are used to disparage Islam" in the British press (p.89). He added that this is done through two strategies: 1) the negative terminology associated with Muslim women, e.g. *backward, un-western, illiberal*, and 2) the fallacious argument from part (Muslims) to whole (Islam), e.g. *the iniquitous position of (Muslim) women* used to represent *Islam*, or *the negative acts done by Muslim men against some Muslim women* to represent *Islam*. Furthermore, the representation of the veil (hijab) was made with the exclusion of the Islamic, and more generally the Muslim feminists', view as they prove to be problematic for the simplistic, orientalist (Said, 1978), dichotomous representation in the press of gender relations in terms of 'East vs. West' and 'Muslim vs. Modernist' (Richardson, 2004, p. 90). Richardson (2004) stressed that although biased and racial prejudices about Muslim women were recurrently found in the 'conservative press', e.g. The Daily Telegraph, they were also found in the liberal press (pp. 89-90). The current study will further investigate if this applies to our findings as well.

Brown (2006) investigated the assumption that 'misrepresentations' of Muslims have become widespread starting after 9/11. He analysed a number of media sources from the United Kingdom and France with the aim to "capture the diversity of mainstream social discourses as they were reflected in the press" (p. 297). A diverse range of topics in the British and French press before 9/11 were identified: the major themes were fanaticism, exoticism and delinquency. These themes "demonstrated that representations of Islam in the media were fluid, diverse and sophisticated before 9/11" (p. 310). In fact, they "unfolded chronologically, but exist side by side, within the context of the broader Orientalist perception of Islam that has existed in the West for centuries" (ibid). In addition, before 9/11, a critique was found of Islamophobia in society and the media (p. 310). The data of the current research extends from January 1992 to February 2014 and will investigate if similar representations are found before 9/11.

Al-Hejin (2007b) investigated the representation of the MW`s veil in BBC reports in Britain and France. The findings revealed the use of various *discursive strategies* (see 2.5) and linguistic devices in a discourse that can be seen to reinforce the image of the veil as a 'problem' and "perpetuate stereotypes of Muslim women being uneducated, unambitious and submissive" (p. 30). It was also found that there was a shift to move the veil from the discourse of 'multiculturalism' to the discourse of 'integration' in Britain (ibid). I would call this shift a change in conceptualisation of the *veil*, mediated through discourse, as will be discussed in Chapter 5.

Elgamri (2008) analysed the discourse related to Islam in three main British newspapers: The Times, The Independent and The Guardian. He found that the coverage during the period after Taliban came to power in Afghanistan in 1996 has been predominantly about persecution, violence, and harsh measures applied by Talibani militants to Afghani women. He argued that the press "scramble to associate Islam with violence and extremism" was a "key factor" behind the coverage of news related to the Taliban, though "the Afghan conflict hardly fits into general news values" (p. 160). Other themes of violence were also

identified, e.g. the Balkan war, and 9/11. Elgamri (2008, p. 214) argued that, through these themes, Islam is viewed as "a monolithic entity associated with violence, intolerance and hatred of everything Western; hence the blanket association of Muslim cultures with intolerance, anti-modernism, anti-pluralism, anti-liberalism, misogyny and patriarchalism". The analysis pointed to the use of loaded words like *Jihad*, *enforced*, *strict* and *Sharia Law* which were found to present Muslims and Islam in a negative way (p. 161). In addition, Elgamri (2008) noted that metaphor is being used "as a linguistic game to make headlines sound more sensational" (p. 160), as in the examples *Militants bring a veil down on battered Kabul* (The Times, 30/09/1996), *Women of Kabul hide behind veil of fear as Taliban banish them from the streets* (The Independent, 30/09/1996), *the veil is descending once more in Kabul* (The Times, 30/09/1996). As I signalled in chapter one and two, some contemporary CDA of press discourse about Muslims and MWs has neglected the cognitive semantic apparatus and more specifically the metaphors and metonymies found in studies like this and others such as Al-Hejin, (2012) and Baker, et al. (2013), similar conceptual structures were pointed out in these studies but left without cognitive semantic analysis. The current research aims to fill this gap in the analysis by utilising a number of analytical tools from cognitive linguistics beside CDA, as have been raised in Chapter Two.

Moore, et al. (2008) carried out three different types of analysis of British press discourse representing Muslims through the period 2000-2008, i.e. content, image and story analysis. Their content analysis was carried out on a sample of 974 news articles. They found that news coverage of stories about Islam and Muslims has increased significantly after the 9/11 and 7/7 bombings. This coverage has, however, focused "on Muslims as a threat (in relation to terrorism), a problem (in terms of differences in values) or both (Muslim extremism in general). Thus, regardless of the tone of the coverage, the contexts in which Muslims or Islam are reported tend to be negative" (p. 21).

Alazzany (2009) investigated the representations of Islam and Muslims in the discourse of the New York Times after the events of 9/11. He shed light on how certain ideological themes and stereotypes became embodied in the news in

the two years following the events. The corpus was compiled from the NYT using *Pro Quest International News Stand* then analysed qualitatively with a critical linguistic and textual combined approach. The findings revealed the use of a number of lexical choices, linguistic structures and discursive strategies to promote stereotypes and biased representations of Muslims in some cases. One limitation of this study is that it did not use any quantitative apparatus, e.g. corpus linguistic tools, to show commonalities in the text and complement its qualitative conclusions (as our study will).

In a corpus-based CDA study of British newspapers, Baker (2010) compared British broadsheet and tabloid newspapers 1999-2005. His corpus was 87 million words of newspaper articles about Islam and Muslims. He compared the key-words used in each newspaper and found evidence of a type of 'lexical priming'[19] (see sections 2.8.2 and 2.10) of terms like *terrorism*, but stated that corpus analysts should incorporate a cognitive approach into their corpus CDA to explicate the lexical priming phenomena found (p. 333). This is the meeting point between Corpus and Cognitive CDA which yields the current approach of Cognitive and Corpus–assisted CDA adopted and developed in this research. I aim in the current research to complement the corpus-based analysis with a cognitive-assisted one through identifying and quantifying the conceptual commonalities that co-occur with the lexical node *MW(s)*, as discussed in Chapter 2: Section 2.11.

Alharbi (2012) conducted a corpus-assisted CDA of the social representations of Islam, Arabs and Muslims (IAM) in two of the major Australian newspapers, The Age and The Australian. Her corpus was a four-year corpus (two years before 9/11 and two years after) from each of the newspapers above with a total number of 715,050 tokens. She compared collocates used with the lexical nodes of IAM before and after 9/11 in the Australian press to find out whether these events had affected the press discourse. It was found that in "both

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[19] The concept of lexical priming (Hoey, 2005) is about the lexical tendency of a word to co-occur recurrently with particular other words, in particular contexts with particular semantic/pragmatic meaning in discourse, and to avoid others; see Sections 2.8.2 and 2.10.

newspapers, collocations such as 'countries', 'community', 'group', 'nations', and 'world' were more frequently employed after 9/11. Such collocations may be used to separate the Muslims from the rest of the world while positioning them as the 'Other'. In addition, such references may enable writers, and hence readers, to treat all Muslims, as a homogenous group, despite the significant cultural differences among them" (Alharbi, 2012, p. 185). In the current research, I will investigate if similar references are used in the British press.

Al-Hejin (2012), in a corpus-based CDA of BBC and Arab News (AN) discourse about Muslim women, compiled corpora of 1.9 million words from the BBC website articles and 2.2 million words from AN articles. The corpus contained news articles written in the period from 2001 to 2007. The methodological approach utilised theoretical analytical elements from various approaches in CDA, e.g. the dialectical-relational approach (Fairclough, 1995a), the socio-semantic (van Leeuwen, 1996), the discourse historical approach (Wodak, 2001), as well as the socio-cognitive (van Dijk, 1998 & 2001b). The main keywords and collocations found to accompany the lexical nodes WOMAN and WOMEN in the news corpora were identified and compared with each other, through which some variations between the BBC and the Arab News (AN) discourse were identified. Hijab was found to be a node central to the representations of Muslim women in both corpora, however, it was found more prevalent in the BBC discourse with a negative discourse prosody[20] than in the Arab News. Semantic macrostructures related to conflict and crime were more prominent in the BBC discourse about MWs. In contrast, the AN discourse exhibited a wider range of positive contexts when reporting on Muslim women, e.g. achievements, education, employment, business and concerns. The researcher concluded by recommending to journalists to avoid setting up a false opposition between religion and modernity or progress, and to avoid referring to the hijab unless the news event genuinely requires its mention. In addition, he stressed that the word veil was a rather ambiguous term and more specific terms

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[20] Semantic (discourse) prosody (Sinclair, 1991, pp. 74-75), see 2.8.3 and 2.10.

e.g. niqab and headscarf..., should be used when reporting about MWs' dress so that the reader will be able to understand what form of dress is being discussed (p. 206). Nevertheless, though this CDA was claimed to be a 'comparative CDA study', it has reduced the historical and socio-political variations that underlie the analysed discourses i.e. AN versus BBC, East versus West into a largely ideological comparison. Therefore, the current research was more focused, like (Baker, et al., 2013), on the British press discourse representing and reporting about MWs.

Baker, et al (2013), in a corpus-based CDA study, also compiled a corpus of British news articles about Islam and Muslims from 1998 to 2009, i.e. the Islam UK corpus with 142,962,543 tokens, and a reference corpus about British News with 9,897,378 tokens. It was found that the year 2006 had the highest frequency of articles about Muslim women; this was attributed to the controversial story about Jack straw and the face-veil in 2006 (p. 198) (the story will be mentioned later in section 3.4.5). The words *veil, veils, wear, wearing, remove, Straw, Jack, right* and *faces* were the most frequent collocates associated with MWs at that time (ibid). However, as in Al-Hejin (2012), ambiguous use of the word *veil* in the British press was found: this "can have the effect of conflating different types of clothing together, making them appear potentially equivalent to each other" (Baker, et al., 2013, p. 204).

The most frequent representations of the veil were either as an *imposition* or *right*, rather than a demand, however, a "militant" representation that views Muslim women as 'insisting' on wearing the face veil was found more prominent in The Times, The Daily Mail, The Daily Express and in The Independent (p. 206). Controversially, while The Guardian and The Observer seem to write most about MWs as being forced into wearing the veil, "these same newspapers also write more about the right of Muslim women to wear it, or present their wearing of the veil as a choice" (ibid). Overall, the British press was found to focus on topics about veiling, gender equality and concerns that Muslims are receiving government benefits, and although these can be seen as new topics in British press discourse about Muslims, they nevertheless continue a "long-standing

trend of seeing Muslims as a problem" (Baker, et al., 2013, p. 260). In fact, British press discourse was found, with statistically significant evidence, to make more references to conflicts when reporting about Muslims and Islam than in other types of news: "the amount of conflict stories regarding Islam and Muslims looked suspiciously high" (Baker, et al., 2013, p. 258). Recommendations stressed the importance of constructing a more balanced discourse about Muslims in the British press, though it was also acknowledged that the blame for misrepresentations should not fall solely on the British press but also on the horrible events of 7/7 and 9/11 which have contributed to the increase (both in quantity and quality) of negative reporting about Muslims in the press (Baker, et al., 2013, p. 270). Though Baker, et al. (2013) have devoted only one chapter to the topic of how MWs are represented in the British press, the current research is completely devoted to this important but least researched topic.

Otaif (2015) conducted a corpus-assisted analysis of 29 news reports written in English about a quarrel court case between groups of British people in Liverpool. It addresses the metaphorical framing of a particular news event in media discourse, specifically *the British press* and the *BBC news website*, and how that contributes to the overall lexical and intertextual coherence of a discourse topic, as well as the representation of the 'other' who belongs to a minority group. Metaphors were found to have an influential effect on overall lexical coherence and can cognitively frame a news event through a macro level frame represented in the news headlines and sub-headlines (which will be considered in the macro and micro analysis of the current study). When the court case of a Muslim woman over 'verbal abuse' was dismissed for 'inconsistent evidence', the newspapers framed the event within the conceptual metaphor of ARGUMENT/PROSECUTION AS BATTLE or WAR. In fact, the 'victory' metaphor for one quarrel party (the Christian couple) over the other (the Muslim woman) dominated the reported news discourse and spread across different coherent linguistic patterns and discourse samples e.g. *the couple`s business was brought to the brink of destruction, a victory for the hard-fought and long-established British right to have a darn good argument.*

This kind of metaphorical framing in media discourse may destroy social harmony and lead to hostile attitudes towards certain groups. Evidence for this claim was found in the data where one article contained a counter conceptual discourse referring in a sarcastic way to the Christian couples and their supporters as a 'God Squad', as in the following headline: *A victory for the God squad - and a defeat for common sense*. Such description, in a media discourse, of the court decision as a *victory* constituted a biased framing – unhealthy linguistic behaviour hindering better understanding between social sub-communities. Such discourse can facilitate/constitute a form of social bias mediated through the press; it also could be seen as a form of cross-cultural pragmatics which leads to undesirable and possibly 'harmful' (Koller, 2004, p. 178) conceptualisation of social events and sub-communities. Otaif (2015) concluded that when a macro level of discourse structure such as headlines - contained a conceptual metaphor, it considerably affected the entire discourse coherence, its semantic and pragmatic meaning[21], and of course the representation of the 'other', e.g. '*losers'* and '*defeated'* versus '*winners'* and `*God squad*` (2015).

3.4   Discourse, ideology and Muslim women (the ideological scene)

After the horrific events of 9/11/2001 in New York, the ideology of Islam, including the status of Muslim women in Islam, has been questioned repeatedly in media discourse. Ahmed (2001) believes that there is 'subjugation' of Muslim women, but this is not due to religion; instead, he suggests that "there is a clear correlation between the treatment of women and Muslim self-perception, which bears upon the position of women in Islam. When Muslim society is confident and in balance, it treats women with fairness and respect; when Muslim society is threatened and feels vulnerable, it treats women with indifference and even harshness"(para. 5). Ahmed, therefore, believes that the problems of Muslim women in Afghanistan and Pakistan can be resolved through self-confidence and more education about their true Islamic heritage which gives respect and

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[21] This study was a pilot examination of parts of the methodology and claims proposed in the current research.

confidence to Muslim women. However, the nature of what is called in the press 'Muslim women' and their social status in their individual countries is far more complex than this simple generalisation. It is this complexity of the reality that the next sections now attempt to unravel.

3.4.1 Islam, women and the veil

The *niqab* (face covering except for the eyes) is thought by some to have become "a cheap and fast way to boost newspaper circulation" (Ahmad, 2010, p. 258). Several studies have also pointed to the British press use of images of Afghani women wearing a similar type of veil called the *burqa*[22] (e.g. Moore, et al., 2008; Elgamri, 2008; Al-Hejin, 2012; Baker, et al., 2013), as "symbolic of Muslim women's subjugation and oppression and Islam's inability to coexist alongside" (Ahmad, 2010, p. 255).

In the West, the word veil is 'marketable' and controversial: harem, veil, and polygamy evoke "Islam and are synonymous with female weakness and oppression" (El-Guindi, 1999, p. 10). Said (1981) argued that the "vociferously polemical orientalists" who are active mainly in the US, Britain and 'Israel' insist that there is no difference between Islam as a personal belief (religion) and the state in Muslim countries. Said (1981) went further to say that this is an irresponsible generalisation that cannot be made about religions other than Islam (p. xvi). In fact, this is a general prejudice which is still found in writings about Islam and the veil e.g. Joppke (2009). Provided one begins to separate these two - the state and the religion - the problem of violence against (Muslim) women, men and children can be appropriately addressed.

After intensive discussion of the word *veil* in English, El-Guindi (1999) has concluded that the word *veil* is used to refer to a covering of either the head (Arabic *hijab*), face (Arabic *burka* or *niqab*), or body (garment, cloak or *jilbab*) (p. 9). Wearing the veil (the hijab) is not an exclusive practice of Islam but also found in Christianity and a number of other cultures. In Christianity, the Virgin Mary

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[22] Both the *burqa* and *niqab* are often interchangeably used; while the burqa covers the whole body from head to toe (including the face), the niqab is a type of dress that covers only the face.

(peace be upon her) and the missionary Mother Teresa[23] were all veiled except for their faces, and wearing the veil is an honourable practice of nuns and Christian women in wedding ceremonies.

In Islam, the Quranic order of veiling is interpreted in one of two meanings: the *niqab* (Abu Zaid, 2005), or hijab covering the whole body except the face (Al-Albani, 2002). Al-Albani (2002) and Otaif (2011) stated that it is a problem to impose the *niqab* as the right and only interpretation of the Quranic order in *The Holy Quran* (p. 33:59). Al-Albani added that the *niqab* should be seen at most as *Sunna* but not an obligation. Sunna is a religious term used to describe a number of optional practices that prophet Mohammed or his wives and daughters followed. Sunna, in Islam, is a meritorious religious act; yet those who choose not to do it are not blamed for not doing so. Both Al-Albani (2002) and Otaif (2011) agree that the right interpretation of the Quranic order is the minimum of covering, i.e. of the head and the body excluding the face.

3.4.2 The discourse of emancipation of Muslim women

Previous literature reveals that Western elite discourse has not always been negative about Muslim women but can be described as an opportunist one, i.e. shaped to serve the western elite's arguments and interest. For example, Matar (1996) reviewed how the Western elite, mainly British Christians, during the Renaissance period adopted a positive discourse towards Muslim women in relation to their modest dress and behaviour: "reticence, obedience, frugality, modest apparel and behaviour were the characteristics of women that English and continental writers chose to see in the domain of Islam" (p. 61). Although this discourse aimed to counter the 'libertinism' of English women through presenting Muslim women as "both the foil for English women and the hoped-for model in Christendom" (p. 51), by the second half of the seventeenth century the aim was realised to be unachievable especially as the might of the Ottoman Empire began to wane and changes occurred in the role of women in England.

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[23] "Mother Teresa of Calcutta was one of the most famous Christians of the 20th century, living and working among the poorest people of India" (Rejesus, 2010).

Hence the discourse shifted towards viewing Muslim women as exemplifying 'exoticism' (p. 57).

In the post-colonial era, the western feminist discourse of lifting the veil (*niqab*) and women's emancipation in the colonised state of Egypt was seen by Arab feminists (Ahmed, 1992; El-Guindi, 1999) as a colonial discourse practice and disfavoured in the Arab world. While Ahmed (1992) placed equal blame for the status of Arab women on 'political Islamists' and colonial discursive practices, she stressed that the "discourses of colonial domination coopted the language of feminism in attacking Muslim societies" (p. 237). El-Guindi (1999) sees that "the discourse of colonialism incorporated a language of feminism and used the issue of women's position in Islamic societies as the focus of attack on these societies. Men serving the colonial administration, such as Cromer in Egypt, who ironically opposed feminism in his own country, England, espoused in the colonial context a rhetoric of feminism that attacked Egyptian men for upholding practices that degraded their women" (El-Guindi, 1999, p. 181).

An interesting case is made by Arab Muslim feminist women about the discourse of lifting the veil and the colonial era. It seems that these feminists were let down by the political imperialist and hegemonic utilisation of their feminist discourse, and that is why they suggest a feminist discourse of their own which cannot be 'utilised in an imperialist' agenda (Ahmed, 1992). They also state that the Western-feminist discourse of unveiling is not historically or methodologically grounded as it lumps together different issues, e.g. polygamy, the harem, the veil, etc., and different countries, into one discourse that equates Islam with the veil (El-Guindi, 1999).

Kabbani (1994), who is an Arab feminist living in London- and a UK citizen for several decades- has explained how an American journalist from Vanity Fair magazine interviewed her to write about Islam. When the article appeared, Kabbani (1994) was disappointed; she stressed that the article "ignored any of the important debate within Islam about the rights of women. It distorted every sentence I had uttered". She concluded that "the whole Western debate about Muslim women is a dishonest one" (Kabbani, 1994, p. ix). In this vein, the

following section will discuss how this and other schools of feminism have contributed to stigmatizing Muslim women in the West and conclude with a way forward through a contextual approach to feminism i.e. that of Bullock (2002). It is worth noting here that my critical perspective on feminism is based on the writings of many Muslim women living in the West such as Ahmed (1992), Bullock (2002; 2010) and Contractor (2012).

3.4.3 Feminism and Muslim women

Ahmed (1992) appeared usually, until a recent TV interview[24], to place modest blame on so-called 'political Islam' as an immediate factor responsible for cases of violence against women. In fact, I think that the Harvard Professor is more concerned that "the term Islam covers a very small portion of what actually takes place in the 'Islamic world' " (Said, 1981, p. xvi). It seems that Arab Muslim feminists themselves have realised through experience that there are Western policies that govern and shape the 'feminist' and the 'anti-misogynist' discourse of 'equality and fairness' for women, c.f. (Ahmed, 1992; Kabbani, 1994; El-Guindi, 1999). Cromer was a 'principle advocate' of the discourse of ending the veil and 'Islamic degradation of women'; he saw that the veil stood – according to the 'imperialist thesis' - as a barrier to the 'progress' and 'civilisation' of Muslim societies 'imbibing' Western civilisation (Ahmed, 1992, p. 243). This type of feminist discourse is the ideological school that Bullock (2002) called liberal feminism (p. xvii); nevertheless, while many Arab feminist women have refuted the imperial thesis of the veil as a symbol of women`s inferiority and barrier to progress in Muslim society (Ahmed, 1992; Kabbani, 1994; El-Guindi, 1999), this was not the case for a minority of other feminists from the Arab world such as Mernissi (1975, 1991). Mernissi (1975; 1991) who is a Moroccan sociologist condemns 'political Islam' and describes veiled Muslim women as being "submissive", "marginal creatures", "huddled in the veil" and a man`s "mutilated companion" (Mernissi, 1991, p. 194). It is notable here- apart from the

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[24] In 2012.

lexical choices - that while she claims that Muslim women were repressed and controlled by male religious interpretations of the sacred text (Mernissi, 1975; 1991), she also describes Muslim women as 'property' of the Arab Muslim men depriving her the agency she i.e. Mernissi herself had.

Bullock (2002) -who is an Australian Canadian academic and a Muslim woman- has refuted Mernissi`s claims and questioned the wide citations of her writings by western feminists, saying that because she is a woman and a Muslim, western feminists find this to be enough evidence to represent the 'truth' about Muslim women and the veil; Bullock (2002) further doubted the validity of Mernissi writings and called for "urgent extended critical examination of her works" (Bullock, 2002, p. 136).

McGinty, (2006) - in her book *Becoming Muslim: Western Women's Conversions to Islam* - stressed that the 'veil', in Western discourse, "is politically charged with connotations of the inferior "other", suggesting the subordination and inferiority of the Muslim woman. Also within Western traditional feminism, the veil has been perceived as a controversial and provocative symbol of patriarchal oppression of women" (p. 111). McGinty (2006) and Bullock (2002) discussed how the widely spread feminist stereotypes about Muslim women in the West have also contributed to stigmatising white women who are converts to Islam and made their lives and Hijab choices difficult.

In a similar vein, *Voices Behind the Veil: The World of Islam Through the Eyes of Women* (Caner, 2003) is an edited book written by a number of western women. The book begins its introduction with an emphasis on the *veil* as a form of the *'Islamic oppression of women'* quoting selective de-contextualised Quranic verses to show that Islam is oppressive to wives in comparison to the Bible. The editor of the book has deliberately neglected, or maybe is not aware of, the corresponding Quranic orders with regard to the good treatment of Muslim wives in *The Holy Quran* (30:21, 4:20, 2:229 and many other ayas). This poses the question whether liberal feminism really is an autonomous ideological paradigm which is committed to the well-being of women or is shaped by the interests of the socio-political context. The 'emancipation' of 'Muslim women' through the

'lifting the veil discourse' is designed to maintain dominance in the global post-colonial context. It overlooks the fact that wearing the *veil* in its variant forms is an indigenous and deeply rooted 'religious practice' in Muslim communities (Al-Albani, 2002 ; Yeğenoğlu, 2002).

In this regard, post-colonial feminism was more aware of the political trap; it recognised the agency and autonomy of Muslim women who viewed the veil as a signifier of their identity in a more considered way rather than repeating the so-called concept of 'emancipation' of Muslim women.

> The veil is dress, but a dress which we might consider as articulating the very identity of Muslim women. Only if we see the veiling of women in Muslim culture as unique cultural experience, we can then actually learn what it is to veil or unveil as women, rather than simply re-setting the liberal scene and repeating the commonsensical and clichéd standards in the name of universal emancipation. I want to argue here that such commonsensical and clichéd standards may not be so commonsensical and clichéd after all. They may, on the contrary, be part of a colonial gesture that is hard to define as colonial because, especially in a now decolonised world, it articulates itself as a universal and politically and morally correct task.
>
> (Yeğenoğlu, 2002, p. 97)

Nevertheless, Bullock (2002) admits that Muslim women are "often unduly restricted and denied their rights to attain their full potential" but stressed that we must be 'cautious' where to 'lay the blame' (p. xxiv). However, unlike the liberal and colonial feminism as well as the orientalism of *us* the *superior westerners* versus *them* the *inferior easterners* (Said, 1978), she suggested a contextual feminist approach[25]. The core of her approach is to contribute to the well-being of Muslim women and their rights within their context and at the same time challenge the liberal feminist view of the veil as a 'form of oppression' (Bullock, 2002, p. xvii).

The point here is not to deny the socio-political utilisation of religion in shaping and justifying social violence and behaviour but to emphasise the socio-political interest in these topics in the Western press. Bullock (2002, p. xix) explains that Marsot (1996) argues that "economic and political exigencies are

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[25] An approach that we will discuss in more detail in the coming section.

what count and religion/ideology is used only to legitimise whatever has been required. She -[Marsot (1996)] - observed that in wartime, women are encouraged to work outside the home, but after the war, domesticity is urged, she believes this is a universal phenomenon".

In fact, this is not a judgment on feminism, but an attempt to show how ideology and politics are intertwined in discourse. Until such time as feminism is able to separate itself from these imperialist projects, I doubt its success in the 'Islamic world' or Muslim communities. The alternative is the contextual approach to feminism of Bullock (2002).

3.4.4 The contextual approach to feminism

One persisting problem of feminism in the West is that it attempts to make its claims about misogyny and oppression of 'Muslim' women definite and universal more notably when it comes to hijab-wearing Muslim women, see Caner, 2003; McGint (2006), Bullock (2002) and Contractor (2012). It could be the case that Western feminism needs always to evoke an extreme generalisation about the oppression of women in order to make their case towards the 'well-being' of women and 'gender equality' audible and prominent in public discourse; this women movement has been described by senior British politicians as "radical" as it "makes an absolute claim to equality in women's rights" (Rees-Mogg, 2005).

Despite the fact that many highly educated Muslim women in the West have explained their objections to the liberal feminist thesis about them such as Ahmed (1992) (from the USA), Kabbani (1994) (from the UK) and Bullock (2002) (from Canada), these voices are almost excluded and in many other cases suppressed in the mainstream media discussion of Muslim women`s choices and needs (as found in the current research), cf. Contractor (2012) and Ahmed (2014).

Therefore, Muslim women living in the West such as Bullock (2002; 2010) started to define themselves and approach their rights and well-being with a contextual approach to feminism that Bullock (2002) called 'indigenous', see also Contractor (2012), Hasan (2012) and Ahmed (2014). For example, Ahmed (2014)

– who is a British educated Muslim woman - objects that "similar to the feminist ideology in the 1960's, anti-veil feminists today argue that Muslim women who choose to cover themselves are victims of a misogynistic and patriarchal belief, they are pitied and portrayed this way, however, for a large percentage of women this is a fabricated assumption (Patel, 1999)".

In this vein, Bullock (2002) states that "religious text does not determine in any causal way how people live. There are factors of interpretation of text, prevailing discourse, local customs, and political, economic and social considerations. Any study that purports to discuss Muslim women as they are must account for all those forces" (2002, p. xxi). It is worth stressing here that Bullock`s (2002) contextual approach to feminism is different from what became to be known recently as *Islamic feminism*, cf. McGinty (2007) and Contractor (2012). Associating Muslim women with western feminism through the term "Islamic feminism" is contentious and debatable issue to many British Muslim women as evident in Contractor (2012) and Walker (2016). McGinty (2007, p. 474) states that the term 'Islamic feminism' seems to some "oxymoron", "however, for an increasing number of Muslim women, Islam provides a salient framework within which they struggle for gender equality".

In this vein, the use of the phrase *gender equality* by McGinty`s (2007) – who is a western anthropologist - above can indicate why the use of the term "Islamic feminism" is seen as *oxymoron* by some Muslim women in the West; this 'conundrum' (Contractor, 2012) was best caught in the words of Malika – who is a British Muslim woman from London. Contractor (2012, p. 99) interviewed Malika and asked her about how would she define 'Islamic feminism'? Malika replied:

> If there is feminism in Islam, I think it is important to explain what it means. We need to clarify that it does not mean the same as European feminism and women fighting for the right to be like men. That is not what it is.
>
> London, January 2009

Likewise, there is always disagreement with regard to the use of the term 'Islamic feminism'; Contractor (2012, p. 95) states that the "hijab travels around in full circle - from 'Islamic Feminism' that demonstrated its removal to an

'Islamic feminism' that insists on its centrality to the discourse. The feminist's hijab thus shifts from being representative of a patriarchal ideology that oppresses woman, to being representative of Muslim women agency, their values-system and their struggles against oppression - it oscillates from being owned by the oppressor to being owned by women (Hutchinson, 1987)".

In my view, the problem of what is called 'Islamic feminism' is that the western feminist ideology comes from a school of thought that prioritises individualism over collectivism (such as family-members relations in Muslim societies), see (Walker, 2016; Isgandarova, 2019). This, in turn, conflates Muslim women`s struggles towards their well-being with other non-Islamic intellectual and socio-political quests that may distort their identity as Muslim women. Walker`s (2016, pp. 148-149) words about how some British Muslim women have expressed their discomfort with the process of Islamic divorce are a good example in this regard:

> Whilst the desire for freedom was understood in reference to constraints imposed in part by the women's own communities, however, it must be noted that these relationships remained an important feature in the women's lives. It is vital to note, for instance, that the desire for freedom was not articulated in terms of liberal ideals of autonomy or of a stark individualism attached to ideals of a transcendental self. Rather, community relationships and identities, and the mutual formative investment of lives, held a positive role in the women's thinking and were a matter of importance throughout the interviews. A number of women for example, noted that the process involved in obtaining an Islamic divorce should be made easier for women. They wished that their communities would be more amenable to women making decisions to obtain a divorce, and more flexible in the norms they required women to fulfil. None, however, expressed a desire to abandon their communities.

In fact, British Muslim women 'agree' (Contractor, 2012, p. 72) that Islam is "inherently emancipatory towards women" (ibid, p. 7). Therefore, in the light of the several approaches discussed above, I see Bullock (2002; 2010) contextual approach to feminism as the way forward towards the well-being of Muslim women in the West or elsewhere; "[g]oing against Islam or blaming culture for women's oppression and then seeking solutions in a secular, foreign ideology takes Muslim societies nowhere. It would be far better received and more effective if Muslim men were reminded of the teachings of Islam that obligate them to be just and compassionate to women. As such, feminist scholars in

Muslim societies should insist on 'a feminism that is indigenous' (Bullock, 2002, p. xxii) and interpret or reinterpret the Qur'ān and Prophetic traditions through the prism of gender justice" (Hasan, 2012, p. 71). In simple words, what Muslim women appear to need is an indigenous feminist discourse that recognise their agency, their needs and challenges as well as respect their culture and religious identity; an approach that operates within their local context without evoking universal incompatible comparisons or lending itself to imperialist and hegemonic agenda that may distort their identity as Muslim women.

3.4.5 Muslim women and the wearing of the veil: 'current controversy'

In modern societies, what type of veil Muslim women chose to wear became unprecedentedly a central topic in the national politics in the West and more particularly Europe (Scott, 2010); the ambiguous words *veil* and *ban* became lexically associated with Muslim women in the press (Baker, et al., 2013). In fact, the word *veil* (whether the hijab, burka, or niqab) became associated with political and media claims of incompatibility with the western lifestyle, non-integration, insecurity, and extremism. The European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (2002) has reported that after 9/11 there was significant rise in cases in the UK where "Muslim women wearing the hijab were easily identifiable and widespread targets for verbal abuse, being spat upon, having their hijab torn from them and being physically assaulted" (p. 29). They also pointed to the spread of Islamophobic and threat messages sent to Muslims and that the "far-right British National Party launched a highly explicit Islamophobic campaign. Drawing heavily on issues of the inability to co-exist with Islam, it reasserted Christianity as being under threat from Muslims in the UK" (p. 29). In addition, the report made a number of recommendations to media institutions to use more accurate terms and involve Muslim organisations when reporting about Muslims (pp. 57-58). Nevertheless, the report stressed that this type of Islamophobic incident is a sign of more general racism and xenophobia which are "offered

legitimacy by the statements of politicians and other opinion leaders" in European countries (p. 54).

In the West, and after the 7/7/2005 bombings in London, there has been a socio-political discourse that aims to re-utilise feminism in a fight against terrorism and extremist 'Islam'. An example of this trend is the words of the British Lord William Rees-Mogg:

> There is one cultural force in modern Europe that has already changed the Christian churches, as well as civil society; that is the women's movement. I believe it will prove irresistible for Islam as well. In one sense, it is conservative, in that it is concerned with the welfare of women, including their welfare as wives and mothers. In another sense it is radical, in that it makes an absolute claim to equality in women's rights. I do not think Muslim women will continue to accept an Islam in which they hold the subordinate position once accepted in European society by Victorian wives and daughters. They will require equality with their Muslim husbands as well as with their non-Muslim sisters in the British workplace. They know how the Taliban treated women. They know it is fundamentalists who might persuade their sons to commit a pointless suicide. Even the papacy will eventually have to accept women priests; Islam, too, will be changed by women's demand for equality. (Rees-Mogg, 2005)

In France, there was a socio-political movement in 2003 against the wearing of the headscarf in French schools. This trend resulted in a law passed by the French government which "banned 'conspicuous signs' of religious affiliations in public schools" (Scott, 2010, p. 1). Though the law has banned the wearing of a variety of religious 'symbols' such as Jewish-boys' skullcaps, Sikh-boys' turbans, and Christians' cross necklaces, Scott (2010) argues that the law was aimed primarily at Muslim girls wearing *headscarves*, later called the *veil* in France. He argues that the inclusion of other religious symbols from different groups was to "undercut the charge of discrimination against Muslims and to comply with a requirement that such laws apply universally" (Scott, 2010, pp. 1-2). He argues in his book *The Politics of the veil* that racism "was the subtext of the headscarf controversy, but secularism was its explicit justification" (Scott, 2010, p. 90); by outlawing the headscarf the French state "declared those who espoused Islam, in whatsoever form, to be literally foreigners to the French way of life" (Scott, 2010, p. 149). Though this ban has not extended to women and girls at

university, it contributed to stigmatising them; Muslims were meant to understand that "adherence to Islam is an obstacle to integration" (ibid).

In Britain, an anti-veil row arose from remarks which the British politician Jack Straw made about the 'veil' i.e. *niqab* one year after the July 2005 bombings in London. This led to a socio-political tendency to perpetuate treating the *niqab* as 'a mark of separation' in Britain (Joppke, 2009). The MP Jack Straw revealed to the press that he sees the Muslim women's veil as a 'visible statement of separation' and that they should remove it (Bartlett, 2006). He went further to claim that he cannot recall a single Muslim woman who refused to unveil after requesting her to unveil, a statement which has evoked some scepticism and was refuted in Al-Hejin (2007a). These comments by Straw were seen as 'infamous' by a British Muslim woman and writer who described how these remarks had negative effects on the life of Muslim women in Britain:

> Jack Straw's infamous October 2006 comments (in an article for his local newspaper in Blackburn)… questioning the integration of Muslim women who wore the niqab encouraged the expression and normalization of Islamophobic sentiments in both broadsheets and tabloid press. Several senior politicians, including then–Prime Minister Tony Blair and members of the opposition, supported Jack Straw's views………. Interestingly, Straw's comments coincided with news that the country's largest stockpile of chemical weapons had been found in the home of a supporter of the right-wing group the British National Party…… While this news did not make national headlines, the case of Aisha Azmi, a school teaching assistant suspended (and later sacked) from her job for refusing to remove her niqab in the presence of males, was front-page news. Muslim women's organizations reported an increase in the number of hijab-wearing women experiencing some form of public abuse. (Ahmad, 2010, p. 256)

Joppke (2009) stated that, recently, in England the face-veil poses the 'sociolinguistic question' of the need for face-to-face communication as well as the "political question of how far a toleration of visible markers of separation should go" (p. 22). The discourse of multiculturalism was replaced by the discourse of 'integration' in the British community; this poses the problem of defining 'who we are' (Joppke, 2009, p. 83). In addition, the "clash of civilizations" (Huntington, 1996) 'analogies' have been used in public discourse about Islam and Muslims and particularly Muslim women, who were blamed for "failing to integrate"; this has signalled the failure of the 'multiculturalism' and

the beginning of the 'integration' discourse in Britain (Ahmad, 2010, p. 251). Straw's conceptual description of the face-veil as a mark of 'separation' "had to invite a reflection on the content of the opposite of separation: unity" (Joppke, 2009, p. 84).

Two years after Straw's veil 'row' in Britian, Hari (2008) sketched out problems related to 'Muslim' women in different Asian countries from Bangladesh to Saudi Arabia and concluded that the Western socio-political interest in oil is an obstacle to the feminist development of women in these countries. On the other hand, as mentioned earlier, Silvestri (2009) stated that the "dramatic coverage" in the news of cases of forced marriages among immigrant-origin communities and prejudices had led the European community to be anxious about the real autonomy of Muslim women in Europe, especially when they chose to wear the veil (Silvestri, 2009, p. 2). While Silvestri (2009) called on Muslim men to contribute to the solution and re-interpret Quranic discourse (p. 17), Miller (2009) found that the dramatic cases in the news of violence such as honour killings are not Islamic and, on the contrary, Islamic discourse condemns these crimes. Furthermore, recent research has confirmed that "honour killing is clearly evidenced as not being a solely 'Muslim phenomenon' at all", however, it can be attributed to lack of education and knowledge (Doğan, 2011, p. 436).

In 2009, "The UN Human Rights Council under the Universal Periodic Review in March and the UN special rapporteur on racism in July drew attention to continuing problems of racism, xenophobia, and discrimination in Germany" (HRW, 2010). Marwa El-Sherbini, a *hijab* (headscarf) wearing Egyptian pharmacist, was stabbed to death and her husband was injured inside the court-room by "the man she had successfully sued for calling her a "terrorist" and an 'Islamist' " (ibid). The incident happened when she was suing him over discriminatory offensive remarks which he made to her for wearing the *hijab*; that is why the Egyptian people named her the Hijab martyr and Muslim authorities blamed the incident on European media discourse and Islamophobia/xenophobia (IRR NEWS, 2009).

Ahmad (2010) has noted that representations of Muslim women in particular have been negative in the British media and political discourse after the 7/7 bombings: "especially those highly visible in their hijab, jilbab, or niqab, experienced particular vilification on the streets, in the media, and from some politicians" (p. 248). She concluded that just "as the plight of Muslim women in Afghanistan was used to justify military action following 9/11, media and political stereotyped discourses of Muslim women as victims of Islam have been used to further marginalize Muslim women's voices" (Ahmad, 2010, p. 258).

In relation to Afghani women, Shirazi (2010) expressed surprise that despite the fact that the Western discourse has perpetuated, for decades, the image of Muslim women in Afghanistan as victims of violence and needing to be 'emancipated' and 'empowered', ironically, they are not empowered yet. She draws attention to how the victimisation discourse presented these women as 'victims' of their men ('oppressors') denying them their resisting ability and agency (Shirazi, 2010, p. 9).

As raised earlier, the ambiguous words veil and ban became lexically associated with Muslim women in the press (Baker, et al., 2013), and appear frequently in the list of political things-to-do of many of the xenophobic politicians in Europe and particularly in France, Netherlands and Britain. For example, in June 2009, a political debate started in France to ban the face-veil, and the ban became active on 14 September 2010 (Davies, 2010). While the French 2004 ban was limited to headscarves in schools, the 2010 ban has barred wearing face-veils in all public arenas.

In 2010, the British MP Philip Hollobone called for a face-veil ban in Britain describing it as 'paper bag with two holes for the eyes' (BBC, 2010), and most recently in 2013 a number of politicians tried to reignite the veil 'row' through suggesting a new debate about banning the face-veil in Britain (Brown, 2013; Swinford & Evans, 2013). Currently, there are increasing numbers of attacks on Muslim women in Britain and some are thought to have been murdered because of their dress (Townsend, 2014). In June 2014, a "Saudi Arabian student Nahid Almanea was stabbed to death in Essex, with detectives believing that she may

have been attacked because she was wearing traditional Islamic clothing" (ibid). The vulnerability of attacks on Muslim women in Britain were found to increase after terrorist attacks happening in France or calls for bans of veils reported in the media; Muslim women "may be targeted not for their group membership but because they are stereotypically perceived as 'soft', 'easy' or 'convenient' targets by virtue of the fact that they are visibly 'different'….., lslamophobic media reports of local and national events related to Islam, Muslims and the veil increased hostility towards veiled Muslim women when they are in public" (Zempi & Chakraborti, 2014, p. 86).

Ahmed (2014) conducted a study with university-level British Muslim women who wear hijab and do not cover their faces, the majority agreed that the British media writes about them rather than giving them the opportunity to write by themselves.

> The study also discovered a small, yet significant consensus that there is a considerably small amount of practicing Muslim women who wear the hijab themselves, publicly speaking on behalf of Muslim women. Instead there are individuals such as, Yasmin Alibhai-Brown, who is, in their opinion inadequate to represent them. Perhaps, publishing qualitatively researched representations of Muslim women can help educate the public and any misconceptions or ethnocentric culturalist interpretations as Munoz (2005) suggested. (Ahmed, 2014, pp. 23-24)

Alibhai-Brown is famous from her writings, cf. (Alibhai-Brown, 2010; Alibhai-Brown, 2011; Alibhai-Brown, 2013), for being anti-face-veils and hijab. The participants agree that the media reports negatively about them and portray them as being not integrated in the British society because of the way they dress i.e. all are hijab-wearing Muslim women who do not cover their faces. Some think that their image as reported in the British media discourse has led some of them to be socially avoided even inside the university classes (ibid).

Thus far, there is cumulative evidence that the British Muslim women seem to have a chronic problem with the British media speaking on their behalf and portraying them as oppressed and not integrated. Haidrani (2016) after expressing her experience as a young Muslim who has to contend to endless media and political calls and accusations after the 7/7 bombings. She quoted the

voices of several British Muslim women who feel excluded and powerless in front of the political and media discourses that recurrently talk about them, c.f. (Ahmad, 2006, p. 980; Ahmed, 2014). Nothing could be expressive than the phrase said by Latifa a 21 years British girl who says:

> I feel like our voices are being stripped straight from us. I feel like my tongue has been chopped off and people have suddenly used it for themselves to tell my story (Haidrani, 2016, para. 4).

Ahmed (2014) has shown that when Muslim women are given the opportunity to talk about their veils, hijab and experience they prove to be social and active actors who likes hijab as part of their identity and interest in fashion, c.f. (Jacinto, 2006). Diab (2017) who is an atheist - with Muslim upbringing in UK and Tunisia- discussed misconceptions in the West around the veil and agency of Muslim women. In his book *Islam for the Politically Incorrect* (Diab, 2017), he disagrees with the contentious political discourse and symbolism that surrounds the hijab in the West where they portray hijab as a symbol of women`s imprisonment, oppression that contradicts with women`s empowerment and liberation. Diab argues that to many Muslim women who chose to wear the hijab, they believe it makes them as powerful as those who chose not to do so; to the many of the hijab-wearing Muslim women in the West, it is an issue of their identity – whom they are/want to be and what cultural and religious beliefs they embrace - rather than have been 'oppressed' to do so (Yeğenoğlu, 2002; Diab, 2017). Both Diab (2017) and An-Na'im (2011) agree that it might be better for the West to deal with the issue as an issue of international human rights; those who wish to wear the hijab should not be prevented from doing so, and those who do not want to wear the hijab should not be forced to do so. Joppke (2009) stressed that while the courts in Britain considered the 'headscarf'[26] to fall within human rights protection law, the liberal state (political parliament and executive) has never considered the headscarf as a 'social unitary actor' but as part of the 'public order issue' of security in the 'age of global terrorism' (p. 22). The issue of security and disguising in a face veil in public spaces do not seem to be explicitly

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[26] He used the word in reference to both face-veil and hijab

articulated in most of the discussions and CDA studies of the media discourse given above, though it represents a major concern particularly when we know that the 7/7 bombers disguised in a face-veil (Ahmad, 2010) that some 'Muslim women wear' [27]. Ahmed argues that since then, face-veil became 'undesirable' and was banned from some universities` campuses. This poses the question, if security is a major concern behind these contentious recurrent debates and controversies around the veil in Britain after 7/7, then it is really wondered why politicians and governments do not use this as a rational explanation which is a reasonable justification for outlawing the face-veil in public spaces (Petley & Richardson, 2011). This would have been a healthier treatment of this concern rather than falling into cultural miscommunications and prejudices that can tear the harmony and fabric (Otaif, 2015) of this multi-cultural, multi-ethnic and multi-religious society.

Finally, Danièle & Khursheed, (2017) agree with Zempi & Chakraborti (2014) that "the British media, political class and public are not innocent when it comes to placing face-veiled Muslim women in a situation of insecurity and isolation through their misrecognition and misrepresentation over a period of time" (Danièle & Khursheed, 2017, p. 247) which in turn have led to bad consequences and sad incidents of violence on a large number of women who wear headscarves and do not cover their faces (ibid).

3.5 Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I reviewed previous CDA studies in relation to media discourse and the representation of the MW as a social actor. I also discussed the main literature in relation to social discourse, ideology and Muslim women prior to and after the 9/11 and 7/7 events. I also stress here that social discourse and media discourse reflect each other and, in some cases, have a dialectical constitutive relationship. The social discourse and representation of Muslim women in the media, I argue in this research, reflect a policy of controlling

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[27] Criminals can also disguise in different masks including the face-veils.

conflicts of power and interests which involve the growing Muslim communities in Europe: this policy is carried out and maintained through linguistic means in order to deal with the so-called 'public order issue' of security in the 'age of global terrorism' (Joppke, 2009, p. 22).

4   Chapter Four: Methodology

In the current chapter, I will discuss the methodology of the current research. The first method of analysis, in the current research, is always a corpus-based analysis of keywords and collocates which is a micro-analysis of the discourse structure. While corpus methods are essentially micro-analysis, macro analysis occurs when we either 1) start qualitative analysis of keywords i.e. by grouping them into predetermined categories and attributing discourse meanings to these categories (Seale & Charteris-Black , 2010) or 2) seek cognitive analysis of conceptual structures that are dependent on socio-cognitive models and ideologies shared in society.

The study combines both quantitative and qualitative textual CDA analysis which employs a triangulated analytical approach from cognitive linguistics, CDA (theory) and corpus linguistics (method) to overcome some of the limitations directed at previous textual CDA. Corpus tools (e.g. identification of *keywords*, *concordances*, *collocations*) are the first step in the analysis. These will 1) show commonalities and 'lexical primings' (Hoey, 2005) across the corpus and 2) 'automate' (Widdowson, 2004) the analysis of the discourse samples through which the spread of conceptual structures and epistemic primings in the BPC (see Section 2.11) can be traced and explicated. On the other hand, some key cognitive notions (e.g. *schemas, metaphors* and *metonymies*) were utilised to explicate the found conceptual structure of the discourse in relation to its semantic and pragmatic meaning.

In the following section, I will discuss the procedure through which my corpora of the British press was built. Then I will discuss the procedural issues and statistical measures taken to calculate significant keywords and collocations and finally, I will discuss the CDA analytical procedure followed in the current research.

4.1 Data collection

One of the "central methodological issues for corpus-based research is to ensure that the corpus chosen for analysis actually represents the research questions being investigated" (Biber, et al., 2007, p. 17). In dealing with this matter, I reached the conclusion, through an intensive pilot examination of different trial corpora retrieved from the Nexis database, that a corpus from January 1992 to February 2014 would provide enough textual samples to answer the research questions given earlier in 1.5.

Textual samples were required that can show variant linguistic commonalities in representing Muslim women through four different chronological periods in British press discourse. These periods cover two key moments of crisis, namely the 9/11 events in New York and the 7/7 bombings in London. It also covers the period of the French ban of religious symbols in 2004 (Scott, 2010) and the French debate and ban on face-veils that started in June 2009 and was active in September 2010 (Davies, 2010). These and other similar events are thought to have influenced the press and public perception of MWs in Europe and especially Britain (see 3.4) and hence needed to be included in the current research.

4.1.1 Nexis

Nexis is a full-text database of billions of records, documents and articles in business, social sciences and law. It is a searchable archive of documents of legal cases as well as news compiled from thousands of international sources e.g. newspapers, magazines, legislations, parliamentary speeches and other printed sources (Nexis, 2018). Nexis enables the analyst to browse different types of documents from different sources and countries published during the last 25 years or more. The Nexis database has electronic/textual versions of all the newspapers articles that used the term MW(s) including those that appeared in printed hardcopies since 1992. The selected material can be downloaded in *text, worddoc, pdf* and other formats, however, the textual data were found to lack

images that may have been used in the original printed version of the retrieved articles.

4.2 Selection of news articles that constituted the research corpus

I reached the decision on what texts should be included in the research corpus based on the research problem and focus (Baker, 2006, 37), i.e. representations of MWs in the British press. Therefore, the choice of data was predetermined. Five British newspapers were chosen for their coverage and ideological/socio-political orientation in reporting issues related to Muslim women: The Daily Mail (TDM), The Daily Telegraph (TDT), The Independent (TI), The Guardian (TG) and The Mirror (TM). TDM and TDT are classified as Right-wing (RW) press in the British socio-political spectrum (Higgins et al., 2010; Baker, et al., 2013). On the other hand, TI, TG and TM are usually[28] classified as Left-wing (LW) press (ibid).

The selection of these newspapers was driven primarily by the need to include newspaper discourse which represents the range of ideological and political orientations as well as the classifications of the press in Britain into *right-wing* versus *left-wing* press and *broadsheets* versus *tabloids* (Gabrielatos & Baker, 2008; Baker, et al., 2013), see Table 4-1.

Table 4-1 Classification of the press discourse studied in this research

Socio-political-spectrum	Right-wing **(RW)**	Left-wing **(LW)**
Newspaper	**TDT** (broadsheet) **TDM** (tabloid)	**TI** and **TG** (broadsheets) **TM** (tabloid)

It is worth noting here that the ideological or political orientations of these newspapers have been ascertained through reviewing the classifications found in both previous and most recent literature (Higgins, et al., 2010, pp. 289-293;

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[28] These classifications have been criticised as they rather over-simplify the variations between the different newspapers. For example, some broadsheets became closer to the tabloid size and format e.g. The Guardian. In addition, the classical distinction made between the left-wing and right-wing press is less clear nowadays. Therefore, as far as my concern in this research, these five newspapers represent a good example of the British press discourse about MWs.

Baker, et al., 2013, p. 9). However, in modern press, some of these classifications are outmoded.

The BPC was therefore composed of three LW and two RW newspapers; this was because, after several trial examinations, I decided to retain TI beside TG and TM since the coverage of the LW tabloid TM was modest in comparison to that of the RW tabloid TDM, see tables 4-1 and 4.2. Though these classifications of 'RW' versus 'LW' are not always reflective of the newspapers stances, these five newspapers are thought, from the intensive pilot examination of the preliminary corpora, to provide varied information in representing and constructing the image of Muslim women in the British press.

The criterion for inclusion of an article in my BPC is that any news-report which contains the singular form of the lexical node *MUSLIM (MOSLEM) WOMAN* (MW) or the plural form *MUSLIM (MOSLEM) WOMEN* (MWs) mentioned anywhere in the article according to the Nexis database will be included. In fact, previous research (Baker, 2010) has pointed out that the word *Muslim* used to be written before 2001 as *Moslem* in TDM and TDT, therefore, the following search term was fed into the Nexis portal:

> *moslem woman* **OR** *muslim woman* **OR** *moslem women* **OR** *muslim women*

This is to ensure that each of the analysed articles has one of these two nodes, MW or MWs, and hence is a representative sample of the type of discourse under investigation. In other words, this was to make sure that the data represent all the variant forms/uses of the term MW(s) in the British press.

The retrieved data included a number of letters to the editors; these are those letters that readers sent to newspapers to be published, usually commentaries on previously published articles. Richardson (2007) has pointed to the importance and significance of this sub-type of press discourse. In a review of previous corpus CDA research (Gabrielatos & Baker, 2008; Baker, et al., 2013), it was found that many studies do not draw a clear distinction in the analysis

between the subtypes of the press genre: "[m]ost British newspapers make no attempt to be unbiased, but instead reveal their stance on issues in a range of explicit and subtle ways (e.g., via editorials, selection of letters to be published, or language choice such as collocations or grammatical structure)" (Gabrielatos & Baker, 2008, p. 8).

In the current research, while this was found to be in most cases true, these letters were not excluded from the corpus for two reasons; 1) they constitute an essential part of the discourse which a particular newspaper is happy to publish, 2) they are more reflective of a newspaper's overall ideological and social stance (Gabrielatos & Baker, 2008) towards MWs and readers, as was found to be the case in many instances, e.g. TDT_2 framed a series of letters to editors under the headline: *Wearing of the veil by Muslim women can pose an obstacle to integration* (TDT_2, October 7, 2006). Therefore, they are essential in revealing which topics a particular newspaper targets discursively, see *discursivity* in 2.2.4. They also provide evidence of the readerships` preference and its values.

However, some of the methodological difficulties encountered is filtering out the duplicated and similar but local versions of a number of articles. For example, duplicate versions of news articles, published for different parts of UK, were found in the BPC. These are of course misleading as they would increase the frequency of lexical items and patterns (Taylor, 2013, p. 82), therefore, I filtered out all the regional editions of the same articles and included either the national or the first edition, whichever was found. Preference was also given in very rare instances to editions where there was an interesting metaphoric or conceptual structure in the headline, as in:

Forced marriage U-turn; Ministers cave in to Muslim opposition [Headline]
BYLINE: MATTHEW HICKLEY, ED 1ST

Muslims win U-turn on forced marriage law [Headline]
BYLINE: MATTHEW HICKLEY; ED 2ND

(TDM_2, June 8, 2006)

The first article was kept because 1) it was the first edition of the article and 2) it includes a conceptual structure where a conceptual scene is presented through the phrasal verb *cave in*. This is very important in revealing the stance taken by TDM towards both parties involved. In addition, though the alterations made in the second edition were important and revealing, it is beyond the scope of this research to investigate such differences.

4.2.1   The British Press Corpora (BPC) about MWs

A further issue is that repeated quotes and intertextual chains in the news coverage pose a challenge as they could increase the frequency of particular patterns and words. However, while the spread of these patterns is important for *discursivity* (2.2.4) and *epistemic priming* (2.11) in CDA research, it should be noted that they reflect, in some cases, a single instance of reporting the same event in each newspaper in the BPC. Therefore, I stored each sub-corpus into a single file e.g. The Daily Mail from 1992- 2001 *TDM₁*[29], as will be explained below, so that occurrences of patterns can be attributed to their sources. The original number of the articles retrieved for the current research is given in Table 4-2.

Table 4-2 The original number of retrieved articles from Jan 1992 to Feb 2014

The newspaper	Corpus size after filtering
The Daily Mail (TDM)	**Total TDM corpus▼**
Number of articles▼	615,122
686	
The Daily Telegraph (TDT)	**Total TDT corpus▼**
Number of articles▼	294,686
466	
The Independent (TI)	**Total TI corpus▼**
Number of articles▼	581,436
745	
The Guardian (TG)	**Total TG corpus▼**
Number of articles▼	871,732
924	
The Mirror (TM)	**Total TM corpus▼**
Number of articles▼	110,704
378	
Total BPC size	2,473,680 tokens/words

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[29] A further complementary classification for articles per year as in *TDM 2000, TG2000, etc.* was made to be consulted whenever needed.

The retrieved articles were compiled in classified text files then filtered by manually excluding repeated and redundant data using WordSmith[6] (Scott, 2000). Letters to the editors, as mentioned above, were kept as they were found to reflect the inclusion policy of the press (Fairclough 1995b; van Leeuwen, 2008). In the end, the total size of the whole BPC was 2,473,680 *tokens/words* which included 4109 hits for MW(s): 2,876 occurrences of the plural lexical node MUSLIM (MOSLEM) WOMEN and 1233 of the singular lexical node MUSLIM (MOSLEM) WOMAN see Table 4-3 below.

Table 4-3 The number of hits for the lexical nodes MW and MWs in the BPC

Corpus	Search node		Hits	Total
BPC	Muslim woman	Singular	1206	MW= 1233
	Moslem woman		27	
	Moslem women	Plural	105	MWs= 2876
	Muslim women		2,771	
	Muslim wom*	Both	3977	MW(s)= 4109
	Moslem wom*		132	

The final corpus has *4,109* mentions of the MW(s) with an average occurrence of *1.665* per each 1, 000 words in the corpus for both forms *Moslem wom** and *Muslim wom**, see Table 4-4.

Table 4-4 The number of hits for *Moslem wom and *Muslim wom** in the BPC**

Corpus	Tokens	Search node	Hits	per 1,000	Dispersion
BPC	2,473,680	Muslim wom*	3977	1.66	0.968
		Moslem wom*	132		
		Together	4,109		

The form *Moslem wom** was found to be lexically preferred in TDM discourse in the period 1992-2005. Furthermore, while it was not used at all in TDT discourse, it was found occasionally in TI, TG, and TM, see Table 4-5.

Table 4-5 Hits of *Moslem wom** in the BPC

YEAR	TDM	TDT	TI	TG	TM	Totals
1992	12	-	-	-	-	12
1993	36	-	-	-	-	36
1994	9	-	-	1	-	10
1995	11	-	-	1	1	13
1996	0	-	1	-	-	1
1997	2	-	-	-	-	2
1998	15	-	3	-	1	19
1999	7	-	-	-	-	7
2000	1	-	-	-	-	1
2001	11	-	-	-	-	11
2002	8	-	1	-	-	9
2003	8	-	-	-	-	8
2004	1	-	-	-	-	1
2005	1	-	-	-	-	1
2011	0	-	1	-	-	1
Totals	122	0	6	2	2	132

Unlike Baker`s (2010) suggestion that *Muslim* used to be written before 2001 as *Moslem* in TDM and TDT, Table 4-5 above shows that this form continues to exist until 2011. While TDM has shown an outstanding preference of the form *Moslem woma(e)n* since 1992 F=122, TDT did not show any use of the form *moslem woman* as retrieved in the BPC. On the other hand, TI, TG and TM have rarely used this form during the last two decades. The overall total hits of *Moslem/Muslim woma(e)n* - i.e. MW(s), in the BPC is given in Figure 4-1 and Table 4-6 below.
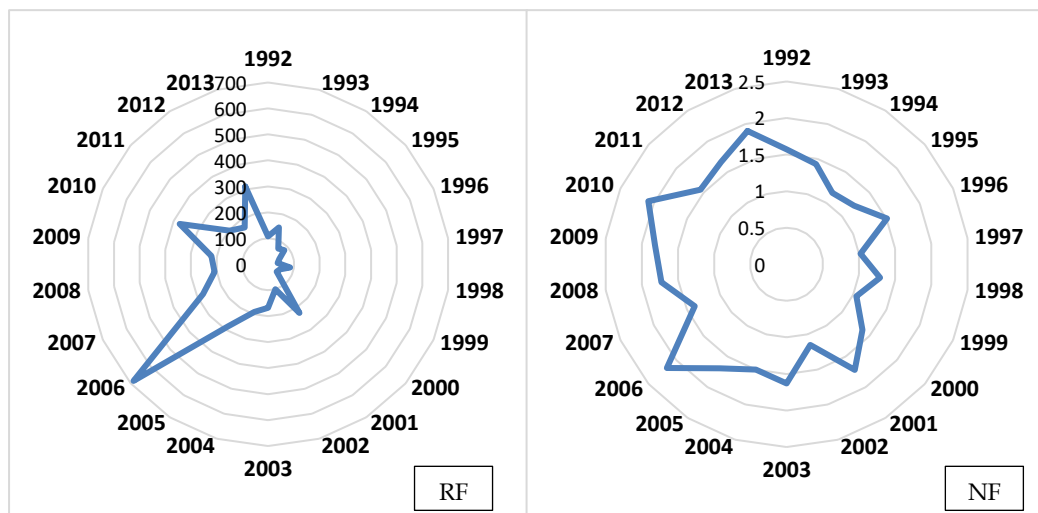
Figure 4-1 Total hits of *Moslem/Muslim woma(en)* per year; raw frequencies versus normalized frequencies between 1992 - 2013.

Table 4-6 Total hits of *Muslim woma(e)n* and moslem *woma(e)n* per year.

Year	TDM	TDT	TI	TG	TM	Total	Rate per each 1000 words
1992	16	0	41	50	0	107	1.57
1993	41	0	71	36	0	148	1.43
1994	11	0	28	33	0	72	1.16
1995	13	0	30	38	2	83	1.22
1996	0	0	23	24	0	47	1.51
1997	2	0	13	17	5	37	1.02
1998	21	0	36	21	7	85	1.29
1999	9	0	16	22	2	49	1.05
2000	4	1	14	21	3	43	1.37
2001	16	40	59	85	23	223	1.72
2002	13	14	29	36	8	100	1.15
2003	20	26	65	42	15	168	1.63
2004	40	25	41	81	4	191	1.5
2005	51	44	82	93	15	285	1.69
2006	179	99	184	152	72	686	2.17
2007	79	36	39	96	26	276	1.38
2008	55	38	55	50	11	209	1.73
2009	63	31	40	73	14	221	1.82
2010	65	86	66	120	38	375	2.08
2011	38	45	27	75	12	197	1.56
2012	27	39	22	69	11	168	1.66
2013	60	49	54	117	32	312	1.9
2014 (Jan – Feb)	4	8	4	6	5	27	1.73
Totals	827	581	1039	1357	305	4109	Overall 1.66

The raw frequencies (RF) versus standardized frequencies (SF) between 1992 – 2013 in Figure 4-1 above show that there was a number of steep increases in the use of the term *MW(s)* in the BPC, more particularly, between the following years; 1) between the years 1995 and 1997, 2) between 2000 and 2002, 3) between 2004 and 2008 and finally, 4) between 2008 and 2011. However, after critical examination of the data; it was concluded that most of these increases were found to be attributed to 'moments of crises' (Fairclough, 1992, p. 230) (see Section 1.2).

While the first three peaks are within the time frame of 'moments of crises' such as 1) the war in Bosnia in the early 1990s and the Srebrenica massacre done by Serbians against Bosnian Muslims in 1995 (Smith, 2014), 2) the 9/11/2001 attacks in New York and the 7/7/2005 bombings in London. Nevertheless, the latter increase i.e. after 2008 was found to be linked to the political debates and 'discomfort' in France and Britain in regards to the face-veils as mentioned earlier in Chapter 3 (3.4.5), see Figures 4-2 and 4-3.
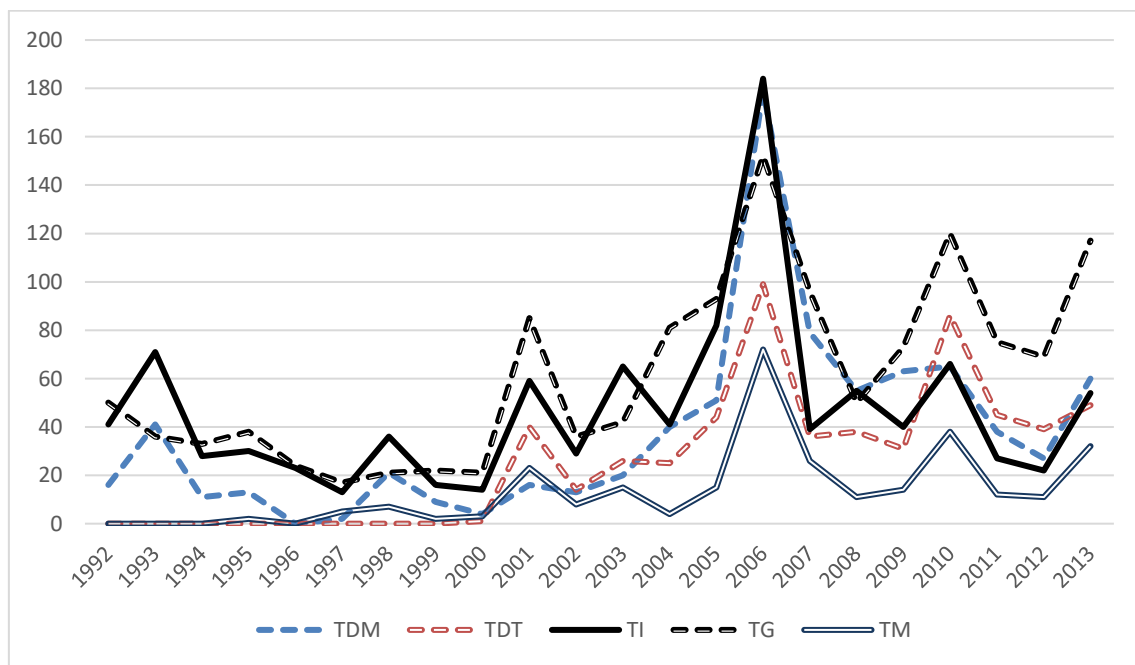
Figure 4-2 Peak moments of MW(s) use in the BPC newspaper between 1992 to 2013 (RF)
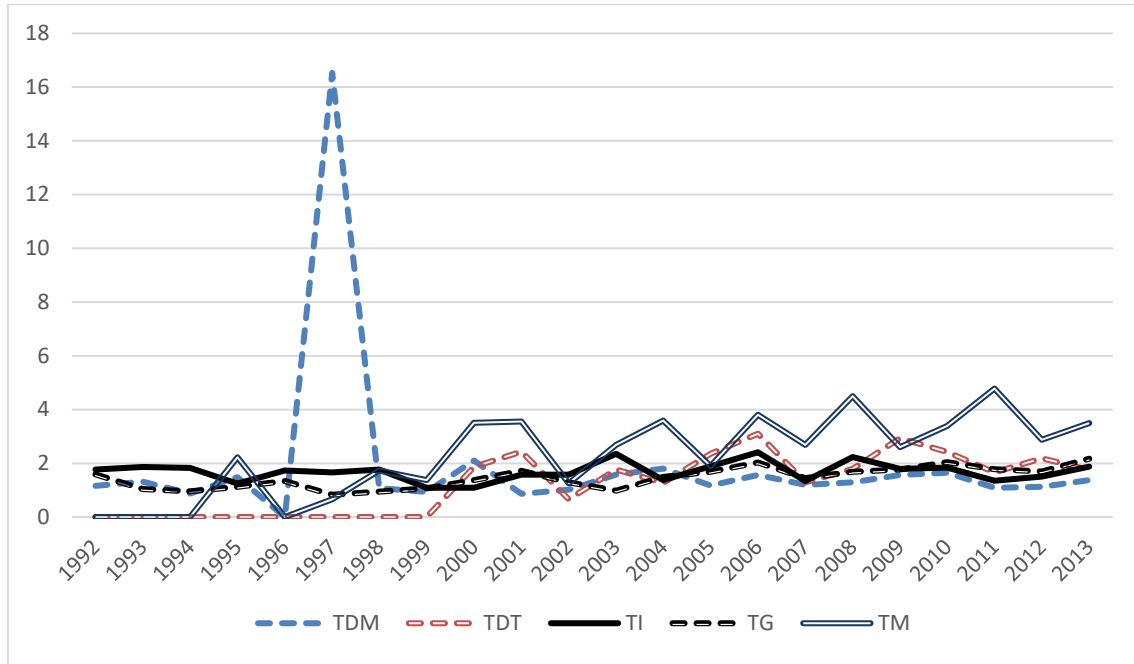
Figure 4-3 Peak moments of MW(s) use in the BPC newspaper between 1992 to 2013 (NF)

Figures 4-2 to 4-3 have revealed that taking the normalised frequencies of
MW(s) could be misleading. For example, TDM had an abnormal NF= 16.8 in
1997 (Figure 4-3). However, when the data were examined it was found that this
high rate corresponds only to RF=2 uses of the term MW(s). A collective steep
increases, particularly in use of MW(s) in 2001, 2006 and 2010 in all the
newspapers were noticed which could be attributed to the moments of crises after
9/11, see Figure 4-2 above. Therefore, it can be said that raw frequencies were
found more reflective of the corpus reality and the press interest in using the term
MW(s), see figures 4-2, 4-3 above and Figure 4-4 below.
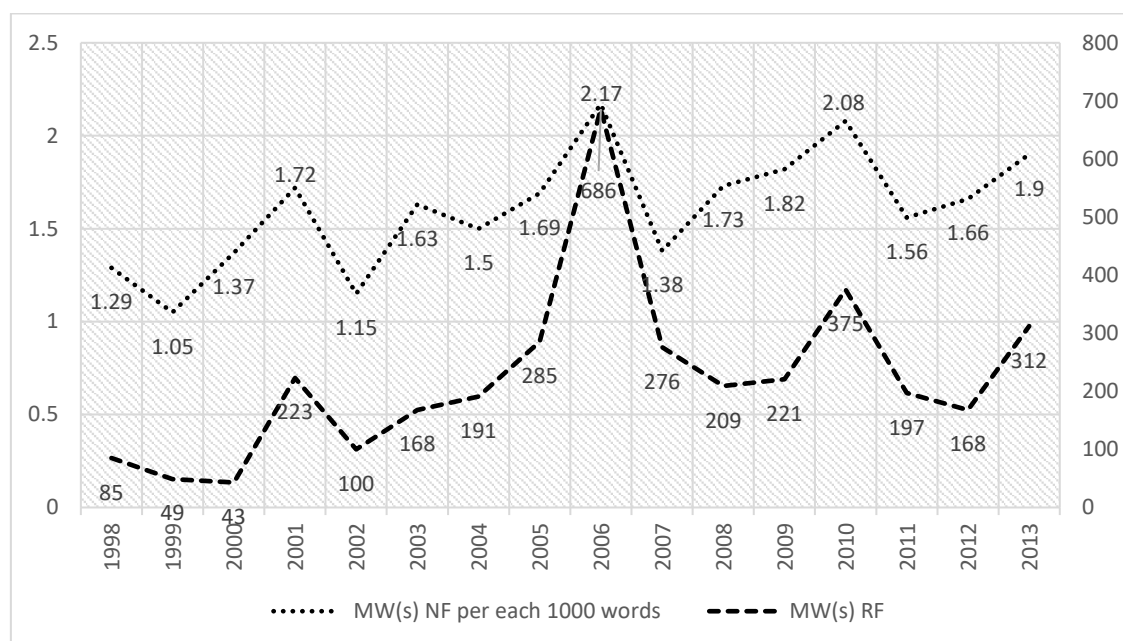
Figure 4-4 Peak moments of *MW(s)* use in the BPC **i.e.** *per year* between 1998 to 2013 (RF versus NF)

Since many of the selected newspapers have started to write more frequently about Muslim women in the new Millennium i.e. after 1999 such as TDT and TM (see Figure 4-2), Figure 4-4 shows a more focused view of the increases per year as found in the BPC between 1998 to 2013. It is clear, as noticed earlier, that there are three main moments of peaks, these were taken into account in splitting the corpora into several periods. In other words, splitting the corpus was made mainly based on a comprehensive view of the use of MW(s) in the BPC; taking both[30] into account the historical moments of crises as well as the raw and then normalised frequencies of the use of MW(s) per year.

It was concluded, after several trial examinations, that the sub-corpora (P_1, P_2, P_3 and P_4), in Table 4-7 below, can provide a clear window into how the use of MW(s) has developed over time in – my corpora of - the British press. As mentioned earlier, each sub-corpus of the BPC was carefully filtered and searched separately based on its newspaper as well as the time period it belonged to e.g. *The Guardian articles before 9/11= TG_1*, see Table 4-7 below.

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[30] The historical moments besides raw frequencies because they both reflect the actual interest in using the phrase MW(s) in each newspaper and year without comparing these uses to other lemmas inside the same corpus e.g. TDM_1.

Table 4-7 The size of each sub-corpora of the BPC

Total TDM corpus ▼	TDM Corpus size in each period			
615,122 tokens	TDM1	TDM2	TDM3	TDM4
	94,800	83,148	259,157	178,017
Hit of *MW(s)* per 1000 Words	**1.21**	1.36	**1.35**	**1.40**
Total TDT corpus ▼	TDT Corpus size in each period			
294,686	TDT1	TDT2	TDT3	TDT4
	3350	77,974	95,073	118,289
Hit of *MW(s)* per 1000 Words	4.18	1.40	2.24	2.07
Total TI corpus ▼	TI Corpus size in each period			
581,436 tokens	TI1	TI2	TI3	TI4
	184,119	115,360	165,648	116,309
Hit of *MW(s)* per 1000 Words	1.59	1.71	2.14	1.68
Total TG corpus ▼	TG Corpus size in each period			
871,732 tokens	TG1	TG2	TG3	TG4
	256,209	181,695	213,446	220,382
Hit of *MW(s)* per 1000 Words	**1.12**	**1.46**	**1.79**	**1.91**
Total TM corpus ▼	TM Corpus size in each period			
110,704 tokens	TM1	TM2	TM3	TM4
	16,377	20,968	39,164	34,195
Hit of *MW(s)* per 1000 Words	1.59	2.10	3.22	3.19
	P1	P2	P3	P4
Overall corpus in each period ➤	**554,855**	**479,145**	**772,488**	**667,192**
Total size of the BPC	2,473,680 tokens/words			

It is worth noting here that there is no overlap in the data retrieved. In other words, each sub-corpus ends in a date that is before the beginning date of the next corpus as follows:

1. **Period 1 (P₁):** from January 1992 to 10th of September 2001, i.e. before 9/11/2001 attacks in New York.
2. **Period 2 (P₂)**: from the 11th of September 2001 until 6th of July 2005, i.e. before 7/7/2005 bombings in London.
3. **Period 3 (P₃)**: from the 7th of July 2005 until the 30th of May 2009, i.e. before the beginning of the veil ban debate in France and Britain in June 2009.
4. **Period 4 (P₄)**: from June 2009 to the 17th of February 2014.

First, Period One (P₁) stands for the press discourse about MWs before 9/11/2001. Second, Period Two (P₂) stands for the press discourse about MWs after the 9/11 events and before the 7/7/2005 bombings in London. Period Three (P₃) stands for the press discourse about MWs after the 7/7 bombings and before the beginning of the veil ban debate in France and Britain in June 2009. Finally,

Period Four (P₄) starts from the beginning of the veil ban debates in France and Britain i.e. since June 2009 (3.4.5), see Table 4-7 above.

The data retrieved from the four periods shows that there is an increase, in the use of the term MW(s) after 9/11 and more particularly after 7/7 through which this increase has maintained its levels in P₄, see figures 4-5 to 4-7 below.

	Period 1	Period 2	Period 3	Period 4
rate per 1000 words	1.32	1.52	1.85	1.83
MW(s) in each period (RF)	738	730	1425	1216
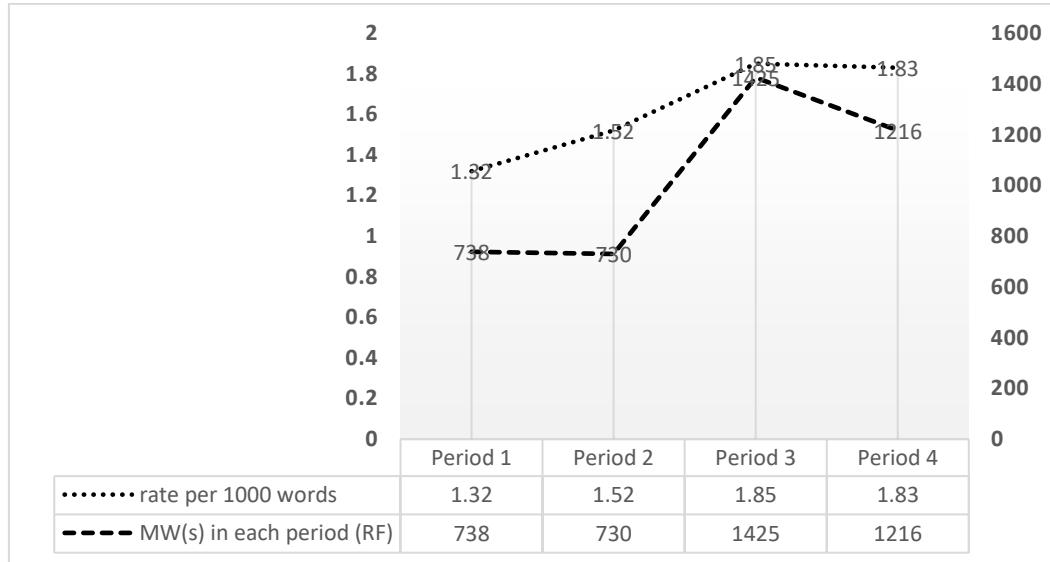
Figure 4-5 MW(s) in each period
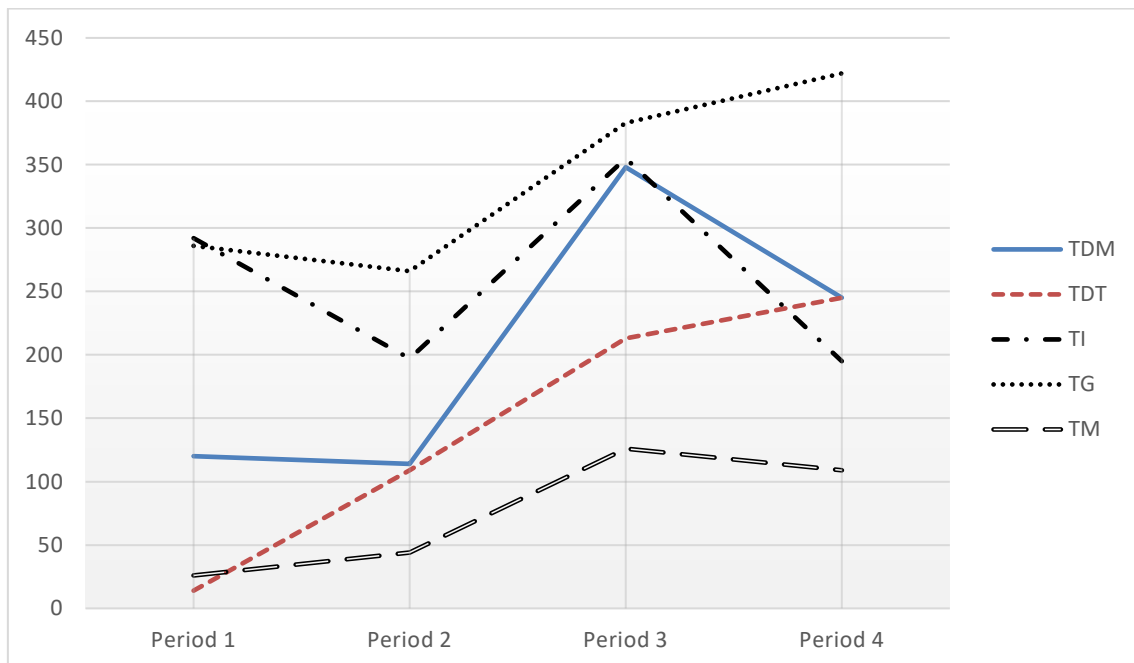
Figure 4-6 Hits of *MW(s)* in each period per newspaper (RF)
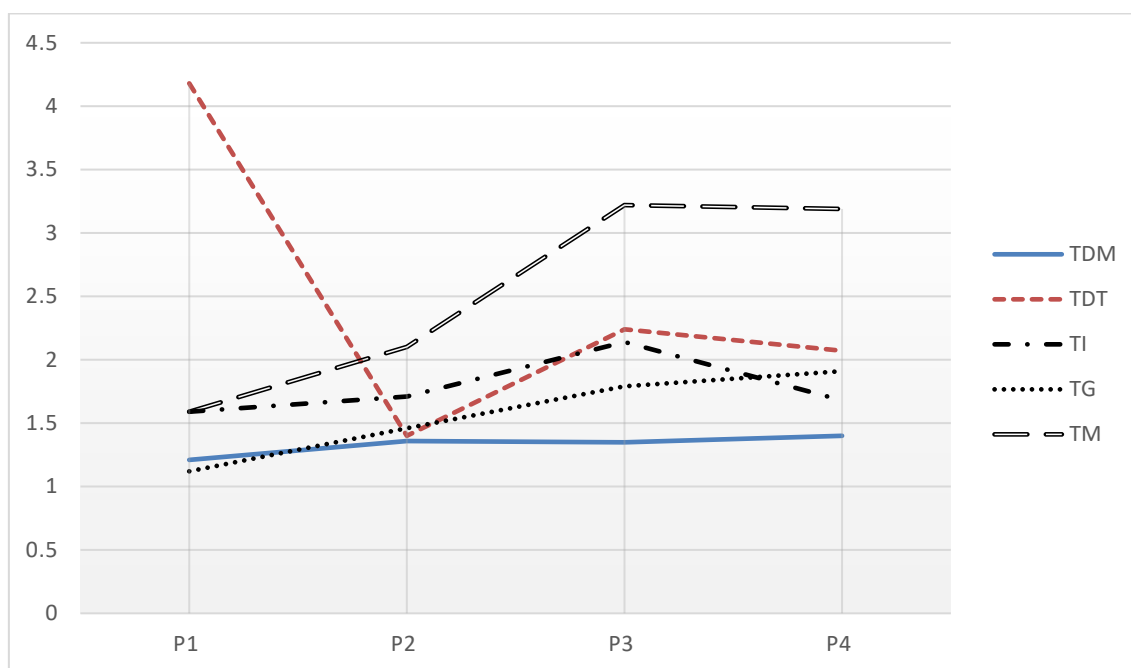
Figure 4-7 Hits of *MW*(s) words in each period per newspaper (NF per each 1000 words in each period)

The same problem of normalised frequencies was encountered again in Figure 4-7 above. For example, RF= 120 occurrences of the node MW(s) in TDT in P_1 were given a rate of 4.18 per 1000 words in comparison to TG in P_1 which have received only NF= 1.28 for a RF=286 of the node MW(s). This leads to the conclusion that normalised frequencies might 1) overstate the value of particular uses of the node due to the small size of their corpus i.e. *TDT₁ = 3350 tokens/words* or 2) may underestimate the uses of certain node due to the lexical variance available in particular corpus that have used the node MW(s) e.g. NF= 1.28 of MW(s) in TG_1 which is *256,209 tokens/words*.

Overall, it seems that throughout the four chronological periods, TG and TI have more interest in reporting news stories using the term MW(s) more frequently than TDM, TDT (RW press) and TM (LW tabloid). Nonetheless, the RW press interest has increased noticeably after 9/11 to reach similar levels in P_3 and P_4, see figures 4-6 and 4-7 above.

Thus far, I have discussed the criteria through which the BPC was built and sub-classified. Next, I will discuss the analytical procedure.

4.3 Analysis and the discourse structure

The analysis of our BPC discourse is going to be at several levels of the discourse structure; Chapter Five will calculate and analyse the statistically significant keywords found in the BPC, Chapter Six will calculate and analyse the statistically significant collocates found in the BPC headlines corpus i.e. at the headlines level of discourse. These two chapters will reveal the most interesting themes and topics the British press favours when using the term MW(s). Then Chapter Seven will calculate and analyse the statistically significant collocates found at the sentence-level i.e. collocates that associates with the node *woma(e)n* and finally Chapter Eight will calculate and analyse the statistically significant collocates found at the sentence-level i.e. collocates that associates the node/phrase MW(s). It is worth noting that each level of analysis may stipulate a certain procedure of its own as well as a number of other limitations depending on its scope of analysis and corpus size as I will discuss in the coming sections.

4.3.1 Keywords

First, to extract the most frequent keywords in each of the four periods in the BPC, a statistical test of significance for every word that occurs in one corpus is carried through comparing its frequency with that in another reference corpus (Baker, 2006; Seale & Charteris-Black , 2010).

As shown in Table 4-7 above, the BPC was divided into the following individual sub-corpora: Period 1 corpus (P_1), Period 2 corpus (P_2), Period 3 corpus (P_3) and Period 4 corpus (P_4). In order to calculate the important keywords in each period, using **WordSmith₆,** each sup corpora e.g. Period 1 corpus (P_1) was contrasted with a reference corpus that contained the press use of the word *woma(e)n*. The reference corpus was built through randomly retrieving articles that have used the words *woman/women* in the same five newspapers - that were used in the BPC – since 1992. The Nexis database was instructed to retrieve articles that have used the words *woman* OR *women* but NOT *Muslim woman* OR *Muslim women*. This is the criterion through which our reference corpus was compiled, see Table 4-8 below.

Table 4-8 The woman/women reference corpus

Corpus	Tokens	Search node	Hits	per 1,000	Dispersion
Reference corpora	2,616,964	*woman*	4141	2.53	0.911
		women	2482		
		Together	6,623		

The reference corpus was found to contain the words *Muslim* F=240 and *Moslem* F=3. However, the word *Muslim* - in the reference corpus - appeared to collocate with *the* F=116, *and* F=83, *community* F=25, *not* F=21, *that* F=19, *was* F=18, *who* F=17, *woman* F=16 and women F=4, respectively. Accordingly, it can be stated that the reference corpus did not include direct uses of the term MW(s) and, therefore, it will help us to retrieve what kind of significant keywords are, distinctively, associated with term MW(s) in the BPC in each chronological period.

Following the academic convention in corpus-based research e.g. (Seale & Charteris-Black, 2010; McEnery & Hardie, 2012; Baker, 2010; Al-Hejin, 2012; Baker, et al., 2013 and others), the following procedural steps were followed to retrieve a list of the most significant keywords in the BPC.

First, a reliable statistical test was chosen i.e. the Log-likelihood ratio test[31] (LL, henceforth) (Dunning, 1993). Second, main and reference corpora were specified through which lists of significant keywords were produced e.g. P_1 versus *the women reference corpus* and finally 3) a statistically and analytically motivated cut-off point was chosen to produce a manageable amount of data for the qualitative analysis (Al-Hejin, 2012; Baker, et al., 2013).

It is worth noting here that, in the second step, I utilised the four periods BPC corpora, however, period one corpus was shortened to start from Sep 1998, so that the comparison between keywords in each period is established based on relatively similar periods of time, see Table 4-9 below.

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[31] The Log-likelihood ratio test (LL) (Dunning, 1993) was preferred as 1) it makes no assumption of normal distribution like the Chi-square test (McEnery & Hardie, 2012, p. 52) and 2) takes "both frequencies and the size of both documents into account when working out the score" (Bell, 2007, p. 19).

Table 4-9 Periods of time for the keywords calculation

Keywords for	'P1' : P₁ Vs. W(s) C corpus	P2 : P₂ Vs. W(s) corpus	P3 : P₃ Vs. W(s) corpus	P4: P₄ Vs. W(s) corpus
Period of time	From Sep 1998 to the 10ᵗʰ of Sep 2001	From 11ᵗʰ of Sep 2001 to the 6/7/2005	From 7/7/2005 to 30ᵗʰ of May 2009	From the 1ˢᵗ of June 2009 till Feb 2014

This enables the analysis to document any keywords that can be seen distinctive to a particular period of history in the BPC. On the other hand, the third procedural step above (cut-off point), is subjective to some extent and challenging, however, every effort was made to produce lists that neither sacrifice important keywords nor follow a subjective inclination in the analysis. Common cut-off points in CDA studies (Baker, 2010; Al-Hejin, 2012; Baker, et al., 2013) are usually decided in two steps: 1) specifying a strong statistical cut-off point such as $p < 0.00000000001$, 2) choosing the most frequent 50 or 100 keywords for the analysis. The smaller the p value, the fewer the keywords displayed (Flowerdew, 2008, p. 40). In the current research, a p value of 0.00000000001 was used[32], within which the top 50 words in each sub corpus (P1, P2, P3 and P4) were retrieved, giving a total of 200 significant keywords in the whole BPC. Following the academic convention used in corpus studies such as (Al-Hejin, 2012; Taylor, 2013 and others) and for the purpose of coherent discussion, these keywords were categorised manually based on their content into a number of semantic categories which were found useful for a manageable and revealing analysis (see Chapter 5). This step of semantic categorisation is the beginning of our macro-level analysis procedure which is an important stage because it introduces interpretation. Corpus methods are essentially micro analysis and help the analyst automate the selection of the material for analysis e.g. keywords (Chapter 5) and collocations (chapters 6, 7 and 8). However, our macro analysis occurs when we first start qualitative analysis of keywords i.e. by 1) grouping them into predetermined categories e.g. words that belong to a political body (court, party, MP, etc.,) 2) attributing discourse meanings to these

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[32] A p value of 0.00000000001 is equivalent to an LL value ≥ 38.4 and is considered to be reliable for keywords analysis (Al-Hejin, 2012, p. 50); a minimum value of statistical significance is LL ≥ 15 (Rayson, et al., 2004, p. 933).

categories through retrieving and investigating more textual context, and 3) seek cognitive analysis for the found conceptual structures e.g. integration, liberation, imprisonment, etc., that are dependent on particular socio-cognitive models and ideologies shared in society, see Chapter 2 section 2.3.

It is worth noting here that, keywords and collocations that suggest conceptual (metaphoric or schematic meaning) are considered as a macro-level analysis, wherever they occur, as they reflect a wider cognitive association[33] derived from a socio-cognitive (mental[34]) model of social reality e.g. *MWs are forced into arranged marriages*. Lastly, my procedure of analysis links the three main stages of analyses in CDA methodology, *identification, explanation and interpretation* (Fairclough, 1995a); whereas the first stage the *identification* is corpus-based the latter two are more qualitative as they rely on more textual evidence and socio-cognitive models of social reality as will be discussed later in more details in 4.4.

4.3.2 Collocations in headlines

Headlines represent essential macro-level structures in discourse (van Dijk, 1985) that was found to be a key means of revealing the discourse message (Alazzany, 2009), see Section 3.3 in Chapter 3. Therefore, out of the BPC, I retrieved all the news articles' headlines and compiled them in a separate corpus for the analysis, see Table 4-10 below.

Table 4-10 The original number of the retrieved articles` headlines for each newspaper per period

P	TDM headlines	TDT headlines	TI headlines	TG headlines	TM headlines	Total
1	147	9	212	235	25	628
2	87	119	154	170	54	584
3	269	122	230	256	123	1000
4	183	216	149	263	176	987
Total	686	466	745	924	378	3199

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[33] See Figure 2-2 in 2.11
[34] See mental models of events in 2.3.1

The BPC headlines corpus included the BPC headlines, besides their editorial notes such as the writer's name, the newspaper and the date of the article in each period, see Excerpts 4-1 below.

Excerpt 4-1A

Veil-wearing Muslim woman backs out of Channel 4 alternative to Queen's message, The Daily Telegraph, December 16, 2006 Saturday, NEWS; Pg. 8, 523 words, Richard Alleyne.

Excerpt 4-1B

Sarkozy's party wants to ban French Muslim women from wearing burka in public, The Guardian, December 23, 2009 Wednesday, GUARDIAN INTERNATIONAL PAGES; Pg. 15, 430 words, Lizzy Davies.

The aim, here, is to find, through calculating statistically significant collocations in headlines, what themes and topics are associated with MW(s) in the BPC discourse and who writes significantly about MWs in the British press. Nevertheless, a number of methodological challenges were encountered. First, the size of the corpus is very limited[35] to the extent that calculating significant collocates[36] with the node *woma(e)n* in some of the four periods was often not possible i.e. very few or null findings, see Appendix 3B. The reason behind this could be attributed to 1) the strong statistical level of significance used i.e. LL ≥ 15 (Rayson, et al., 2004, p. 933) and 2) the few occurrences of the nodes *woman* and *women* at the headline level in some periods. Therefore, after many intensive trial calculations, a number of procedural steps were taken to overcome this difficulty.

First, the collocation span was widened to 8 words[37] to each side of the node *woma(e)n* i.e. to retrieve as many significant collocations as possible. Second, the statistical level of significance was lowered from LL ≥ 15 (Rayson, et al., 2004, p. 933) to that of LL of ≥ 6.63 (Baker, et al., 2013, p. 37) – as will be discussed later

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[35] The corpus of BPC headlines[35] was composed of only 87,026 words/tokens and included 560 hits on W(s).

[36] I refer here mainly to lexical collocates i.e. those that exhibited a distinctive "discernible lexical meaning" (Al-Hejin, 2012, p. 157) e.g. *force* versus *to.* The analytical need here is to discover what themes and topics are associated with MW(s) in the BPC headlines and who writes significantly about MWs in the British press. Compare the lists in Appendixes 3A and 3B.

[37] The norm in corpus linguistics is four word span to each side of the node (Stubbs, 2001, p. 29).

in 4.3.4. Third, the headlines corpora of P_2 and P_3 were merged into one headlines corpus which is $P_{2\&3}$[38]. This helped the analysis to result in findings that have enabled us to find significant lexical collocates in headlines during a) P_1, b) $P_{2\&3}$ and c) P_4. Lexical collocates are those that can exhibit a distinctive "discernible lexical meaning" (Al-Hejin, 2012, p. 157). It is then that the analysis was able to document a number of seasonal collocates[39] (Appendix 3A) in the BPC headlines which, in turn, was able to reveal to us how i.e. *through which themes* and who writes about MW(s) in the British press i.e. the BPC (Chapter 6).

4.3.3 Micro- and macro-level collocations

Collocations in the current research are classified into two main types; a**) macro-level collocations** (those that occur at the headlines level in the BPC; Chapter 6) and b) **micro-level collocations** (those that occur at the sentence-level in the BPC; chapters 7 and 8).

As discussed earlier in Chapter Three, collocations, are indicative of the writer's intended messages (Cruse, 2000, p. 76) as well as revealing of evaluative meanings in discourse (Stubbs, 2001, p. 215), see 2.10 and 2.11. However, identifying collocations, which is "uncontroversial in theory", becomes "problematic in practice"; the criteria and statistics chosen to identify collocations e.g. *statistical tests* and *the collocational span* are not immune to subjectivity and this will have a major effect on what counts as a significant collocate and what does not (McEnery & Hardie, 2012, pp. 40-51). The statistical measures and procedure of calculating collocations in each chapter (chapters 6, 7 and 8) will be explained in the coming sections.

4.3.4 Statistical tests for calculating collocations

In relation to the statistical tests used in corpus-CDA research, the most common statistical formulas used to calculate significant collocations are usually

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[38] This step was finally selected to split the headlines found before 9/11 from those that came after 9/11.

[39] The collocations statistical measure was lowered to an LL of ≥ 6.63 (Baker, et al., 2013) as will be discussed in 4.3.4.

a combination of the MI (mutual information) (Hunston, 2002, p. 72) and the LL
(the Log-likelihood ratio test[40]) (Dunning, 1993). However, the MI is not a test of
statistical significance (McEnery, 2006, pp. 19-20); it is a "measure of how strongly
two words seem to associate in a corpus, based on the independent relative
frequency of the two words": a strong MI value ≥ 3 (Hunston, 2002, pp. 71-73) is
taken as a measure of the collocational strength (McEnery, et al., 2006, p. 65). One
widely known problem of MI is that it tends to give high weight to low frequency
words (Baker, 2006, p. 102); this may lead to an inaccurate analysis where low
frequency words appear more significant than the other, but, more frequent
words in the corpus or the text analysed. In fact, there is uncertainty among
practitioners about the usefulness of MI, as has been noted in recent corpus-
assisted studies (Aull & Brown, 2013) where it was stated that "at times, high-
frequency collocates with lower MI scores are also relevant to the analysis" (p.
32).

On the other hand, the LL is a measure of statistical significance of co-
occurrences and has been found more realistic than the MI as it does not give
much weight to infrequent words and takes the corpus size into account
(Dunning, 1993, p. 62). In a recent corpus-based CDA study (Al-Hejin, 2012, p.
51), both an LL value of ≥15.13 and an MI of ≥ 3 were combined to identify a list
of significant collocations (within a 3 words collocational span) for the analysis.
In fact, the value of LL of ≥15.13 is seen as the significance threshold (Rayson, et
al., 2004, p. 933). However, though Al-Hejin's study (2012) used an LL value of ≥
15.13, his supervisor, i.e. Paul Baker the famous corpus-based CDA practitioner,
has used an LL of ≥ 6.63 in his more recent corpus-CDA (Baker, et al., 2013), a
value which - he claims - reveals collocations that are both lexically interesting
and statistically significant (Baker, et al., 2013, p. 37); it is often found that by
lowering the significance level, the findings are often more interesting. In the
current research, I will use a higher level of LL ≥ 15 (Rayson, et al., 2004, p. 933)
for collocations at the sentence-level in the BPC (chapters 7 and 8) and a lower

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[40] Mentioned earlier in 4.3.1.

LL of ≥ 6.63 (Baker, et al., 2013, p. 37) for headlines collocates (Chapter 6) because of their corpus size i.e. the headlines corpus was limited and because of the other methodological and analytical needs mentioned earlier in 4.3.2.

In other words, whenever a high LL doesn't show enough data for the analysis then the level of significance is lowered to that of Baker, et al`s (2013, p. 37); by lowering the significance level, I will be able to find some 'interesting' data for the analysis (ibid) as encountered in the headlines corpus (Chapter 6). However, for collocations at the sentence-level of the BPC, a higher LL measure was always used (chapters 7 and 8).

4.3.5 MI versus LL for collocations

In the current study, in deciding which statistical test to use mainly in calculating lists of collocations, trial lists of collocations, using WordSmith6, were examined. The result was that collocations that most frequently co-occur with the node WOMEN (Ws, henceforth) in the BPC such as *Muslim* came to the top of the list of collocations when using the LL with the higher significance level[41] in contrast to the MI measure (see Table 4-11).

Table 4-11 The first 20 collocates of Ws in trial lists: MI versus LL

N	Column A Collocate: LL ▼	Column B Collocate: MI ▼
1	MUSLIM	EMPOWERS
2	OF	NEWSREADERS
3	TO	UPPITY
4	AND	OPPRESS
5	IN	ORDINATION
6	ARE	MUSLIMA
7	S	SUBJUGATION
8	FOR	EMPOWER
9	WHO	LIBERATES
10	THAT	SUFFRAGE
11	MEN	MOLESTATION
12	THEIR	HEADSCARFED
13	WEAR	SUBORDINATION
14	WERE	SUPPRESSING
15	HAVE	ERRANT
16	MANY	BOSNIAK
17	BY	DISCARD
18	YOUNG	SCANTILY
19	RIGHTS	ENSLAVING
20	WEARING	TSAR

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[41] LL ≥ 15 (Rayson, et al., 2004, p. 933).

In other words, whereas the MI tends to give greater weight to infrequent words, the LL gives more "realistic collocation information" (McEnery, et al., 2006, p. 220). However, the trial lists were more insightful than expected. In fact, each measure yielded a list that reflects an aspect of the semantic nature of the discourse investigated. While the LL produced a list of the most frequent collocates, the MI produced a list that seems to include collocates that suggest conceptual structures with the node Ws, see Table 4-11 above[42].

However, the list in Table 4-11 in some ways is consistent with Taylor's (2013) claim that, in corpus approaches to discourse studies, a 'blind spot' might be created when the search is mainly devoted to differences in the corpora while similarities are neglected; this, in turn, might hinder a full visualisation of the data and not serve researchers' desire for the 'completeness' or comprehensiveness of the analysis (p. 83)[43]. In a parallel way, I found that the MI list given in Table 4-11 above provides a systematic and ordered way into uncovering the conceptual words in the corpus. These conceptual words reveal types of social bias or maybe semi-systematic reporting about the MWs through words that are not as frequent as function words such as a, the, of, etc. but sometimes recur as different forms of the same lemma as in empower/empowers, see Table 4-11. Hence, taking the lists created by each measure into account would give a more comprehensive way of understanding what is in the corpus rather than focusing solely on frequent collocations based on the LL measure. Therefore, I have used both MI and the LL to retrieve lists of significant collocations for the analysis based on the following criteria which will offer an analytical window that is – rigorously and statistically motivated - into our analysis of epistemic priming (see 1.4 and 2.11).

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[42] See also Appendix 1.

[43] Relevant to this, after several trial examinations of keywords and collocations in the RW versus LW press and attempts to semantically categorise their discourse through Wmatrix3, it was decided that identifying keywords collocations and semantic categories should be mainly devoted to showing diachronic differences and similarities between periods P1, P2, etc. which was found more informative of the diachronic and synchronic variations the whole BPC (all four Ps) had including variations between the RW and LW press as forms of the British press discourse about MWs.

4.3.6 Statistically motivated cut-off points

In order to handle the enormous data emerging from the statistical tests of significance in WordSmith[6], I finally adopted the following criteria that are not only statistically motivated but also determined by the discourse analytical aims of this study, i.e. to identify the main (conceptual structures) collocations that co-occur with the nodes W(s) and MW(s) in the BPC (RQ1 and RQ2), see 1.5. For a collocate to be included in the analysis, it has to meet the following criteria (1 to 4):

1- Has a Log-likelihood (LL) (Dunning, 1993) value of ≥ 15.13; a statistical level of significance suggested by Rayson, et al. (2004, p. 933).
2- Has a t-score of ≥ 2 to ascertain that its combination is a collocational one (Hunston, 2002, pp. 71-73).
3- Has a minimum MI score ≥ 3 to confirm its collocational strength (Hunston, 2002, pp. 71-73).
4- Occurs five times or more (F ≥ 5) as a collocate and/or occur within the top fifty collocates (c.f. (Seale & Charteris-Black , 2010; Al-Hejin 2012; Baker, et al., 2013); I noticed from intensive trial lists that words that collocate with a node, e.g. *Ws*, five times or more meet the criteria in 1 to 3 above.
5- Occurs within an eight word span for W(s)-collocates at headline-level (Chapter 6). However, this type of collocations was calculated with an LL of ≥ 6.63, suggested by Baker, et al., 2013 (p. 37), (see 4.3.4), due to the limited size of the BPC headlines corpus as mentioned above in 4.3.2.
6- Occurs within a four word span for W(s)-collocates at sentence-level boundaries (Chapter 7).
7- Occurs within a two word span for MW(s)-collocates, i.e. conceptual (macro) and textual (micro) collocates within sentence boundaries (Chapter 8). As mentioned earlier, collocates that suggest conceptual (metaphoric or schematic meaning) are considered as a macro-level analysis, wherever they occur, as they reflect a wider cognitive association[44] derived from a socio-cognitive (mental[45]) model of social reality e.g. *MWs are forced into arranged marriages*.

While the collocations in headlines were discussed in 4.3.2 above, the last two types of collocates in points 6, and 7 above will be explained next. Lastly, it is worth mentioning that the cut-off criteria given above do produce qualitatively manageable and statistically significant collocations without compromising the main topics and themes concerning MWs in the BPC.

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[44] See Figure 2-2 in 2.11
[45] See mental models of events in 2.3.1

As mentioned earlier, in the current research, I have two main types of collocations; 1) collocations at the headline-level (Chapter 6) and 2) collocations at the sentence-level (chapters 7 and 8). I relate the first type to the macro-semantic structure of discourse as they reveal which topics are most frequent or preferred in the BPC in each period. In addition, collocates that suggest a conceptual structure, wherever they occur, represent a macro-level analysis, see point 7 in Section 4.3.6 above.

I used the following procedure to identify and quantify collocations of each type. First, reliable tests of statistical significance were piloted on a number of trial lists before they were finally used, see Table 4-11 above. Second, an appropriate collocational span relevant to what the analytical tool (identification of collocations) is required to reveal was identified. For example, an eight word span around the nodes *WOMAN* and *WOMEN* was used at the headline-level analysis of BPC discourse to reveal as many topics/themes as are present in the BPC (Chapter 6).

4.3.7 Micro-level collocations

At the sentence-level of collocations in the BPC, two types of nodes were investigated. First, the lemma *wom** which contains *WOMAN* (W) and *WOMEN* (Ws). Second, the nodes represented in the phrases *MUSLIM WOMAN* (MW) and *MUSLIM WOMEN* (MWs). In order to be able to extract more efficiently collocations with the phrasal nodes MW(s), I replaced all the phrases that appeared in the following ways: *Moslem woman* and *Muslim woman* were replaced with the node *MW*, and similarly the occurrences of the plural forms *Moslem women* and *Muslim women* were replaced with the node MWs throughout the BPC[46]. This step was taken to overcome a methodological challenge faced in the analysis of the phrases that contained MW(s) i.e. to calculate statistically, using WordSmith[6], the type of collocations that associate MW(s) in the BPC regardless of their two-word nature or various forms.

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[46] This step was done using an identical copy of the original BPC, the copy being created solely for this purpose i.e. to calculate MW(s)' collocates.

On the other hand, as for the nodes *WOMAN* (W), *WOMEN* (Ws), after trying different collocational spans intensively as well as reviewing the relevant literature (Baker, 2006; McEnery & Hardie, 2012; Al-Hejin, 2012), it was decided that four word spans on each side of the nodes W(s) were informative of how this type of social actor is presented in the BPC; in fact there is a 'consensus' in corpus linguistics that significant collocates are usually found within a four word span around the node (Stubbs, 2001, p. 29).

However, this four word span was found to have some problems in making the actual reading of W(s)'s collocates possible in the concordance (Chapter 7). For example, if the word *deprived* occurred (F=80) as a significant collocate within 4 words on either side of the node Ws, it appears that the eighty instances will be difficult to locate in the concordance nor would a clear pattern be easily locatable for the analysis. This might encourage a researcher to make generalisations about the semantic connotations of significant collocates without paying proper attention to their original contexts of use and this is what I noticed in previous corpus-based CDA on the topic (Al-Hejin, 2012; Baker, et al., 2013). Therefore, further steps were taken to overcome the problem: 1) all W(s)` significant collocates were classified through Wmatrix3 semantic categorisation 2) patterns that were adjacent to the node W(s) were located for the analysis (see Chapter 7).

Wmatrix3 [47] is an online corpus-based analytical tool developed in Lancaster University. The way Wmatrix3 works, is that it groups words based on their semantic or grammatical functions. For example, lexical items such as *veil, hijab, headscarves* will be grouped into a Wmatrix3 category named *Clothes and personal belongings*.

Two complete lists of significant collocates that appeared with the nodes *Woman* and *women* were fed into Wmatrix3 for semantic categorisation. The aim was not to sacrifice W(s)-collocates that were found in the long collocation lists

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[47] WordSmith6 is the software mainly used in the analysis, yet, Wmatrix3 was used complementary here to account for different lemmas of that the significant W(s)-collocates that were found in the collocation lists beyond the threshold of our cut-off point (Chapter 7).

but were beyond the threshold of our cut-off point. Therefore, Wmatrix$_3$ was used complementary here to account for these and other less significant collocates that had their other different lemmas/forms appeared at the top of the W(s) list of collocates e.g. *empower*, versus *empowering* (Chapter 7).

Wmatrix$_3$ provides, with statistical significance, a panoramic semantic scene of what vocabulary is more included or overused in a particular corpus i.e. list of W-collocates F=312 in comparison to another one i.e. W(s)-collocates F=777. The top overused 20 Wmatrix$_3$ semantic categories were calculated based on the LL measure (Dunning, 1993), (Chapter 7 sections 7.1 to 7.3). This approach offers a methodological triangulation in support of the analysis of macro-level structures i.e. keywords and collocations in headlines. In other words, it counts for all the significant semantic associations with the node W(s) in the BPC discourse. Therefore, it is as important as the other methods in revealing, with a statistical significance, how the MW(s) are semantically, lexically and epistemically primed in the British press discourse.

After studying collocates that appear with W(s) (reported on in Chapter 7), I moved to the more relevant node which is MW(s) (reported on in Chapter 8). It was decided that a narrower span of 2 words on each side of the node MW(s) will reveal the conceptual patterns that associate with the node MW(s) in the BPC and provide a more informative analysis to answer RQ1 (see 1.5). More specifically, this step was taken to investigate conceptual structures and cognitive mechanisms that recurrently collocate with MW(s). This includes collocates that act as modifiers, classifiers or predicates in a phrase that contains MW(s) (Chapter 8).

In all chapters, some important conceptual structures (e.g. involving *forced*, *integration,* etc.) and recurrent cognitive mechanisms were found. These requires a more genuine qualitative analysis of themes, values ideologies etc., which the quantitative i.e. corpus-based analysis have hinted, but requires further semantic and cognitive analysis. Therefore, I will always present their textual evidence in sets of contextualised excerpts to enable us to explain the cognitive models (ideology) which underlie them, exploiting cognitive semantic

notions such as *profiling*, *schemas, metonymies* and *metaphors* (see 2.8). The detailed analytical procedure will be discussed next.

4.4   The analytical procedure

The BPC was searched through WordSmith$_6$ since it is one of the most reliable corpus concordancing and search programs that has been developed for corpus-based analysis of text (by Scott, 2000) and was used in many discourse analysis studies (Hoey, 2005; Gabrielatos & Baker, 2008; Al-Hejin, 2012). Through WordSmith$_6$, I was able to trace many occurrences of the research's lexical nodes and lemmas such as *MW(s)* as well as inspect variant patterns of co-occurrence where needed.

The *WordSmith$_6$* concordancer found many 'naturally' occurring examples, which would have been hard to find by hand, "[u]naided human observation may still be of limited use in seeing significant linguistic patterns" (Stubbs, 2001, p. 62). However, the researcher's intuition was still needed to detect contextual factors and lexical features found in the analysed data.

The analysis was divided usually into three main stages summarised in the verbs 1) *identify*, 2) *interpret* and 3) *explain* which represent the methodology of CDA (Fairclough, 1995a). Using WordSmith$_6$, I identified the main significant keywords and collocations as well as their associated-text and patterns, e.g. *Muslim women should be banned from wearing the veil*. In the **identification stage**, the job of the analyst was to identify bits of language, e.g. *collocations*, that co-occurred with the targeted lexical node(s) in each section/chapter (see 4.3). The targeted lexical nodes and lemmas were searched for, using the WordSmith$_6$ concordance, to obtain their frequency as well as their contexts. The concordance of WordSmith$_6$ is designed to show up to 25 words to the left and right sides of the lexical nodes. However, for WordSmith$_6$ to be able to locate the research lexical nodes e.g. *MW(s)* in a BPC-corpus, it was fed - in the query box - with a search term that adheres to a specific format as in the examples below:

Muslim woman
Retrieve *Muslim woman* but not *Muslim women, Muslim woman's,* etc.
Muslim wom*
Retrieve *Muslim woman OR Muslim women, Muslim woman's,* etc.
Muslim wom* in
Retrieve *Muslim woman in* OR *Muslim women in* but not *Muslim women who are in*
== Muslim women==
Retrieve *Muslim women* but not *muslim women*
Oppression/honour killing/human rights
Retrieve *oppression* OR *honour killing* OR *human rights*

Using the concordance, collocations and patterns were identified as well as their exact discourse meaning and frequencies. In very rare cases, examples that did not meet the recurrence condition (see Point 4 in 4.3.6 above), or were not informative for the current CDA, were excluded before the interpretation stage. References to these cases are made in the following chapters.

After that, I began to interpret the cognitive semantic nature as well as the source concepts (domains) utilised in the conceptual expressions found (see 2.8 above). For example, a sentence like *Muslim women are forced into arranged marriages* has a conceptual structure that co-occurs on the right hand side of the lexical node MWs. The connotative meaning of this conceptual structure can be determined if the *source* concept(s) of that metaphor ARRANGED MARRIAGES ARE CONTAINERS WHICH MWS ARE FORCED TO ENTER is spelled out and its accompanying contextual meaning is explained within the macro frame of text where it was used, e.g. *headlines*, including determining the socio-political level of power in/of discourse (**Interpretation stage**). For example, a statement like *it has been claimed that Muslim women are oppressed*, is different from a statement like *Many Muslim women are oppressed*; the word *claimed* has mitigated the semantic proposition in the first sentence (see *mitigation* versus *intensifying* strategies in 2.5 above).

The co-text was therefore always interpreted according to the nature of the cognitive readings or connotations it evokes. For example, the linguistic phrase *the first Muslim woman* would appear to have a neutral connotation if not a positive one. However, this may not be true, as seen in its co-text in Excerpt 4-2 below.

Excerpt 4-2

'Lyrical terrorist' wanted children to carry out jihad [Headline]
A HEATHROW shop assistant who dubbed herself the "Lyrical Terrorist'' yesterday became the **first Muslim woman** in Britain to be found guilty of terrorism offences. [Lead]   (TDT₂, November 9, 2007).

As shown above, further linguistic details like the headline revealed more about the preferred cognitive semantic connotation of the collocate *first* in the phrase *the first MW*.

In the last stage of the analysis **(Explanation stage)** which is a macro-level analysis, the pragmatic functions of the identified lexical items, e.g. *keywords* and *collocations*, were inferred based on their original context of occurrence including co-text, socio-political context and the chronological period. However, as for the conceptual structures found, their original co-text of occurrence in the BPC was, additionally, examined in comparison to other attested examples and uses found in dictionaries (LDCE, 2018), (OUP, 2018) as well as their uses in the British National Corpus (BNC, 2017) e.g. *women's emancipation* (cf. 2.12 above). The text was then re-examined for more textual evidence for the discourse meaning inferred. Finally, alternative linguistic ways of conceptualising the same news event through language were presented and compared whenever available.

It is also worth noting here that Microsoft Excel 2013 was utilised recurrently in filtering and organising the exported data from Wordmsith₆ and Wmatrix₃.

4.5   Ethical issues

Discourse analysts might need to consider ethical issues like *reproduction permissions* (Baker, 2006, pp. 37-38). Should the researcher seek permission for reusing or analysing textual data that are available to the public and in the public domain under copyright e.g. *the press*? In fact, the academic convention is that such material does not require any request for permission if used for research purposes using the appropriate referencing style, and this is what was followed in the current research. Another ethical issue to be considered in social research is that it has to contribute to the wellbeing but not the underrepresentation or

exclusion of social groups or ethnic minorities (May, 1997) such as MWs in Britain.

4.6 Chapter summary

In this chapter, I discussed 1) the criteria according to which the BPC was built and sub-classified, 2) the analytical measures and procedures used to extract data for the analysis, as well as 3) the analytical claims and the main software used in this research i.e. WordSmith$_6$ and Wmatrix$_3$. Findings will be presented and discussed in Chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8 following.

5 Chapter Five: Keywords

5.1 Significant keywords

Table 5-1 below presents the top 200 keywords in the BPC i.e. the top 50 frequent words found in each sub-corpus (P₁, P₂, P₃ and P₄) based on the criteria given in sections 4.3 and 4.4. The first 50 words (Table 5-1) in each period were chosen[48] as cut-off point for the purpose of providing a manageable amount of data for clear and succinct analysis (Al-Hejin, 2012; Baker, et al., 2013). The following semantic categories DRESS, RELIGION, POLITICAL ACTIVITY, etc., (see Table 5-1) were an umbrella through which the contents of the retrieved 200 keywords were classified based on similarity in the semantic content (see 4.3.1; Seale & Charteris-Black , 2010).

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[48] See Appendix 2 for their original order.

Table 5-1 The first 50 keywords in the sub-corpora of the BPC

Table 2: Keywords as calculated based on 4 consecutive time periods without overlap				
	P1 : P₁ Vs. W(s) Corpora	**P2** : P₂ Vs. W(s) Corpora	**P3** : P₃ Vs. W(s) Corpora	**P4**: P₄ Vs. W(s) Corpora
SEMANTIC CATEGORY	**Sep 1997 to 10 Sep 2001**	**Sep 2001 to 6 July 2007**	**7 July 2005 to 30 May 2009**	**July 2009 to Feb 2014**
DRESS		*JILBAB, VEIL, HEADSCARF, HEADSCARVES, WEAR*	*VEIL, VEILS, VEILED, NIQAB, HEADSCARF, HIJAB, WEAR, WEARING*	*VEIL, VEILS, BURKA, NIQAB, HIJAB, HEADSCARF, WEAR, WEARING, ~~FULL~~-FACE*
RELIGION	*MOSLEM, MUSLIM, MUSLIMs, ISLAM, ISLAMIC, RELIGIOUS,*	*MOSLEM, MUSLIM, MUSLIMs, ISLAM, ISLAMIC, RELIGIOUS, RELIGION, KORAN, MOSQUE, FAITH, PROPHET*	*MUSLIM, MUSLIMs, ISLAM, ISLAMIC, RELIGIOUS, RELIGION, MOSQUE, FAITH, KORAN*	*MUSLIM, MUSLIMS, ISLAM, ISLAMIC, RELIGIOUS, RELIGION, FAITH, MOSQUE, CHRISTIAN*
POLITICAL ACTIVITY			*DEBATE, POLITICAL*	*BAN, DEBATE,*
RULING/ POLITICAL, BODY	*UN, NATO*	*TALIBAN*	*SHARIA, LAW*	*SHARIA, LAW, PARTY, MP*
COUNTRIES/ CITIES AND NATIONALITY	*BOSNIA, BOSNIAN, SERB, SERBS, SERBIAN, KOSOVO, YUGOSLAVIA, HAGUE, FOCA, BEIRUT, PALESTINIAN, ARAB, CAIRO, EGYPT ASIAN, INDIAN, PAKISTAN, PAKISTANI, BRUNEI*	*ASIAN, AFGHAN, AFGHANISTAN, INDIA, IRANIAN, IRAN, IRAQ, PALESTINIAN, ARAB, ISRAEL, ISRAELI, WESTERN, DUTCH*	*IRAQ, ASIAN, BRITISH, COUNTRY*	*FRENCH, FRANCE, BRADFORD, EGYPT*
WAR	*WAR*			
VIOLENCE AND WAR CRIMES	*SREBRENICA, RAPE, CRIMES,*			
SOCIAL ACTORS SOCIAL ACTORS — Intellectual	*EL, SAADAWI, AL-SHAYKH, DESAI*	*GOGH, HIRSI, ALI,*	*ALI,*	
SOCIAL ACTORS SOCIAL ACTORS — Political	*KARADZIC MILOSEVIC, BHUTTO, JEFRI and MARKETIC*	*SADDAM, BUSH,*	*JACK, STRAW,*	*SARKOZY, GALLOWAY, WARSI, TIMMS*
SOCIAL ACTORS SOCIAL ACTORS — Criminal/terrorism	*THERESE*	*LADEN, BIGLEY,*		*CHOUDHRY*
SOCIAL ACTORS SOCIAL ACTORS — Hijab/veil-wearing Muslim woman		*SHABINA*	*AZMI*	
IDEOLOGICAL CONCEPTS			*MULTICULTURALISM, EXTREMISM, INTEGRATION*	
VERBS			*REMOVE*	
NOUNS			*SCHOOLS*	
ADJECTIVES AND ADVERBS	*ETHNIC*	*AGAINST,*	*ETHNIC, CULTURAL*	
PREP & ARTICLES	*THE*	*OF*		*Â,*
MARITAL STATUS	*MARRIAGES,*			
SOCIAL GROUPS	*WOMEN, COMMUNITY*	*WOMEN, COMMUNITY*	*WOMEN, COMMUNITY, COMMUNITIES, SOCIETY*	*WOMEN, COMMUNITY, MINORITY*
MONTHS			*OCTOBER,*	
NEWSPAPERS AND EDITORIAL NOTES	GUARDIAN, INDEPENDENT, PRINT, LIMITED,	*GUARDIAN, TELEGRAPH, INDEPENDENT, LIMITED, PAGES, PRINT, EDITION*	*PAGES, GUARDIAN, TELEGRAPH, INDEPENDENT, LIMITED, PRINT, NEWSPAPER, RIGHTS, EDITION*	*MGN, PAGES, RIGHTS, EDITION, GUARDIAN, JOURNAL-CODE, TELEGRAPH, INDEPENDENT, LIMITED, IA, NEWSPAPER, DTL, RPTD*

In the following lines, I will discuss the keywords in each category, providing contextual details, obtained through Wordsmith[6] concordances, to reveal their actual meaning and usage from the available data.

5.2   Muslim women and DRESS

First, frequent vocabulary related to the MW's <u>DRESS</u> was found in P_2, P_3 and P_4. However, it did not appear among the top 50 keywords in P_1. This suggests that the British press interest in reporting controversies over MW's dress has become prominent in the period after 9/11 (i.e. in P_2, P_3 and P_4) but not before then. Furthermore, while the <u>DRESS</u> keywords in P_2 were various and did not include face-covers, they became more ambiguous in P_3 e.g. *VEIL, VEILS* and *VEILED* (see sections 3.3 and 3.4) before they, finally, turn to be more regular about facial covers in P_4 top 50 keywords e.g. *BURKA, FACE and NIQAB*, see tables 5-1, 5-2 and Figure 5-1 below.

Table 5-2 Frequency rate of each dress type (occurrence per each 1000 words) in the corpora (NF).

Dress Type	retrieved lemmas	P1	P2	P3	P4
Face-covers	*niqab/nikab/burka/burga/burqa/face-veil*/faceveil*/face-cover*/facecover*/fullface*/full-face**	0.40	0.44	2.08	1.69
Head-covers	*headcover/head-cov*/headsca*/head-sca*/hijab*/hejab**	0.08	0.18	0.51	1.47
Ambiguous term	*Veil**	0.28	1.09	0.69	0.71
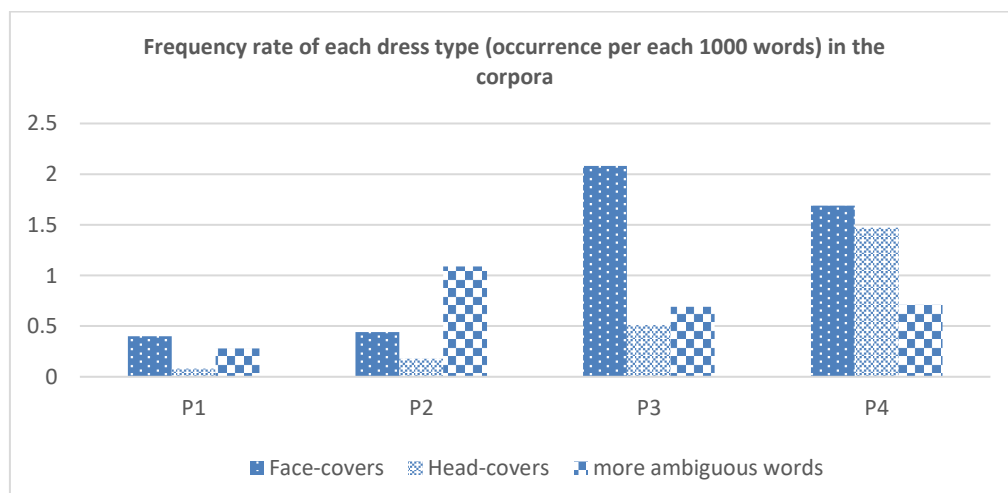
Figure 5-1 Frequency rate of each dress type (occurrence per each 1000 words) in the corpora (NF).

From the data given in Figure 5-1 above, it is clear that mentions of the face-cover outnumbered mentions of the head-covers in all periods. Nevertheless, it is worth reporting here that there was a steep increase in the use of face-covers more particularly in the period after 7/7 bombings which continued to maintain a nearly similar level of occurrences in P_4. These could be attributed two facts; 1) the bombers of 7/7 have used the face-covers to conceal from the security cameras (Ahmad, 2010) and 2) the coverage about the 'veil' (face-covers) 'row' that was instigated by the remarks of Jack Straw in October 2006 (Al-Hejin, 2007a&b) and *DEBATE*s and calls to outlaw/*BAN* face-veils after June 2009 i.e. in P_4 (see sections 3.4.5 and 4.2).

On the other hand, references to head-covers in P_1 and P_2 had similar levels (Figure 5-1). However, after 7/7 they increased twice before they reach their peak in P_4. Lastly, the use of indefinite MWs`-dress words such as *veil* was found to be more preferred after 9/11 in P_2 before they continued to maintain nearly similar levels in P_3 and P_4.

Overall, the occurrences of the lemma *veil** have always collocated most with *full* and *face* as in the phrase *full-face veil* and *remove their veils* in both P_3 and P_4. In addition, the explicit mentions of face-covers, have always outnumbered all other categories (see Figure 5-1). This suggests that the presentation of Muslim women in the British press was narrowed down to denote those women who cover their faces more particularly after the terrorist bombings of 7/7. Furthermore, this also indicates that the majority of Muslim women in Britain and all over the world who obviously do not cover their faces were almost suppressed and/or pushed to the background (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 29) in the discourse using the term MWs in the British Press after 7/7.

Discussion of the keywords in the <u>DRESS</u> category reveals that MWs were significantly more identified through their type of dress after 9/11. This leads to the conclusion that there were very few controversies about MWs` dress in the 1990s and that it only became a 'significant' issue with the rise of Muslim identity politics post 9/11 (Ahmed, 2001) and 7/7 (Ahmad, 2010).

5.3   RELIGION

In terms of <u>RELIGION</u>, there were few keywords related to this category in P_1 in comparison to the other three periods. *RELIGION, FAITH, KORAN, MOSQUE* and *PROPHET* were found as significant keywords in P_2, P_3 and P_4 but did not appear in P_1 list (Table 5-1 above). The late emergence of these significant keywords suggests that the religion of Islam in relation to MWs became a momentous topic for the press discourse only after 9/11. This reflects how such a moment of crises can affect the presentation of Muslim women in the press discourse.

In fact, the findings here are coherent with the findings in 5.2 above where we did not find a single keyword about MWs dress in P_1. This points to the conclusion that, unlike P_2, P_3 and P_4 the use of the term MW(s) in the BPC was not principally about discussing the MW(s)` identity or religion in P_1; such changes mark a major shift in the British press discourse using the term MWs in the British press after 9/11 and 7/7.

On the other hand, the spelling form *MOSLEM* was found as a keyword in P_1 and P_2. This form of spelling was highlighted by Baker (2010); he stated that they were used in TDM and TDT before The Muslim Council of Britain's Media Committee wrote to the editors of The Daily Mail (TDM) "on 16th July 2002 asking them to standardise their spelling of common Arabic words so as not to cause unnecessary offence to British Muslims" (Baker, 2010, p. 324), yet it was found to recurrently appear in TDM and TI as found in the BPC even after 2002 (see Table 4-5 in section 4.2.1).

5.4   POLITICAL ACTIVITY

In relation to the category <u>POLITICAL ACTIVITY</u>, first in P_3, the keyword *DEBATE* (F=404; 0.54 per each 1000 words) was found to refer mainly to 1) the *Comments and Debate* pages in TG_3 and 2) the debate over the wearing of the 'face-veil' instigated by the remarks of Jack Straw in 2006 (Bartlett, 2006) (see 3.4.5). In a similar vein, *POLITICAL* (F=499; 0.64 per each 1000 words) was also a keyword

in P₃, it was found to collocate most with *correctness* (F=51), *byline* (F=35), *section* (F=34), *editor* (F=22), *correspondent* (F=19), *news* (F=34). This indicates how important and political the use of the term MW(s) became in the press discourse after 7/7. In simple words, it can be said that since then MWs and their dress were the subjects of major and recurrent political debates.

In P₄, *DEBATE* (F=258; 0.44 per each 1000 words), was also a significant keyword, it collocated most with *national* (F=47), *comment* (F=25), *whether* (F=21). These references were found to be largely similar to the use of *DEBATE* in P₃, yet new references were made to politicians' calls for national debates in Britain and France to *BAN* the face covers/veils.

In fact, *BAN* (F=570; 0.54 per each 1000 words) *was* also significant keywords in P₄. It collocated with *burka* (F=87), *veil* (F=58), *wearing* (F=58), *veils* (F=48), *full* (F=51), *face* (F=51) and *niqab* (F=29). These collocates suggest that the use of the indefinite word *veil(s)* is lexically preferred to a similar degree as other definite forms that denote the face-covers such as *burka*. This, in turn, supports the findings, reached earlier in the <u>DRESS</u> category above, that P₄ discourse was mainly about the face-veiled women. It is worth remembering here that this is the period in which the French government has officially banned wearing the face-veil in France (see 3.4.5). While an initial inquiry about the ban was inaugurated in June 2009, which is the beginning of P₄, a formal ban was enforced in September 2010 (Davies, 2010).

5.5   RULING/POLITICAL BODY

On the other hand, the category <u>RULING/POLITICAL BODY</u> (Table 5-1) included different keywords in each period. First, in P₁, *UN (United Nations)* and *NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization)* were keywords which are all relevant to the dominant theme found in P₁ i.e. the war in Bosnia. Second, in P₂, the word *TALIBAN* was found as a keyword which shows how the theme of terrorism after 9/11 has dominated the discourse using the term MW(s).

In P₃ and P₄, *SHARIA* and *LAW*, were found as significant keywords. First, in P₃, *SHARIA* (F=336), was found to collocate most with *law* (F=140), *under*

(F=31), *Islamic* (F=28), *courts* (F=22) and clustered in phrases such as 1) *under Sharia law* (F=24), 2) *Sharia law in* (F=18), 3) *Islamic Sharia Council* (F=11), 4) *to live under sharia* (F=9) and 5) *to live under Sharia law* (F=8).

While the third cluster refers to an institutional body, the other four refer to *Sharia law*. The pattern *to live under sharia law* represents a conceptual structure where *sharia* is conceptualised as a vertical powerforce which sounds oppressive and all–encompassing. In fact, this was found to be a common pattern used in British English when talking about law as found in a number of examples in the British National Corpus (BNC, 2017):

1- The consequences strike at the right of the people of this country to live under the laws made and altered by their representatives in Parliament.

2- In Egypt, for example, women are not required under law to adopt their partner's name.

(BNC, 2017)

A concordance query of the conceptual patterns *under Sharia law* retrieved (F=24) instances in P$_3$, see Figure 5-2.

1	happy that those who stone women to death under Sharia law are simply expressing their	TDM 2005
2	is the Islamic establishment. I married that man under Sharia law, and it was up to them to help	TDM 2006
3	and 60 per cent of British Muslims want to live under sharia law, and parts of our inner cities	TDM 2006
4	of Islam, with almost four in ten wanting to live under Sharia law in Britain. The study identifies	TDM 2007
5	cent of over-55s said they would prefer to live under Sharia law, that increased to 37 per cent	TDM 2007
6	and said we would be all better off living under Sharia law. 'What are your Western	TDM 2007
7	British Muslims aged 18-24 would prefer to live under Sharia law than British law. The study,	TDM 2007
8	to turn Britain into an Islamic state living under Sharia law, momentum is growing. A few	TDM 2007
9	soft' on criminals. The penalties for criminals under Sharia law might be harsh - some would	TDM 2007
10	away with it. Things would be better if we lived under Sharia law. 'We don't want to be like the	TDM 2007
11	sex and rubbish all day long. 'The punishments under Sharia law are tough, but they do stop	TDM 2007
12	of 16 and 24 said they would prefer to live under sharia law in Britain, a legal system based	TDT 2007
13	per cent. In some countries, people found guilty under sharia law face penalties such as	TDT 2007
14	cent of 16- to 24-year-olds would prefer to live under Sharia law than the laws of this country.	TDT 2007
15	, found that two out of five would prefer to live under Sharia law in Britain, while one in eight	TDT 2007
16	Kingdom - and the world over - can be brought under Sharia law. I take Islam - a religion which	TDT 2007
17	Muslims aged 16 to 24 would prefer to live under sharia law." Yes, indeed - and if I was a	TDT 2007
18	cultural tradition, but it is not sanctioned under sharia law. It is a "tribal or traditional	TG 2007
19	could do was issue a recommendation that under sharia law their assets should be split	TG 2007
20	do not have the same rights afforded to them under sharia law as they do under the British	TG 2008
21	her adequately of the seriousness of adultery under sharia law. The verdict, delivered in	TI 2002
22	up to federal level for all those condemned under sharia law. LOAD-DATE: April 09, 2002	TI 2002
23	its own vision of a renewed Islamic Caliphate under sharia law that it wishes to impose on the	TI 2007
24	An invisible group of Muslim women suffers under sharia law SECTION: COMMENT; Pg. 30	TI 2008

Figure 5-2 Mentions of *under sharia law*

Some of the instances in Figure 5-2 above represent recurrent as well as Islamophobic exaggerations expressed mainly in 1) the actions associated with *Sharia Law* in discourse e.g. *stoning* and 2) the quantifications/aggregation and identification of social actors (van Leeuwen, 2008, pp. 42-46) given by the Right-wing (RW) press TDM$_3$ and TDT$_3$, see Concordance Lines (ConcLs, henceforth) 3, 5, 7, 12, 13, 14, 15 and 17. The RW press, the tabloid (TDM$_3$) and broadsheet (TDT$_3$), were found to 'enjoy a more discursive interest' (Fowler, 1991, p. 82) in the *sharia law* theme than the Left-wing press (LW) press TG$_3$ and TI$_3$[49], see Figure 5-2 above.

Fowler (1990) signalled that it is important for CDA to trace what types of lexical choices are discursively employed by a particular type of press (ibid) (see 2.2.4). Examining the concordance for occurrences of *Sharia* has revealed that it occurred with a negative discourse/semantic prosody (2.8.3 and 2.10) mainly in the RW press (TDM$_3$ and TDT$_3$) - further contextual details are provided below-.

Excerpts 5-1

> *Excerpt 5-1A*
> **A GENERATION OF OUTSIDERS;**
> **Multiculturalism 'drives young Muslims to shun British values'** [HEADLINE]
> THE doctrine of multiculturalism has alienated an entire generation of young Muslims and made them increasingly radical, a report finds today. In stark contrast with their parents, growing numbers sympathise with extreme teachings of Islam, with almost four in ten wanting to live ***under Sharia law*** in Britain. The study identifies significant support for wearing the veil in public, Islamic schools and even punishment by death for Muslims who convert to another religion…… The poll of 1,000 Muslims, weighted to represent the population across the UK, found that a growing minority of youngsters felt they had less in common with non-Muslims than their parents did. While only 17 per cent of over-55s said they would prefer to live ***under Sharia law,*** that increased to 37 per cent of those aged 16 to 24. Sharia law, which is practised in large parts of the Middle East, specifies stonings and amputations as routine punishments for crimes. It also acts as a religious code for living, covering dietary laws and dress codes. Religious police are responsible for bringing suspects before special courts.
>
> (TDM$_3$, January 29, 2007)

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[49] See Table 4-1 in Section 4.2.

Excerpt 5-1B

<u>Muslim extremists</u> are like the BNP, says Cameron [HEADLINE]

DAVID CAMERON compared <u>Muslim extremists</u> to the British National Party yesterday as he warned that there could never be "proper integration'' unless ministers tackled uncontrolled immigration. ……..The survey, by the Right-wing think-tank Policy Exchange, found that two out of five would prefer <u>to live **under Sharia law**</u> in Britain, while one in eight expressed admiration for al-Qa'eda.

(TDT$_3$, January 30, 2007)

Similarly to P$_3$, *SHARIA* in P$_4$, (F=271) collocated most with *law* (F=89), *under* (F=31), *courts* (F=47), *Britain* (F=24), *Islamic* (F=22), and clustered in phrases such as 1) *of Sharia law* (F=14), 2) *Islamic Sharia Council* (F=9), *under Sharia law* (F=6). It is clear that the use of *sharia* to question Islam as a belief and religion has started to increase substantially after 7/7 in comparison to a modest use of the term before then.

Overall, the use of *sharia* spread significantly after 7/7, see Figure 5-3 and Table 5-1.
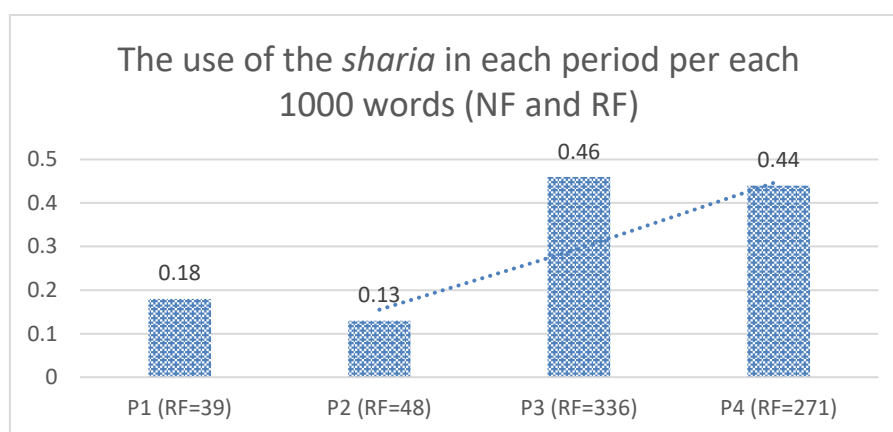
Figure 5-3 Mentions of Sharia in BPC (NF and RF)

Though *SHARIA* was found to be a common topic in the LW Broadsheets (TI and TG) in all the four periods, its preference started in the RW press (TDM, TDT) after 9/11 and had its peak in P$_3$ i.e. after 7/7. TM (the LW tabloid) was the least interested in the *SHARIA* theme; it started using *SHARIA* only after the 7/7 bombings in London, see Figure 5-4 below.
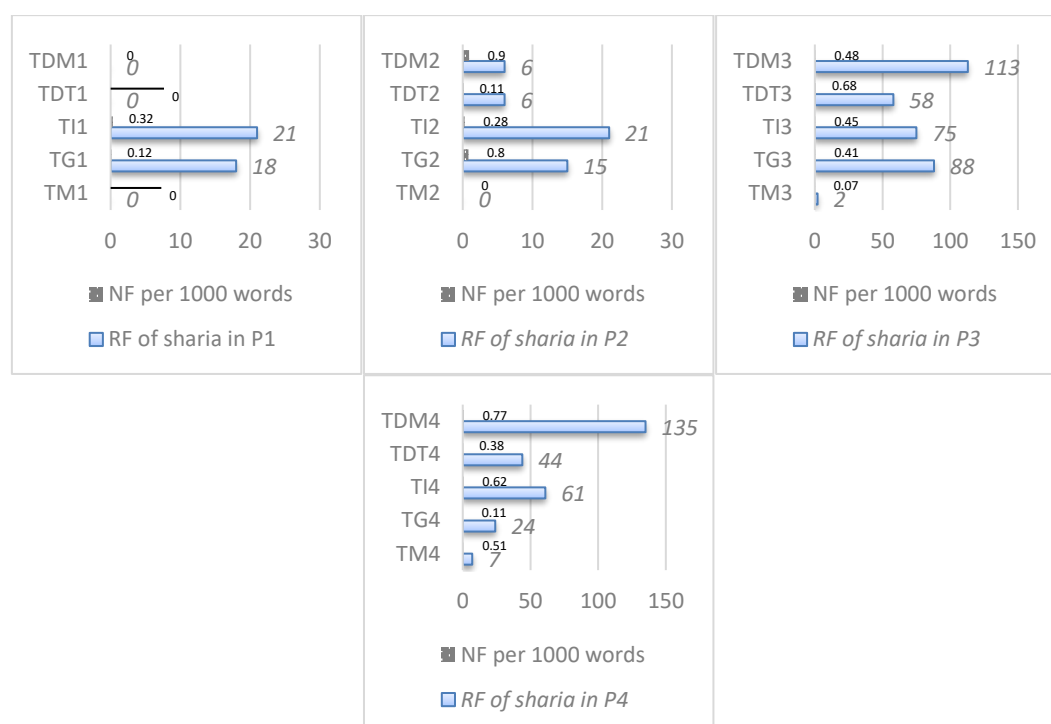
Figure 5-4 Mentions of *Sharia* in BPC (NF and RF)

It is clear that the 7/7 bombings have affected the discourse using the term MWs. Though TG and TI were found to report recurrently about *Sharia* in relation to MWs (Figure 5-4), TDM has shown an unprecedented and overwhelming interest in reporting about *sharia* in P_3 and P_4.

It can be said that *SHARIA* was used to reduce the wider concept of Sharia to denote issues such as *face-veil, stoning* [50] *, amputation, beheading, lashing, extremism*[51] and *radicalism,* etc. These are relative issues which vary according to the political interpretation of social regulations in Islam, i.e. 'Sharia law' in different countries, but are not as definite as represented in the RW discourse, e.g. see Excerpts 5-1 above.

One point noticed from excerpts 5-1A and 5-1B as well as the ConcLs in Figure 5-2 is that Muslims were presented as 'radical', 'outsiders' (Excerpt 5-1A) or are 'extremists' who have incompatible ideas (e.g. *significant support for wearing the veil in public*: Excerpt 5-1A) that may hinder 'national integration' and are

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[50] Mentions of *stoning* in the BPC are given in Appendix 6.
[51] Mentions of the lemma *extrmi** in the BPC will be given few pages below.

linked to 'terrorism'(Excerpt 5-1B). In Excerpts 5-1, two interrelated discursive strategies (DHM, in 2.5) were used; intensifying and framing.

First, as mentioned earlier (Chapter 2 in 2.5) the *mitigation* versus *intensifying* strategies are the linguistic means through which the illocutionary force of an utterance or proposition is qualified or reduced (DHM, in 2.5). Referring to Muslims with phrases such as *radical, extremist, increasingly* and *growing* is a qualifying strategy that the discourse in excerpts 5-1 above has used to qualify and legitimise its judgment of young Muslims believing in/preferring 'sharia law' as 'extremists' and a 'growing' 'outsider' threat to Britain.

Young Muslims, or an indefinite group of them, are being distanced from national boundaries i.e. *a generation of outsiders* (Excerpt 5-1A) or being assigned a quality of 'radicalism' or 'extremism' for their beliefs (Excerpt 5-1B). These display examples of the ideological square of bias about the good US and bad THEM (van Dijk, 1998, p. 42) (see 2.3). For example, *extremists* in (Excerpt 5-1B) is a metonymic expression used to refer to an indefinite group that is being associated with Muslims. The metonymic relationship is that the NATURE OF IDEAS (extreme) STANDS FOR ITS CARRIER (extremists), it also establishes its meaning based on the metaphor IDEAS ARE FORCES (EXTREME) WITHIN A CONTINUUM. In addition to this metonymic relationship and metaphoric meaning, the religious profile of these 'extremists' is raised as in 'Muslim extremists' (Excerpt 5-1B) which could, in turn, affect the public perception of Muslims and Islam as a belief. Raising their religious 'profile' (Langacker, 2008, p. 67) is a 'classification' (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 46) of this indefinite group of social actors i.e. 'Muslim extremists'[52]. This classification reflects the speaker's (TDT$_3$) attitude or pragmatic (intended) meaning in discourse. It is worth noting here that these cognitive 'mechanisms'/ strategies of classifying and profiling were not followed when describing the British National Party (BNP), see Excerpt 5-1B.

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[52] cf. (Chapman, 2011)

With respect to our focus here, about *SHARIA* as a keyword, the discussion of ConcLs in Figure 5-2 above as well as Excerpts 5-1 above reveals how *SHARIA* became a discursive topic in the BPC (figures 5-3 and 5-4) and was associated recurrently with 'radicalism' and 'extremism' in relation to the status of MWs after 7/7. This diachronic change in the BPC discourse, after 7/7, coincides with the claim that 'moments of crises' (Fairclough, 1992, p. 230) affect the representation of minorities in media discourse.

In fact, *EXTREMISM* (F=134) was also a significant keyword in P_3 (see Table 5-1 above). It was found to collocate most with *ISLAMIC* (F=15), *AGAINST* (F=12) and *violent* (F=12).

The data given in Figure 5-5 below reveals that lemma *extremi** occurred in the discourse using the term MW(s) more notably in the period after 9/11 and continued to maintain higher levels of occurrence in most of the BPC newspapers in P_3 and to a slightly lesser extent in P_4, see Figure 5-5.

The use of the lemma *extremi** in each period per each 1000 words (NF and RF)

P1 (RF=56)	0.13
P2 (RF=99)	0.23
P3 (RF=351)	0.45
P4 (RF=254)	0.4
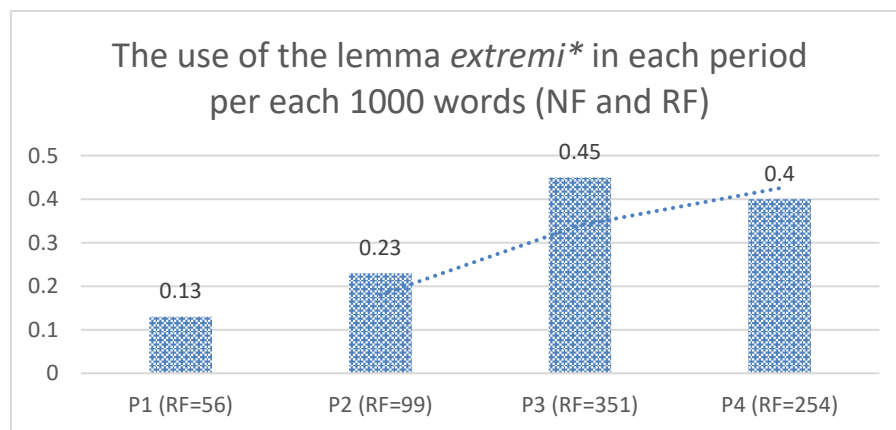
Figure 5-5 The use of the lemma *extremi** in the BPC.

It is extraordinary that the use of the lemma *extremi** has increased dramatically after 9/11 and continued to increase in P_3 and to a similar extent in P_4. This document a dramatic shift in the BPC discourse using the term MWs.

As for the individual newspapers, unlike, TDM, TI and TG, TDT and TM have started to use the lemma *extremi** after 9/11, see Figure 5-6.
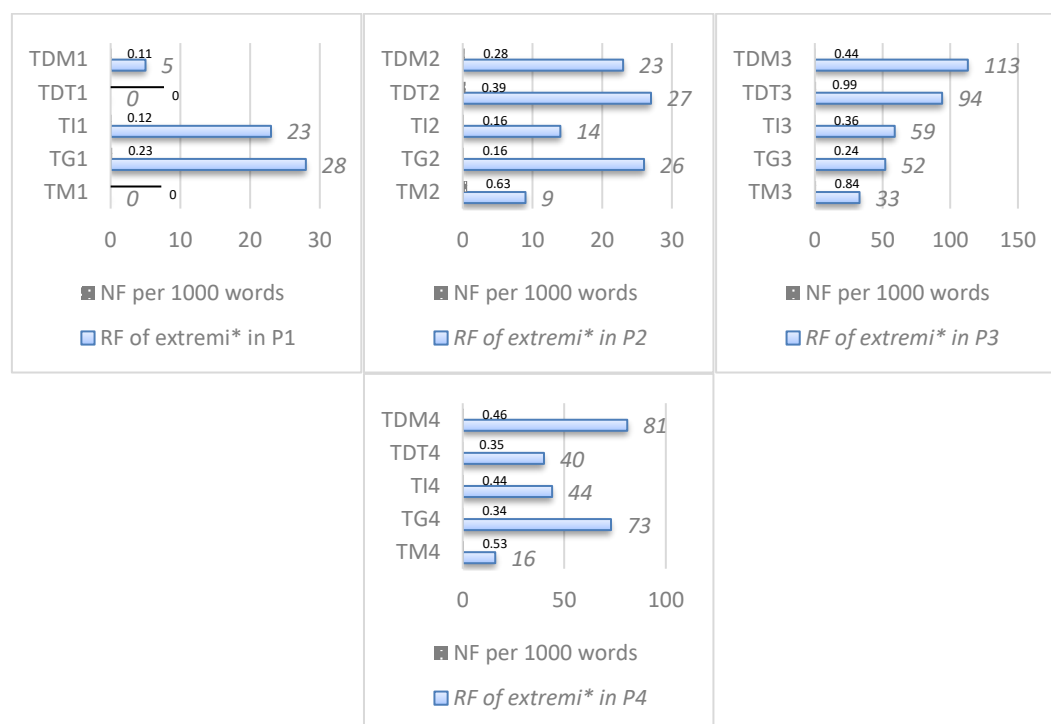
Figure 5-6 The use of the lemma *extremi** in the BPC Newspapers in each period.

Surprisingly, in P_2 and P_3 TDT`s and TDM`s rate of using the lemma *extremi** was superior to that of TI who has always use it. TDT and TDM have exhibited the most growing preference of using the lemma *extremi** after 9/11. TDM and TG, on the other hand, have maintained an outstanding use of the lemma in P_4 which is the period of the politicians` calls to outlaw/ban the veil in France and Britain. Lastly, the LW tabloid TM started to use the lemma after 9/11 and though this use has noticeably increased after 7/7, TM was always the least in mentioning extremism in all periods (see Figure 5-6).

Overall, it is clear that the lemma *extremi* became essential to the discourse using the term MWs after 9/11 and more considerably after the 7/7 bombings; in fact, extremism was also a keyword in P_3. Further exploration of the lemmas *extremi** and *moderat** revealed that MWs in the BPC are substantially associated with extremists and extremism; in fact, mentions of *moderat** (F=239) reached only 31.4% of the frequency of *extremi** (F=760) in the BPC.

Other keywords related to political parties, in P$_4$, included *PARTY* and
MP. First, in relation to political parties, *PARTY* was found to denote mainly the
Conservatives (Tory) Party (Governing Party in P$_4$) and the Labour Party which
lost the 2010 elections, other references were made to the BNP (British National
Party) (from the far-right). This suggests that UK main political parties became
central to the discourse using the term MWs in the BPC in P$_4$.

Second, in relation to *MP* in P$_4$, *MP* was found to denote first Labour and
then Tory figures. This supports the conclusion that UK political parties are
central to the discourse using the term MWs in the BPC in P$_4$.

5.6   COUNTRIES/ CITIES AND NATIONALITY

In P$_1$, the category COUNTRIES/ CITIES AND NATIONALITY was
overwhelmingly found to include the names of countries, cities and nationalities
involved in or affected by the War in Bosnia, e.g. Sarajevo. However, there were
a few other keywords that denote Muslim ethnicities and countries such as
ARAB, EGYPT, PAKISTAN and *BRUNEI.* In fact, P$_1$ recorded the greatest number
of keywords in this category; it included 20 keywords in comparison to P$_2$ (13
keywords), P$_3$ (3 keywords) and P$_4$ (4 keywords), see Table 5-1. This major
diachronic decline in this type of keywords indicates that the discourse using the
term MW(s) was narrowed down to few ethnicities over time more particularly
after 7/7.

In P$_2$, this category included *AFGHAN, AFGHANISTAN, INDIA,
IRANIAN, IRAN, ASIAN, IRAQ, PALESTINIAN, ARAB, ISRAEL, ISRAELI,
WESTERN, and DUTCH.* Most of these instances were related to the Taliban and
terrorism theme and extremism that dominated the international press after
9/11. For example, *AFGHANISTAN* and *IRAQ* were found in reference to the
Taliban and the 'war on terror' that the 'West' launched in these countries after
9/11. *IRAN* and *IRANIAN* were found to refer to the treatment of women under
the 'Islamic state' of Iran.

In P$_3$, there were only 3 keywords in this category which are *ASIAN,
BRITISH* and *COUNTRY.*

In P$_4$, *FRENCH, FRANCE, EGYPT* and *BRADFORD* were keywords. *FRENCH, FRANCE* was found to be mentioned within a context of concerns and debates about the position of Muslim women and Muslims in Europe mainly in relation to terrorism and face-veils. *EGYPT* appeared in reference to the democratic status, education and level of awareness in the so-called 'Arab spring' countries. This was in reference to the uprisings that started in the Arab World after the Tunisian president Bin Ali was expelled by the Tunisians at the end of 2010. On the other hand, *BRADFORD* was found to refer to the electoral preferences of Muslims in Bradford, mainly in relation to the Labour Party and the Respect Party represented by the British politician George Galloway.

However, it is worth noting here that in this category (<u>COUNTRIES/ CITIES AND NATIONALITY</u>), while variant words in P$_1$ and in P$_2$ like *BOSNIAN* and *IRANIAN* were used to classify groups of people e.g. *Bosnian Muslims* or an institution e.g. *Bosnian government* and *Bosnian Army*. Very few similar classifying words (van Leeuwen, 1996) were found in P$_3$ (F=2 i.e. *ASIAN* and *BRITISH*) and P$_4$ (F=1 i.e. *FRENCH*). This supports our previous conclusion that the discourse using the term MW(s) was narrowed down to a few ethnicities over time more particularly after 7/7. In other words, the variant ethnicities and cultures the term MWs denote were excluded or suppressed (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 29) from the press discourse to the extent that the term MW(s) was overwhelmingly used to refer to the face-veiled women in Europe (France and Britain) after 7/7.

On the other hand, in relation to the war in Bosnia, the <u>WAR</u> category included one keyword i.e. *WAR* which was in reference to the War in Bosnia in P$_1$ (Table 5-1). In addition, the category <u>VIOLENCE AND WAR CRIMES,</u> included a number of variant keywords in reference to the War in Bosnia in P$_1$. First, in P$_1$ the keywords were about 1) the *Srebrenica* massacre done by Serbians against Bosnian Muslims in 1995 (Smith, 2014) and 2) in relation to the rape crimes committed by Serbian soldiers against Bosnian 'Muslim' women, e.g. *RAPE* and *CRIMES* (Table 5-1).

5.7 SOCIAL ACTORS

Many other significant keywords were found to include variant names of individuals who either 1) hold a political position or an intellectual capacity or may 2) have committed/were the targets of some actions. According to the contextual information retrieved from Wordmith6 concordance, these names were categorised into five different sub-categories under the main category SOCIAL ACTORS. These sub-categories are 1) intellectual, 2) political, 3) criminal and 4) hijab/veil-wearing MW (see Table 5-1 above and Table 5-3 below).

Table 5-3 Significant social actors in the BPC

SOCIAL ACTORS	Intellectual	*EL, SAADAWI, AL-SHAYKH, DESAI*	*GOGH, HIRSI, ALI,*	*ALI,*	
	Political	*KARADZIC MILOSEVIC, BHUTTO, JEFRI and MARKETIC*	*SADDAM, BUSH,*	*JACK, STRAW,*	*SARKOZY, GALLOWAY, WARSI, TIMMS*
	Criminal/terrorist	*THERESE*	*LADEN, BIGLEY,*		*CHOUDHRY*
	Hijab/veil-wearing Muslim woman		*SHABINA*	*AZMI*	

In fact, this step of the analysis allowed us to look deeper into who is given a significant portion of the BPC discourse to talk or is being cited in relation to the discourse using the term MW(s).

5.7.1 Intellectual social actors

The findings above indicate that MW(s) seem to be excluded or at least 'suppressed' (van Leeuwen, 1996) from being an active social/intellectual actor in relation to how they are represented in the press discourse about them. Instead, Arab and non-Arab feminists were cited *AL-SHAYKH, EL, SAADAWI,* and *DESAI* in P$_1$ and *GOGH* in P$_2$. The voice of Muslim feminists such as (Ahmed, 1992; Kabbani, 1994; Bullock, 2002) (see sections 3.4.3 and 3.4.4) is totally excluded and the only feminist voice is that of the followings.

First, *AL-SHAYKH who* was cited in the left-wing broadsheets only (TG$_1$ and TI$_1$) is the Lebanese novelist and feminist writer Hanan Al-Shaykh who was famous for her criticism of the situation of women in 'Arab culture' in the 'Middle East' (Tharaldson, et al., 2004). Some claim that her criticism of Arab culture was

welcomed by the West because it "confirms the existing" western stereotypes of Arabs and Muslim men as 'misogynist', 'backward', 'oppressive' and 'violent' (ibid: para. 6).

On the other hand, *EL* and *SAADAWI* are two keywords that refer to one person i.e. the Egyptian feminist writer Nawal Elsaadawi. EL-Saadawi, who is a physician, was famous for her feminist writings about the 'sufferings' of women in Egypt. It is worth noting here that the left-wing broadsheet TG$_1$ was the only newspaper interested in reporting about *EL-SAADAWI* using the term MW(s), see excerpt 5-2 below.

Excerpt 5-2

The Guardian Profile: Nawal El Saadawi: Lone star of the Nile: Raised in a poor Egyptian village, she became a doctor and government minister. Her writings against the oppression of Arab women led to her imprisonment and censorship. She is revered among western feminists but, after years in exile from Egypt, is she no longer a prophet in her own land?

.....El Saadawi writes in The Hidden Face Of Eve: 'There are still so many thinkers .. . who wish to separate the arduous struggles of women for self-emancipation from the revolt of the people everywhere.' What we share rather than what separates us interests her. She tells a story about how, when giving a lecture in the States, a woman in the audience asked: 'how do you explain why some **Muslim women** want to wear the veil?' She relishes her reply: 'In the same way that I'd explain why you choose to wear make-up. Like make-up, it hides the face of women. They both show conformity to a culture's idea of what is feminine.'...

TG$_1$, 17 June 2000

The last feminist name in P$_1$ was *DESAI* which refers to the Indian novelist Anita Desai who was also reported only in TG$_1$ discourse. The news discourse was a narrative about her novels which have depicted the traditional limits placed on Indian Muslim and non-Muslim women. So far these are the feminist names reported significantly in the BPC before 9/11, in addition. It is worth noting here that the famous Arab feminist and the Harvard University Professor Liela Ahmed was not found, cf. (Ahmed, 1992); perhaps this suppression or exclusion (van Leeuwen, 1996, 2008: see 2.3) because her thesis of feminism and Muslim women does not cohere with that of the liberal feminism who perceives Muslim women to be submissive and oppressed (see 3.4.2 and 3.4.3). It can be summarised that the feminist discourse before 9/11 was critical of the cultures

Muslim women live within e.g. India, Arab and Egypt, yet there was no direct or even a significant criticism of sharia or Islam as a religion in relation to women rights before 9/11 in the BPC.

However, in P$_2$, the intellectual actors reported were exceptionally different. The family names of Theo van *GOGH* and the writer Ayaan *ALI HIRSI* were keywords in P$_2$. Hirsi along with van Gogh have produced a short film called 'submission' (Taylor, n.d.) where "the opening lines of the holy book, the Koran, were written across" a naked body of a 'Muslim' woman. "Another image showed Koranic verses about female obedience scrawled on the back of a woman beaten by her husband, while a female voice accused Allah of condoning the violence" (Leung, 2005). Theo van Gogh was murdered in November 2004 by a Dutch-Moroccan *Mohammed Bouyeri*, who was captured and sentenced to life imprisonment in the Netherlands (Taylor, n.d.). His murder was found to be used recurrently in the BPC as an instance of so-called 'radical Islam'; however Hirsi who was described as a 'fierce critic of radical Islam' and "one of the main figures in the Dutch debate about Muslim integration" (Nicholas, 2006; para. 14) was reported to have "lied" to the Netherland authorities claiming that she was 'forced into an arranged marriage' to obtain citizenship (ibid: para. 3) which is an example of 'Muslim' men's violence by which the film 'submission' was inspired.

This story has inspired a substantial portion of the BPC discourse to the extent that the Middle name of Hirsi i.e. *ALI* continued to be significant in P$_3$. It is worth noting here that similar discourses about forced marriages use the term MWs claiming that Islam is a coherent pressing political 'regime' everywhere in the world that controls the individual behaviours of its people and at the same time Islam should be blamed for extremist actions done by people who are Muslims everywhere in the world. While this sort of ironic logic or generalisation is applied to the treatment of Islam in the western press, it may not be applied to any other treatment of violence committed by people under any other belief or religion, c.f. (Said, 1981), see 3.4.1 (see also Excerpt 6-5G in 6.5.2).

5.7.2 Political social actors

In relation to the political type of <u>SOCIAL ACTORS</u> in P₁, first it included two names of Serbian politicians and army leaders *KARADZIC* and *MILOSEVIC* who were convicted of war crimes during the War in Bosnia, see Table 5-3 above. In addition, *BHUTTO* was found to refer to the former Pakistani prime minister and politician *Benazir BHUTTO* (a Muslim woman) (Encyclopædia Britannica, 2016) who was mentioned in P₁. *JEFRI* was found to be in reference to Prince Jefri Bolkiah, the Muslim governor of Brunei who was accused by Shannon *MARKETIC* - a former Miss USA - to have sexually abused her. She sued him claiming that she had been cast unwittingly as a 'sexual toy' to be used by Prince Jefri. Both *JEFRI* and *MARKETIC* were significant keywords in P₁. This also indicates how the term MWs is sometimes contentiously inserted in a discourse of violence and sexual abuses that does not directly relate to Muslim women.

Other significant political names were *SADDAM* and *BUSH* in P₂, *JACK* and *STRAW* in P₃ and lastly *SARKOZY, GALLOWAY, WARSI* and *TIMMS* in P₄. In P₂, *SADDAM* and *BUSH* were related to the American president George W. Bush and the war he led against Iraq in 2003 to defeat the Iraqi president *SADDAM* Hussien and 'disarm' him from the so-called 'weapons of mass destruction'. Relevant to this was the name of *BIGLEY which* was found to refer to Ken Bigley a British engineer who was taken as a hostage by Iraqi kidnappers during this war in Iraq.

In P₃ and P₄, the political social actors were senior French and British politicians. First, in P₃, *JACK STRAW* was the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs (June, 2001 – May, 2006) and Leader of the House of Commons and Lord Privy Seal (May, 2006 – June, 2007) who requested in October 2006 that 'Muslim women should remove their face-veils' because it is a 'visible statement of separation' (Bartlett, 2006) (see section 3.4.5). This reflects why the call for MWs to 'remove their veils' 2006 has dominated the BPC discourse in P₃.

On the other hand, in P₄, *SARKOZY* referred to the French politician Nicolas Sarkozy who is the former president of France (May, 2007 – May, 2012).

This, on the other hand, explains how significantly the face-veil ban in 2010 was a preferred topic in the P_4 BPC discourse using the term MWs.

In relation to the British context in P_4, WARSI was about Lady Warsi, Baroness the Tory MP and the former Head of the Conservative party who is a British and Muslim woman of Pakistani origins. The keyword GALLOWAY was found to refer to George Galloway, the Respect Party figure, and its former leader, who is famous for supporting Palestinian rights. Finally, TIMMS was in reference to Stephen Timms the British politician (Labour MP) who had undergone an assassination attempt by a woman who is a British and Muslim of Bangladeshi origins i.e. CHOUDHRY as will be discussed in excerpts 5-3 in the following section.

Thus far, these were the major political social actors that were reported significantly in the BPC discourse. According to the discourse analysed in this category, it is worth stressing here that there were only two names of Muslim women who were both unveiled i.e. do not usually dress any form of hijab as retrieved from the semiotics and images available on the press and online sources. First, the former Pakistani prime minister and politician *Benazir BHUTTO;* A MW (Encyclopædia Britannica, 2016) who was mentioned in P_1. Second, Lady Warsi, Baroness the Tory MP and the former Head of the Conservative party who is a British and Muslim woman of Pakistani origins. This suggests that the hijab-wearing political social actors e.g. Salma Yaqoob (see 8.4.1) or even the niqab-wearing MWs are excluded from the press except in controversial e.g. Aisha *AZMI* or negative contexts as in the case of *CHOUDHRY* which will see in the coming two sections.

5.7.3 Terrorist and/or criminal social actors

In relation to crimes and terrorism, the keyword *THERESE* in P_1 was found to be in reference to Therese Halaseh a Palestinian female who was one of four hijackers who hijacked a Sabena plane boarding from Vienna to Tel Aviv[53] in

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[53] The original name of the city in Arabic is Tel Abib.

1972. From this story, we can see that the use of MW(s) was associated to terrorism even before 9/11 in a case that is related to the so-called 'Arab- Israeli' conflict i.e. in more exact words the Israeli -Palestinian conflict[54]. Overall, the left-wing broadsheet TG_1 was the main newspaper that reported on Therese Halaseh using the term MW(s).

In P_2, *LADEN* appeared as a significant keyword in reference to the former Al-Qaida leader Osama Bin Laden i.e. the one who was behind the terrorist attacks of 9/11 in New York. In P_3, no keywords were found in this category. Lastly, the keyword *CHOUDHRY*, in P_4, was found to refer to a British Bengali woman, Roshonara Choudhry, who stated that she was inspired by Al-Awlaki's[55] lectures in her attempt to assassinate her local MP, see excerpts 5-3 below.

Excerpts 5-3

Excerpt 5-3a

> **Front: 'Punishment for Iraq' MP stabbed twice in stomach for voting for war, court told** [HEADLINE]
>
> A former government minister was the target of an attempted political murder by a **woman** who wanted to stab him to death as "punishment" for voting for the Iraq war, a court heard yesterday. [Lead]
>
> (TG$_4$, November 2, 2010)

Excerpt 5-3b

> **MP 'STABBED**
> **MUSLIM IN REVENGE FOR IRAQ WAR'** [Headline]
> **A MUSLIM woman** tried to kill a Labour MP by stabbing him in the stomach 'in revenge' for him voting for the Iraq war, a court heard yesterday. [Lead]
> (TDM$_4$, November 2, 2010) (TDM$_4$, November 4, 2010)

In fact, *CHOUDHRY* and her Local MP *TIMMS* were found as keywords in P_4: this reflects the extraordinary number of mentions given to the story in P_4 corpus. In May 2010, Roshonara Choudhry, 21, a British citizen and a student

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[54] In my personal view, I think the powerlessness and injustice the Palestinian people have suffered in the last six decades are one of the main underlying causes that have brought about the current era of 'global' instability and terrorism.

[55] Al-Awlaki's was found to refer to an American Imam of Yemeni origins whom the US has classified as terrorist (Brachman, 2014).

from East London (mentioned above), attempted to kill her MP Stephen Timms in his constituency by stabbing him in his stomach with a knife. It was found that the RW newspapers (TDM_4 and TDT_4) looked at this criminal incident in a totally different way from that of the LW broadsheets (TG_4 and TI_4). This variation has some implications that I think the researcher should not overlook. While *CHOUDHRYˆ*s gender was the determinant of her identity in TG_4 lead (Excerpt 5-3a), her religious profile was raised as the determinant of her identity in TDM_4 (Excerpt 5-3b). These variations constitute different strategies used to impose a discourse meaning and will be discussed in detail below.

However, it is important to stress here that stabbing her MP was a crime that should be condemned and punished. Therefore, this section is only critical about the ways this woman was/should have been labelled in the press discourse.

Starting with the RW press, TDM_4 and TDT_4 highlighted the religious profile of Choudhry's identity. This kind of presentation in the text is a very influential strategy to the extent that it can pass unnoticed if not critically explained: see excerpts 5-4 below. I may call this strategy a 'mechanism' because *profiling* is the process through which a linguistic choice highlights a substructure from its larger conceptual base to serve a communicative need or purpose in discourse (Langacker, 2008, p. 67). This process is cognitive and in some cases directional as we have explained earlier in Chapter Two (2.8.2).

Excerpt 5-4A

MP 'STABBED

MUSLIM IN REVENGE FOR IRAQ WAR' [Headline]
A MUSLIM woman tried to kill a Labour MP by stabbing him in the stomach 'in revenge' for him voting for the Iraq war, a court heard yesterday. [Lead]

(F=2) (TDM_4, November 2, 2010) (TDM_4, November 4, 2010)

Excerpt 5-4B

ON CCTV, THE MUSLIM STUDENT WHO STABBED HER MP OVER IRAQ [Headline]
THIS is the moment a **Muslim woman** walks into a constituency surgery and pulls out a kitchen knife seconds before stabbing her MP.[Lead]

(F=3) (TDM_3, November 1, 2010) (TDM_4, November 3, 2010) (TDM_3, November 5, 2010)

Excerpt 5-4C

MP stabbed by Muslim woman at surgery [Headline]
A FORMER Labour minister was stabbed by **a woman in Muslim dress** during a constituency surgery yesterday. [Lead] (TDT_4, May, 15, 2010)

Excerpt 5-4D

> **Women[56] tried to murder MP as punishment for Iraq, court told;**
> **'She smiled and reached out before she stabbed me'**[Headline]
> **A MUSLIM woman** tried to murder a former government minister as "punishment" for backing the invasion of Iraq, a court heard. [Lead]   (TDT$_4$, November 2, 2010)

Excerpt 5-4E

> **On a mission to kill an MP, model student inflamed by a web preacher** [Headline]
> AS ROSHONARA CHOUDHRY walked around Stephen Timms's desk to shake his hand, the MP was struck by an instinct that something was wrong. **Strict Muslim women** do not normally allow physical contact with men, he thought, yet Choudhry was lunging at him, a broad smile on her face. [Lead]   (TDT$_4$, November 3, 2010)

It is clear from the examples above that the RW discourse might be far more than reporting news of a criminal incident. It is rather a complex process of building a recurrent cognitive reading of the news event based on the discourse producer's ideology and interest. At the macro-level semantic structure, different headlines were loaded through highlighting discursively the religious profile of Roshonara Choudhry, i.e. using THE PART TO PROFILE THE WHOLE suggesting the conceptual reading *A MUSLIM WOMAN IS A CRIMINAL KILLER* in 3 different headlines and 5 leads, see Excerpts 5-4A-E above. Furthermore, some headlines occurred repeatedly and discursively on a consecutive daily basis, in the newspapers see Excerpts 5-4A-B. This type of retelling of the same story is a cognitive discursive strategy (2.2.4; cf. also intensifying in 2.5) that conveys to the reader the importance of such a news story over some other crime stories that may pass unnoticed or do not receive similar coverage. It constitutes also a type of epistemic priming (2.11) received by the discourse community[57] (Stubbs, 1996, 2001; Hoey, 2004, 2005) of TDM.

The critical point here is that of retelling the story with the same strategy i.e. raising the religious profile of the woman in the headlines and leads of the news reports represents a discursive ideological interest of these newspaper to manufacture a specific cognitive reading of MW(s) in the media and public discourse, this stand can be clarified more when we compare it with the coverage of other newspapers (i.e. the Left-wing broadsheets TG$_4$ and TI$_4$) as we will see below (in excerpts 5-4F to I).

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[56] Original typo, *Women* was used instead of *woman*
[57] See sections, 2.2.4, 2.8.3 and 2.11.

Excerpts 5-4F-I explains how the LW broadsheets [58] attempted to conceptualise the same news-event.

Excerpt 5-4F:
> **Roshonara Choudhry jailed for life over MP attack** (Headline)
> **Radicalised student Roshonara Choudhry** jailed for attempting to stab to death Stephen Timms for supporting the Iraq war. (Lead) (TG₄, November 3, 2010)

Excerpt 5-4G:
> **Student who stabbed MP Stephen Timms 'inspired by al-Qa'ida cleric'** (Headline)
> **A studen**t who tried to murder an MP was inspired by a radical al-Qa'ida cleric linked to the air cargo bomb plot, it emerged today. (Lead) (TI₄, 02 November 2010)

Excerpt 5-4H:
> **Woman stabbed MP Stephen Timms 'in revenge for Iraq war vote'** (Headline)
> **A woman** stabbed an MP twice in the stomach during a constituency surgery in revenge for his vote for the war in Iraq, a court heard today. [Lead] (TI₄, 02 November 2010)

Excerpt 5-4I:

> **Front: 'Punishment for Iraq' MP stabbed twice in stomach for voting for war, court told** [HEADLINE]
> A former government minister was the target of an attempted political murder by a **woman** who wanted to stab him to death as "punishment" for voting for the Iraq war, a court heard yesterday. [Lead] (TG₄, November 2, 2010)

Excerpt 5-4I was retrieved in the BPC as it included the quoted phrase: Timms told the jury: "*I was a little puzzled because a Muslim woman dressed in that way wouldn't normally be willing to shake a man's hand….*" but not because TG has employed the RW mechanism/strategy of religious profiling at the beginning of the text i.e. in headlines and the leads.

In detail, the conceptual strategy, used by the RW newspapers (TDM and TDT) in excerpts 5-4A-E, was not absent in the LW broadsheets (excerpts 5-4F-I), but was used with a different cognitive component. TI₄ and TG₄ also used the PART TO PROFILE THE WHOLE but this time through Roshonara Choudhry's name, profession and gender, as in the excerpts above (Excerpts 5-4F-I). These were the main identifiers of the criminal person Roshonara Choudhry. Furthermore, in the LW broadsheets, we did not find similar discursive mentions

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[58] This data (Excerpts 5-4 F-H) were not retrieved in the research corpus and this necessitated looking outside the corpus to provide the alternative conceptualisation I was committed to in the explanation stage (see Section 4.4). This poses a methodological implication for CDA research.

of the story of Roshonara Choudhry crime to that we found in the RW coverage which in turn suggests that TI and TG coverage is more balanced and responsible in using the term MWs in such incidents.

In my view, the neutral way to refer to individuals in a news story is by their names, or if their names are not available for whatsoever reasons e.g. legal or lack of information, then the press discourse can provide anonymous nicknames such MS X or the other 'relevant' information, otherwise there is a pragmatic meaning in how social actors are labelled 'repeatedly' in discourse, especially if those labels are of a religious nature such as Muslim, Christian or Jewish because this would extend to the groups/communities they belong to.

Nevertheless, in this case, all the information was available; yet while the LW broadsheets were more responsible in their coverage of the incident, the RW press revealed recurrent and consistent biases that derive from socio-cognitively shared models of perceiving Muslims as *outsiders* (e.g. Excerpt 5-1A in 5.5*)*, *terrorists* and *problems*, see (Baker, et al., 2013).

This kind of conceptual representation coincides with the underlying claims about semantic and lexical priming discussed in Chapter 2 where I argued that semantic and pragmatic associations are in fact a feature of cognitive real-life/experiential co-occurrence more than a feature of textual co-occurrence. Looking at the excerpts above highlights the negative connotation of the term MWs not only through the types of co-occurrences in the text but mainly through the occurrence of the lexical node MW itself in such news text. This makes it evident that the study of semantic associations and discourse prosody (2.10) should be a cognitive study of the cognitive semantic mechanisms and strategies employed in discourse processing and not mainly 'textual' as the corpus-semanticists claim (see, Partington, 1998; Baker et al., 2008), see epistemic priming in 2.11.

The examples in Excerpts 5-4F-I also have a **methodological implication** in relation to why the lexical node MW was not used as a main identifier of the women in TI_4 and TG_4 discourse about Choudhry's crime (i.e. in the headline and

leads). The bottom-up approach in building a targeted corpus for research i.e. retrieving articles that contain MW(s) may result in overlooking important discourse conceptual structures. Hence, it may produce a blind spot. This may happen because these structures were not included in the corpus, especially if they were built through lexical items different from the retrieving term i.e. MW(s) terms such as *STUDENT, PREGNANT, NAMES*…etc., e.g. excerpt 5-4F-I. Therefore, the 'unity of the topic', as in this section (5.7.3), provided a more accurate comparative CDA of the cognitive mechanisms and strategies recurrently used in the text through which it was realised that there are relevant references to MW(s) that are made without using the words *W(s)*, or *MW(s)*. Nevertheless, part of the main interest of the current research is to untangle the semantic/ discourse prosody of the term MW(s) gained over decades in the British press i.e. the BPC.

5.7.4 Hijab/veil-wearing Muslim women

The significant keywords have included only two names of individual Muslim women who wear a type of the Islamic dress to school. These were 1) Ms. Shabina Begum wearing the jilbab (cloak) to school and 2) Ms. Aisha Azmi a school teacher wearing the niqab (face-cover) to school. The keywords findings suggest that when a Hijab or Niqab-wearing MW is reported significantly in the BPC discourse, it was found to be either 1) having committed a terrorist crime as given about Roshonara Choudhry above or 2) in a negative context in relation her dress - as follows-.

First, the keyword *SHABINA* was in reference to Shabina Begum; a British schoolgirl who sued her school after it prevented her from wearing the jilbab (cloak) to school in 2004 i.e. P_2. Though the case was reported recurrently, the result of the prosecution was reported three times in the BPC corpus; twice in TG_2, and once in TDT_2. These three incidents were informative and succinct example of how different strategies and mechanisms are used or intertwined in discourse, see excerpts 5-5 below.

Excerpt 5-5A

Town divided by battle to wear Islamic dress
SHABINA Begum may **have won in the Court of Appeal yesterday** but **support for her stand was less than overwhelming in her home town**. While **some applauded the teenager for taking her school to court over its ban on the full Islamic gown**, others, especially young female Muslims, described her actions as **extreme and unnecessary**. Critics also said **her case was a waste of time and taxpayers' money that would have little bearing on the lives of Muslim women in Britain.** Miss Begum said outside court that **Denbigh High School's decision to ban the jilbab** was part of a backlash against Muslims following the September 11 attacks. But Leena Begum, 17, a shop worker, disagreed. She said the Luton school had "a fair and sympathetic" uniform policy. "The school didn't want her to wear the jilbab because it was concerned about safety, not because they were discriminating against her," she said. "Jilbabs are long and can get caught in the flames of Bunsen burners. You can also easily trip over while wearing them. "Her decision to go to court was a bit extreme. The school allows Muslims to wear headscarves and the shalwar kameez [trousers and tunic], which means you are fully covered .... Nisar Shah, 20, a media studies student, said: "The jilbab is **a symbol of Muslim womanhood.** We recognise women through their dress because in our eyes they are **gems** that need protection in the same way that diamonds need **security**."."

(TDT₂, March 03, 2005)

The excerpt above included a number of metaphors. These are: 1) LEGAL PROSECUTION IS A BATTLE BETWEEN TWO PARTIES and 2) THE RESULT OF SHABINA'S WINNING PROSECUTION TO WEAR HER JILBAB IS A SPLIT TOWN, which are from the SOURCE domains of *battling* and the force dynamics of *splitting* respectively (see Table 5-4 below).

Table 5-4 Conceptual metaphors in Excerpt 5-5A

	Conceptual metaphor	
	The linguistic example: Town **divided** by **battle** to wear Islamic dress	
1	LEGAL PROSECUTION IS A BATTLE BETWEEN TWO PARTIES	
	Source concept	**Target concept**
	Fighting	Legal process
2	THE RESULT OF SHABINA`S WINNING THE PROSECUTION TO WEAR HER JILBAB IS A SPLIT TOWN [discourse metaphor]	
	Source concept	**Target concept**
	Force-dynamics: splitting	Winning the right to wear Jilbab after a prosecution
3	**The linguistic example:** We recognise women through their dress because in our eyes they are **gems** that need protection in the same way that diamonds need **security**	
	THE HIJAB IS A PROTECTION FOR A DIAMOND	
	Source concept	**Target concept**
	Security and protection for jewellery	Headscarf as a religious practice

The second conceptual metaphor (Table 5-4), THE RESULT OF SHABINA'S WINNING OF THE RIGHT TO WEAR HER JILBAB IS A DIVIDED/SPLIT TOWN evoked the conceptual schema explained in Figure 5-7 below.
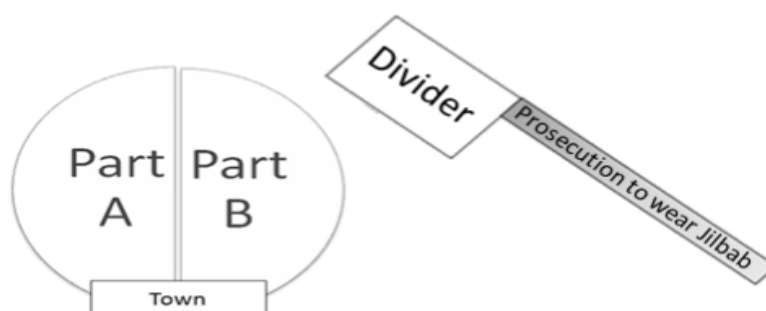
Figure 5-7 Splitting schema

The conceptualisation *Town divided by battle to wear Islamic dress* revealed TDT$_2$'s ideological stance towards the British Muslim pupil *Shabina Begum*: dividing the town to win the right to 'wear Islamic dress' is 'undue' use of force according to TDT$_2$ discourse about Shabina Begum 'winning'. This conceptual discourse embodies a deliberate pragmatic meaning that TDT$_2$ manufactured so as to view her as a guilty person who "*wastes time and the tax payers' money*" (Excerpt 5-5A), which constructs the biased ideological dichotomy of the good/polite 'US' and the bad/'extremist' 'THEM' (van Dijk, 1998). In this context, a MW is seen as a problem who wastes the tax-payer' money: Baker, et al. (2013) found that *veiling and gender equality* and *concerns that Muslims are receiving government benefits* are topics that continue a "long-standing trend of seeing Muslims as a problem" (p. 260). It is clear from the conceptual structure that TDT$_2$ discourse is on the *US* side and that Shabina is on the *THEM* side. The conceptual discourse presented above is coherent with the Joppke's (2009) claims that while the courts in Britain, after 9/11, considered the headscarf[59] as falling under human rights protection law, the liberal political body (parliament and executive) has never seen the headscarf as a 'unitary factor' but views it as a

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[59] The author used the term headscarf to denote all forms of veils

'public order issue' of security in the 'age of global terrorism' (ibid., p. 22), (see 3.4.5).

However, the third metaphor in (No. 3 Table 5-4) which occurred only twice in the BPC i.e. at the sentence level Both in TDT$_2$, was in fact, suppressed i.e. pushed to the background (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 29). The linguistic examples of metaphor 3 in Table 5-4 above conceptually re-frame the religious practice of wearing the hijab or jilbab from A RELIGIOUS OBLIGATION into a personal duty of PROTECTING PRECIOUS JEWELLERY. The selection of the SOURCE domain is positive in the sense that it explicates the kind of logic and reasoning that underlies the practice and ideology of this pro-hijab discourse given by Muslims.

Protection, security and caring are all scenarios that the metaphor or cognitive semantic model of THE HIJAB IS A PROTECTION FOR A DIAMOND captures and activates in the discourse. This discourse metaphor[60] necessitates the following epistemic conceptual mapping (sub-metaphors) to be comprehended and serve pragmatically in the given discourse. A DIAMOND/JEWEL is mapped to represent *a hijab-wearing woman*, VALUABLE DIAMOND is mapped to represent a *precious woman*, SCRATCHED DIAMOND is mapped to represent harm to a woman and lastly WRAP DIAMOND is mapped to protect a woman in/with hijab.

This conceptualisation is pervasive among Arab Muslims whose native language is the language of the Holy Quran. The Quran's instruction to Muslim women to wear the hijab has pointed to the purpose of it:

> "O Prophet, tell your wives and your daughters and the women of the believers to bring down over themselves [part] of their outer garments. That is more suitable that they will be known and not be abused. And ever is Allah Forgiving and Merciful. (33:59)"

The *diamond metaphor* is, therefore, a cultural and religious cognitive model that underlies the cognitive reasoning behind the religious practice of the

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[60] A discourse metaphor is a metaphor that has its linguistic constituents spread in the text.

veil and veiling among Muslims.[61] Nevertheless, the metaphor THE HIJAB IS A PROTECTION FOR A DIAMOND was framed and mitigated negatively through the headline and the preceding text as explained in the metaphor THE RESULT OF SHABINA'S WINNING OF THE RIGHT TO WEAR HER JILBAB IS A DIVIDED/SPLIT TOWN, see Figure 5-7 above.

Excerpt 5-5B

Muslim pupil loses legal battle to wear jilbab

A 15-year-old Muslim girl yesterday **lost** her high court battle for the right to wear strict Islamic dress to school. Shabina Begum **has not attended Denbigh** high school in Luton since September 2002 when she was sent home for turning up in a jilbab - the full-length gown worn by **many Muslim women that covers all of the body except the** face and hands. ....   (TG₂, June 16, 2004)

Table 5-5 Conceptual metaphors in Excerpt 5-5B

<table>
<tr><td colspan="3">Conceptual metaphors</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">The linguistic example: A 15-year-old Muslim girl yesterday lost her high court battle for the right to wear strict Islamic dress to school</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="3">1</td><td colspan="2" align="center">A LEGAL PROSECUTION IS A BATTLE BETWEEN TWO PARTIES</td></tr>
<tr><td align="center">Source concept</td><td align="center">Target concept</td></tr>
<tr><td align="center">Battling</td><td align="center">Pursuing a court case</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="3">2</td><td colspan="2" align="center">FAILURE OF COURT CASE IS LOSS OF A BATTLE</td></tr>
<tr><td align="center">Source concept</td><td align="center">Target concept</td></tr>
<tr><td>Force-dynamics: End of fighting in a battle</td><td>Case in the High Court about the right to wear jilbab is not successful</td></tr>
</table>

In the negative context of losing the conceptual 'battle'[62], as explained in Table 5-5 above, Shabina Begum was 'functionalised' and 'classified' (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 42)[63] as a *Muslim pupil*. However, when she won the case one year later and gained the right to wear her jilbab to the school, she was labelled through her occupation as a *schoolgirl* which is a functionalisation without the

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[61] To some liberal-feminists the metaphor in A (Table 5-5) would be negative as it suggests the 'possession of women as valuable property who need protection for their weaknesses'. Nevertheless, this metaphorical meaning was bound within explaining the point behind the Hijab in Islam i.e. to protect women from harm (The Holy Quran: 33:59) such as harassment. In fact, in the Quranic discourse men and women have equal agency in penalties (5:38) and rewards (16:97).

[62] It could be argued that the example in Table 5-5 above is a linguistic realisation of the conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR (Lakoff & Johnosn 1980, p.4), in this case, the adversarial nature of the British legal system naturalises such conflict-based metaphors. However, this does not deny the fact that it is a linguist choice that can be made/ included by some newspapers in some news stories or avoided/excluded in others.

[63] See Section 2.4.

religious classification i.e. profiling (Langacker, 2008), see Excerpt 5-5C and Table 5-6 below.

Excerpt 5-5C

'I could scream with happiness. I've given hope and strength to Muslim women':
A schoolgirl who yesterday won the right to wear the Islamic shoulder-to-toe dress in school said the landmark ruling would......**.** In an exclusive interview with the Guardian, Shabina Begum, 16, described the court of appeal verdict against **Denbigh high school in Luton as a victory for all Muslims "who wish to preserve their identity and values despite prejudice and bigotry".**   (TG₂, March 3, 2005)

Table 5-6 Conceptual metaphors in Excerpt 5-5C

Conceptual metaphor		
	The linguistic example: A schoolgirl tells TG₂ of her **battle** to wear Islamic dress.... A schoolgirl who yesterday **won** the right to wear the Islamic shoulder-to-toe dress... described the court of appeal verdict against Denbigh high school in Luton as a **victory** for all Muslims	
1	A LEGAL CASE IS A BATTLE BETWEEN TWO PARTIES	
	Source concept	**Target concept**
	Force-dynamics: Fighting in a battle	Legal case about wearing jilbab in school
2	SUCCESS OF COURT CASE IS A VICTORY	
	Source concept	**Target concept**
	Force-dynamics: Victory in battle	Success in getting the right to wear jilbab in school after court case

The discourse of TG₂ in excerpts 5-5B and 5-5C is a semantic practice that may pass unnoticed by many readers. As an analyst, the difference was not clear to me before the different conceptualisations were brought together; see Table 5-7 below.

Table 5-7 A MUSLIM PUPIL LOSER *versus* A WINNER SCHOOLGIRL

A	TG 2004	**MUSLIM pupil lost** her **high court battle** for the right to wear **strict** Islamic dress to school**.**
B	TG 2005	**A SCHOOL GIRL** who **won** the right to wear the Islamic shoulder-to-toe dress in school.

A MUSLIM PUPIL IS A LOSER versus A SCHOOLGIRL IS A WINNER; in the context of losing her 'battle', Shabina was directly linked as a 'Muslim pupil' to or semantically associated with the verb *lose* and the conceptual lexical choices of *battle* and *strict* at the macro-(headline-) level and in the first sentence, as in Excerpt 5-5B.

The different conceptualisations indicate the unstable ideological orientation of TG₂ towards the right of Shabina Begum to wear the Islamic jilbab**.** The pragmatic meaning of TG discourse is determined through the use of these

two different conceptual structures. In the negative context of losing the 'court battle', the mechanism was highlighting Begum's religious profile and describing the court case as a *battle* and her dress as *strict Islamic*. However, in the winning context, she was quoted saying *she gave strength to the Muslim women*. This type of quotation is similar to the examples found in Otaif (2015) where it is was found that conceptual structures in the headlines can determine intertextuality in discourse, see 3.3.

On the other hand, the metaphor PURSUING A COURT CASE IS BATTLING is central to all the three reports in Excerpts 5-5A, B and C. This metaphor is recurrent in the British press reporting Muslim women who seek their rights to wear the headscarf or jilbab through the legal channels of the courts e.g. (Otaif, 2015). It is unhealthy to view two national parties or individuals as *battling* in public where there are *a loser* and *a winner*. The press, depending on their political interest, usually places these MW(s) on the THEM side whether they win or lose these 'battles'. For further discussion of the metaphor PROSECUTION IS BATTLING in relation to MWs in the British press discourse, see Otaif (2015), (mentioned earlier in 3.3).

A theoretical and methodological implication here would be that the lexical node MW(s) is activated and used for pragmatic purposes in discourse. However, whenever the ideological interest of the press changes, the MW is replaced with other linguistic choices i.e. strategy as in the case of *schoolgirl* in TG$_2$, see Excerpt 5-5C. Hence, it can be said that corpus-based searches based on words such as *MW(s)* can be misleading in CDA if alternative conceptualisations are absent from the corpus. Therefore, I argue here that the semantic association or connotation of the lexical node MW(s) is dialectical which means that it is constituted by the co-occurring discourse, e.g. *losing a battle,* and at the same time constitutes and shapes the discourse it occurs in, e.g. *A schoolgirl gave strength to Muslim women after winning a battle*. Therefore, in building a corpus for CDA of the press discourse, again the unity of the topic of certain news stories would be, in some cases, more informative of the ideological stances that underlie certain linguistics choices in the press discourse.

Second, *AZMI*, in P₃, refers to Aisha Azmi a British School assistant who was sacked from her job for her decision to wear the face-veil in the presence of a male colleague (see 3.4.5). The incident received public attention after the PM Tony Blair commented that he supported the school administration in their decision, despite the fact that the case was being processed at the employment tribunal (Jones, 2006). He, Blair, went further to back Straw's comments about the veil suggesting that there is a national duty to integrate these people into the British society: *"it is a mark of separation…no one wants to say that people don't have the right to do it. That is to take it too far. But I think we need to confront this issue about how we integrate people properly into our society"* (ibid: para. 5 and 6). I will devote the next section to discuss the conceptual structure that emerged from this story.

5.8 Significant conceptual structures in keywords

5.8.1 VEILED MWS ARE NOT AN INTEGRATED PART OF BRITISH SOCIETY

Relevant to this story – of Aisha Azmi - are the keywords *STRAW, REMOVE, SCHOOLS, INTEGRATION, MULTICULTURALISM* and, see Table 5-1. Integration and multiculturalism were statistically significant ideological themes found in P₃, which is the period where the discourse about the MWs' veil shifted from multiculturalism into 'integration' (Al-Hejin, 2007b) and Muslim women in Britain were demanded by senior British politicians to 'integrate' into British culture and society, see 3.4.5. This process of integration was meant to be through 'removing' the face-veil which was described as a 'barrier', 'mark of separation' (Tempest, 2006) and a 'visible statement of separation' (Bartlett, 2006). The conceptual presentation FACE-VEILED MWS ARE NOT AN INTEGRATED PART OF BRITISH SOCIETY, was found in P₃ and will be discussed in further details below.

Excerpt 5-6

> **Brown breaks ranks to back Straw over lifting Muslim veils**
> GORDON Brown **threw his weight behind** Jack Straw last night and declared that it would be **better for Britain if fewer Muslim women wore veils**. The Chancellor broke ranks to become the first Cabinet minister **publicly to endorse** Mr Straw's call for women to discard the veil, which he described as a **symbol of separation**. His comments came as Salman Rushdie stoked the row by declaring that veils worn by Muslim women "suck". **Tony Blair broke his silence** on the issue too, but **he stressed that women must be free to choose what they wear**. In contrast, Mr Brown threw his weight behind the Leader of the Commons. Asked by the BBC if Mr Straw had been right to say it would help **integration** if Muslim women did not wear the veil, he said: "Yes, but I think he is not proposing new laws, he is proposing **a debate about the cultural changes** that might have to take place in Britain. I would emphasise the importance of **what we do to integrate people into our country including the language, history and curriculum**." Pressed to say if he thought it would be "better for Britain" if fewer Muslim women wore veils, Mr Brown replied: "**That is what Jack Straw has said and I support. But I think the important thing is that we have a debate on this**." (TDT₃, October 11, 2006)

TDT$_3$ (in Excerpt 5-6) and TG$_3$ (F=1) were the only newspapers in the BPC that covered Brown's views against the Muslim women's face-veil. This coverage was made with an inter-textual discursive mention of Blair's and Straw's views. However, the precise semantic reference of the word *veil* was not specified in the excerpt above, although the verb *lifting* could conceptually suggest the full face-veil i.e. as cognitively retrieved from the source domain of force-dynamics, see also tables 5-4 and 5-5 in 5.7.4 above.

This uncertainty of the word *veil* may result in a semantic ambiguity to those who are not familiar with the previous discourse. Does it denote the *headscarf* or the *face-veil*? It might also contribute to 'stigmatising' (Scott, 2010) all MWs who dress any form of head covers. Still, Excerpt 5-6 semantically and discursively draws on two previous socio-political speeches: Straw's, which was the first of its kind, and the speech where Blair lent initial support to Straw's views.

However, Brown was more explicit about his desire to 'have' a discursive debate which 'leads to cultural change' as he went further to talk about the MWs' 'integration' into 'our country'. Brown's conceptual discourse of *integration* was drawn from the conceptual metaphor SOCIETY IS A CONTAINER, as explained in Table 5-8 below.

Table 5-8 Conceptual metaphors for INTEGRATION in Excerpt 5-6

Conceptual metaphors		
	The linguistic phrase: "I would emphasise the importance of **what we do to integrate people into our country** including the language, history and curriculum". Gordon Brown	
	Conceptual Metaphor	
	Source Concept	**Target Concept**
1	BRITISH SOCIETY IS A CONTAINER	
	Container schema	British society
2	BRITISH SOCIETY IS A CONCRETE OBJECT	
	Physical constituents of an object	Multicultural communities in Britain
3	'VEILED' MUSLIM WOMEN ARE NOT IN THE CONTAINER, PART (INTEGRATED PART) OF OUR COUNTRY	
	Physical union (integration)	Social relations

Table 5-8 explains the conceptual discourse found in Brown's statement about integration and the SOURCE concepts that were utilised. In Brown's conceptual discourse, the pronoun *our* excludes the face-veiled Muslim women from British society, and that is why a discourse of 'integration' is called upon. Through this conceptual discourse, Brown placed himself and Straw within the container 'OUR SOCIETY'/'OUR COUNTRY'; see Figure 5-8 below.
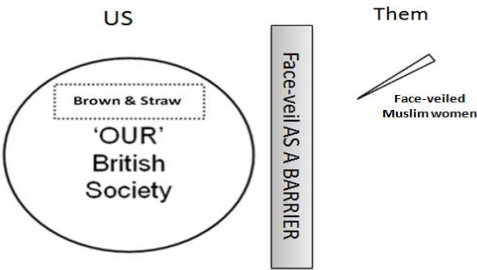
Figure 5-8 The container schema for the sentence: *"I would emphasise the importance of what we do to integrate people into our country"*

Brown`s discourse clearly presents the **US** group as opposed to the **THEM** group. These two groups are implied to be separated by the claimed conceptual barrier, i.e. the face-veil. The discourse is a semantic practice that exemplifies the ideological square of biased discourse (van Dijk, 1998) where the 'good' things about *US* (integration) and the 'bad' things about *them* (separation) are presented.

In the category <u>VERBS</u>, the verb *REMOVE* in Table 5-1 was found to refer, in most cases, to the MWs' 'veil' and more particularly in relation to Straw`s remarks. It occurred 236 times in P$_3$ and collocated with *to* (F=242), *their* (F=91),

veil (F=87), *women* (F=79), *veils* (F=78). It also clustered first in the following phrases *to remove their* (F=77), *remove their veils* (F=64), *remove her* (F=57), etc. Though there are a number of individual instances that refer to an order placed on Muslim women to remove their 'veils', the majority of the instances were related to Jack Straw's comments about the 'veil'. In fact, his remarks were found, in P_3, to clusters in the phrase 'Jack Straw call for/ asked/ urged' *MWs to remove their veils* (F=36), see 3.4.5 above.

5.8.2 **MWS** ARE FORCED INTO A CONTAINER/PRISON OF MARRIAGE

MARRIAGES (F=76; 0.49 per each 1000 words) was found as a significant keyword in P_1. It collocated most with *forced* (F=34), *arranged* (F=17), *women* (F=7) and *into* (F=5). The collocate *into* was found, from concordance lines, to suggest a conceptual schematic meaning of entering a container involuntarily. This container is that of forced/arranged marriages which can be perceived as an unpleasant container such as prison. The point about PRISON is that those in authority make decisions about who goes into a container that they can't then get out of. Some containers are fine, the shelter for homeless and refugees for example, however, the issue of decisions about ENTERING and EXITING the CONTAINER/PRISON OF MARRIAGE is critical.

MWs are strongly associated with forced and arranged marriages which is a stereotype and a source of 'misrepresentation' that previous studies have noted (Silvestri, 2009).

Excerpt 5-7

> **Huge rise in forced marriages; New immigration rules easing UK entry for spouses lead to unwanted arranged weddings for hundreds of Muslim women**
> THERE HAS been a huge rise in the number of **British Muslim women forced into arranged marriages** following a decision by the government to liberalise the immigration laws last year. Civil rights campaigners **say hundreds of young women are being tricked abroad, mainly to Pakistan**, where they are married and forced to live in remote villages. Women's groups have set up several new refuges to cope with the numbers seeking help and new identities......[the concluding paragraph] Jahangir Mohammed, deputy leader of the Muslim Parliament of Great Britain, said: 'There are problems in a tiny minority of marriages and perhaps they are increasing, but to **force anyone into a marriage is totally un-Islamic**. ......Hannana Siddiqui of the Southall Black Sisters women's group : 'The British government could and should be doing more and their failure to act to help Asian women who are kidnapped and taken abroad to be married is basically racist. 'They are saying 'we have to be sensitive and not criticise other cultures' but in doing that they are allowing violations of women's human rights to continue." (TI$_1$, July 20, 1998)

Excerpt 5-7 includes the vague expression *MWs* at the headline level. It also includes the theme of danger as a mental space opened up by the phrase *THERE HAS been a huge rise in the number....* which suggests a schematic vertical elevation of a dangerous situation.

The cognitive meaning is also constructed based on how many women exactly suffered forced marriages out of the total of British-Pakistani (Muslim) women in Britain at that time. The quantification[64] mentioned above was the indefinite quantifier 'hundreds' which along with the phrase 'huge rise' facilitate an overstated negative meaning.

Notably, the forced women are described by their religion rather than their nationality, origins or family traditions. Although the newspaper quoted the speech of the deputy leader of the Muslim Parliament in Britain, Jahangir Mohammed, describing the phenomenon of 'forced marriages' as 'un-Islamic', the newspaper insisted on labelling the forced women as *Muslim women* as shown in the headline in Excerpt 5-7. This pragmatically suggests that all the cases are the same and they occur because of a (Muslim) family pressure that is 'Islamic'. The cognitive 'mechanism'/ strategy used in this conceptual structure is that of *profiling* (Langacker, 2008, p. 67). The expression *MWs* was used to specify a larger group and shift the blame on their religious background through highlighting their religious profile (see 2.8.2).

The forced British-Pakistani women are presented to the reader within the domain of Muslim women but not (initially) the domain of British women (of Pakistani origin). This is a linguistic practice and conceptual reframing of the incidents away from their real reasons that are mainly cultural and civil into a religious domain involving a wider community. The religious profile of these women was activated in the *headline* and the *lead* of the article rather than highlighting their ethnic identity at this point. The conceptual metaphor evoked is given in Table 5-9.

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[64] Quantification is a concept that will be dealt with in more detail in Chapter 8: Section 8.3.

Table 5-9 Conceptual metaphor in Excerpt 5-7 about MWs and forced/arranged marriages

Conceptual metaphors	
1-The linguistic example: Huge rise in **forced marriages**; New immigration rules easing UK entry for spouses lead to unwanted arranged weddings for hundreds of Muslim women[headline] 'THERE HAS been a huge rise in the number of British Muslim women **forced into arranged marriages**'[lead]	
MUSLIM WOMEN ARE FORCED INTO A CONTAINER/'PRISON' OF (arranged marriages)	
Source domain	**Target domain**
FORCE DYNAMICS; COMPULSORY POWER and CONTAINER	SOCIAL RELATIONS WITHIN FAMILY AND MARRIAGE DECISIONS /(ARRANGED) MARRIAGES

The SOURCE domain in example 1 comes from the force-dynamics system where a compulsory power or force is placed by an AGENT on an object (PATIENT) to move it in a particular direction, see Figures 5-9 and 5-10 below.
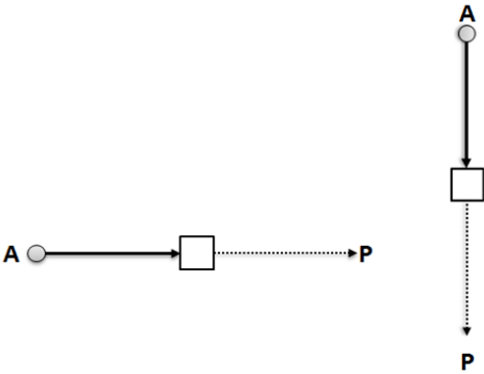
Figure 5-9 The compulsory force schema
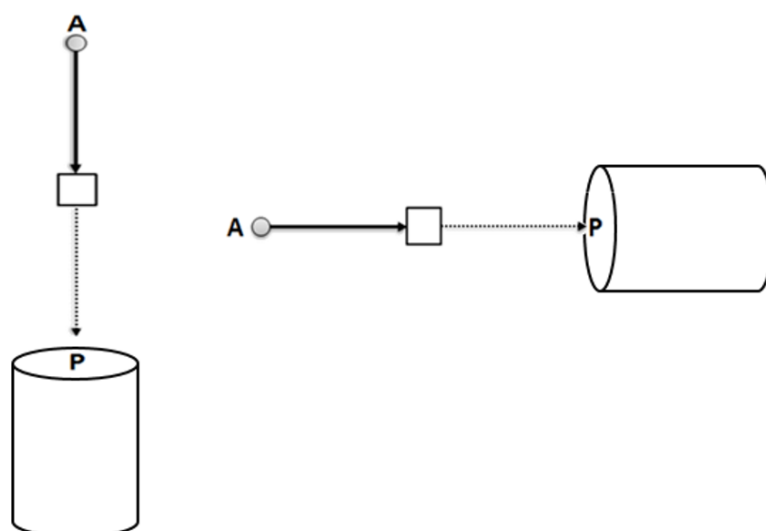
Figure 5-10 Schema of the compulsory force into a container/ PRISON

This conceptual structure here has a connotation that is similar to the scene of forcing someone into a prison[65] where the decision of *entering* and *exiting* the container is not the hand of the prisoner herself (i.e. the bride) but in someone's else hand such as judges and government officers in the prison schema (i.e. parents and elder brothers). The AGENT in this case would be the family forcing the PATIENT '*women*' into arranged marriages. The conceptual structure as explained above can entail either a vertical or horizontal direction of force based on how someone perceives the family's relations. In a hierarchical model, the parents and the elder relatives are vertically presented based on their power and authority inside a large family. In a horizontal model, they are nearly equal but there could be a priority for men over women in making the family's decisions[66]. The horizontal force versus the vertical one in figures 5-9 and 5-10 above helps the reader in perceiving the extent of the pressure conceptually claimed here and hence facilitates processing the pragmatic meaning. The pragmatic meaning of this conceptual structure underlies the idea that the PATIENTS ('*women*') will be/ are held within the concrete boundaries of the container (CAGE) of forced marriages that they cannot escape. It can be suggested, that since the phrase is

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[65] This will be given in more detail later in Chapter 7; section 7.5.3.

[66] While men's priority in decisions is a cultural tradition of power order/ precedence in large Asian and European 'Victorian' families, to some it might be based on extending the meaning of the divorce regulations verse in The Holy Quran (2:228) to other occasions such as marriage decisions.

forced into 'arranged marriages' the force is vertical and excessive (Figure 5-10) as it necessitates the use of force towards the entrance into that metaphorical container (prison) i.e. *arranged marriages. MARRIAGES* was a significant keyword only in P_1. The combined rates of mentions of *forced* and *arranged marriages* in each period of the BPC is given in Figure 5-11 below.
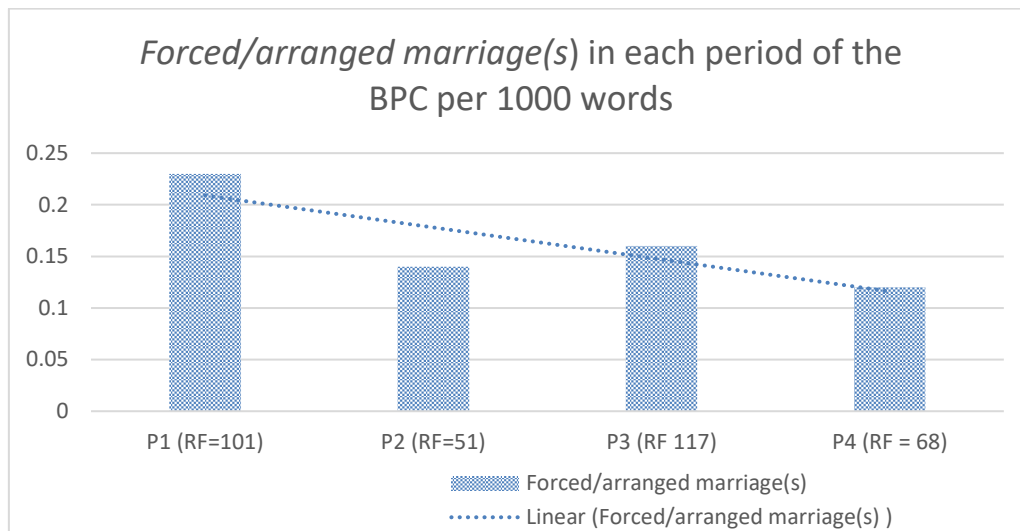
Figure 5-11 *Forced/arranged marriage(s)* **in each period of the BPC per each 1000 words**

The data suggests that the topic which was found to be significant in P_1 has witnessed a gradual decrease over time, except a slight increase in P_3. One point worth noting here is that while MWs have suffered in the past from associating them with forced marriages (Silvestri, 2009), their representation in the press has witnessed a steady gradual and significant increase of narrowing their identities to headscarves and face-veils bans suggesting their incompatibility/un-integration with western lifestyle.
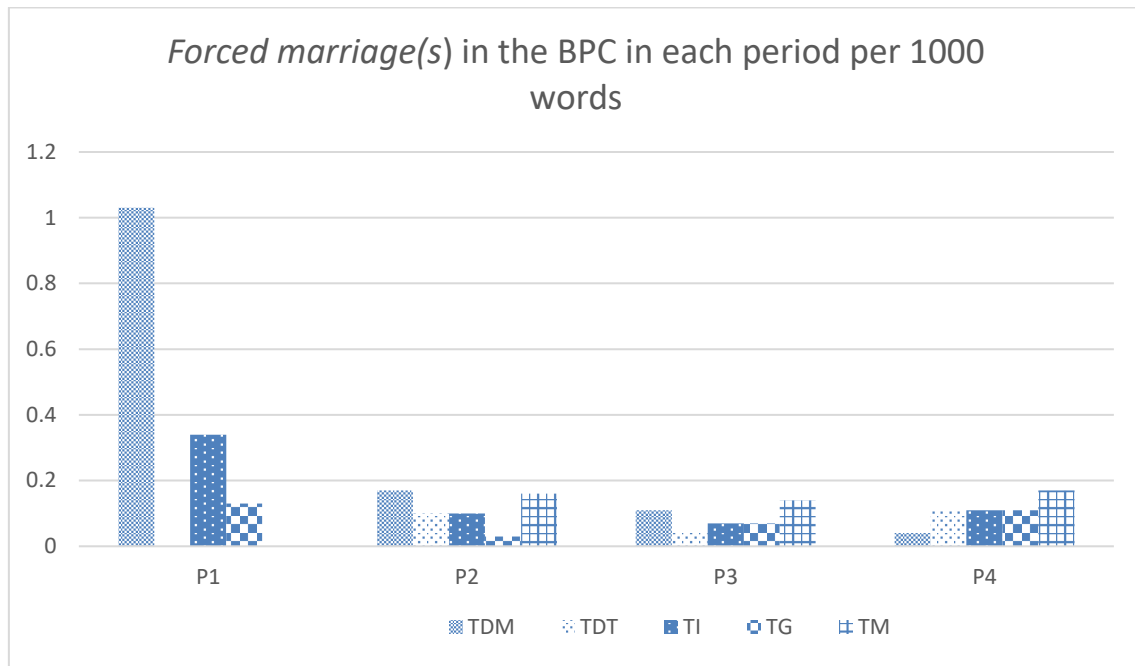
Figure 5-12 *Forced marriage(s) in the BPC in each period per each 1000 words*

From Figure 5-12, the topic of *forced marriages* is found to be favoured in all the four periods with some variation among the different newspapers. For example, while TI, TG and TDM showed continuous interest in the topic in all the four periods, TDT and TM, on the other hand, only started mentioning the topic after 9/11, i.e. in P_2, P_3 and P_4. TDM, on the other hand, exhibited an exceptional interest in writing about it in P_1 followed by TI_1.

Overall, the topic of *forced marriages* is one of the sources that previous studies have linked to misrepresentations and prejudices about MWs in the press. For example, Silvestri (2009) found that dramatic stories of *forced marriage* were widely associated with other stereotypes of Muslim women in the press and that this has led to a social exclusion of Muslim women in Europe (p. 2). Most of the occurrences of *forced marriages* were found to be more frequent in TI, TG, and TDM discourse. Hence, it can be said that these newspapers have more preference to raise these topics as problematic issues related to (Muslim) women in Britain than do TDT and TM. The overall and recurrent pragmatic message arising from this would be that of *MW(s) are the victims of forced marriages*. In fact, while *arranged marriages* apply to any culture where families decide whom you marry, a situation where the bride and groom have no choice, nevertheless, these

stereotypes are falsely associated with Islam and MWs. As found in Excerpt 5-7, these topics facilitate a misconception of MWs through the use of the cognitive 'mechanism'/ strategy of *profiling* (Langacker, 2008, p. 67) whereby the religious profile of these Ws is raised. In addition, the verb *forced* presents the MWs in an action frame where they occupy conceptually the 'semantic slot' of weak patients without agency, which coheres with other findings in chapters 6, 7 and 8 as will be discussed later. Finally, *arranged marriages* and *forced marriages* also fit with the recurrent schemata (2.3.1) of MWs being 'helpless' and 'passive' and embodies a type of the epistemic priming of MW(s) in the British press.

5.9   Adjectives and adverbs

In this category, *AGAINST* (F=547; 1.14 per each 1000 words) was a keyword in P₂; it collocated most with *War* (F=51), *women* (F=44), *Muslims* (F=35) and *violence* (F=27), *terrorism* (F=16), *crimes* (F=14) *Iraq* (F=14) and *Afghanistan* (F=12). Most of these uses were related to the War in Iraq and violence committed against 'Muslim' women in that period.

ETHNIC was a keyword in two different periods. First, in P1 *ETHNIC* (F=87; 0.43 per each 1000 words) collocated most with *cleansing* (F=18), *minorities* (F=8), *Albanian* (F=8), and *minority* (F=6). This indicates that it was mainly used about the Serbian crimes against MWs during the war in Bosnia. A topic that we have already mentioned in section 5.6 above. Second, *ETHNIC* in P₃ (F=253; 0.34 per each 1000 words) collocated most with *minorities* (F=68), *minority* (F=53), *groups* (F=32), *religious* (F=20), *women* (F=14), *Muslim* (F=17) *their* (F=39) and *integrate* (F=15). *ETHNIC* in P₃ was found to be an adjective that classifies Muslim women mainly as a minority in Europe in relation to the debate about MWs` dress that started in Britain a year after the 7/7 London bombings.

In addition, *CULTURAL* in P₃ (F=224; 0.30 per each 1000 words) was found to be used in a similar way to that of *ETHNIC* in P₃. *CULTURAL* collocated most with *religious* (F=12), *practices* (F=14), *women* (F=14), *her* (F=10), *their* (F=9), *Muslim* (F=8) *multi* (F=8) and *identity* (F=8).

5.10 SOCIAL GROUPS and MWs

In the category <u>SOCIAL GROUPS,</u> *WOMEN* and *COMMUNITY* were recurrent keywords in the four periods. Their rates of concurrence per each 1000 words in each of the four periods is given in Table 5-10 below.

Table 5-10 Keywords that denote social groups

Keyword	P1	P2	P3	P4
Women	3.31	3.63	3.68	3.69
Communities	0.04	0.26	0.41	0.30
Community	0.44	0.63	0.88	0.53

It was not a surprise that *WOMEN* was significant as it is one of the key terms through which the BPC was compiled. However, *COMMUNITY* was found to be the most used group term. When I brought the rates of frequency of the two terms *COMMUNITY* and the plural form *COMMUNITIES* (Table 5-11), it was clear that MWs are being classified more as/within a coherent 'community' or group in terms of practice and believes which is not usually true, particularly in the West. This may lead to false generalisations about them and hinder a better understanding of them and their variant practices of hijab, see 3.4.1.

For example, in P$_3$ i.e. after 7/7, we had four keywords, *WOMEN, SOCIETY, COMMUNITY, COMMUNITIES.* These keywords were found to talk more with specification of the MWs as a separate and coherent *ETHNIC* and *CULTURAL* group or *SOCIETY* within the British *SOCIETY*.

COMMUNITY (F=679; 0.88 per each 1000 words) collocated most with *Muslim* (F=206), *from* (F=55), *cohesion* (F=55), *relations* (F=20), *leaders* (F=33) and *within* (F=28). On the other hand, *SOCIETY* (F=542; 0.68 per each 1000 words) collocated most with *British* (F=73), *our* (F=67), *from* (F=39), *multicultural* (F=20), *women* (F=19), *Muslim* (F=17) *their* (F=39) and *integrate* (F=15). While SOCIETY is classified most by *British* (F=73), *our* (F=67), COMMUNITY is classified most by *Muslim* (F=206), *from* (F=55) and *cohesion*(F=55).

The discussion above suggests that MWs are placed as a group of 'others' and hence distanced or maybe 'stigmatised' (Scott, 2010), words such as Muslim communities/groups may be used to "separate the Muslims from the rest of the world" or British community and "may enable writers, and hence readers, to treat all Muslims, as a homogenous group, despite the significant cultural differences among them" (Alharbi, 2012, p. 185). It might be argued that if MWs are seen as an essential part of the French, British or European culture then the press discourse should acknowledge them as internal members of the society – including their religious dress and culture- rather than grouping them with such words when questioning their believes and practices.

5.11 Chapter summary

Thus far, I discussed contextual readings of the statistically significant keywords found in the BPC. The overall discourse can be seen to represent MWs as 1) victims of war crimes i.e. raped, 2) victims of sharia laws and Muslim's culture, 3) not an integrated part of British society particularly those who wear the face-veil, 4) irrational[67] e.g. the *Aisha Azmi case* (5.7.4 and 5.8.1) as well as 5) criminal and violent e.g. *Roshonara Choudhry* (5.7.3: Excerpts 5-3 and 5-4). This schemata (Augoustinos, et al., 2014), (see Section 2.3.1), of MWs in the BPC is presented in addition to the British political figure i.e. Baroness Warsi in P_4., the Tory figure Lady Warsi was usually presented in positive contexts along with other controversial and negative ones as will come later in 8.4.1 (excerpts 8-3D to 8-3F and 8-3C).

Other names of MWs included the former Pakistani prime minister and politician Benazir *BHUTTO* and the Arab feminist/novelists Nawal *ELSADAAWI,* Hanan *AL-SHAYKH,* as well as Ayaan *Hirsi*, the 'fierce critic of radical Islam' (Nicholas, 2006). On the other hand, Straw and Sarkozy were among the keywords for their controversial statements and calls against the MWs veil i.e. the face-veil. This political discourse is consistent with the claim that

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[67] For refusing to unveil in the presence of men.

attacks on veiled Muslim women are offered legitimacy by statements given by politicians in European countries (European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia, 2002, p. 54) (see 3.4.5). It also coheres with the colonial utilisation of the liberal feminist discourse (see 3.4.2, 3.4.3 and 3.4.4) such as that of *Ayaan Hirsi* and *Hanan Al-Shaykh* about 'equality', 'forced marriages' and 'violence' against 'Muslim' women to disparage Islam as backward and violent to women (Richardson, 2004). Furthermore the use of variant conceptual structures was found; while significant conceptual structures were found to be related to the political debate over MWs integration in the British society (3.4.5), recurrent conceptual structures that perpetuate the VEIL OF THE MUSLIM WOMEN AS A VIOLENT/ UNDESIRABLE FORCE were always found (see 5.7.4 and 5.8.1, more will come in 6.2 and 7.5.2 and 7.5.3).

To sum up, the discourse reported in the BPC was mainly about incidents that perpetuated an old trend in the press to view MWs, as incompetent, weak and victims of violence cf. (Richardson, 2004, p. 90; Brown, 2006, p. 310; Elgamri, 2008, p. 214 and others see 3.3); nevertheless this negativity has increased cumulatively after 9/11.

Overall, it can be concluded that the findings Chapter 5 i.e. *keywords analysis* were revealing of the important themes the BPC contains. Next, I will introduce the second analysis of the macro-semantic structure of the BPC discourse about MWs which covers the analysis of collocations (at the headline level of news discourse).

6   Chapter Six: Collocations in headlines

6.1   Headline collocates

Another approach to the analysis of the macro-level structure of the discourse is to examine headlines (van Dijk, 1985, p. 107; Otaif, 2015). This section will, therefore, introduce the linguistic collocates that were found to associate with the nodes W(s) in the BPC headlines within a span of 8 words on each side of the node(s) inside the headlines corpus.

Extracting collocates with the nodes WOMAN (W) (F=144) and WOMEN (Ws) (F=407) from the *headlines corpora* (see 4.3.2) revealed a number of significant and interesting collocates. These collocates were categorised based on their content and the convention in corpus-CDA studies (Seale & Charteris-Black , 2010; Al-Hejin 2012; Baker, et al., 2013), see tables 6-1 and 6-2 below[68]. It is worth recalling here that these lists were extracted based on the LL statistical measure, see Appendix 3A for their original order. All the macro-level collocates will be written with a capital first letter, italics and underlined e.g. *Veil (F=13).*

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[68] They were divided into two tables for the purpose of clarity in discussion.

Table 6-1 Macro-level W(s)-collocates in the BPC Headlines 1/2

	Semantic category	P$_1$ W	P$_1$ Ws	P$_{2+3}$ W	P$_{2+3}$ Ws	P$_4$ W	P$_4$ Ws
1	RELIGION	*Muslim*	*Muslim, Moslem, Islamic*	*Muslim*	*Muslim, Islam*	*Muslim*	*Muslim*
2	DRESS		*Veil,*	*Veil, Veiled, Cross*[69]	*Wearing, Veil, Veiled, Hijab, Wear, Veils*	*Veil, Burka, Veiled, Niqab, Wearing*	*Wear, Veil, Wearing, Veils*
3	NATIONS, COUNTRIES AND LOCATION		*Bosnian, Hague* [an international Crime Tribunal located in Netherlands], *KASHMIR,*	*Home, Netherlands, English*	*British*	*FRANCE,*	*French, Arab*
4	SOCIAL ACTORS		*Suzanne* (Suzanne Goldenberg a TG journalist), *Fisk* (Robert Fisk, a TI journalist)	*Court, Yasmin, Alibhai-Brown, Queen, President, Father*		*Judge, Mp, Michael,* (Michael; TG,TDT,TDM journalist) *Chrisafis* (Angelique Chrisafis, a TG journalist)	*Minister, Correspondent*
5	TERRORISM			*Suicide, Bomber, Osama, Bin,*	*Terrorism,*		
6	VIOLENCE AND CRIMES		*War*	*Honour, Danger*		*Attack, Killing*	*Attacks,*
7	SOCIAL GROUPS AND INDIVIDUALS		*Men, Children*	*Man*		*Girl,*	*Female, Men*
8	AWARDS			*Nobel*			
9	DEONTIC/ EPISTEMIC MODALITY				*Should, Can*	*Must*	*Should*

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[69] *Cross* was used in reference to the French ban of 'religious symbols' in schools in 2004, see 3.4.5.

However, while the frequency given next to each collocate – in this chapter – will be its original frequency (F) as an individual word inside the relevant headlines corpus e.g. *P₁ Headlines*, its frequency as a collocate with the node W(s) is given in Appendix 3A. For the purpose of clarity, discussion will be restricted to 1) lexical collocates i.e. those that exhibited a distinctive "discernible lexical meaning" (Al-Hejin, 2012, p. 157) e.g. *Force* versus *to,* and 2) those found informative for the analysis, i.e. reflected meaningful patterns rather than individual scattered uses. Furthermore, wherever a previously discussed keyword is found as a headline-level collocate within the same period, it will be named a key collocate, otherwise, all the headline-level collocates will be called macro-level collocates.

6.2   Religion and dress macro-level collocates

First, the nodes W and Ws have <u>Muslim</u> as a macro-level collocate at the headline-level throughout three periods (given above), in fact, <u>Muslim</u> is also a key collocate in P₁ and P₂&₃. In addition, the terms <u>Islamic</u> (P₁) and <u>Islam</u> (P₂&₃) were key collocates, see tables 6-1 and 5-1 in 5.1.

This proves statistically that W(s) as social actors are classified (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 42) based on their religious profile at the headline-level of discourse in the BPC. In cognitive semantic terms, the most highlighted *profile* (Langacker, 2008, p. 67) from the *base* of their identities in the headlines was their religious profile and dress (see, Table 6-1). It might be argued that this is due to the criterion through which the BPC was built, however, while this could be partially true, the criterion included any article that used the term MW(s) anywhere in the text. Hence, this significant classification, in the headlines, might reflect a shared socio-cognitive model, in the BPC, of perceiving MWs as 'others' (see section 5.10).

Similar to the findings in 5.2, the dress theme had its peak after 9/11. However, <u>Veil</u> (F=13) occurred in P₁ for the first time as a significant macro semantic structure i.e. as Ws-collocate. This suggests that the macro-level

collocates[70] will reveal aspects of the macro-structure of the BPC discourse that were not found in the previous analyses of keywords (Chapter 5). Mentions of *veil* (P₁) are given in Figure 6-1.

1	FINAL LAP OF A RUNNING BATTLE TO LIFT TYRANTS' VEIL TDM1 , August 5, 1992, Wednesday, Pg. 41, 1694	TDM1 HS
2	, May 1, 1997, Pg. 20, 79 words 103. Shipshape in a veil; Navy's new uniform code to attract Moslem women	TDM1 HS
3	, Stewart Steven 142. Jail officer faces the sack over veil 'insult' TDM1, June 11, 2000, Pg. 41, 280 words,	TDM1 HS
4	T6, 855 words, Anthony Everitt 77. PULLING BACK THE VEIL; How a new breed of Islamic feminists is dragging	TG1 HS
5	, 6854 words, Geraldine Brooks 99. HOPE BEYOND THE VEIL; Muslim women are changing. Their culture has to	TG1 HS
6	words, Ian Black in the Hague 232. Women: Lifting the veil: Angelique Chrisafis on how two radical women are	TG1 HS
7	, HOME NEWS PAGE; Page 6 , 308 words 2. Lifting the veil from Islamic Britain; A mother of six, the Muslim	TI1 HS
8	GIBBON 79. Why they can't turn their backs on the veil; Islam's strict dress code has divided young Muslim	TI1 HS
9	, Mrs Zarine Choudry 92. Iran's first daughter of the veil; INSIDE IRAN TI1, May 24, 1995, Wednesday,	TI1 HS
10	107 words, Mrs K. L. Boukeras 97. LETTER:Lifting the veil on the vitamin myth TI1, June 16, 1995, Friday,	TI1 HS
11	14, 55 words 126. A beacon in Islam's dark age; As a veil is drawn over the women of Kabul, a Pakistani	TI1 HS
12	been heightened after threats to women who do not 'veil up' in; Srinigar Srinigar	TI1 HS
13	, FEATURES; Pg. 15, 577 words 14. JACKO TAKES THE VEIL; MICHAEL JACKSON DRESSES AS A MUSLIM	TM1 HS

Figure 6-1 Mentions of the word *veil* in the P₁ corpus

From Table 6-1 and Figure 6-1 above, there is evidence that the use of the word 'veil' has been favoured in relation to MWs in P₁ since 1992 (see ConcL 1). First, TDM₁ has three variant news stories on this theme (ConcLs 1-3). ConcL 2 is an example of how wearing the Islamic veil, i.e. the hijab, was socially accepted and promoted by institutions in Britain; however, the word *veil* here was found to refer to the form that necessitates covering the body and hair but not the face. Other instances of *veil* in TDM₁ (ConcLs 1&3) are given in Excerpts 6-1 and 6-2 below.

Excerpt 6-1

Jail officer faces the sack over <u>veil</u> 'insult' [Headline]
A PRISON officer faces the sack after he ordered two Muslim women to remove their veils before he would allow them to visit relatives. The row over the action of Brixton officer Terry Mulligan has reached Prisons Minister Paul Boateng, who is said to be furious. Jail governor Bob Chapman immediately ordered a disciplinary inquiry and has written an official apology to both the women and the inmates involved. All visitors face strict security checks to ensure they are not smuggling in weapons, drugs, or escape aids. Sometimes this can entail a physical search. However, devout <u>Muslim women</u> must keep their hair and faces hidden from men at all times in strict observance of Islamic rules of chastity and morality.

(TDM₁, June 11, 2000)

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[70] This can be attributed due to the analytical procedure and data used in this type of analysis, e.g. *P₁ headlines corpus* versus *itself,* which make it (Table 6-1) distinctive and more revealing than Keywords in Chapter 5 which builds its findings based on its contrast with a reference corpora i.e. the Ws corpora (Table 4-8).

It is worth emphasising here that the news story in Excerpt 6-1 was exactly 3 months before the 9/11 events. Nevertheless, TDM$_1$'s early stance on Muslims and veiling in P$_1$ was not consistent; the story in ConcL 1 reveals that TDM$_1$ had a negative stance towards what it called 'religious fanaticism' in 'the shadowy Muslim world' in 1992, see Excerpt 6-2.

Excerpt 6-2

THE GAZELLE ON FINAL LAP OF A RUNNING BATTLE TO LIFT TYRANTS' <u>VEIL</u>, [Headline]

A WISP of a girl who looks as if one gust of desert wind would blow her away begins running here today not just for gold, not just for glory, but for the <u>emancipation of womankind</u>. Hassiba Boulmerka is the Emily Pankhurst of the 1990s. The struggle has moved on. The chains and railings of Downing Street have given way to the spikes of the Olympic track but the cause is the same. Little Miss Boulmerka is impaling herself on the last bastion of male prejudice. In the shadowy <u>Muslim world</u> of the <u>chador</u> a woman is supposed to know her place. It is not striding out in front of the men and it is certainly not doing so with <u>arms naked, legs bare and face uncovered</u>. When the girl known as the Constantine Gazelle trots down to the start of the 1500 metres this morning she will do so in brazen defiance of the <u>religious fanaticism</u> threatening to sweep Arabia and North Africa back into the Dark Ages.

(TDM$_1$, August 5, 1992)

The headline, in Excerpt 6-2, was constructed in a conceptual way; while the *Gazelle* refers metaphorically to the Algerian middle-distance runner Hassiba Boulmerka, *Tyrants* was found to refer to 'religious fanaticism' or fanatics. Both social actors were constructed in a conceptual battle where *Miss Boulmerka* is running her final lap to 'unveil' them, and hence she does so for the 'emancipation of womankind'. The discourse in Excerpt 6-2 is loaded with conceptual representations of antagonism between a woman and her Muslim community; the main conceptual metaphor would be DISAGREEMENT IS BATTLING (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). This conceptual structure serves to intensify the disagreement and frame the news story in a hostile way, cf. *intensifying and framing discursive strategies* (Section 2.5; Wodak, 2001, p. 73).

On the other hand, in TG$_1$, there were three instances of the *veil* (ConcLs 4 to 6): 1) *hope beyond the veil* (ConcL 4), 2) *pulling back the veil* (ConcL 5) and 3) *lifting the veil* (ConcL 6). Likewise, TI$_1$ included 6 mentions of the word *veil* (ConcLs 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12), two of them being reply letters. TI$_1$'s instances were 1) *lifting the veil from Islamic Britain* (ConcL 7), 2) *Why they can't turn their backs on the veil;*

Islam's strict dress code has divided young Muslim women in London's East End (ConcL 8), 3) *Iran's first daughter of the veil* (ConcL 9), 4) *LETTER: Lifting the veil on the vitamin myth* (ConcL 10), 5) *A beacon in Islam's dark age; As a veil is drawn over the women of Kabul, a Pakistani lawyer is leading the fightback* (ConcL 11) and 6) *threats to women who do not 'veil up' in Srinigar* (ConcL 12).

Finally, while TDT_1, included zero[71] instances of the word <u>*Veil*</u>, TM_1 had only one mention that actually refers to the face-veil (ConcL 13).

Most of the references in Figure 6-1 are either the veiling constructed as 1) *impediment to vision/understanding* (ConcLs 6 and 7), 2) *religious obligation* (ConcLs 2 and 3) or, 3) *imposed* (ConcLs 11 and 12) by extremists as well as conceptualised as 4) a *splitter* (ConcL 8) i.e. *Islam's strict dress code has divided young Muslim women in London's East End*. So it can be concluded that there are a number of recurrent conceptual structure in the examples in Figure 6-1 which conceptualise the veil worn by Muslim women as a VIOLENT/UNDESIRABLE FORCE (ConcLs 6, 7, 8, 11 and 12, Figure 6-1). This conceptual structure derives its meaning from the domain of force dynamics of blockage/impediment/compulsion/separation (Talmy, 2000). For example, in the example in ConcL 8, the metaphorical meaning was taken from the source domain of force dynamics where '*Islam's strict dress code* 'is a force of separation that has divided the community.

The conceptual metaphor THE RESULT OF STRICT DRESS CODE IS A DIVIDED COMMUNITY OF MWs above evoked the conceptual schema explained in Figure 6-2 below.
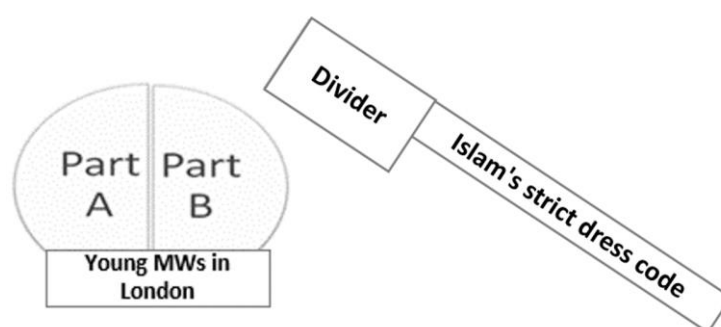
Figure 6-2 Splitting schema

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[71] TDT_1 has started reporting about or using the term MW(s) in the year 2000

This conceptual structure has intensified and framed (DHM: 2.5) the 'dress code' as a 'strict power of separation' which is a negative conceptualisation that utilises the source concept of the FORCE-DYNAMICS OF SEPARATION. In addition, some of the instances above associate the word *veil* with 'battling' or 'coercion' scenes with negative connotations denoting 'oppressed and forced' Ws (ConcLs 11 and 12, Figure 6-1).

This coheres with Richardson`s (Richardson, 2001b)[72] conclusions that British Muslim communities are almost wholly absent from the news, excluded from all topics, and when they are included, it is 'predominantly' in 'negative contexts' as in the case of the Muslim women's *hijab* being referred to with linguistic choices such as "*stalking down the catwalk with bags on their heads*'' and ''*Bags, how ghastly!*'' (p. 238). Negative stereotypes and language in relation to MW's dress have, therefore, existed in the British press since before 9/11. It is worth noting here that the LW press TI$_1$ exhibited an outstanding interest in reporting about the *veil* more than other types of the press, see Figure 6-1.

6.3   Geographical and ethnic macro-level collocate

In P$_1$, the headline collocates category <u>NATIONS, COUNTRIES AND LOCATIONS</u> (Table 6-1), included *Bosnian*, *Hague* and *Kashmir*. While *Bosnian* and *Hague* were related to the war in Bosnia, *Kashmir* was related to threats against women who do not 'cover up'/'wear burqas', see Excerpts 6-3 below.

Excerpts 6-3

> *Excerpt 6-3a*
> **KASHMIR WOMEN FACE THREAT OF ACID ATTACKS FROM MILITANTS**
> **Peter Popham In Delhi Islamic fundamentalist women wearing their 'burqas' in Kashmir;**
> **Security has been heightened after threats to women who do not 'veil up' in Srinigar**
> <div align="right">(TI$_1$, August 30, 2001)</div>

> *Excerpt 6-3b*
> **Women in Kashmir cover up after rebel acid threat By Rahul Bedi in New Delhi**
> <div align="right">(TDT$_1$, September 10, 2001)</div>

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[72] Richardson`s (2001b) was an analysis of the British press discourse about Muslims from October 1997 to January 1998 i.e. in the period before 9/11 cf. 3.3.

It is worth noting here that while Excerpt 6-3A was 11 days before 9/11, Excerpt 6-3B was only one day before 9/11. TI_1 and TDT_1 evoke negativity from overseas countries e.g. *Kashmir* (Excerpts 6-3; ConcL 12, Figure 6-1) and Afghanistan (ConcL 11, Figure 6-1). Even though it could be argued that these news are in sympathy with the victims, the use of the religious profiling *Islamic* in Excerpt 6-3A is problematic.

On the other hand, in $P_{2\&3}$ headlines, *Home*, *Netherlands*, *English* and *British* were W-collocates. First, *Home* was found to refer primarily to *the home affairs pages*. This suggests a statistically significant coverage of incidents related to individual women in Britain during $P_{2\&3}$[73]. Second, *Netherlands* was found to refer to 1) a 'row' about forcing Ayaan Hirsi to leave the Netherlands after she "lied" (Nicholas, 2006) to the immigration authorities and obtained the citizenship (ibid) and 2) a move towards a total veil ban in the Netherlands in 2006.

Third, *English* (F=10) referred to 1) *Rebekah English* who is a TDM writer (F=2), 2) *English woman*[74] (F=3), 3) *English language* (F=3), 4) *English husband* (F=1) and 5) *English courts* (F=1). Fourth and finally, *British* in $P_{2\&3}$ (F=61) which is a key-collocate, in P_3 (see Table 5-1) collocated mostly as a modifier of *Muslims* (F=10), *Muslim* (F=5), *values* (F=3), *women* (F=2). It is worth noting here that the collocational span, in WordSmith$_6$ concordance, was restricted to one word to the right side of *British* in order to discover what nouns the key collocate[75] *British* ($P_{2\&3}$) classifies (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 42) and/or profiles (Langacker, 2008, p. 67) (see 2.4).

In P_4, *France*, *French*, and *Arab* were macro-collocates. *France* and *French* were key collocates; they were found to be predominantly, if not always, related to the French face-veil ban (see 3.4.5). *Arab* (F=10) was found to refer to 1) *Arab spring* (F=3), *Arab world* (F=1), *Arab women* (F=1), *perception of Arab women* (F=1),

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[73] A prime example was that of Aisha Azmi and Straw's remarks about the veil in 2006 mentioned earlier in 5.7.4.

[74] Two of them in reference to the arrest of Yvonne Ridley, a British TDM$_2$ journalist, by the Taliban in October 2001.

[75] A key collocate is a word that appeared both as a headline-level collocate and top significant keyword in the same period i.e. P_3 (Table 5-1).

female Arab ambassador (F=1), *Arab men's attitude towards women* (F=1) and *Arab jailed for/was guilty of rape after consensual sex with Jew* (F=2).

Thus far, despite the fact that, some of the articles in P$_1$ were often in sympathy with Muslim women that were the victims of the Serbian crimes during the war in Bosnia, it is statistically significant that BPC, using the term *MW(s)*, evokes negativity not only from incidents and press releases within the UK (5.7.3, 5.7.4), but from outside UK i.e. *Kashmir, France* and *Netherlands* to report about different types of Ws; see also 5.6.

6.4   Social actors and macro-level collocate

The category <u>SOCIAL ACTORS</u> included the names of different journalists. In P$_1$, reference was made to TG$_1$ journalist <u>*Suzanne*</u> Goldenberg and TI$_1$ journalist Robert <u>*Fisk*</u>.

However, in P$_{2\&3}$, there were mentions of a number of other social actors. First, <u>*Yasmin Alibhai-Brown*</u>, a British Journalist who writes mainly for TI in P$_{2\&3}$ (F=43) and TDM in P$_{2\&3}$ (F=2). She described herself as "leftie liberal, anti-racist, feminist, Muslim" and "part-Pakistani" (Alibhai-Brown, 2011: para. 3). It is worth noting here that, for the first and only time in the analysis, a woman who is Muslim[76] was found to write about MWs with a statistically significant measure in the BPC. Second, <u>*Father*</u> (F=12) was mainly used in reference to familial violence committed by fathers against their daughters, e.g. *honour killings* (F=3), *familial threats and disputes over marriage decisions* (F=6). In addition, there were other negative instances of <u>*Father*</u> questioning the pregnancy of the former French Minister of Justice Miss Rachida Dati from an unknown father; an example of these will appear later (in Section 8.4.1; Excerpt 8-3B).

Third, <u>*Queen*</u> (F=5) and <u>*President*</u> (F=6), occurred only in contexts where they cannot be considered as social actors represented with a direct relation to MWs: e.g. *Era of Repression Ends as Indonesia Chooses a President* (TI$_3$) and *Veil-wearing Muslim woman backs out of Channel 4 alternative to Queen's message* (TDT$_3$).

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[76] Alibhai-Brown is seen as "inadequate to represent" hijab-wearing Muslim women (Ahmed, 2014, pp. 23-24), see Section 3.4.5.

Fourth, _Court_ (F=24) was mainly used in relation to MWs' dress, Sharia law and terrorism. Instances of _Court_ are distributed as follows: 1) 'winning' (F=2) and 'losing' (F=1) court cases against or with wearing headscarf, 2) court regulations about wearing the face-veil in courts (F=3), 3) winning a court case to wear a bangle (F=1), 4) terrorism court cases (F=5), 5) overturned a stoning verdict on a Nigerian woman in a Nigerian court, 6) a Muslim imam in a court case (F=1), 7) a verdict concerning a Hindu father's custody of his kids after divorcing him from his Muslim wife in a Malaysian court (F=1), 8) protesters against a Canadian Sharia Court (F=1), 9) a court case against racism that described Asians as 'evil Asians' (F=1), 10) a court case against a juror (MW) who was found guilty of listening to music in the court (F=1), 11) a court case about Bosnian war crimes in relation to MWs (F=1), 12) a British couple attacking Islam (F=1), and finally 13) a court case about a British non-Muslim woman (F=2) who was found guilty of having sex on a public beach in Dubai. This last example surprises me as it seems irrelevant to the BPC about MWs, however, after examining the entire text of the two articles, it was found that the connection with _MWs_ arises only because TDM$_2$ named the woman's (Michelle Palmer's) friends as 'Muslim Women' as in Excerpt 6-4 below:

Excerpt 6-4

WHO'S SORRY NOW?;
She insists she didn't have sex on a Dubai beach with a stranger but, quite frankly, she was too drunk to remember. And as she faces court next week, the shame is finally catching up with her. [Headline]
"…Yet it is telling, perhaps, that among the friends who have stood by Michelle are several
Muslim women from Dubai whom she has become friends with since arriving here three
years ago" F=2 (TDM$_2$ September 6, 2008) (TDM$_3$ September 9, 2008)

Highlighting the religious profile of Michelle's friends above is not only abnormal but serves as a mitigating strategy (see DHM 2.5) for the action she committed in violation of Dubai ('Islamic') law. This raises a critical question over the relevance of the term 'MWs' when used in TDM$_3$ discourse. Overall, similar to the discussion of women in Kashmir in P$_1$ above, some of the uses of _Court_ have shown that negativity was evoked again from incidents happening in Malaysian and Nigerian courts in relation to 'sharia law' and MWs in P$_{2\&3}$.

In P$_4$, SOCIAL ACTORS included *Judge, MP, Michael, Chrisafis, Correspondent* and *Minister.* While *MP* was a key collocate (Table 6-1, Column P$_4$), *Judge* was mainly in reference to *Judge* Peter Murphy who was reported to have ruled that *Woman must take off burka to give evidence,* this example will be given in more details in 6.7.

On the other hand, *MP* in P$_4$ was found to refer (F=14/30) to MP Timms who was stabbed by Roshonara Choudhry as mentioned earlier in excerpts 5-3 (5.7.3). Other instances of *MP* varied between French and British MPs against or in favour of a veil-ban.

In terms of names, *Michael* was found to be the first name for a number of journalists writing for TG$_4$, TDT$_4$, TDM$_4$ about MWs i.e. *Michael Seamark* and *Michael Burleigh* from TDM$_3$, *Michael Hogan* from TDT$_4$, *Michael Billington* and *Michael Nazir-Ali* (British Pakistani Bishop) from TG$_4$. In addition, *Chrisafis* was found to refer to Angelique Chrisafis, a journalist in TG$_4$. Thus far, therefore, there is statistically significant evidence that MWs are predominantly written about by non-Muslims[77] in the BPC.

In the same vein, *Correspondent* (F=27) was found to refer to a particular type of press correspondent in phrases such as *political correspondent (F=10), religious affairs correspondent* (F=3), *Asia correspondent* (F=3), *arts correspondent* (F=3), *crime correspondent* (F=2), *home affairs correspondent* (F=1), *education correspondent* (F=1), *legal affairs correspondent* (F=1), *war correspondent* (F=1), *our correspondent* (F=1) and *East correspondent* (F=1). This reveals an aspect of BPC coverage in P$_4$ where issues like education and war (F=1) were found less frequent than articles about Asia, crimes and religious affairs. On the other hand, the most frequent type of correspondence here was political, i.e. *political correspondent (F=10)*. This is consistent with the conclusion reached in Chapter 5 (5.5) that political parties are central to discourse mentioning of MWs in the BPC.

Finally, in relation to social actors in Table 6-1, *Minister* (F=14) referred mainly to 1) *Rachida Dati* (F=3), the former French Minister of Justice, 2) *British*

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[77] At least as suggested by the authors' names and articles.

minister (F=3), 3) *French minister* (F=2), 4) *Tories minister* (F=4)- three references were to Lady Warsi - 5) *Prime minister* (F=1), and finally 6) *Home Office minister* (F=1). Most of the uses of <u>Minister</u> were related to the veil e.g. *Minister rejects burqa ban in UK.*

6.5   Terrorism and violence as macro-level collocates

In relation to the category <u>TERRORISM</u>, there were significant macro-collocates only in P$_{2\&3}$, i.e. after 9/11 and 7/7. While <u>*Terrorism*</u> (F=17) was a key collocate in P$_2$, and <u>*Suicide*</u>, <u>*Bomber*</u>, <u>*Osama*</u> and <u>*Bin*</u> were macro-level collocates in P$_{2\&3}$. ConcLs of <u>*Suicide*</u> were found to reveal 18 instances; all of which were in the collocational phrase <u>*Suicide*</u> <u>*Bomber*</u>. These macro-level collocates reveal how terrorism was significantly associated with *MWs* in the BPC in P$_{2\&3}$. This indicates how the 7/7/ bombings have affected the use of the term MWs in P$_3$; particularly when we know that the 7/7/ bombers disguised in a face-veil (Ahmad, 2010).

However, further, examinations of the use of the lemma *terror** in the BPC have surprisingly documented that terrorism is associated with Muslims and the term MW(s) even before 9/11.

6.5.1   MWs within the semantic spectrum of terrorism

The lemma *terror** (F=1455 per each 1000 words in the BPC) was used frequently even before 9/11, see Figure 6-3 below.

The use of the lemma *terror** in each period per each 1000 words (NF and RF)

P1 (RF=115)	0.23
P2 (RF=364)	0.76
P3 (RF=621)	0.81
P4 (RF=355)	0.54
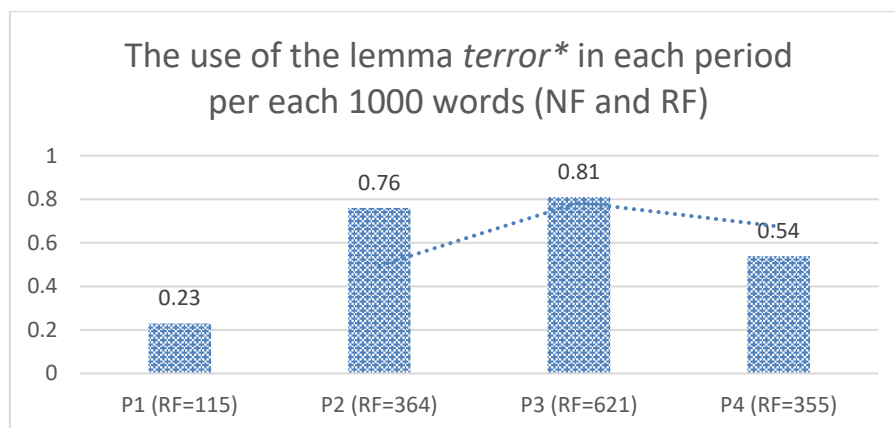
Figure 6-3 Mentions of the lemma terror* in the BPC (NF and RF)

In comparison to their occurrences in the BPC in P_1, the lemma *terror** increased dramatically in P_2 and continued to increase after 7/7 to become an indispensable part of the discourse reporting about MW(s) in P_4. This suggests that the negative association of Islam with terrorism existed before 9/11 but substantially increased since then, it also suggests how extensively the term MWs is associated with terrorism in all the newspapers i.e. sub-corpora in the BPC after 9/11 and 7/7 bombings, see Figure 6-4.

Figure 6-4 Mentions of the lemma *terror** in the individual newspapers of the BPC

The use of the lemma *terror**, as given in Figure 6-4 above, suggests that TI, TG and TDM were found to frequently associate the term MW(s) with terrorism in their coverage before 9/11, i.e. in P_1. These were in reference to Iran, Arabs and British Muslims, see Excerpts 6-5 A to C below. Though both TDT and TM have used this lemma once before 9/11, however, they, like other newspapers, increased their use of the lemma *terror** to unprecedented numbers after 9/11.

Excerpts 6-5

Excerpt 6-5A
Arabs ponder thinking behind US 'terror' list
WHAT is going on in the United States? In less than a week, an Arab is accused of bombing the World Trade Center, Iran is singled out by the State Department as ''the world's leading state supporter of **terrorism**'', and Congress forbids US diplomats to talk to members of the anti-Israeli Hamas resistance. ''Israeli intelligence sources'' are quoted in reports linking Iran, the Palestinians and Egyptian fundamentalists in a plot against the West. And suddenly, no one talks about Saddam Hussein any more. Middle East Muslims were the first to understand the dangers behind these developments. …….- Why should the New York bombing coincide with a written State Department claim that censures Iran in almost the same words with which the Americans recently condemned Iraq? And if Iran is guilty of **''terrorism''**, was not Serbia a thousand times more guilty after the mass rape of **Muslim women** in Bosnia? (TI$_1$, March 8, 1993)

Excerpt 6-5B
Cleric 'supported' Islamic terrorism
A Pakistani cleric facing deportation as a British-based terrorist mastermind admitted 'moral support' last night for guerrilla warfare to further the Muslim cause……… Giving evidence to the commission Rehman said: 'We believe that if, for example, Indian soldiers are coming into Kashmiri towns and cities raping **Muslim women,** then it is right people should fight for their own freedom and if they pursue a jihad then that is right. (TG$_1$, August 18, 1999)

Excerpt 6-5C

PLEASE DON'T MAKE US OUT TO BE ANGELS[78]
BRITISH MUSLIMS are not devils; nor are they angels. They are simply human with all the flaws, talents, terrors and hopes of other human beings. Since the Seventies oil crisis they have been represented mostly as barbarians, **terrorists**, rioters (a new image added since the disturbances in Oldham and Bradford this summer) or uneducated peasants who still live in the 7th century. ….Laurence Llewelyn-Bowen and Diarmuid Gavin were tamed and drained by a **sassy** young **Muslim woman** who wanted them to transform her suburban home into something which was not "just cliches about Morocco" but about her kind of living and breathing western Islam. (TI$_1$, August 20, 2001)

Excerpt 6-5D

COMMENTARY[79]

WHITE House security advisers have been bracing themselves for an attack somewhere in the world for some time. A month ago, Osama bin Laden considered by the U.S. to be the most dangerous independent international **terrorist** told U.S. television: 'We predict a black day for America.' Was yesterday's atrocity, in which up to 80 people were feared killed in the worst terrorist attack against U.S. ….Deprived of Saudi citizenship because of his opposition to the royal family, Bin Laden issued a threat to all Americans in an interview with ABC television from Afghanistan last month. 'We do not differentiate between those dressed in military uniforms and civilians,' he said. 'They are all targets in this fatwa. We must use such punishment to keep your evil away from Moslems**, Moslem women** and children.' Bin Laden is among the suspects who has both motive and means. (TDM1, August 8, 1998)

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[78] Written by Yasmin Alibhai-Brown
[79] Written by Robert Fisk

These excerpts give a clear frame of reference (FoR; 2.8.3) explaining the context through which the current discourse associating MWs with terrorism has developed in the last two decades. Overall, it can be concluded that the use of the lemma *terror** has dramatically increased after 9/11 in the BPC (figures 6-3 and 6-4).

6.5.2 Violence

In relation to the category <u>VIOLENCE</u>, *War* in P$_1$ was used in reference to the Bosnian war. However, in P$_{2\&3}$, *Honour* referred overwhelmingly (F=7 out of 8) to incidents related to honour killings, even though, this topic or stereotype (see 3.4.5), was not mentioned in TM$_{2\&3}$ (LW tabloid) headlines. The collocate *Honour* was found to underlie a recurrent use of a number of conceptual structures e.g. MWS ARE THE VICTIMS OF VIOLENT FORCE that primes the node MW(s) in negative contexts.

Excerpt 6-5E

A COUSIN STABBED MUSLIM WOMAN IN HONOUR KILLING' [Headline]

A **MUSLIM woman** was stabbed to death by her cousin on her wedding day as her family disapproved of the man she was to marry, a court heard yesterday. Sahjda Bibi, 21, was attacked with **a kitchen knife in an "honour killing" by her cousin** Rafaqat Hussain. He stabbed her 22 times before fleeing with another cousin Tafarak Hussain, Birmingham Crown Court was told. Rafaqat Hussain, 38, from Camberley, Surrey, pleaded guilty to murder. Tafarak Hussain, from Bordesley, Birmingham, denies murder. Miss Bibi's marriage to Mugham Zaffar, 29, who had been married before, caused controversy **within her devout Muslim family**. The day before the wedding on 10 January this year, Rafaqat went to Birmingham to finalise details of the alleged murder with Tafarak, said Tim Raggatt, QC, prosecuting. Mr Zaffar described hearing screams as he prepared for the ceremony in the house next door. **Hussain allegedly planned to escape to Pakistan. The trial continues**. (TI$_2$, October 7, 2003)

One of the other stereotypes which were found to occur in the BPC about MWs is the topic of "*honour" killing*. The crime of honour killing is a scenario of criminal violence that targets women; it is usually perpetrated by their relatives. The first point to note in Excerpt 6-5E is that the expression *Muslim woman* is employed to access/describe the victim by her religious profile instead of her name, nationality, gender, culture of origin, or place of residence. The conceptual scenario is absolutely true in criminal cases like this; however, it is framed falsely in a religious background. The media usually – falsely - mix between familial/ tribal cultures and what is deemed to be an essential practice of Islam as religion.

In Excerpt 6-5E, the proposition *IN* in the headline evokes the cognitive semantic schema of a container, i.e. *honour killing*. The HONOUR KILLING frame includes the agent and patient schema (given earlier in Figure 5-10 in 5.8.2) besides other associated scenes that constitute the container of an *honour killing*. In this conceptual representation, the position of Sahjda Bibi is that of a 'Muslim' woman suffering criminal violence, i.e. violent use of force. Therefore, the commonly reported conceptual structure *MWs ARE UNDER VIOLENT FORCE i.e. oppressed/attacked, etc.*, is evoked cognitively through the honour killing frame where Sahjda Bibi ('Muslim' woman) occupies the powerless PATIENT's role in the action frame. This coincides with Chilton's (2004) concept of 'conceptual semantic situations'; see 2.8.3.

Nevertheless, semantically associating Muslim women and violent crimes in one semantic frame is dependent on many social and ideological factors. One of them is the press discourse which perpetuates the view of this type of crime as 'Islamic'. In fact, the word *honour killing(s)* was reported 97 times - with a NF= 0.09 per each 1000 words in the entire BPC (Figure 6-5)-; most of them referred to British-Pakistani women and very few were in reference to Arab women from Jordan.
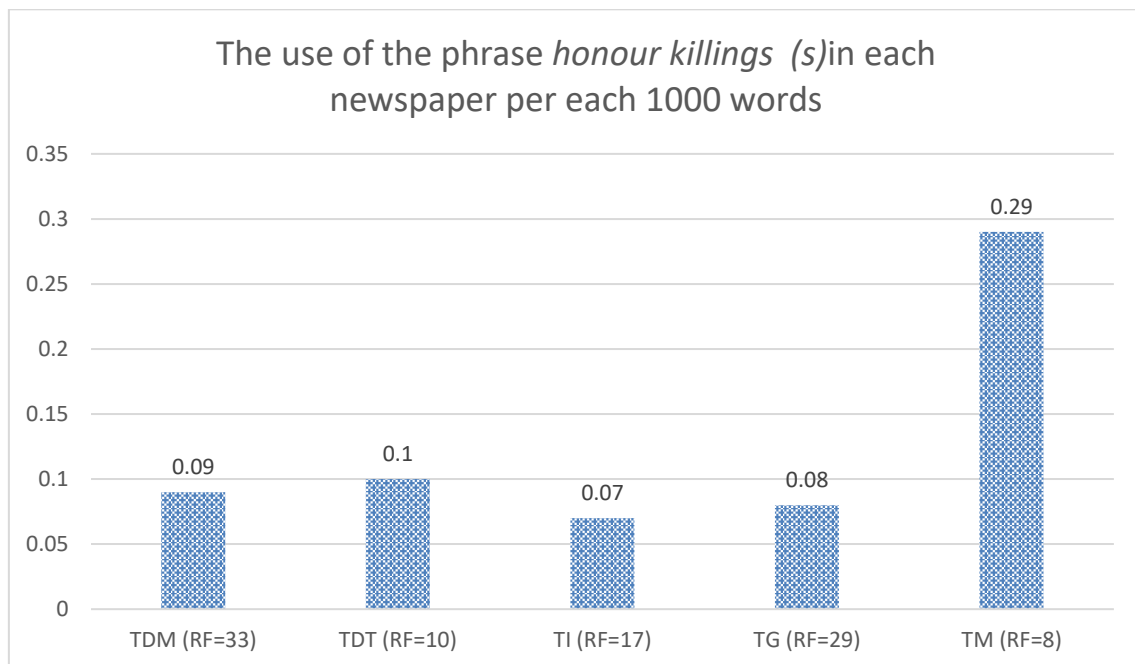
Figure 6-5 Mentions of the honour killing(s) in the BPC (RF and NF)
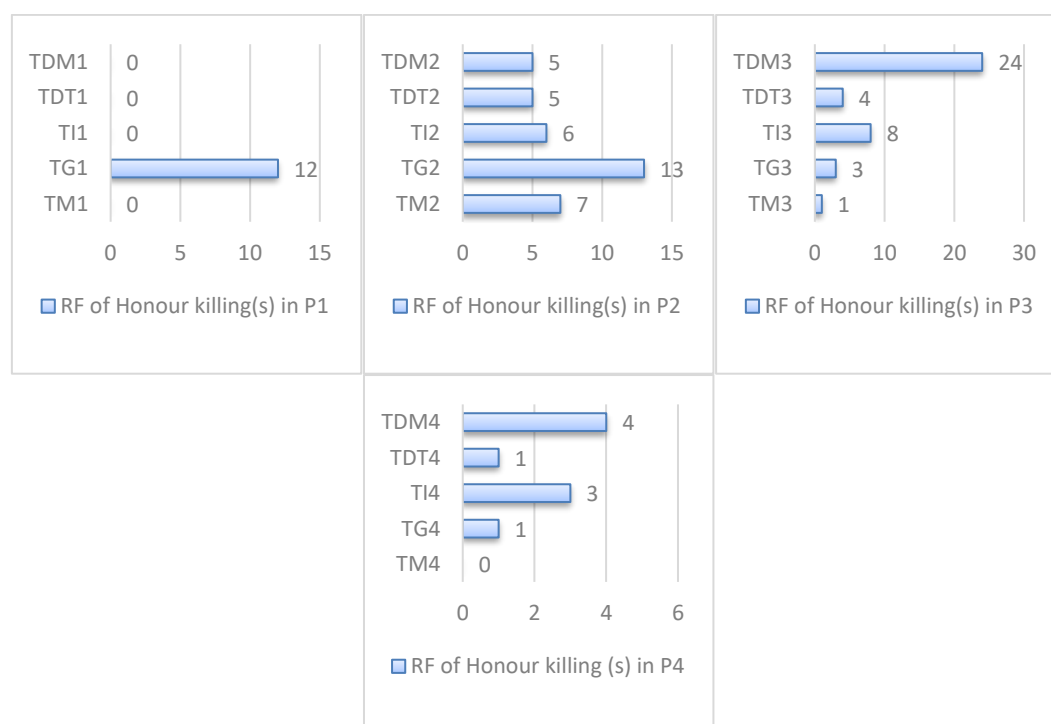
Figure 6-6 *Honour killing(s)* **in the individual newspapers in the BPC (RF)**

While the LW broadsheet TG was the only newspaper that favoured the topic in P₁, other newspapers became interested in associating the topic with MWs in P₂, i.e. after 9/11. TDM₂ particularly exhibited an unprecedented interest in writing about it in P₂. From Figure 6-6 above, it can be concluded that the stereotype of *"honour" killings* spread diachronically after 9/11 in the BPC and was most favoured by TDM during P₃. This suggests that moments of crises i.e. 9/11 and 7/7 have increased the negativity associated with the term MW(s), including reviving old stereotypes about MWs in the British press.

In general, some cultural traditions are prohibited in Islam but find their place in some sub-cultures and (Muslim) communities. Al-Hejin (2007b, p. 16) has stated that there should be a distinction made between cultural traditions and Islam as a religion in the media discourse. In fact, Islamic discourse condemns these crimes (Miller, 2009). The main cognitive mechanisms that facilitate the conceptualisation MWs ARE THE VICTIMS OF VIOLENT FORCE were mainly that of profiling and the forced PATIENT schema including violent force scenarios associated in the action frame (2.8.3) of *honour killing*.

Excerpt 6-5F

> **'HONOUR' ACID ATTACK**
> **MUSLIM WIFE UNDER THREAT** AS HER 'LOVER' IS STABBED AND MAIMED BY MASKED GANG
> A MARRIED **Muslim woman** has been warned her life is in danger after a man she is suspected of having an affair with was blinded in an 'honour' attack. ....[Near the End] Police have reportedly warned the woman, whose family is from **Pakistan**, that her life may be at risk. Detectives from Scotland Yard were said to have given her an 'Osman warning' - a formal alert she is under threat - but she has denied that she could be at risk. (TDM₃, July 24, 2009)

In Excerpt 6-5F, *Muslim wife* and *Muslim woman* are used as primary identifiers right from the outset of the headline and lead, which leads readers to conceptualise the woman by her religion, i.e. which is the cognitive 'mechanism'/ strategy of profiling.

To understand the pragmatic meaning that arises from this highlighting of MWs' religious profile in such violent news stories, an understanding of an alternative conceptualisation is needed where the semantic cognitive 'mechanism' of profiling SOMEONE'S RELIGION TO INTRODUCE HER IDENTITY is not available. Violent news stories involving non-Muslim women can illustrate the contrast: see Excerpt 6-5G.

Excerpt 6-5G

> **'I will never see my kids' faces again': Tears of mother blinded by boyfriend who GOUGED both of her eyes out**
> A thug has admitted blinding his lover in a sickening 12-hour attack. Mother-of-two Tina Nash, 31, had her eyes gouged out and was brutally beaten in the assault. Yesterday she told of her heart-break at never being able to see her children again. (TDM, April 14, 2012)

Note that neither the perpetrator (the boyfriend) nor the victim (Tina Nash[80]) had their religious profile highlighted in the text. Violent people are found in every culture and religion and it is problematic to present crimes by individuals while emphasising their religion, even if they claim that their motives are religious this should be appropriately explained rather than leaving readers

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[80] This news story was brought from outside the analysed corpus for the purpose of clarification and showing the different cognitive semantic/ ideological 'mechanisms' in discourse.

to construct all sorts of reasons based on the profiling/classification given, c.f. also Excerpts 5-4 in 5.7.3.

Hoey (2005) stated that lexical choices are primed to appear in particular discourses or contexts with particular pragmatic functions while avoiding others. As shown from the examples discussed, ideology is an inseparable component of press discourse. The examples above indicated a clear discourse/semantic prosody that tends to associate Muslim women with FORCED MARRIAGES/HONOUR KILLINGS/ATTACKS. Hence, highlighting the religious profile of a person's identity in similar criminal contexts is a cognitive mechanism that suggests an ideological problem in/ associated with the religion s/he believes in. The pragmatic meaning of such discourse is a cognitive component that is highlighted by the associated (recurrent/ primed) scenes and scenarios.

In addition, though studies have pointed out that honour killing is un-Islamic and that Islamic discourse condemns it (Miller, 2009; Doğan, 2011), it is nevertheless significantly associated with *MWs* in P$_{2\&3}$. Negative contexts of violence against women and incompatibility with Western life, e.g. face-veil bans and headscarf controversies, are prominent features of BPC discourse using the term *MWs* thus far. In other words, MWs are epistemically primed in negative contexts with statistically significance recurrence.

In P$_4$, while <u>*Attack*</u> was found to occur mainly with modifiers/classifiers such as *acid* (F=7/28), *racist* (F=3/28), *honour* (F=2/28), *terrorist* (F=1/28), the collocate <u>*Attacks*</u> (F=15) was found to occur in the verbal sense (F=5) as well as in the nominal sense (F=10).

First, <u>*Attacks*</u> in the verbal sense occurs as in 1) Tory chief [Lady Warsi] attacks 'bigotry' against Muslims (F=2), 2) Judge attacks forced marriage (F=1), 3) President Sarkozy attacks face-veil (F=1), 4) Respect MP attacks new rule on veils (F=1) and finally, 5) (British) MP attacks 'paper bag' burkas (F=1). The last instance refers to the Tory MP Philip Hollobone who called for a face-veil ban in Britain in 2010, see 3.4.5. The scene of battling is present in all the instances above: a recurrent conceptual metaphor here would be DISAGREEMENT/DEBATE IS

BATTLING (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980) or DISAGREEMENT/DEBATE IS PHYSICAL AGGRESSION/ATTACK (Koller, 2004).

Second, the nominal sense of _Attacks_ occurred (F=10) as in 1) _racial attacks on veiled women_ (F=4), 2) _attacks on immigration_ (F=1), 3) _criminal attacks_ (F=1) - in reference to the murder of a British Army soldier at the hands of two British Christian converts to Islam in Woolwich, southeast London in May 2013 (Doward, 2013) -, 4) _attacks on Muslims_ (F=1), 5) _the threat of Islamist attacks_ (F=1), and finally 6) _veiled attacks_ in reference to anti-veil graffiti (F=1).

A point worth emphasising here is that the use of _Attacks_ in a number of the instances above evokes an intensified conceptual scene of BATTLING/FIGHTING which is common in media discourse and would be 'harmful' (Koller, 2004, p. 178) to the perception of the people and issues involved.

Similarly, _Killing_ (F=10) was used in reference to 1) the murder of the British Soldier in Woolwich (F=4), 2) the topic of honour killing (F=2), 3) a German killing of a Hijab-wearing MW (F=2), 4) Graduate 'viper' jailed for urging killing of MPs and 5) a Kosovan held over killing of two US servicemen. These instances support the conclusion that the term MWs is significantly used within a context of terrorism and violence, mainly honour killings after 9/11.

6.6 Deontic modality and macro-level collocate

On the other hand, under the category <u>DEONTIC MODALITY</u>, the modal _should_ was found as a macro-level collocate in P$_{2\&3}$ (F=30) and in P4 (F=13). These references were made overwhelmingly in relation to debating or banning face-veils in Britain. A prominent example of this was found in TG$_2$ publishing a series of letters to the editor titled/framed with the same headline in the aftermath of Straw's comments (3.4.5), see Excerpt 6-6A.

Excerpt 6-6A

Reply Letters and emails: **Should** women defend or attack the veil? [headline]

(TG$_3$, October 13, 2006) (F=3)

The headline above has the ability to frame different selected views within the battling scene through the conceptual metaphor DEBATING/ARGUMENT IS BATTLING (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Therefore, TG$_3$ frames and intensifies (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001, p. 45; see 2.5) the Reply-Letters (readers' views) through a negative conceptual dichotomy of battling (defending or attacking) in the headline.

On the other hand, in P$_4$, the obligatory modal *must* (F=25) which can suggest a high degree of social obligation and commitment to the certainty of the claims uttered (Charteris-Black, 2014; see 2.2.2) referred mainly to 1) must outlaw/remove face-veils in courts (F=9/25), 2) must be free to wear face-veils (F=2/25), 3) actions that must be done towards incidents of honour killings (F=3/25) besides other variant instances of must e.g. he writes, the public must be participants if they want genuine change (TG$_3$).

Thus far, there is an overwhelming negativity surrounding the term MWs that seems to increase diachronically, yet has its roots in the BPC before 9/11. The second part (Table 6-2) of the macro-level collocates in headlines will discuss verbs, function words, and other collocates that reflected meaningful patterns to be reported.

6.7 Verbs as macro-level collocates

Table 6-2 Macro-level W(s) collocates in the BPC Headlines (2/2)

N	Semantic category	P₁ W	P₁ Ws	P₂₊₃ W	P₂₊₃ Ws	P4 W	P4 Ws
10	VERBS	*Is*	*Are, Is, Been, Has, Get, Came, Talks*	*Is, Force, Says, Backs*	*Is, Are, Have, Do, Does, Pose, Stop, Defend*	*Is, Had, Give, Remove, Refuses, Show*	*Is, Be, Are, Have, Talk, Says, Meets, Told*
11	NOUNS	*Mission*	*Conference, Equality, Right*	*Bacon, Body, Death, Bid,*	*Obstacle, Integration, Meetings, Lifting, Rights, Lives*	*Dock, Trail, Marriage Evidence, Death*	*Sex, Day, Fight, Rights*
12	FUNCTION WORDS and ADJECTIVES	*A*	*A, And, For, New, After, How, Not, But*	*A, As, For, Not, But,*	*The, To, Of, An, As, Uneasy, How, Or, Not, British*	*A, First, As, Guilty, An, Young, Racist, Jailed*	*The, A, For, Not, First, Allowed, New, 'T (Not)*
13	PRONOUNS	*Her, Who, S*	*That, Their, They, It, Who, S*	*This, Her, She, Who, S,*	*Their, Who, It, We,*	*Who, She, Her*	*Who, Their, They, Our, S*
14	PREPOSITIONS	*To, On*	*In, Of, To, On, Against, Up, At, Out*	*In, To, Of, With, From, Out,*	*For, At, With, About, Up*	*In, To, For, By, At, From, With, After, Behind,*	*Of, On, To, In, From, Up, Against*
15	QUANTIFICATIONS		*Two*	*One*	*More,*		*Three, Many, More*
16	NEWS AND EDITORIAL NOTES	*Reports*	*Reports*	*Editor, Message*		*Bulletin, Brief,*	
17	TIME	*October, March*	*February, September, June*	*June, July*	*October, July, September, March, August*	*October, March*	*September, July*

In P₁, *Came* (F=5) was mainly used in reference to the movements of Serbs during the war in Bosnia, see Table 6-2. In P₂&₃, first, *Force* (F=9) was mainly in reference to either a law or political force beside one instance of familial force as in *my parents tried to force me to marry a cousin* (TDM₂). Second, *Says* (F=66) was found to collocate most with *Straw* (F=8), *veil* (F=8), *she* (F=3), *Cameron* (F=3), *Archbishop* (F=3), *Blair* (F=3), *veils* (F=2), *remove* (F=2), *debate* (F=2) and *Britain* (F=2). This coincides with the conclusions reached earlier in Chapter Five that politicians' statements played a central role in the press coverage of MWs in relation to their dress. It is worth noting here that the voice of Muslim 'clerics',

and women on the issue was suppressed and/or pushed to the background (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 29), see also 3.4.5.

Similarly, the verb _Backs_ (F=11) was found (F=7/11) to be used in reference to Blair's, Salman Rushdie's and some other politicians' press releases in which they were framed conceptually as agents giving extra support to Straw's anti-face veil remarks as well as to the suspension of the school assistant Aisha Azmi - who refused to unveil in the presence of a male colleague[81] (Ahmad, 2010, p. 256) - and hence speaking against the face-veil in the UK. The schematic meaning of backing was favoured in the BPC headlines which suggests, conceptually, an extra power boost given to a stationary/moving patient in a particular direction (anti-'veil' row), similar to the enablement schema (Johnson, 1987, p. 126). This schema will be given later in 7.5.1: Figure 7-3.

In P$_{2\&3}$, on the other hand, _Defend, Stop_ and _Pose_ were Ws-collocates (Table-6-1). _Defend_ (F=8) was found related to debating MWs' dress, i.e. _headscarf_ (F=1), and '_veil_' (F=4), see Excerpt 6-6A in 6.6 above. In addition, as is clear from Excerpt 6-6A, the ambiguous word _veil_ was used during the Straw veil 'row': though he meant the niqab, this preference for 'veil' in the BPC discourse "can have the effect of conflating different types of clothing together, making them appear potentially equivalent to each other" (Baker, et al., 2013, p. 204), see 3.3 and 3.4.1.

Stop (F=14) referred recurrently to TDT$_3$'s (F=5/14) group of letters to the editor framed by the same headline, see Excerpt 6-6B.

Excerpt 6-6B

Terrorism should not <u>stop</u> Muslim women wearing the hijab [headline]
(TDT$_3$, August 5, 2005) (F=5)

While the letters in Excerpt 6-6B were after the 7/7 bombings, another TDT$_3$ group of letters to the editor was found when consulting the concordance for information about _Pose_, see Excerpt 6-7A. _Pose_ (F=11/12) was similarly found

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[81] This piece of information about the suspension of Aisha Azmi was suppressed and/or pushed to the background (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 29) in the BPC, see 5.7.4.

to be used in framing letters to editors about the veil in TDT$_3$ (F=8) and TI$_3$ (F=3), see Excerpts 6-7.

Excerpts 6-7

Excerpt 6-7A

Wearing of the veil by Muslim women can <u>pose</u> an obstacle to integration [headline]
(TDT$_3$, October 7, 2006) (F=8)

Excerpt 6-7B
Letter: Veiled women <u>pose</u> challenge to society [headline]
(TI$_3$, July 12, 2006) (F=3)

The macro-level collocates have revealed an aspect of how TG$_3$ (Excerpt 6-6A), TDT$_3$ (Excerpt 6-7A) and TI$_3$ (Excerpt 6-7B) tend to frame negatively readers` views about MWs' 'veil' in the period after the Straw comments. In fact, TDT$_3$ in Excerpt 6-6B supported a positive stance towards wearing of the 'hijab' after 7/7: this indicates how marked was the effect of Straw's comments on TDT$_3$ discourse about 'veiling' in P$_3$, see Excerpt 6-6B.

In the same vein and relevant to *Pose* but under the category <u>NOUNS</u>, *Integration* and *Obstacle* were found as Ws-collocates in P$_{2\&3}$ headlines, as will be discussed later under their category. These macro-level collocates reflect a conceptual metaphor that spread in the BPC after Straw's comments: FACE-VEIL IS A BARRIER TO INTEGRATION/FACE-VEIL IS A STATEMENT OR RESULT OF SEPARATION ACTION; see 5.8.1.

Moving to the distinctive macro-level W-collocate (verbs) in P$_4$, a different group of informative verbs was found such as *Give, Remove, Refuses* and *Show* (see Table-6-2). The majority of references of the collocate *Give* (F=7) was related to a single news story about Rebekah Dawson and Judge Peter Murphy e.g. *Woman must take off burka to give evidence, judge rules* (TDT$_4$). In addition, the key collocate *Remove* (F=9), was also relevant to the Dawson news story (ConcLs 4, 5, 7, 8 and 9 in Figure 6-7). However, it was surprising that TDT$_3$ exhibited a lexical preference/priming (Hoey 2005) to perpetuate discursively the issue of unveiling in its P$_4$ headlines with the verb *Remove* (F=7) (ConcLs 2 to 8 in Figure 6-7) in comparison with single instances only occurring in TDM$_4$ (ConcL 1) and TG$_4$ (ConcL 9), see Figure 6-7.

1	IS TAKEN OFF JURY AFTER REFUSING TO REMOVE VEIL TDM3, March 20, 2012 Tuesday,	TDM
2	257. Egypt's leading cleric orders schoolgirl to remove her veil TDT3, October 6, 2009 Tuesday	TDT.
3	, Adrian Bridge 317. Muslim witness told to remove her veil TDT3, October 9, 2010 Saturday	TDT.
4	420. Judge halts case after woman refuses to remove veil TDT3, August 24, 2013 Saturday,	TDT.
5	, 250 words, Steven Swinford 429. Muslim must remove veil in the witness box, says judge TDT3	TDT.
6	Pg. 27, 444 words 435. Asking women to remove veil 'is not racist'; Former extremist who	TDT.
7	, Nick Squires 450. PM: Muslim women should remove their veils in court TDT3, September 30,	TDT.
8	Pg. 31, 2113 words 461. Muslim woman must remove veil to give evidence, judge rules TDT3,	TDT.
9	1564 words, Kira Cochrane 491. Woman told to remove veil to give evidence TG3 - , September	TG

Figure 6-7 Mentions of *remove* in P₄ headlines

ConcLs in Figure 6-7 above suggests that TI₄ and TM₄ either did not report the story or may have used a different linguistic pattern in reporting the event. When consulting the concordance, it was found that this is true. The word _Judge_ was keyed into the concordance, as _Judge_ is the agent who ordered the woman _Rebekah Dawson_ to show her face, and the following excerpts were retrieved.

Excerpts 6-8

Excerpt 6-8a
Judge bans woman from entering a plea while wearing a burka
(TI₄, September 13, 2013)

Excerpt 6-8b

Judge's 'lift veil' order; COURT 2
(TM₄, September 13, 2013)

In the same vein, _Refuses,_ (F=5) has four instances which are also relevant to the same news story about Rebekah Dawson and Judge Peter Murphy mentioned earlier: see (ConcLs, 1, 3, 4 and 5 in Figure 6-8 below).

1	, 1183 words, BY JOHN BIRD 684. MUSLIM REFUSES TO DEFEND HERSELF SO SHE CAN	TDM.
2	Pg. 2, 86 words 298. The fatwa victim who refuses to keep quiet; Interview Ayaan Hirsi Ali	TDT
3	419. RPTD 420. Judge halts case after woman refuses to remove veil TDT3, August 24, 2013	TDT
4	. 35, 658 words 463. Woman ordered to unveil refuses to testify TDT3, January 28, 2014	TDT
5	Qureshi 481. RPTD 482. RPTD 483. Judge refuses to let Muslim defendant wear burqa in	TG.

Figure 6-8 Mentions of *refuses* in P₄ headlines

In addition, while _Show_ (F=11) was found to refer mainly to *TV shows* (F=4) (ConcLs 1, 3, 4 and 5: Figure 6-9), _Show_ in the verbal sense was related to Rebekah

Dawson as in *MW must show face in trial* (F=4) (ConcLs 2, 6, 8 and 10), see Figure 6-9 below.

1	, BY RICHARD MARSDEN 683. AT LAST, A TV SHOW THAT DARES TO TELL THE TRUTH	TDM
2	are not required to cover up indoors and should show face in court and lessons TDT3,	TDT
3	10, 1529 words, Sarfraz Manzoor 341. The fast show Ramadan begins TG3 - , August 11, 2010	TG
4	Holy Father Pope fields questions on Italian TV show: John Hooper Rome TG3 - , April 23, 2011	TG
5	watches as the opposition leader survives a TV show faux pas and tries to convince Muslim	TG
6	in court: Woman, 21, is told that she must show her face Barrister says client won't lower	TG
7	pilgrimage for Hajj exhibition; British Museum to show artefacts from holiest Muslim sites TI3,	TI3
8	to race relations?; Judge says woman must show her face in court in ruling condemned by	TI
9	THREAT; PAIR TOLD MUSLIM GIRL: WE'LL SHOW SNAPS OF YOU IN T-SHIRT TM3, October	TM
10	words 354. TAKE THE VEIL OFF; Muslim must show face at trial TM3, September 17, 2013	TM
11	WIDOW'S WARPED SECRET WORLD ; Diaries show mum's extremist ambitions TM3, October	TM

Figure 6-9 Mentions of *show* in P4 headlines

It is clear from Figure 6-9 that TG4, TI4 and TM4 (ConcLs 6, 8, 10) used different linguistic representations of the incident reported in TDT4 about Rebekah Dawson and Judge Peter Murphy. While the recurrent emphasis in the RW TDT3 headlines was *remove your veil* (ConcLs 3 and 5 to 8, Figure 6-7) or *refuses to remove her veil* (ConcL 3, Figure 6-8), the emphasis in the LW press (TG4, TI4 and TM4) was *a judge ordered a MW must show her face at a court trial* (ConcLs 6, 8 and 10, Figure 6-9). Each representation reflects a degree of solidarity with one of the parties involved in the news story rather than the other. While the verb *Refuses* (in ConcL 3, Figure 6-8) conveys a connotation of defiance of the Judge's order, the phrase *must/should show her face* (ConcL 2, 6, 8 and 10, Figure 6-9) focused more on MWs as required to do something in the courts based on the judge's order, cf. modality (Charteris-Black, 2014)[82].

In the same vein, the verb *Remove* (TDT4, ConcL 3 to 8 Figure 6-7) focused with a negative connotation on the action required from a MW who is British. Therefore, it can be said that TDT4 exhibited a more negative stance towards MWs veiling than other newspapers in the BPC only after Straw's comments in 2006. TDT4's discourse in Excerpts 6-6B in comparison with that in Excerpt 6-7A, as well as that in Figure 6-7, reflects a dramatic diachronic shift in TDT's

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[82] Discussed in 2.2.2 above.

ideological stance taken towards MWs and their dress after the Straw anti-veil 'row' in October 2006.

On the other hand, _Talk, Says, Meets_ and _Told_ were other informative verbs that appeared as Ws-collocates in P4 headlines (Table 6-2). _Talk_ (F=6) had variant references, but three of them were in relation to MWs' dress (ConcLs 2, 3 and 6, Figure 6-10).

1	says Sarkozy in historic speech: State of nation talk breaks century of precedent: Cheers as	TG
2	soaked in blood: Western Muslim women who talk of choosing the hijab dismiss the struggles	TG
3	the veil is another case of politicians' failure to talk to Muslim women TG3 - , April 23, 2010	TG
4	389. G2: Hideously Diverse Britain 'It's good to talk, Mr C' TG3 - , May 18, 2011 Wednesday,	TG
5	year - and most of them are women. Here, five talk to Veronique Mistiaen about prejudice, peace	TG
6	Pg. 22, 1258 words, Tom Leonard 299. I won't talk to women in burkas, says Tory TDT3, July	TDT

Figure 6-10 Mentions of _talk_ in P4 headlines

From the mentions of _Talk_ above, it is apparent that the LW newspaper TG4 (ConcLs 2 &3, Figure 6-10) presents a more positive stance than that found in TDT4 (ConcL 6, Figure 6-10). This is consistent with the earlier findings about TDT discourse concerning MWs' dress.

In order to retrieve meaningful information with regard to who is saying what, after trying different collocational spans in the WordSmith6 concordance, the collocational span was restricted to one word to the left and right sides of the macro-level collocate _Says_ (F=55). While left collocates of _Says_ were _Tory_ (F=5), _Report_ (F=3), _Muslim_ (F=3), _She_ (F=2), _Cherie_[83] (F=2), _Warsi_ (F=2), _May_[84] (F=2), _Sarkozy_ (F=2) and _Judge_ (F=2), on the other side, right collocates were _veil_ (F=3), _women_ (F=2), _Paris_ (F=2) and _God_ (F=2). From these _Says_-collocates and their ConcLs, it was concluded that _Says_ referred mainly to judges' or politician's statements/opinions about MWs' dress.

On the other hand, while the W-collocate _Meets_ (F=55) was mainly in reference to political meetings, e.g. _Decca Aitkenhead meets George Galloway_ (TG4), the verb _Told_ (F=17) varied from political to administrative contexts, e.g. judge

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[83] Cherie: Cherie Blair, a British barrister and figure who is Tony Blair`s wife
[84] May: Theresa May, Secretary of State for the Home Department (Grierson, 2013)

and colleges releases in relation to *veil bans*. Also some instances referred to women who are told to 'remove' *face-veils* (F=6) or *scarf* (F=1) by a judge.

6.8   Nouns as macro-level collocates

Under the category <u>NOUNS</u>, in P_1, the W-collocate *Mission* (F=5) was used with a variety of references: 1) *woman on a mission to save her son* (F=1, TDM_1), 2) *mission to convert the world to Islam/save the world by Islam* (F=2, TG_1), 3) *mission to combat the excess of feminism* (F=1, TI_1), and 4) *desperate lifesaving mission* (F=1, TI_1).

In the same vein, *Conference, Equality* and *Right* were also Ws-collocates in P_1 headlines. *Conference* (F=5) was about 1) a UN conference about women and population growth (F=4) and 2) a Geneva conference about the war crimes against MWs in Bosnia (F=1). However, *Equality* (F=7) was mainly (F=5/7) in reference to 1) *equality and women's rights* (F=4), i.e. *F=3 in TG_1 and F=1 in TI_1* and 2) *racial equality* (F=1, TI_1). On the other hand, *Right* (F=6) ranged between *women's rights* (ConcL 2 and 5 Figure 6-11) and *doing the 'right' thing* (ConcL 3, Figure 6-11).

1	U.N. IS PROLONGING THE WAR.THEY MAY BE RIGHT TDM1 , February 5, 1993, Friday, Pg. 30,	TDM
2	The Cairo conference enshrined a woman's right to plan her family. But will it be put into	TG
3	Imran Khan into the bargain.) Is she doing the right thing? Natasha Narayan talks to three	TG
4	, 707 words, David Fairhall 119. THE PRICE IS RIGHT WHEN YOU COME ON DOWN-MARKET;	TG
5	17, 1707 words, Clare Dyer 140. WOMEN LOSE RIGHT TO PICK SPOUSE TG1, September 30,	TG
6	O'Kelly-Browne 9. MY HUGE MAN HAS PUT ME RIGHT OFF SEX; LIVING: EVE POLLARD'S	TM

Figure 6-11 Mentions of *right* in P1 headlines

Overall, there is a modest suggestion from *Equality* and *Right* above that the LW press talks more about MWs within a women's rights discourse, however, this was only found significant in P_1 headlines.

In $P_{2\&3}$, *Bacon, Body* and *Death* were nouns that collocated with W. *Bacon* (F=6) was related to a news story about an incident that took place in April 2003 where two men defiled/desecrated a MW's body corpse with bacon in a hospital in London. In a similar way, *Body* (F=11) included (F=5) references to the same story beside other variant instances, e.g. *Guilty, bottle bombers who planned new 9/11; 'Scatter body parts' of non-believers* (TDM).

In addition, *Death* (F=15) mainly referred to death by stoning of women who are Muslims (ConcLs 5, 9 to 11 in Figure 6-12). It also included references to '*death threats*' (ConcLs 3 and 6) and *honour killings* (ConcLs 12 and 14) as well as a metaphorical use of the word *death* as in ConcL 1.

1	, ED_1ST; Pg. 29, 420 words 212. RPTD 213. death of THE LIBERAL DREAM TDM2, November	TDM
2	22, 2005, ED_2ND_04; Pg. 12, 394 words 230. DEATH MOUNTAIN TDM2 , April 3, 2005, ND; Pg	TDM
3	Writer 93. Dutch Muslim MP out of hiding after death threats TDT2, January 19, 2005,	TDT
4	Education Editor 223. Reporter is sentenced to death for 'Islam insult' TDT2 , January 24, 2008	TDT
5	save this Nigerian woman from being stoned to death next month. But, say experts, the protest	TG
6	learn to compromise; a woman marries despite death threats from her father - and then	TG
7	Last night's TV: Leanne's in the boot, Paul's at death's door and takings are down at the Rovers	TG
8	, 846 words 175. G2: Arts: Television: Angel of death: Like most actors, Manjinder Virk looks for	TG
9	D'Souza/EPA 34. MUSLIM WOMAN SPARED DEATH BY STONING IN NIGERIA NIGERIAN	TI
10	, Fred Weir 51. BEAUTY QUEENS OVERTURN DEATH SENTENCE TI2, October 30, 2002,	TI
11	BOYCOTT; ADULTEROUS WIFE WHO FACES DEATH BY STONING WELCOMES BEAUTY QUEENS	TI
12	DEMETRIOU Sahjda Bibi was stabbed to death by her cousin 76. RPTD 77. NOBEL PRIZE	TI
13	Orr IN AFGHANISTAN 359. A lament for the death of the left as a political force TI2, June 2,	TI
14	A FATHER STABBING HIS DAUGHTER TO DEATH, A SISTER STRANGLED BY HER BROTHER	TM
15	words, DON MACKAY 73. IRAQ BRIT WILL FACE DEATH IN 24 HOURS TM2, September 21, 2004,	TM

Figure 6-12 Mentions of *death* in P$_{2\&3}$ headlines

The use of *Death* in Figure 6-12 above documents the BPC's preference to evoke negativity from outside the boundaries of the UK, e.g. *Nigeria* (ConcLs 5, 9, 10 & 11 in Figure 6-12), using the term *MWs* either in the headline (ConcLs 9), or in the body of the retrieved articles (ConcLs 5, 10 & 11). This kind of occurrence evidently involves a classification of the woman based on her religion (van Leeuwen, 2008) rather than her country, e.g. *Nigerian woman,* which is used to condemn Islamic regulations of social behaviour[85], i.e. 'Sharia law', suggesting to the reader that the application of 'Sharia Law' is consistent, coherent and universally violent to women.

Obstacle, Integration, Lifting, Meetings, Lives and *Rights,* were other nouns that appeared as Ws-collocates in P$_{2\&3}$. First, *Obstacle* was mentioned 9 times, eight of which were debating 'the veil as an obstacle to integration' in TDT$_3$, (see

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[85] It is worth mentioning that 'stoning' is a very controversial issue. It is thought to have been brought to Islam from Judaism (Akyol, 2010). Nevertheless, its use, as given in the Hadith narrated by Caliph Omar, applies only to married Muslims (man/woman) who committed adultery only in the case that this was either witnessed by a minimum of four decent people or proven by the pregnancy of a married woman from a man who is not her husband (Semerdjian, 2008, pp. 9-10). Recurrent mentions of 'stoning' in the BPC are given in Appendix 6.

Excerpt 6-7A above and ConcLs 1 to 7 & 9 in Figure 6-13 below), beside one instance of _Obstacle_ in TG₂, see Excerpt 6-9 below.

Excerpt 6-9

Jack Straw has unleashed a storm of prejudice and intensified division: Singling out women who wear the niqab as an <u>obstacle</u> to the social <u>integration</u> of Muslims is absurd and dangerous. [headline]

(TG₃, October 9, 2006)

In relation to the conceptual metaphor FACE-VEIL IS OBSTACLE/BARRIER TO INTEGRATION, _Integration_, which is a key collocate (see Table 5-1 in Chapter 5 and Table 6-2 in this chapter), was found 16 times: eight instances were given earlier in Excerpt 6-7A above, see also Figure 6-13 below.

1	veil by Muslim women can pose an obstacle to integration TDT2 , October 7, 2006 Saturday,	TDT
2	veil by Muslim women can pose an obstacle to integration TDT2 , October 7, 2006 Saturday,	TDT
3	veil by Muslim women can pose an obstacle to integration TDT2 , October 7, 2006 Saturday,	TDT
4	veil by Muslim women can pose an obstacle to integration TDT2 , October 7, 2006 Saturday,	TDT
5	veil by Muslim women can pose an obstacle to integration TDT2 , October 7, 2006 Saturday,	TDT
6	veil by Muslim women can pose an obstacle to integration TDT2 , October 7, 2006 Saturday,	TDT
7	veil by Muslim women can pose an obstacle to integration TDT2 , October 7, 2006 Saturday,	TDT
8	, Graeme Wilson Political Correspondent 149. Integration can't be achieved behind the veil	TDT
9	veil by Muslim women can pose an obstacle to integration TDT2 , October 7, 2006 Saturday,	TDT
10	Hebrides - to find out their views on Islam and integration in 21st-century Britain: Making do	TG
11	asylum: Attack on radical Islam fed debate on integration TG2 - , May 16, 2006 Tuesday,	TG
12	who wear the niqab as an obstacle to the social integration of Muslims is absurd and dangerous	TG
13	and media have turned a debate about integration into an ugly drumbeat of hysteria	TG
14	of class assistant in debate over veil: PM says integration and achievement go together: Talk of	TG
15	groups Ministers accused of cynicism over integration TG2 - , October 21, 2006 Saturday,	TG
16	pattern; and it has nothing to do with integration TG2 - , November 21, 2006 Tuesday,	TG

Figure 6-13 Mentions of _integration_ in P₂&₃ headlines

It is clear - from the keywords analysis in Chapter 5 and here as given in Figure 6-13 above- that this conceptual representation was statistically significant and essential to the way MWs were represented in P₃, see 5.8.1, Table 5-8.

As seen above, the RW broadsheet TDT₃ showed a preference for the word _integration_ by publishing a set of letters to the editor with the same title through which the discourse meaning was signalled and framed (ConcLs 1 to 7 & 9, Figure 6-13). This is an example of the two discursive strategies (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001, p. 45) of _framing_ and _intensifying_: the debate was framed and intensified through the conceptual and semantic presupposition that wearing the

'veil' by MWs' can 'pose an obstacle to integration'. However, in comparison to TDT₃, TG₃ was found to also talk recurrently about *integration* but in a greater variety of ways (ConcLs 10 to 16 in Figure 6-13).

As for *Lifting* (F=7) in P₂₋₃, most of the instances were about the face-veil. However, in many instances there is a conceptual and metaphorical meaning (ConcLs 1, 2 and 4 in Figure 6-14) of lifting where vertical power of elevation/force dynamics is the source domain for the conceptual structure VEIL IS IMPEDIMENT TO UNDERSTANDING (ConcLs 1 and 2)/ ATHLETES THAT IS LIFTING (ConcL 4)[86]. ConcL 4 is true about challenges that MWs encounter in relation to playing sport, however, it presents the issue as an 'obstacle' which is mainly posed by Islam as in *it is usually on the proviso that they obey their religion's insistence on modesty,* see Footnote 86 below. The word *insistence* gave a negative connotation to how 'their' religion complicates the issue. In my view, playing sport for 'Muslim' women is a cultural but not a religious challenge that states have to meet by education and institutional efforts including providing the appropriate sport facilities and 'religious' discourse depending on the cultural context a particular MW lives in e.g. Pakistan versus Dubai.

1	; Pg. 17, 689 words, MATTHEW BAYLEY 199. Lifting the veil on women's suffering TDM2 , June	TDM
2	, Thursday, 718 words, By Rachel Sylvester 30. Lifting the veil on what Afghan women really want	TDT
3	words 159. Brown breaks ranks to back Straw over lifting Muslim veils TDT3 , October 11, 2006	TDT
4	Wilson and Matthew Taylor 126. The veil is slowly lifting for Muslim women athletes Peta Bee on the	TG
5	as Ramadan began Ferran; Paredes/Reuters 22. LIFTING THE VEIL DOES NOT LIBERATE	TI
6	at a demonstration in Paris yesterday to support lifting the ban on headscarves Michel Euler/AP 123	TI
7	103. RPTD 104. VOICE OF THE DAILY MIRROR: LIFTING THE VEIL GENTLY TM3, October 6, 2006	TM

Figure 6-14 Mentions of *lifting* in P₂₋₃ headlines

Nevertheless, the recurrent conceptual structure of 'THE VEIL AS IMPEDIMENT' was also found in the discussion of *Veil* (ConcLs 6, 7 and 10, Figure 6-1 in 6.2). Therefore, it can be said that this conceptual representation has

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[86] The co-text of ConcL 4 reveals that MWs are represented in an ongoing battle to lift obstacles as in: "Such is the case for young Muslim women, in the United Kingdom and elsewhere, who want to participate in sport but whose cultural ideal can present what many consider insurmountable obstacles to putting on a pair of trainers. Though most Muslim societies do allow women to play sport, it is usually on the proviso that they obey their religion's insistence on modesty. That can mean training in an exclusively female environment, with female-only coaching or tuition, and often wearing the traditional Islamic hijab" (TG₃).

its basis in the socio-cognitive models about MWs shared in the BPC before and after 9/11. Thus far, a recurrent examples – with statistical significance- that utilises the domain of force-dynamics to evoke the conceptual structure MWS ARE USING A VIOLENT/UNDESIRABLE FORCE THAT SPLITS THEM FROM THE SOCIETY/ MWS ARE UNDER A VIOLENT/UNDESIRABLE FORCE e.g. the *Muslim women`s* veil poses an obstacle to integration versus *Muslim women are forced into arranged marriage or Muslim women are attacked in an honour killing*.

The Ws-collocate *Meetings* (F=5/6) occurred in instances of the same TI_3 headline given to frame different letters debating Straw's comments about the 'veil', see Excerpt 6-10. Note that though the 'ambiguous word' 'veil' (Al-Hejin, 2012) was found to denote the hijab in P_1 (ConcL 2, Figure 6-1), it become recurrently synonymous with the face-cover (niqab) after the Straw's comments.

> *Excerpt 6-10*
> **Letter: Uneasy meetings with veiled women [Headline]**
> (TI_3, October 10, 2006) (F=5)

In $P_{2\&3}$, the key collocate *Rights* (F=13) mainly occurred when discussing or reporting about women's rights (F=6) (ConcLs 4, 5, 8, 9, 11 and 13 in Figure 6-15) in addition to other individual references made to issues that varied from human rights to terror suspects' rights, see Figure 6-15.

1	PILE 92. Nobel woman risks jail with Iran rights speech TDT2, January 18, 2005,	TDT
2	Howse believes that Islamic law would curtail rights for many TDT3 , February 9, 2008	TDT
3	, Rahila Gupta 73. Pope snubbed as Iranian rights lawyer wins Nobel peace prize TG2 ,	TG
4	: Traditionalists criticise law giving women new rights TG2 , December 18, 2003, Guardian	TG
5	Only a fully secular state can protect women's rights: It is astonishing that a Labour	TG
6	to an organic farmer, a rapper to a gay rights campaigner, an accountant to a	TG
7	on separatist British Muslims: The proposals: Rights, religion and rule of law TG3 - ,	TG
8	& Debate: Sharia sensibilities: Protecting the rights of women who need help must include	TG
9	IRANIAN LAWYER WHO FIGHTS FOR THE RIGHTS OF MUSLIM WOMEN; SURPRISE	TI
10	CORRESPONDENT 181. LETTER: HUMAN RIGHTS ARE STILL AN ISSUE IN TURKEY	TI
11	Correspondent 222. Do we believe in the rights of women? TI3, May 10, 2006	TI
12	, JOHANN HARI 332. Ignoring terror suspects' rights will achieve nothing more than to	TI
13	. 10, 545 words, Colin Brown 355. Women's rights cannot be forced on Arab societies TI3,	TI

Figure 6-15 Mentions of *rights* in $P_{2\&3}$ headlines

In P_4, the macro-level collocate *Death* (F=12) included references to 1) 'death for blasphemy' (ConcLs 4, 5, 9 and 10 in Figure 6-16), 2) MWs, death-education and Al-Qaeda (ConcL 2), 3) death by leaping (ConcL 3 and 12) and 4)

finally stabbing a 'veil martyr' to death (ConcL 8). The fourth reference, i.e. 'veil martyr', was made to the *hijab* (headscarf)-wearing Egyptian pharmacist Marwa El-Sherbini, who was stabbed to death by a racist German in 2009 (HRW, 2010), see 3.4.5.

1	748 words 611. FAMILY OF 'FACE OF ASIA' DEATH PLUNGE MODEL: DETECTIVES	TDM
2	GOODMAN 380. Teach your children to love death, al-Qaeda leader's wife tells Muslim	TDT
3	shamed over Western boyfriends leapt to death at wine bar TDT4, December 13, 2012	TDT
4	Chrisafis 359. Pakistani woman facing death for blasphemy may be pardoned TG4 -	TG
5	critique of blasphemy laws made his death, if not justifiable, understandable - and	TG
6	Pidd, Berlin 372. Imam is threatened with death after delivering lecture on evolution TG4	TG
7	inquiry must be held into Shafilea Ahmed's death to ensure future cries for help are	TG
8	397. Man guilty of stabbing 'veil martyr' to death in court; Russian-German who hated	TI
9	442. Family leads outcry at blasphemy death penalty; Anger at Pakistan's	TI
10	he sacrificed his life for me'; Sentenced to death for blasphemy, Aasia Bibi's hopes	TI
11	words, Robert Fisk 473. This looks like the death of banter; Airport security TI4,	TI
12	Monday, NEWS; Pg. 19, 52 words 328. Death leap banker was restaurant's 4th	TM

Figure 6-16 Mentions of *death in* **P4 headlines**

Sex, *Fight*, and *Rights* were the last macro-level W-collocates found under the category NOUNS in P4, see Table 6-2. *Sex* (F=9) included variant references ranging through an *Arab Man guilty after consensual sex with a Jew* ('Israeli' woman) (ConcL 2 and 7 in Figure 6-17) to *a princess wining secrecy in bodyguard sex case* (ConcL 3), *single MWs dating without sex and alcohol* (ConcL 8), '*Syria comfort women; sex jihad*' (ConcL 4), *sex discrimination claim* (ConcL 5) and others, see Figure 6-17 below.

1	, 673 words, BY STEPHEN WRIGHT 584. SEX, BROTHELS AND THE REAL TYRANNY	TDM
2	9, 554 words, Rosa Prince 302. Arab jailed after sex with Israeli woman; Palestinian is guilty of	TDT
3	Moore 332. Princess wins secrecy in bodyguard sex case TDT4, March 1, 2011 Tuesday,	TDT
4	, Hayley Dixon 446. Syria's comfort Women; Sex jihad TDT4, September 21, 2013 Saturday,	TDT
5	ex-sales executive claims: Former worker in £4m sex discrimination claim Financier admits making	TG
6	, Paris 326. Comment: Enter God, stage left: Sex and politics permeate the theatre. But	TG
7	333. Arab guilty of rape after consensual sex with Jew: False claims led to criminal	TG
8	wife' Single Muslim women on dating without sex or alcohol TG4 - , July 16, 2013 Tuesday,	TG
9	Pg. 23, 365 words, MARIE KIERANS 290. SEX MANUAL IS BANNED; AROUND THE	TM

Figure 6-17 Mentions of *sex* **in P4 headlines**

These references reflect another type of negativity that the BPC discourse evokes either via references made to variant Ws in the UK or countries outside its boundaries, e.g. Palestine and Syria, using the term *MWs*. In fact, this negativity in headlines, found in most of the significant collocates above, is

consistent with the ideological square of bias in discourse where the bad things about THEM (Muslims and British Muslims as in ConcL 8 in Figure 6-17 and about Rebekah Dowson in Figure 6-7 in 6.7) are mentioned (van Dijk, 1998, p. 42) (2.3.1).

Thus far, according to Chapter 5 and the analysis given in this chapter, there is recurrent as well as triangulated evidence of how the term *MWs* was epistemically primed in negative contexts at the macro-level structure of discourse throughout all the four periods, e.g. through dress controversies and violence (honour killings, oppression and raping).

Rights (F=14) (in P$_4$) included variant references that were mainly about 1) *human rights* (F=5) (ConcLs 3, 5, 9, 12 and 13), 2) *religious rights* (F=3) (ConcLs 6, 10, and 11) besides other instances, see Figure 6-18 below.

1	allowed to vote; Saudi activists pledge fight for further rights TDT4, September 26, 2011 Monday, NEWS;	TDT
2	Pg. 13, 518 words, Martin Evans 421. Muslim loses rights battle over police interrogation; In Brief TDT4,	TDT
3	the veil is not an issue of religious tolerance or human rights; Letters to the Editor TDT4, September 18, 2013	TDT
4	wades in to divisive issue: MPs argue women's rights are being compromised TG4 - , June 20, 2009	TG
5	to ban Muslim face coverings gather force: Human rights groups warn of growing discrimination TG4 - ,	TG
6	Liogier 293. International: Sarkozy backs religious rights as veil curbed TG4 - , January 27, 2010	TG
7	: Police union says new law 'infinitely difficult' to apply Rights campaigners attack rising Islamophobia TG4 - ,	TG
8	International: Islamists critical of UN move on women's rights TG4 - , March 16, 2013 Saturday, GUARDIAN	TG
9	, 436 words, Shane Hickey and agencies 484. Human rights: Judges' warning over counter-terror powers TG4	TG
10	words, Jane Hammond 495. Reply: Letter: Religious rights and divisive politics TG4 - , September 19, 2013	TG
11	of Britain and 27 others 496. Reply: Letter: Religious rights and divisive politics TG4 - , September 19, 2013	TG
12	of girls - report: FGM must be treated as human rights abuse, say nurses and midwives: UK must act	TG
13	of three-year-old faces jail after court ruling: Human rights groups say case is 'staggeringly unfair' TG4 - ,	TG
14	faced by the most charismatic champion of democratic rights for women in Iran. Continuing our week-long	TI

Figure 6-18 Mentions of *rights* in P4 headlines

It is worth noting here that while negativity is also a feature of TDT$_3$ discourse (ConcLs 1 to 3), TG$_4$, on the other hand, was more prominent in discursively using the term *MWs* within a discourse of rights (ConcL 4 to 13) than all other types of the BPC press in P$_4$.

Fight (F=10)[87] was used with a variety of references, among which was 1) *Obedient wife club to fight divorce* (ConcL 1 in Figure 5-19), 2) *Saudi activist fight for further rights* (ConcL 2), 3) *to fight terrorism* (ConcL 3), 4) *political parties fight* (ConcL 4), 5) *MWs confronting prejudice in their fight against extremism* (ConcL 5),

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[87] It included verbal instances, see ConcLs 1 3 4 6 and 7.

6) *Arab women fight to keep gains won on street* (ConcL 6), 7) *to fight back against the rising problem of harassment* (ConcL 7), 8) *the fight for young viewers* (ConcL 8), 9) *Family wait in kidnap fight* (ConcL 9) and finally, 10) *'burka ban' court fight* (ConcL 10), see Figure 6-19 below.

1	, 817 words, Nick Squires 346. Obedient wife club to fight divorce TDT4, June 4, 2011 Saturday, NEWS;	TDT
2	. Saudi women allowed to vote; Saudi activists pledge fight for further rights TDT4, September 26, 2011	TDT
3	in country and asks for help: Support from west to fight terrorists 'inadequate' Internet postings reveal	TG
4	pressure: Paralysed by populism: mainstream parties fight to hold back far-right tide: Anti-migrant	TG
5	meets the Muslim women confronting prejudice in their fight against extremism TG4 - , April 29, 2011 Friday,	TG
6	432. International: Only half the struggle: Arab women fight to keep gains won on street TG4 - , June 14,	TG
7	in Egypt took to the streets during Eid to fight back against the rising problem of harassment.	TG
8	executive David Abraham tells Ian Burrell about the fight for young viewers, how to make shows relevant	TI
9	IRISH GIRL IN SYRIA; FAMILY WAIT IN KIDNAP FIGHT TM4, September 19, 2011 Monday, NEWS;	TM
10	23, 106 words, BRIAN READE 372. 'Burka ban' court fight TM4, November 28, 2013 Thursday, NEWS; Pg.	TM

Figure 6-19 Mentions of *fight* in P4 headlines

In sum, it can be said from the instances in Figure 6-19 above that the conceptual scene of BATTLING is favoured in the BPC (mainly in TG) with the term *MWs* when Ws, in different countries, seek some rights or are represented as victims of oppressors in an ongoing 'fight'. This recurrent scene is biased as it intensifies and frames the danger or impact of an incident as well as emphasising the degree of antagonism between the parties involved, usually *MWs versus Muslim men or Islam*. The conceptual structure also uses the domain of force dynamics i.e. battling. In Baker, et al.`s (2013) words "the amount of conflict stories regarding Islam and Muslims looked "suspiciously high" (2013, p. 258), see 3.3.

6.9   <u>Adjectives</u> as macro-level collocates

Under the category <u>FUNCTION WORDS AND ADJECTIVES</u>, a number of distinctive words in P4 were found such as *First*, *Guilty*, *Young*, and *Jailed*. The collocational span was restricted here to one word to the right side of *First*, *Guilty*, *Young*, and *Jailed* in order to discover what nouns these collocates modify, e.g. *First woman*.

First, the macro-level W(s)-collocate *First* (F=30) was found to be a classifier of the following words: *Muslims* (F=3), *female* (F=3), *women* (F=2), *country* (F=2), *British* (F=2), *fine* (F=2) and *Film* (F=2). In fact, uses of *First* as a

modifier of *MW* were varied and intriguing in the BPC; these will be discussed in detail in Chapter 8: Section 8.4.1.

The macro-level collocate <u>*Young*</u> (F=8), see Figure 6-20 below, was found to include the following references: *young imam* (ConcL 1), *young writers* (ConcL 2), *young Muslims* (ConcL 3), *young people* (ConcL 4), *Egypt young woma(e)n* (ConcLs 5 and 7), *young viewers* (ConcL 6) and *young Muslim woman* (ConcL 8), see Figure 6-20. Some of these examples represent a classification of Ws based on their age (ConcL 5, 7 & 8), and country (ConcLs 5 and 7).

1	Bruno Waterfield 296. The I Factor: Malaysia's TV hunt for young imam TDT4, June 26, 2010 Saturday, NEWS; Pg.	TDT
2	to Lauren Child's new series starring a girl-detective. Plus: young writers put burning questions to their favourite	TDT
3	boom creates hundreds of online firms to coach young Muslims TG4 - , June 18, 2013 Tuesday,	TG
4	: Myths about victims of sexual exploitation can deny young people a voice TG4 - , September 25, 2013	TG
5	431. THE LIE BEHIND MASS 'SUICIDES' OF EGYPT'S YOUNG WOMEN; Part three of our series demolishes the	TI
6	David Abraham tells Ian Burrell about the fight for young viewers, how to make shows relevant in straitened	TI
7	PERIC ZIMONJIC in Belgrade 480. EGYPT'S ANGRY YOUNG WOMAN; Sexually assaulted in Tahrir Square,	TI
8	, WORLD; Pg. 34, 1033 words, Laurie Penny 481. The young Muslim woman at the heart of France's modern	TI

Figure 6-20 Mentions of *young* in P4 headlines

In the mentions above, negativity in 1) honour killings (ConcL 5, Figure 6-20) and 2) sexual assault (ConcL 7) was evoked from Egypt this time using the term *MWs*.

Other macro-level collocates that functioned as adjectives but are in fact verbal instances with the ellipsis of the verb BE are *jailed* and *allowed* below as in *she/he was jailed*. First, the macro-level collocate <u>Jailed</u> (F=10) included a number of variant references: 1) *Jailed for Six Weeks, Protester Who Pelted Baroness with Eggs* (ConcL 1), 2) *Arab jailed after sex with 'Israeli' woman* (ConcL 2), 3) *Man jailed for pulling off burka* (ConcL 3), 4) *MW Jailed for familial violence* (ConcL 4), 5) *Srebrenica officers Jailed for life over massacre of 8,000* (ConcL 5), 6) *siblings Jailed for attempt to kidnap sister's lesbian lover* (ConcL 6), 7) *Racist German who hated all foreigners jailed for killing MW[88]* (ConcL 7), 8) *Graduate 'viper'/fanatic jailed for urging killing of MPs* (ConcL 8 and 9) and 9) *Muslim girl beaten for Quran lies; Jailed* (ConcL 10), see Figure 6-21.

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[88] Note that this title included a mitigation/justification for the causes of the German who stabbed Marwa El-Sherbini to death inside the court-room in 2009 (HRW, 2010), see 3.4.5.

1	30, 2010 Friday, 663 words, BY CLAIRE ELLICOTT 558. JAILED FOR SIX WEEKS, PROTESTER WHO PELTED	TDM
2	, NEWS; Pg. 9, 554 words, Rosa Prince 302. Arab jailed after sex with Israeli woman; Palestinian is guilty	TDT
3	Pg. 12, 307 words, Jonathan Pearlman 351. Man jailed for pulling off burka TDT4, July 14, 2011 Thursday,	TDT
4	. 22, 319 words, Barney Henderson 381. Muslim mother jailed for beating girl with ladle TDT4, June 16, 2012	TDT
5	. 'Genocide, extermination, murder': Srebrenica officers jailed for life over massacre of 8,000: Hague tribunal	TG
6	PAGES; Pg. 41, 849 words, James Riach 516. Siblings jailed for attempt to kidnap sister's lesbian lover TG4 - ,	TG
7	death in court; Russian-German who hated all foreigners jailed for killing muslim woman TI4, November 12, 2009	TI
8	Pg. 16, 1231 words, Jerome Taylor 458. Graduate 'viper' jailed for urging killing of MPs TI4, July 30, 2011	TI
9	274. RPTD 275. FANATIC WHO WANTED MPS KILLED JAILED FOR 12 YEARS; SENTENCE TM4, July 30,	TM
10	MOSS 307. MUSLIM GIRL BEATEN FOR KORAN 'LIES'; JAILED TM4, June 16, 2012 Saturday, NEWS; Pg. 7,	TM

Figure 6-21 Mentions of *jailed* in P4 headlines

It can be concluded that examples of Jailed above suggest a discourse that uses the term MWs in news coverage of social and civic violence. Though many of the examples above underlie a positive meaning of encountering and penalising social violence against Ws, they still depict these Ws, mainly British, as agentless MWs (ConcLs 4, 6 and 10). This, in turn, reinforces the spread of stereotypes about MWs as being under violence that is 'Islamic' or done by their 'Muslim' families rather being a common social phenomenon, see 6.5.2 above.

Second and finally, similar to the recurrent agentless representation of MW(s) in incidents of social violence, *Allowed* (F=6) was found to represent MW(s) in several ways. The majority, however, were related to wearing the 'veil' (ConcLs 3 to 6), see Figure 6-22. Nevertheless, the pattern in Figure 6-22 suggests that MWs are PATIENTS that are allowed/not allowed to do something by others.

1	Pg. 26, 1482 words, Tim Jeal 355. Saudi women allowed to vote; Saudi activists pledge fight for	TDT
2	3, 1343 words, Jim Roberts 453. Saturday: No boys allowed: This month a women-only restaurant will	TG
3	1178 words, Alexandra Topping 487. Courts: Woman allowed to plead wearing niqab TG4 - , September	TG
4	387 words, Rajnaara Akhtar 429. Veiled women not allowed on a bus; SOCIAL TI4, July 24, 2010	TI
5	call for a debate on whether women should be allowed to wear full-face veils, some of those who	TI
6	Pg. 8, 76 words, Kevin Maguire 353. Veil allowed during trial TM4, September 17, 2013	TM

Figure 6-22 Mentions of *allowed* in P4 headlines

The category SOCIAL GROUPS AND INDIVIDUALS suggests that MW(s) began to be significantly classified based on their age (van Leeuwen, 2008, pp. 40-42) in headlines only in P4. On the other hand, in terms of AWARDS, *Nobel* (F=14) was found in reference to a recurrent news story about an Iranian woman who became a Nobel prize winner in 2003; this story will be discussed in detail in Chapter 8 (Excerpt 8-1A).

Lastly, other macro-level collocates in Table 6-2 did not reveal any notable pattern relevant to the use of 'MW(s)' in the BPC to be reported. Finally, while some instances of _September_ in P$_{2\&3}$ were in reference to the events of September 11, 2001, _October_ in P$_3$ was in reference to the peak month of the articles following the Straw's anti face-veil 'row' in 2006.

6.10 Chapter Summary

The discussion of the prominent and distinctive W(s)-collocates in the BPC headlines (Chapter 6) in addition to Chapter 5 analysis of keywords provided a triangulated statistically significant evidence about how the use of the term _MWs_ has developed diachronically in the British press. It also facilitated a clear and consistent analysis of how the representation of MWs is constructed and was affected by moments of crisis, e.g. the war in Bosnia, 9/11, 7/7, and the anti-hijab or face-veil stances found in socio-political discourse including the media. Thus far, it was found from the macro-structure of the BPC discourse that the UK press overwhelmingly narrows the identity of the 'MW' as a social actor to debates and controversial news about her face-veil and dress bans along with incidents of familial and social violence. In addition, mentions of _terrorism_ were found frequently in the BPC discourse using the term MW(s) even before 9/11, however, after 9/11 and more notably after 7/7, _terrorism_ spread significantly in P$_{2\&3}$ (see 6.5 and figures 6-3 and 6-4).

This was carried discursively by raising negativity with reports of events involving MWs from the UK as well as other countries in the world, thus creating a coherent epistemic priming (see 2.11) of the term _MWs_ as denoting 'irrational' women, e.g. Aisha Azmi and Rebekah Dowson, or agentless submissive patients suffering violence (e.g. honour killings and forced marriages).

In addition, findings provided statistically significant evidence that British press reportage is written _about_ MWs rather than _by_ them (Ahmad, 2006, p. 980). Nonetheless, just one MW, _Yasmin Alibhai-Brown,_ who is a feminist writer with anti-veil views, was found to write significantly about MWs in P$_{2\&3}$, see 3.4.5. Likewise, readers' views expressed through letters to editors were found to be

framed with negative headlines. These headlines contained negative conceptual structures that problematize wearing of the face-veil by MWs in Britain: WEARING THE VEIL CAN POSE AN OBSTACLE TO INTEGRATION (Excerpt 6-7A), VEILED WOMEN CAN POSE CHALLENGE TO SOCIETY (Excerpt 6-7B) and DEBATING THE VEIL IS BATTLING (either ATTACK or DEFEND) (see Excerpt 6-6A). In fact, as noted earlier, conceptual structures including significant collocates that suggested a figurative meaning are macro-semantic structures as they derive their meaning from socio-cognitive models shared in society about MWs e.g. *integration*, *lifting the veil*, *battling*, etc.

In addition, negativity about MWs' 'veil' was found to be discursively developed in TDT$_3$ discourse following Straw's comments in 2006, e.g. *she was ordered to <u>remove</u> her veil* (in the RW press TDT$_4$) versus *she was ordered to show her face* (in the LW press TI$_4$, TM$_4$, and TG$_4$). The use of *MW* was found to be significantly associated with negative political discourse about 'veils and hijab' in Britain, France and the Netherlands after 9/11. Similarly, stereotypes that reinforce the image of Islam and Muslim men as 'violent' to women, e.g. *honour killings*, *forced marriages*, *sharia law* and *stoning*, were more recurrently found in the BPC after 9/11.

Finally, triangulation of corpus-based methods, along with the exploitation of cognitive semantic analytical concepts such as conceptual metaphors and schemas (cf. 2.8 and 2.9), have proved illuminative in revealing some of the discussed as well as the spread socio-cognitive models, at the macro-level of discourse structure, through which the image/schemata (see 2.3.1) of MWs is depicted and presented diachronically in the British press, e.g. THE VEIL IS IMPEDIMENT TO REAL UNDERSTANDING/BARRIER TO INTEGRATION.

7 Chapter Seven: Collocations with woma(e)n

In this chapter, I will discuss collocations of the nodes *Woman* (W) and *Women* (Ws) within sentence boundaries in the BPC i.e. in the bodies of the news articles including headlines. This chapter will show a more revealing analysis particularly that it will include an analysis of all collocates that were found to associate with the nodes *woman* and *women* inside the BPC (sections 7.1, 7.2 and 7.3). In section 7.1, I will classify all the found collocates – based on their semantic content- into semantic categories through using the Wmatrix$_3$ tool for semantic tagging (4.3.7), then collocates that underlie each Wmatrix$_3$ category will be retrieved and analysed in 7.2 and 7.3. In sections, 7.4 and 7.5 the top 50 statistically significant collocates with the nodes *woman* (Table 7-4) and *women* (Table 7-5) will be discussed; these revealed interesting findings especially in relation to the verb collocates such as *imprisoned Ws, liberate* Ws,* and *empower* Ws*.

7.1 Collocations with W and Ws

In this section, two lists of collocates were produced, one for the node Woman (W) and the other one was for Women (Ws). Based on the criteria and procedure given in 4.3, WordSmith$_6$ retrieved F=312 significant collocates with node *W* and F=777 significant collocates with node *Ws*.

Each list was contrasted to the other using the Wmatrix$_3$ tool for semantic tagging (4.3.7). In other words, the list of the significant collocates found to associate the node W in the BPC was contrasted with those that significantly collocate with the node Ws and vice versa[89]. The top 20 overused semantic categories with W(s) are given in Table 7-1 below.

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[89] Each list acted as a reference corpus for the other.

Table 7-1 Prominent collocates of W and Ws based on the Wmatreix₃ categories

	Woman		Women		
N	Overused categories in W's list: W versus Ws	LL	Overused categories in Ws' list: Ws versus W	LL
1	Grammatical bin	9.38	No power	7.47
2	Pronouns	7	No constraint	6.46
3	Location and direction	7	Mental object: Means, method	5.6
4	Dead	7	Hindering	5.6
5	Strong obligation or necessity	4	Unmatched[90]	5.48
6	Sensory: Sight	4	In power	5.48
7	Existing	4	Sports	3.73
8	Seem	3	Quantities: many/much	3.73
9	People	3	Medicines and medical treatment	3.73
10	Linear order	3	Content	3.73
11	Likely	3	Constraint	3.73
12	Knowledgeable	3	Comparing: Similar	3.73
13	Colour and colour patterns	3	Cause & Effect/Connection	3.73
14	Moving, coming and going	2.3	Belonging to a group	3.73
15	Law and order	2.3	Social Actions, States and Processes	2.1
16	Anatomy and physiology	2.3	Participating	2.1
17	Putting, pulling, pushing, transporting	2.12	Comparing: Different	2.1
18	Other proper names	2.12	Clothes and personal belongings	2
19	Warfare, defence and the army; weapons	2	Weak	1.87
20	Time: Period	2	Unselfish	1.87

The original collocates, through which each category (Cat., henceforth) in Table 7-1 was established, were retrieved and are given in detail in tables 7-2 and 7-3. Although the classification in 7.2 and 7.3 has a number of shortcomings that are common to the Wmatrix₃ (4.3.7), the retrieved categories prove to be informative about how W(s) are recurrently represented in the BPC at the micro-(sentence)-level of discourse as will be explained later in this chapter. Overall, Wmatrix₃ helped us not to sacrifice W(s)-collocates that were found in the long collocation lists but were beyond the threshold of our cut-off point[91] (4.3.7).

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[90] 'unmatched' refers to words that Wmatrix could not fit into any of its categories.
[91] Those that are statistically significant but occurs beyond the first 50 collocates.

7.2 Collocates with W in Wmatrix₃

Table 7-2 Collocates of W based on the Wmatrix₃ categories.

W	1- Grammatical bin	2- Pronouns	3- Location and direction	4-Dead and(Violence)	5- Strong obligation or necessity
N	Collocates	Collocates	Collocates	Collocates	Collocates
1	a	whose	full-face	corpse	obliged
2	whether	who	north	murdered	should
3	an	herself	western	died	must
4	having	one	stand	suicide	has to
5	am	whom	East	dead	
6	S	Her	behind	killed	
7	was	she	in	death	
8	does				
9	Without				
10	with				
W	6- Sensory: Sight	7- Existing	8- Seem	9- People	10- Linear order
1	sight	Am	appears	identity	First
2	saw	incident	apparently	child	row
3	seeing	Being	show	sex	third
4	see	is			
W	11- Likely	12- Knowledgeable	13- Colour and colour patterns	14- Moving, coming and going	15- Law and order
1	can	identified	bright	walks	fined
2	clearly	warn	black	enter	testimony
3		known	blue	walked	prisoner
4				walking	accused
5				ran	judge
6				run	trial
7				goes	lawyer
8				travel	arrested
9				comes	court
W	16- Anatomy and physiology	17- Putting, pulling, pushing, transporting	18- Other proper names[92]	19- Warfare, defence and the army; weapons	20- Time: period
1	pregnant	deliver	olympic	officer	hour
2	body	remove	witness	shot	Friday
3	niqab	placed	beauty		
4	hair	thrown	looks		
5	face	hold	mind		
6	head	carried	life		
7	eyes				
8	birth				
9	born				

The collocates above (Table 7-2) suggest that a W is represented through her dress (see, *full-face* in Cat. 3, *niqab* in Cat. 16 & *remove* in Cat. 17 as well as *black* in Cat 13, Table 7-2. She (W) also co-occurred with *killed* (Cat. 4), *pregnancy* and *maternity* (Cat. 16) and *court and Judge* (Cat. 15). *Judge* and *court* (Cat 15) were consistent with the findings given in Chapter 6 Table 6-1 and discussed in Excerpts 6-8 in 6.7.

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[92] Some of the words in this category are not 'proper names'. Therefore, they represent some of the limitations and inaccuracies of Wmatrix₃ categorisation. This was overcome through manual confirmation and retrieving the top words for each category as they embody the most significant portion of the vocabulary constituting each Wmatrix₃ category.

A W is also apparently described through her *actions* and *possessions* (Cat. 2 and 14) as well as being located within a group of other women (*first* in Cat 17[93]) or spatially in relation to her location or dress as in the collocate *behind* (Cat 3). For example, examining the concordance for occurrences of *behind* revealed the following as the most frequent patterns: *behind the veil* (F=10), *behind bars* (F=10), *behind her grandmother* (F=8), *behind her husband* (F=4) and *behind her veil* (F=2). This indicates how W is spatially located in BPC discourse. However, when searching the concordance for the exact context of the W-collocate *behind*, I encountered the problem of how to confirm that all particular instances of *behind* are genuinely collocating with *W*. This was because 1) occurrences of *behind* were very frequent in the BPC i.e. *F=672* and 2) the possible occurrence of *behind,* as a W-collocate, was originally anywhere in a 4 word span on each side of *W* (see 4.3) so it might not actually be in construction with *W* at all. Therefore, the identification of the genuine W-collocates *behind* was found a challenging and time-consuming mission. In fact, a methodological implication here would be that while corpus-based methods can facilitate and automate a CDA analysis (Widdowson, 2004, p. 90), yet they may encourage overgeneralisations about the findings, e.g. *behind*.

7.3 Collocates with Ws in Wmatrix₃

Overused collocates with the node *Ws* also seem to occur in a way that represents women through what they wear at the sentence-level of discourse in the BPC: see *hijab-wearing*, *niqab* & *full-face* in Cat. 5, *chador*[94] in Cat. 6 and all instances in Cat. 18, Table 7-3.

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[93] More details will be given later in Section 8.4.1
[94] This was a Wmatrix₃ mistagging/mis-categorisation.

Table 7-3 Collocates of Ws based on the Wmatrix$_3$ categories.

Ws	1- No power (powerless)	2- No constraint	3- Mental object: Means, method	4- Hindering	5- Unmatched
N	Collocates	Collocates	Collocates	Collocates	Collocates
1	downtrodden	emancipation	stereotyping	barriers	full-face
2	obedient	liberate	systematic	obstacle	gang-raped
3	oppressed	liberated	systematically	repression	half-naked
4	submissive	liberates			helmand
5		liberating			hijab-wearing
6		liberation			moutawakel
7					niqabs
8					niqab-wearing
9					non-muslim
10					veiling
Ws	6- In power	7- Sports	8- Quantities: many/much	9- Medicines and medical treatment	10- Content
1	chador	athletes	Countless	abortions	treat
2	compelled	games	many	treatment	treats
3	empower				
4	empowered				
4	empowering				
5	empowerment				
6	empowers				
7	insist				
8	oppress				
9	oppression				
10	oppressive				
4	subjugation				
Ws	11- Constraint	12- Comparing: Similar	13- Cause & Effect/Connection	14- Belonging to a group	15- Social Actions, States and Processes
1	captive	equal	affects	middle-class	traditionally
2	detained	equals	proportion	network	treated
3					treating
Ws	16- Participating	17- Comparing: Different	18- Other proper names	19- Weak	20- Unseen
1	forum	discriminating	burkas	helpless	modestly
2	participate	separately	burqas		
3	participation	spat	dress		
4			headscarves		
5			hijabs		
6			skirts		
7			veils		
8			wear		
9			wearing		
10			wore		
11			bikinis		

On the other hand, the node Ws was also associated with collocates that represent women as agentless weak patients (Cat. 1 & 6, Table 7-3) who are 'helpless' (Cat. 19), 'captive' (Cat. 11) and need power (Cat. 6) to overcome 'barriers' and 'repression' (Cat. 4), and consequently 'liberate' (Cat. 2) them(selves) from 'subjugation' and 'oppression' (Cat. 6). These are statistically significant collocates found at the micro-level analysis of the node Ws in the BPC.

Another example was that of *athletes* and *games* (Cat. 7) in reference to women such as Miss El Moutawakel the Moroccan Olympic[95] hurdler who won an Olympic medal in the 1990s. In fact, from 7.3, the lemmas *empower*, liberat*, barriers* and *obstacle* are all linguistic instantiations of conceptual structures that appear significantly to constitute the image of Muslim women in BPC discourse (see also *integration* and *obstacle*, in section 5.8.1, Table 5-8 and Excerpt 6-9 in 6.8 above. The collocates with conceptual structures such as *integration* are considered as 'macro-level semantic structure' of discourse as given earlier in 4.3 and discussed in 5.8.1, Table 5-8.

7.4   Collocates with W: LL versus MI order

First, similar to Chapter 6 in 6.1, the discussion will be restricted to lexical collocates that prove informative to the analysis as well as exhibit a "discernible lexical meaning" (Al-Hejin, 2012, p. 157) e.g. *force* vs. *to*. When looking at the top collocates that appeared in the original list of micro W-collocates (F=312) in the BPC, they were found, to some extent, consistent with their Wmatrix$_3$ classification given earlier in 7.2, see Table 7-4 below. Table 7-4 includes the top 50/312 collocates that appeared in the W list ordered by the LL measure (Column A). On the other hand, Column B gives the top 50/312 collocates based on the MI measure. This step was taken to provide a further consideration of the most frequent (identified through LL) and conceptual (identified through MI) significant W-collocates[96] in the BPC[97], see Section 4.3.5 and Table 4-11 for more details about this.

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[95] Cf. *Olympic* in Cat .18, Table 7-2.

[96] The top 50 W-collocations in the BPC including their statistical values (LL and MI) are given in Appendix 4A.

[97] In addition, using the same criteria, two other complementary lists of W-collocations were extracted from 1) RW sub-corpus (TDM and TDT) and 2) LW sub-corpus (TI, TG and TM). These lists will be complementary consulted - in section 7.4 - to distinguish which of the W-collocates in the BPC was a distinctive feature of one type of the press i.e. RW versus LW, these are given in Appendix 7A.

Table 7-4 Top fifty collocates with W using: LL versus MI

	Woman				
N	**Column A: LL order**		**N**	**Column B: MI order**	
1	**A**	26 HAD	1	JUROR	26 BLONDE
2	MUSLIM	27 SAID	2	HIJAB-WEARING	27 BARRED
3	TO	28 ANOTHER	3	**CORPSE**	28 AFRICAN
4	**WHO**	29 ONLY	4	PUZZLED	29 TALL
5	**IN**	30 ASIAN	5	MIDDLE-AGED	30 SENTENCED
6	**S**	31 ANY	6	DESECRATION	31 SERVE
7	YOUNG	32 MAN	7	VIRGINITY	32 YOUNG
8	**FIRST**	33 DRESSED	8	VEILED	33 NOBEL
9	**WAS**	34 IF	9	DISGUISED	34 ALGERIAN
10	HER	35 BRITISH	10	**WALKS**	35 SOMALI
11	AS	36 **WHOSE**	11	WEARS	36 MARRIED
12	**IS**	37 WEAR	12	**FINED**	37 MOROCCAN
13	**AN**	38 **BODY**	13	RIPPED	38 **PREGNANT**
14	**ONE**	39 **CAN**	14	CHOOSES	39 WIN
15	**WITH**	40 **BEING**	15	DRESSED	40 PEER
16	**SHE**	41 **SHOULD**	16	HACKNEY	41 BURKHA
17	BE	42 **NIQAB**	17	ELDERLY	42 MARRYING
18	VEILED	43 TOLD	18	SELECTED	43 DEVOUT
19	WEARING	44 HIJAB	19	MUSLIM	44 **BRIGHT**
20	BY	45 **FACE**	20	RESPECTABLE	45 REFUSES
21	MARRIED	46 AFRICAN	21	NIGERIAN	46 **OBLIGED**
22	VEIL	47 WHITE	22	INTIMIDATING	47 FORCING
23	FROM	48 WIN	23	**TESTIMONY**	48 INTELLIGENT
24	WORDS	49 **REMOVE**	24	**PRISONER**	49 NON-MUSLIM
25	**HAS**	50 **AM**	25	ORIGIN	50 MOSLEM

The top significant W-collocates (Table 7-4) proved to be similar, to some extent, to the classification of Wmatrix$_3$ given earlier in Table 7-2. Collocates that appeared in both tables (7-2 & 7-4) are marked in bold, see Table 7-4 above.

However, further W-collocates such as *veil, hijab, veiled, wearing, dressed, wear, wears, burkha* appear only in Table 7-4. This indicates, similar to the macro-level findings in chapters 5 and 6, that W is significantly classified through dress but this time at the micro-level of the BPC discourse, and as we will see below, mainly in negative contexts.

In addition, it can be said that W was found to be identified significantly (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 42) or associated with classifiers denoting 1) religion (such as *Muslim, Moslem* and *non-Muslim*), 2) nationality (*African, Algerian, Asian, British, Moroccan, Nigerian,* and *Somali),* 3) race (*origin*), 4) age (*young, middle-aged* and *elderly*), 5) hair, skin or dress colour (*white* and *blonde* in Table 7-4 besides the word *black* in Cat. 13 in Table 7-2), and finally 6) marital status (*married, marrying* and *virginity*), see Table 7-4 above. However, while *Nigerian, Algerian, origin,*

Moroccan, non- Muslim, blonde, white and *black* were distinctive W-collocates in the LW press (Appendix 7A), *marrying* was a distinctive W-collocate in the RW press (ibid).

Nevertheless, further collocates in Table 7-4 were in reference to individual women such as 1) Lady Warsi who was described in the BPC as the first to *serve* in the cabinet, 2) the 2003 *Nobel* prize *win*ner Miss Shirin Ebadi and 3) the Labour *peer* Baroness Uddin, who will be described in more detail in 8.4.1 later. In fact, *Peer*, *cabinet*, and *serve* were statistically significant W-collocates; they were found to be a distinctive part of the RW press discourse (See Appendix 7A).

Positive collocates of W were *choose, respectable, devout* and *intelligent* (Table 7-4). While *devout* and *choose* were found - after consulting the list in Appendix 7A - to be LW W-collocates, *respectable* was a RW W-collocate.

On the other hand, 'negative' collocates included *ripped, fined, barred* and *disguised,* see Table 7-4. First, instances of *ripped* revealed to be mainly about incidents of violence committed against women because of their niqab and headscarves; an example from each BPC newspaper is given in Examples 7-1 below:

Examples 7-1

1- The man who **ripped** off the Muslim woman's veil in Liverpool also racially abused her, police said last night. Muslim leaders were quick to blame the incident on Mr Straw's remarks. (TDM$_4$, October 7, 2009)
2- A LAWYER **ripped** off a Muslim woman's veil during a fight in a store in what police say is France's first case of "burka rage". (TDT$_4$, May 19, 2010)
3- It won't have felt like that to the Muslim woman who had her veil **ripped** off and was knocked unconscious in Bolton. (TG$_4$, May 29, 2013)
4- In June, a pregnant Muslim woman lost her baby after an attack in which her veil was **ripped** from her by two men who taunted her with anti-Islamic slogans. (TI$_4$, August 13, 2013)
5- A JOBLESS lout who **ripped** off a Muslim woman's veil at a shopping centre escaped jail yesterday. (TM$_4$, July 5, 2012)

It is worth noting here that *ripped*-incidents of violence were found to be almost all in P$_4$ i.e. after the beginning of politicians' calls to outlaw/ban the face-

'veils' in France and Britain. Second, instances of *fined* were found to be mainly in 2010 (P$_4$) in relation to the 'veil' ban in France, see Examples 7-2 below.

Examples 7-2

1- A woman in France has been **fined** for driving while wearing a burka because the garment "reduced her field of vision" (TDM$_4$, June 4, 2010)
2- A woman in France has been **fined** for driving while wearing a burka because the garment "reduced her field of vision". (TDT$_4$, June 4, 2010)
3- On Friday, after the French media reported that a Muslim woman had been **fined** by police for wearing her niqab while driving, the alleged nature of her private life was laid bare by Hortefeux. (TG$_4$, April 24, 2010).
4- A FRENCH Muslim woman has been **fined** for wearing a burka at the wheel of her car- weeks before the proposed introduction of a total ban on the full-body veil. (TI$_4$, April 24, 2010).
5- The Senate's vote of 246 to one rubber-stamped the law which will see women **fined** or jailed for covering their faces in public. (TM$_4$, September 15, 2010)
6- Over-exposed Malaysia's Islamic court **fined** three Muslim women for being indecently dressed while taking part in a beauty contest (TG$_4$, May 20, 2010).

These examples document a consistent preference of the British press to report negative news stories about women in the UK or other countries, e.g. France (1, 2, 3, 4 & 5 in Examples 7-2) and Malaysia (6 in Examples 7-2). However, despite the finding that French women were classified based on their religious profile, example 6 reveals how the LW press TG evokes negativity from overseas countries such as Malaysia, which is a State whose religion is Islam[98], when they classify women based on their religious profile as 'MWs'. This negativity (Example 6) is carried through raising their religious profile which seems to be intended as the court was classified to be 'Islamic' before the women are classified in the sentence as MWs. This can be seen in the West as a negative reference to Islamic courts and 'Sharia Law'[99] in relation to Ws who are Muslims. It is worth noting here that *fined* is a distinctive W-collocate of the LW discourse (Appendix 7A)[100].

Third, instances of *barred* were found to be mainly in P$_4$ followed by P$_3$ in relation to the veil:

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[98] With considerable non-Muslim population (The Government of Malaysia's Official Portal, 2017)
[99] See Excerpts 5-1 and Figure 5-2 in 5.5.
[100] Additionally, Malaysian was found as a distinctive Ws-collocates of the LW discourse (Appendix 7B).

Examples 7-3

1- A MUSLIM woman was **barred** from serving on a jury yesterday because she refused to remove her veil. (TDM4, March 20, 2012)

2- Muslim woman is **barred** from flight after refusing body scan. (TDT4, March 4, 2010)

3- Judge says woman must show her face in court in ruling condemned by Muslim Council of Britain as intolerant Muslim woman **barred** from wearing niqab in the dock. (TI4, September 17, 2013)

4- They would like to see women **barred** from wearing the full veil anywhere in public. (TG4, January 27, 2010)

5- A VEILED Muslim woman was **barred** from a bus - for refusing to show her face to the driver. (TM3, November 3, 2006)

6- A TEACHER was **barred** from joining students viewing a Catholic school unless she removed her Muslim veil. (TM4, June 30, 2009)

Reports of incidents in Examples 7-3 all represent individual Ws as powerless/agentless objects/PATIENTS who are/should be *barred from* wearing face-veils in public avenues. However, *barred* though appeared in the RW and LW press (examples 7-3), it was, in fact, a distinctive W-collocate in the RW press (Appendix 7A). This suggests that the RW has more statistically significant preference to epistemically and semantically associate W with barring news stories mainly related to restrictions posed by social or governmental institutions on MWs.

Indeed, these individual women, in examples 7-1, 7-2 and 7-3 were reported as objects and/or agentless PATIENTS receiving an unpleasant action (*barred from*), violence (*ripped off*) or penalty (*fined*) because of their dress as 'MWs'.

These collocates cohere with two other W-collocates i.e. *murdered* and *killed,* (given in Wmatrix3 classification, Cat. 4, Table 7-2), in representing W as an agentless and weak PATIENT in an action frame, e.g. *oppression, killing, fining, barring* and others. W here occupies the 'semantic slot' (Chilton, 2004) of a weak PATIENT in the frame, see 2.8.3. This recurrent representation was found to be made through variant lexical structures and verbal phrases, as in *A W was killed, murdered, fined and barred from* or *A W's veil was ripped off*, etc.

These are also examples of *transitivity* (Halliday, 1985) (2.2.1) where the semantic and grammatical configurations of the process of each actions places W

in the weak ᴘᴀᴛɪᴇɴᴛ's 'semantic slot' (Chilton, 2004) - including its ideational and interpersonal functions- as given in each context e.g. *A Muslim woman was **barred** from serving on a jury yesterday because she refused to remove her veil* (No. 1 in Examples 7-3). While the W was the weak ᴘᴀᴛɪᴇɴᴛ in the first clause, she was, in the other clause, the Agent associated with the negative verbs *remove* and *refuse*. The negative verb *remove* was found to be, statistically, among top 50 significant W-collocate in the RW press (Appendix 7A). This coheres with the RW (TDT) preference for the negative verb *remove* as found in 5.7.4 and 6.7 (Figure 6-7) which in turn supports the claim that this is a distinctive feature of the RW discourse using the term 'MWs.' Fourth, the W-collocate *disguised* was found in the following pattern.

1	two Afghan guides while trying to cross into the country	disguised as a Muslim woman	in a burqa covering her	TI 2001b .t
2	in Somalia reportedly slipping out through Heathrow Airport	disguised as a Muslim woman	in a veil. Speaking	TDM 2006
3	, the 6ft 'bomber' in a burkha; July 21 suspect fled London	disguised as a Muslim woman	, court is told BYLINE:	TDM 2007
4	is also facing charges for trying to sneak into Somalia	disguised as a Muslim woman	in 2008. r.evans@dailymail	TDM 2013
5	and one, alleged to be Jermaine Grant, from London, was	disguised in Muslim woman's	clothing, including a full	TDT 2012
6	a burka raided a third travel agency in less than a year.	Disguised in Muslim women's	black clothing with only his	TM 2010

Figure 7-1 The pattern: *disguised as MW/ disguised in MW(s)' dress*

While the W-collocate disguised[101] in ConcLs 1, 2, 3, 4 suggests that face-veiled women can pass through security without being checked, ConcL 6 suggests that thieves use this type of dress. The negativity is associated with Muslim women through highlighting the religious association with the phrase such as *disguised in a Muslim woma(e)n`s dress* (Figure 7-1), see also 3.4.5.

Nevertheless, the examples in ConcLs 6 and 1 indicate one of the legitimate concerns which underlie what is known as Islamophobia in the West in relation to face veils i.e. face-covers. It is worth noting here that newspaper writers in the examples above may not actually be mentioning '*Muslim woma(e)n*' with the intention of attaching negative associations to the religion or dress but in fact, simply as a strategy to make the piece more understandable to the reader to help them understand (a communicative strategy rather than a social/ ideological one).

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[101] *Disguised* was found among the top 50 w-collocates in both the RW and LW lists (Appendix 7A).

However, the negative meaning of ConcL 6 is mapped to the mental container IN MW'S BLACK DRESS through the associated scenes of the preceding text about a criminal robber. Highlighting the religious profile of the dress, in relation to thieves or bombing suspects/bombers, associates the religion as well as the practice of face-veiling with severe negativity. This semantic and epistemic association is made in a discourse that presents a security problem where a minority's dress was used as a tool. The discourse poses a problem related to MW's dress without seeking their cooperation on the issue, i.e. the tiny portion of face-veiled Ws within the minority of MWs in Britain, cf. (Petley & Richardson, 2011; Ahmed, 2014; section 3.4.5).

Instead, the predominant discourse contributes to stigmatising these Ws as *oppressed*, *irrational* (Excerpts 5-5 in 5.7.4), *non-integrated* and *separators*[102] (see Figure 5-8 and Table 5-8 in 5.8.1) and as *a possible danger/threat*: see the pattern *disguised in MWs' dress* in Figure 7-2.

1	the occupied West Bank. The undercover soldiers arrived disguised in a white car with Arab plates. Then the	TDM 2006
2	allowing suspected killer Mustaf Jama to flee Britain disguised in a religious veil. Police say the Somalian	TDM 2006
3	station in North London and at Birmingham coach station disguised in the traditional Muslim women's dress,	TDM 2007
4	train told a court yesterday how he fled the capital disguised in a burka. Yassin Omar said he escaped 24	TDM 2007
5	2007 Wednesday Caught on camera: bomb plot suspect disguised in a burka day after July 21: Accused seen on	TG 2007
6	in the July 21 suicide bomb plot escaping from London disguised in the clothing of a devout Muslim woman, the	TG 2007
7	in north London and Digbeth coach station, Birmingham, disguised in a Muslim women's dress, the court heard.	TI 2007
8	station, North London, and at Birmingham coach station disguised in a Muslim women's burka, it was claimed.	TM 2007
9	SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 27 LENGTH: 164 words A MAN disguised in a muslim woman's full-length burkha led a	TM 2008
10	leave separately to avoid attracting attention. I was disguised in a burka and men's clothes and ordered to	TDM 2012
11	after emerging from a mosque in West London disguised in a burka? Any item of clothing that covers the	TDM 2013
12	violent retribution for depicting the Prophet Mohammed disguised in a bear costume on the US cartoon. Abu	TDT 2010
13	one, alleged to be Jermaine Grant, from London, was disguised in Muslim woman's clothing, including a full	TDT 2012
14	a burka raided a third travel agency in less than a year. Disguised in Muslim women's black clothing with only his	TM 2010

Figure 7-2 The pattern: disguised in MW(s)' dress in the BPC

The ISLAMIC DRESS AS A DANGEROUS CONTAINER THAT CONCEALS IDENTITY/ DECEIVES conceptual structure in the pattern *disguised in MW(s)' dress* above started after the Straw's anti-veil 'row', with the exception of one example (ConcL 1) which was one month before Straw's comments. This documents a diachronic change in the linguistic patterns used in relation to the term *MW* in the BPC. The pattern was favoured most by TDM.

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[102] Discussed in 5.8.

However, the metaphorical containment in the pattern above was severely negative in that it associated the term *Muslim Woman* (F=7) and her burka/veil/clothing (F=5) with *criminals* (ConcL 2), *terrorism* (ConcL 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 11, 13), *robbery* (9 and 14) and *harassment* (ConcL 10). While examples of terrorism were overwhelmingly referring to the London bombing suspects who escaped in 'face-veils', the negativity in ConcL 10 was evoked again from Egypt in relation to an incident of harassment using the term *Muslim Woman*.

It is worth noting here, however, that similar semantic association with terrorism was found a long time before the 7/7 bombings and 9/11 events–as discussed earlier in 6.5.1.

Other micro-level W-collocates (in Table 7-4) that were found to occur in connection with previously discussed incidents are as follows. For example, while some references of the collocate *Nigerian* (a LW W-collocate) were found to refer to the death by stoning mentioned earlier (ConcLs 5, 9 to 11 in Figure 6-12 in 6.8), *juror* on the other hand was found to refer to the arrest and prosecution of a British woman who was discharged from a Jury for apparently listening to an MP3 player under her hijab during a murder trial in 2007 (Dyer, 2007). In fact, *juror* was found to be a significant W-collocate in the LW list (Appendix 7A). This story was also referred to in the discussion of the macro-level collocate <u>Court</u> (P$_{2\&3}$: 6.4 in Chapter 6). The last significant W-collocate in the BPC was the word *puzzled* which also came from a previously mentioned news story about MP Timms who was stabbed by Roshonara Choudhry in P$_4$, see Excerpts 5-3 in 5.7.3.

7.5   Collocates with Ws: LL versus MI order

Table 7-5 includes the top 50/777 Ws-collocates (i.e. that appeared with *Ws* in the BPC) ordered by the LL measure (Column A) compared to the top 50/777 ordered by the MI measure (Column B)[103]. The top significant micro-level

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[103] The top 50 Ws-collocations in the BPC including their statistical values (LL and MI) are given Appendix 4B.

collocates with *Ws* (Table 7-5)[104] proved to be similar, to some extent, to their classification by Wmatrix₃ given earlier in Table 7-3 (7.3). Ws-Collocates that appeared in Table 7-3 and were found in Table 7-5 below are marked in bold.

Similar to the agentless and weak position of W found in 7.4, the node Ws was found to be associated with collocates that present Ws as agentless and powerless PATIENTS, see Table 7-5 below.

Table 7-5 Top fifty collocates with Ws using: LL versus MI

	WOMEN				
N	Column A: LL order		N	Column B: MI order	
1	MUSLIM	26 SOME	1	**EMPOWERS**	26 **BURQAS**
2	OF	27 VEIL	2	NEWSREADERS	27 WEEP
3	TO	28 THESE	3	UPPITY	28 INFERIOR
4	AND	29 MORE	4	**OPPRESS**	29 **EMPOWERING**
5	IN	30 OTHER	5	**EMPOWER**	30 SHROUDED
6	ARE	31 VEILED	6	**LIBERATES**	31 **HELMAND**
7	S	32 MOSLEM	7	SUFFRAGE	32 **OPPRESSION**
8	FOR	33 ABOUT	8	DISCARD	33 MOSLEM
9	WHO	34 ALL	9	**SUBJUGATION**	34 **SYSTEMATICALLY**
10	THAT	35 AGAINST	10	RAPING	35 MUSLIM
11	MEN	36 TWO	11	**HALF-NAKED**	36 **OPPRESSED**
12	**WEAR**	37 **DRESS**	12	MISTREATED	37 **DISCRIMINATING**
13	THEIR	38 RAPED	13	**NIQAB-WEARING**	38 OBSERVANT
14	WERE	39 COVER	14	**EMPOWERMENT**	39 **DOWNTRODDEN**
15	HAVE	40 REMOVE	15	**BIKINIS**	40 **VEILS**
16	**MANY**	41 ASIAN	16	**LIBERATE**	41 **LIBERATING**
17	BY	42 BEING	17	DISSERVICE	42 **BURKAS**
18	YOUNG	43 LIKE	18	ATLAS	43 ALBANIAN
19	RIGHTS	44 AMONG	19	HELPLINE	44 **GANG-RAPED**
20	**WEARING**	45 WESTERN	20	**TREATS**	45 **MODESTLY**
21	**VEILS**	46 GROUPS	21	**EMANCIPATION**	46 RAPED
22	CHILDREN	47 GROUP	22	**VEILED**	47 MALAYSIAN
23	FROM	48 DO	23	**OBSTACLE**	48 **EMPOWERED**
24	NOT	49 GIRLS	24	**ASSERTIVE**	49 **SEPARATELY**
25	SHOULD	50 RAPE	25	SECOND-CLASS	50 COMPETE

First, Ws-collocates that reflect the dress theme were predominant: *wear, cover, remove* and *choose, wearing, dress, veiled* and others.

It is also worth noting here that ambiguous Ws-collocates related to dress such as *veil, veils, veiled* and *dress* were more frequent in Column A than precise terms such as *niqab-wearing, burqas* and *burkas* which appeared in Column B. This documents a statistically significant preference to report about Muslim women

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[104] In addition, using the same criteria, two other complementary lists of Ws-collocations were extracted from 1) the RW sub-corpus (TDM and TDT) and 2) the LW sub-corpus (TI, TG and TM). These lists will be complementarily consulted - in section 7.5 - to distinguish which of the Ws-collocates in the BPC was a distinctive feature of one type of the press i.e. RW versus LW. These are given in Appendix 7B.

predominantly with vague/ambiguous dress terms in the BPC, cf. 5.2. In a similar vein, the Ws-collocate *shrouded* (Column B) was found in the BNC (2017) and other corpus-based dictionaries (LDCE, 2018) (OUP, 2018) to denote, with a negative connotation, the act of 'covering' bodies e.g. in crimes and death scenarios. This marked negativity of *shrouded* demonstrates how, especially, the LW broadsheets TG and TI view the practice of wearing the hijab and veiling in Islam in different periods, see Examples 7-4 below.

Examples 7-4

1- The result is an impressionistic series of **shrouded women**, their faces turned away from the artist. (TG1, November 5, 2001)
2- These **women**, **shrouded** from head to toe, call her a whore and order her into their van' only a torrent of tears and lies saves her from being taken away. (TI1, July 4, 2005)
3- Ten years ago, the only fully **shrouded** Muslim **women** around were from the Arab fiefdoms, the many wives of sheikhs often drawn by cartoonists to convey the absurdity and inhumanity of such cloaks. Now all of Europe has these girls and women rendering themselves invisible in public spaces. (TI1, February 9, 2008)
4- In the mid-1920s the family resettled in Istanbul, where, prior to the founding of the Republic, Halet Çambel was "shocked by the black **shrouded women** who came and visited us at home". (TDT3, January 24, 2014)
5- For this is a hidden beauty parlour in a land where **women** appear in public only when **shrouded** in full-length burkhas that obscure even their eyes. (TG3, November 16, 2009)
6- IT IS gratifying that so many white British liberals have come out to defend **shrouded** Muslim **women**. Their generosity of spirit and messianic belief in liberty makes them recoil from a state ban on the burka. (TI3, January 25, 2010)

In fact, *shrouded* was a distinctive Ws-collocate in the LW press (Appendix 7B). On the other hand, the Ws-collocate, *should*, when keyed into the concordance in the format *women should,* revealed that the phrase *women should* appeared in clusters like 1) *Ws should be free to* (F=9), 2) *Ws should be allowed to wear* (F=7), 3) *Ws should remove their veils* (F=6), 4) *Ws should have the right to* (F=6) and 5) *(Muslim) women should be banned from* (F=5). These clusters were mainly found in the RW press, i.e. TDM and TDT, in reference to statements debating the face-veil ban in France and Britain[105].

For example, the first cluster, *Ws should be free to* (F=9), was found to be mainly related to the statement made by the Home Secretary – then- Theresa May

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[105] See 3.4.5.

about removing face-veils after the case of Rebekah Dowson in September 2013 (mentioned earlier in Excerpts 6-8). She said:

> "There will be some circumstances in which it's right for public bodies, for example at the border, at airport security, to say there is a practical necessity for asking somebody to remove a veil. But in general women should be free to decide what to wear for themselves." (Grierson, 2013)

Concordance lines revealed that the phrase *Ws should be free to* was preferred in TDM_4 (F=1), TDT_4 (F=4) and TI_4[106] (F=1) in a debate about banning the face-veil. However, the same phrase was used in the LW press, i.e. TG_4 (F=3), to report different Islamic views about MWs' dress choices (F=2) besides people's views regarding the French face-veil ban in 2011 (F=1), which means that slightly more textual space is taken up in debating the issue from various perspectives in the LW press.

The different uses of the phrase *Ws should be free to* are consistent with an observation made by the researcher that in the BPC, the RW press seems to prefer to report the face-veil in problematic contexts more than the LW press does. In this context, the cluster *Ws should remove their veils* was mainly preferred in the RW press TDT_3 (F=2) and TDT_4 (F=2) compared to individual instances in TG_3 (F=1) and TM_3 (F=1). This coincides with the findings in Chapter 6 where TDT_4 was found to present the case of Rebekah Dowson lexically with more negativity at the headlines level by using the verb *remove* (in Figure 6-7) instead of the verb *show* (in Figure 6-8) that was used more in the LW press. In fact, in 7.4 above, *remove* was found to be a distinctive W-collocate in the RW press (Appendix 7A).

Overall, while clusters in P_3 were in texts debating and reporting Jack Straw's statement, e.g. *Ws should remove their veils,* statements in P_4 were related to debating the 1) French face-veil ban, 2) the British debate and calls to ban the face-veil particularly in relation to releases by 1) *MP Philip Hollobone* in 2010 (see 6-5), 2) Theresa May (Home Secretary) and 3) *Judge Peter Murphy* (Excerpt 6-8)

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[106] It was noticed that TI discourse in relation to the face-veil, in few cases, shares some similarities with RW press discourse.

besides other politicians re-instigating the Straw`s 2006 anti-veil 'row' and calling for a face-veil ban (Brown, 2013; Swinford & Evans, 2013).

In general, Ws-collocates that may suggest negative meaning were pervasive, e.g. *suffrage, weep, inferior, discard, shrouded, raping, gang-raped, raped, mistreated, oppress, oppressed, oppression, against, disservice, downtrodden, obstacle, subjugation, discriminating, second-class and uppity,* see Table 7-5 above. While many of these were significant top collocates in both the RW and LW list of Ws-collocates (Appendix 7B), e.g. *subjugation, oppress*, rape, second-class*, some were significantly different in one type of the press. For example, while *suffrage, uppity, shrouded, disservice, mistreated* were distinctively mentioned in LW discourse, *remove, obstacle, inferior and downtrodden* were found to be more significantly a feature of RW discourse (Appendix 7B).

On the other hand, collocates that may suggest positive meaning included only *rights*, *assertive* and *compete*, which show how Ws are associated predominantly with negativity in the BPC. However, while *rights*, appeared in both the top Ws-collocates of the LW and RW press, *assertive* and *compete* were only found in the LW press (Appendix 7B). This suggests that the LW includes a greater variety of topics about MWs than those found in the RW, see also the discussion of the macro-level Ws-collocate <u>Rights</u> in 6.8.

Although that there are other collocates, that suggest conceptual structures, such as *empower, empowers, empowering, empowered, empowerment, liberate, liberates* and *liberating* that might seem to give a positive connotation to activities done to Ws, beside the Ws-collocate *helpline*, in fact, most of these collocates convey a semantic presupposition and perception that Muslim Ws are weak and agentless. Ws-collocates from the lemmas *liberat** and *empower** were frequent and dominant (see Column B, Table 7-5; Table 7-3) as well as distinctive features of LW discourse (Appendix 7B)[107].

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[107] On the other side, the verb *empowering* was the only significant Ws-collocate found in the RW list.

7.5.1 Empower* Ws

The Ws-collocate *empower** (F=105) was found in the phrase *empower* women* (F=13) in the BPC. The conceptual structure of empowering an agentless PATIENT (Ws) can be represented in cognitive CDA as shown in the enablement schema in Figure 7-3 below.
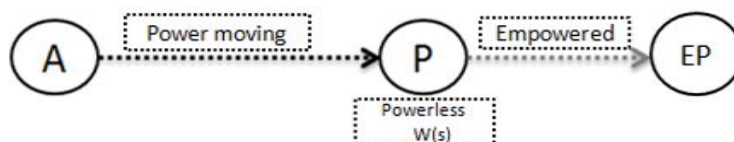
Figure 7-3 The enablement or empowerment schema

In the schema above, there is a force-dynamic relation where *power* is pushed from A (*agent*) towards P (*patient*) to grant it some power of movement / make it move so that it becomes an EP (*empowered patient*), see Figure 7-3 above. Hence, it encourages a generalisation and contributes to the spread of a particular misconception of Muslim women that they are powerless. Empowering someone semantically presupposes that s/he is previously powerless.

However, the negative aspect of this schema of 'empowerment' (Figure 7-3) is that it semantically presupposes that an uncertain community of women are not powerful; this is because, usually, there is no semantic specification of the expression WOMEN i.e. *which type of women needs to be empowered, in which country, city, place, conditions, how* and *why* and *who decide that they need to be empowered.*

For example, when the concordance for the phrase *empower* women* (F=13) was retrieved, it exhibited a relevant but succinct random sample of the lemma *empower** for discussion, see Examples 7-5 below.

Examples 7-5

Examples 7-5a

1- At the heart of the 113-page draft plan is a demand for equality of women – in its words, **'empowering women'** by providing them with education, access to modern birth control and the right to choose if and when to become pregnant. (TDM$_1$, September 5, 1994)
2- SO MEN WANT TO **EMPOWER WOMEN**?
   The Cairo conference enshrined a woman's right to plan her family. But will it be put into practice, asks RANA KABBANI. (TG$_1$, September 17, 1994)

Examples 7-5b

1- They [British MWs] assiduously attend home-study circles, travel to California and the Middle East for special courses, take up correspondence courses with Islamic scholars and read to deepen their knowledge of Islam, and they believe they are pioneering a spiritual renewal and a rediscovery of their faith that **empowers women**. (TG$_2$, December 8, 2001)
2- Are Muslim leaders doing anything about the ugly anti-Semitism that is exploding poison as lethal as the ammunition on the bodies of suicide bombers? What are they doing to **free** and **empower women**? Where are the democrats one can respect? (TI$_2$, November 11, 2002)
3- She has worn the full veil for ten years, **claiming it empowers women** not to be dominated by fashion. (TDM$_3$, December 6, 2006)
4- She has worn the full veil for ten years, **claiming it empowers women** not to be dominated by fashion. (TDM$_3$, December 16, 2006)
5- She has worn the full veil for 10 years since her marriage, **claiming it empowers women** not to be dominated by fashion. (TDT$_3$, December 16, 2006)
6- But Prof Yunus says that Grameen [Bank] is helping to eat into poverty rates and **empower women**. (TG$_3$, December 27, 2006)

Examples 7-5c

1- **EMPOWERING WOMEN**? YOU MUST BE MAD, MINISTER (TDM$_3$, July 20, 2010) BY YASMIN ALIBHAI-BROWN - These British apologists for the burka make me see red, whatever side of the political spectrum they come from. They can be Left-wingers who'll countenance no criticism, however valid, of hardline Muslims. They can be Right-wing libertarians who insist any woman has the right to wear whatever she chooses. And, as we discovered this week, they can be members of the British Cabinet who ludicrously claim the burka actually **empowers women**. (TDM$_4$, July 20, 2010)
2- BEYOND THE VEIL
   …The Archbishop of Canterbury says wearing a veil gives Muslim women **strength and helps them assert themselves**. I can't see how covering your entire body in a hot, shapeless piece of cloth is any step forward for womankind, particularly when many influential Muslims believe there is nothing in the Koran that stipulates a woman must cover her entire body and face. I ve never seen Rowan Williams as much of a feminist – if he cares so much about **empowering women**, how come he s dragged his feet for years over appointing female bishops? (TDM$_4$, April 2, 2012)

3- Comment: Turn a blind eye no more: An inquiry must be held into Shafilea Ahmed's death to ensure future cries for help are heard
   …How many more women must suffer before we act? Shafilea's life and ultimately her death represent the struggle of many women whose suffering remains unreported, under-researched and unaided. In order to combat oppression and **empower women**, democracy and human rights must begin in the home. We cannot truly call ourselves a democracy if we continue to turn a blind eye to both the abuses and the lack of assistance experienced by so many British women. (TG$_4$, August 4, 2012)

4- Nihal, who wants to be an educator rather than a politician, says the patrols are only the beginning. "Patrolling is a painkiller that we use to help women walk on the streets safely. We want to expand into raising awareness in schools and universities. My ambition is to change how people view and act towards sexual harassment. I would like to see a society that genuinely understands the greatness they could achieve if only they would **empower women**."
   (TG$_4$, November 6, 2012)

Each sub-group of Examples 7-5 above refers to the instances of *empower* women* from a particular chronological period. In each period and example, there is a different agent claimed to 'empower Ws'. However, based on the full context of each instance, these are clarified in Table 7-6 below.

Table 7-6 Agents of empowering in the phrase *empower* women*

	Agent	Process	Patient
Examples 7-5a			
1	"UN conference programme and plans to tackle the global population crisis"/increase through artificial birth control	empowering	Ws
2	Limiting population increase through artificial birth control but not Men	empower	Ws
Examples 7-5b			
1	Religious courses in faith renewal	empower	Ws
2	What are Muslim leaders doing to **free** and	empower	Ws
3	A MW claims the veil	empowers	Ws
4	A MW claims the veil	empowers	Ws
5	A MW claims the veil	empowers	Ws
6	Grameen [Bank] is helping to eat into poverty and	empower	Ws i.e. Bangladeshi
Examples 7-5C			
1a	Is 'veil'	empowering	Ws?
1b	British Cabinet who ludicrously claim the burka actually	empowers	Ws
2	The Archbishop of Canterbury says wearing 'veil'	gives strength/empowers	MWs/ Ws
3	Efforts to be made by the British GOV. and society to	empower	Ws i.e. British MWs against honour killings
4	Members of society should	empower	Ws i.e. Egyptian

For example, while examples in P$_1$ were concerned with 'empowering Ws' through efforts and conferences to limit the global increase in population through artificial birth control, instances in P$_3$ were about 1) *questioning the claim made by some MWs during the 2006 veil row that face-veil empowers them* (3, 4 & 5 in Examples 7-5b), 2) *ideological empowering* (1 and 2 in Examples 7-5b) and finally 3) *economic empowerment* (6 in Examples 7-5b). However, it is notable that the type of 'empowerment' which the LW (TI and TG) press writes about is more serious and extensive than that written about in the RW press TDM and TDT in P$_2$ and P$_3$. While the LW press writes about ideological and economic empowerment of Ws, the RW press questions the claim made by a single MW that her face-veil empowers her, i.e. questioning her rationality and probably agency (3, 4 and 5 in Examples 7-5b).

In P$_4$, examples were found to be restricted again to the face-veil in the RW press (TDM$_4$), which expressed a severe anti-face veil view countering pro-face veil views expressed by senior members of British society i.e. 1) Caroline Spelman, the Environment Secretary in July 2010, and 2) The Archbishop of Canterbury, see (No. 1a, 1b and 2 in Examples 7-5c, see Table 7-6). On the other hand, other examples of *empower* women* in P$_4$ were found only in TG$_4$ (No. 3 and 4 in Examples 7-5c). However, similar to examples in P$_2$ and P$_3$, the LW press TG$_4$ was found to write about more substantial issues in relation to 'empowerment of women' than those found in the RW press (TDM$_4$) which was concerned again with face-veils in a negative context (1 and 2 in Examples 7-5c).

It is worth noting here that TI feminist writer Yasmin Alibhai-Brown (mentioned earlier in 6.4, Table 6-1) was the one who wrote examples 1 (in Examples 7-5c), where she described the pro face-veil views as 'mad' in TDM$_4$ instead of her regular paper TI. However, could this suggest that her views were more coherent to be published within TDM's stance (RW), the answer might be yes, particularly, if the lead (first sentences) of the article was taken into account (see No. 1 in Examples 7-5c), cf. see the discussion of Ahmed (2010) and Ahmed (2014) in 3.4.5.

Placing the community of European women or Ws who are Muslims within the religious domain rather than the civil one is a pragmatic practice in discourse which stipulates the kind of action to be taken for this group of citizens. This is similarly clear in example 4 (Examples 7-5c) about an incident of harassment of a number of women in Egypt during 2012. Thus far, there is recurrent evidence – in the BPC- that the British press evokes negativity from overseas countries using the term MW(s) even in this modern era of globalisation and mass communications (Examples 7-5c)[108].

The various forms of the conceptual structure of **empowering** in Examples 7-5 were therefore found in reality to reinforce the image of Muslim women as weak, submissive and oppressed in a parallel way to that found at the macro-

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[108] See also 6.3 and the discussion of Figure 6-16 in 6.8.

semantic structure of the BPC discourse (chapters 5 and 6). In fact, when a Muslim woman argues that *the face-veil is a choice that she found empowering*, the use of the mitigating discursive strategy, e.g. *a Muslim woman claims*, to reduce or weaken the illocutionary force of her proposition (Wodak, 2001, p. 73), was often found in the RW press, see No. 3, 4 and 5, in Examples 7-5b. This agrees with previous literature where British media discourse of the BBC was found to use various *discursive strategies* (see 2.5) and linguistic devices in a discourse that reinforces the image of the veil as a 'problem' and "perpetuates stereotypes of Muslim women being uneducated, unambitious and submissive"[109] (Al-Hejin, 2007b, p. 30).

Taking a quantitative view, Wordsmith[6] retrieved the following frequencies for the lemma *empower** in each period and newspaper, see Figure 7-4 and Figure 7-5.
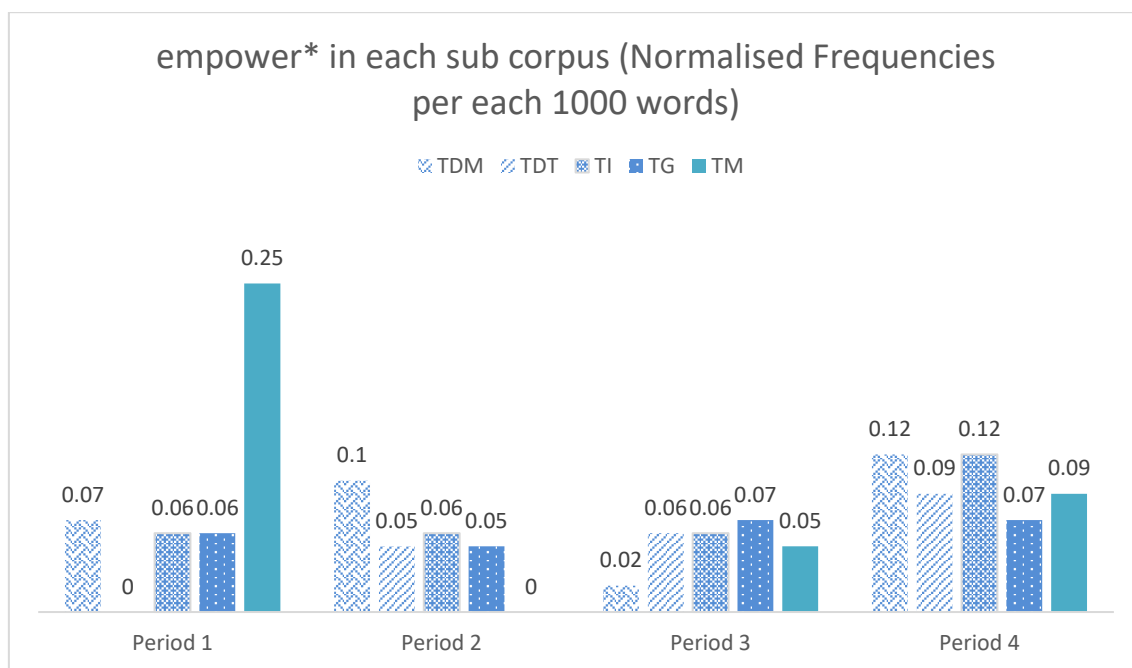
Figure 7-4 *empower** **in each sub-corpus (NF)**

After consulting normalized frequencies given above, they prove to be problematic as they overstate the occurrence of the lemma i.e. compare its occurrences to each 1000 words in the same newspaper/sub-corpus e.g. TM_1.

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[109] *Submissive* was a Ws-collocate in the LW list (Appendix 7B).

Therefore, raw frequencies[110] were used as they reflect the exact number of occurrence/interest in using the lemma *empower** in each newspaper.
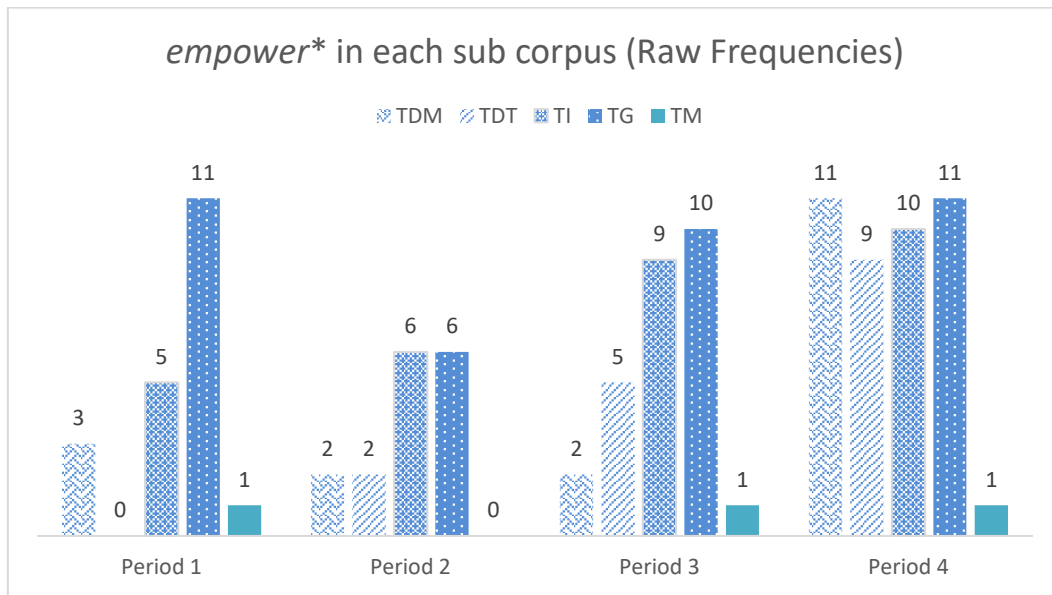
Figure 7-5 *empower** **in each sub corpus (RF)**

It was found that while the lemma *empower** was favoured most in P_1 by the LW broadsheets (TI and TG), it spread in P_2 and P_3 to the RW press (TDT) except the LW tabloid *TM* which showed only a single use of the lemma in most periods. In fact, apart from TM, the RW and LW reached similar levels in their use of the lemma in P_4.

However, in terms of total frequencies of use/hits in each newspaper, the LW broadsheets (TI and TG) used the lemma *empower** the most in comparison to the RW newspapers in the BPC, see Figure 7-6 below.

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[110]After consulting normalized frequencies, they prove to be problematic as they overstate the occurrence of the lemma i.e. compare its occurrences to each 1000 words in the same newspaper/sub corpus e.g. TDM_1. Therefore, raw frequencies were used as they reflect the exact number of occurrence/interest in using the lemma *empower** in each newspaper.
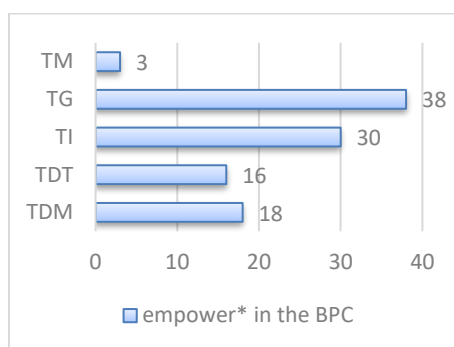
Figure 7-6 *empower** **in the BPC newspapers over all periods**

Overall, while *empower** appeared recurrently as a statistically significant top Ws-collocate in LW discourse (Appendix 7B), only a single instance i.e. *empowering* was found in the RW list (ibid). This makes it similar to the following collocate *liberat** which is also a distinctive feature of the LW discourse about Muslim women.

7.5.2 Liberat* Ws

In a similar way, Ws was found to collocate with, *liberate*, *liberates* and *liberating*. The lemma *liberat** (F=251) was found in the phrase *liberat* women* (F=18/251) in the BPC. The phrase was more favoured in the LW press (TI F=9/18, and TG F=5/18) in comparison to the RW press (TDM F=3/18, and TDT F=1/18), some of the 18 instances are given in Examples 7-6 below.

Examples 7-6

1- LIFTING THE VEIL DOES NOT **LIBERATE WOMEN**: 'It ill behoves Western women to denounce the veil as a symbol of oppression alone' (TG₂, November 20, 2001).
2- "A lot of Muslim men think that it's not the place for a woman to stand on stage in front of a drunken crowd trying to make them laugh. But actually Islam gives women a lot of power. We're not all as oppressed as the women in Afghanistan. "Just by standing on stage, I'm [SHAZIA Mirza] **liberating women** and some men clearly fear that means they'll lose the upper hand.". (TDT₂, October 18, 2001)
3- CAN ISLAM **LIBERATE WOMEN?** Muslim women and scholars think it does - spiritually and sexually (TG₂, December 8, 2001)
4- Under legislation that yesterday passed its first stage in the French parliament, the government is seeking to ban the wearing of hijabs, or headscarves, by Muslim women attending state schools. Supporters of the ban say this is consistent with France's history of secular education. They point to the legislation's ban on other overt religious symbols, including Jewish skullcaps and crucifixes, as evidence of fairness. And they defend the ban on the grounds that it **liberates women** from the **enforced veil of Islam**. Yet for all its admirable motives, the unsettling suspicion remains among many French Muslims that the new law is aimed squarely against them and their religion. (TG₂, February 11, 2004)

The linguistic pattern LIBERATE SOMEONE FROM SOMETHING - in the majority of examples of the phrase *liberat* women* (F=18) given in Table 7-7 below-suggests a removal of constraint as well as a blockage schema where Ws are considered as a moving object that was restrained by a barrier and this restraint should be removed so that they will be 'liberated', see Figure 7-7.
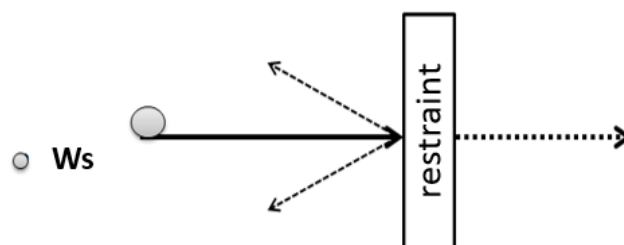
Figure 7-7 The blockage schema

In each period, and based on the full context of each instance/example of the 18 instances retrieved, there is a distinctive agent claimed to 'liberate Ws', see Table 7-7 below.

Table 7-7 Agents of empowering in the phrase *liberate* women*

N	P	Agent	Process	Patient	from
1		An Indian court ruling [invalidating a Muslim divorce]	liberating	Ws	from arbitrary treatment by men i.e. Muslim men in India
2	P1	Three innovations the pill, tights and the portable hairdryer	liberated	Ws	from servitude
3		Hejab (face-veil)	liberates	Ws	from the agony of living-up to the dictates of fashion….
4		I am as a comedian MW	liberating	Ws	and some men clearly fear that means they'll lose the upper hand
5		Lifting the veil doesn't	liberate	Ws	[the enforced wearing of the veil]
6		Can Islam	liberate	Ws?	
7		The French ban of overt religious symbols in schools	liberate	Ws	from the enforced veil of Islam
8		Feminism would	liberate	Ws in Afghanistan	from their shrouds
9	P2	None	We are allowed only to talk about liberating	Ws in far-off lands/ Afghanistan	
10		Blair would be	liberating	Ws in Afghanistan	from burqa
11		Letter: How Islamic dress	liberates	Ws?	
12		Letter: How Islamic dress	liberates	Ws?	
13		Letter: How Islamic dress	liberates	Ws?	
14		Whether the wearing of the hijab imprisons or	liberates	Ws	
15		Clothes, makeup and hair clutters the minds of the most	liberated	Ws but not me as covered nun	
16		Afghan women think nothing (if not squared with Islam) might	liberate	Ws	
17	P3	You (Men) do not	liberate	Ws	
18		We(Muslims)	liberate	Ws	

Examples of *liberate* women* occurred with various restraints and agents, see Table 7-7. For example, the agents related to the domain of Islam (F=9), claimed or debated to liberate Ws (patients) from restraints/barriers were 1) *hijab* (No. 3 &14), 2) *Islamic Dress* (No. 11, 12 & 13), 3) *Islam* (No. 6), 4) *we (Muslims)* (No. 18), 5) *nothing but things squared with Islam* (No. 16) and 6) *Me (as a Muslim woman comedian*) (No. 4).

Second, agents that were found to be from outside the domain of Islam (F=8) were 1) an Indian court ruling [invalidating a Muslim divorce] (No. 1), 2) innovations (*the pill, tights and the portable hairdryer*) (No. 2), 3) Lifting the veil does not (NO. 5), 4) the French ban of 'overt religious' symbols in schools (No. 7), 5) Blair (as UK PM) (No. 10), 6) feminism (No. 8), 7) men do not liberate Ws (No. 17) and 8) nun's habit/veil (N. 15). It is worth noting here that No. 9 (Table 7-7) has no reported agent.

These agents, though varied and occurring in different contexts and periods, all agreed in representing Ws as agentless weak patients who need to be 'liberated' from unpleasant restraints or restrictions. These restraints, on the other hand, were also varied, see Table 7-7. The restraints on Ws were in total eight, six (i.e. 75%) of which were restraints that can be said to be 'related to Islam'.

In fact, examples in Table 7-7 reflect conceptual patterns that have spread mainly after 9/11 and 7/7, and more recurrently in the LW press TI (F=7) and TG (F=3) than the RW press i.e. TDM (F=2) and TDT (F=2). In these example, it was noticed that TI was the newspaper most interested in debating MWs' dress through this conceptual structure, which suggests that it is an essential part of how MWs are discursively presented in TI discourse.

In fact, while *liberate** appeared recurrently as a statistically significant top Ws-collocate in LW discourse (*liberate, liberates, liberating, liberated:* Appendix 7C*)*, only a single instance i.e. *liberation* was found in the RW list of top significant collocates (Appendix 7B). Figure 7-9 below shows how often the lemma *liberate** was used in each sub-corpus of the BPC. It is worth noting here that after consulting normalized frequencies (Figure 7-8), they prove to be problematic as

they overstate the occurrence of the lemma i.e. compare its occurrences to each 1000 words in the newspaper sub-corpus e.g. *liberat** F=6 in TDM_1. For example, two occurrences of the lemma *liberat** F=2 in TM_1 corpus had an occurrence rate of 0.86 per each 1000 words which is ironically a larger rate in comparison to an occurrence rate of 0.18 per each 1000 words for F=46 occurrences of the lemma in TG_1 corpus (Figure 7-8). This is attributed to the fact that TM_1 coverage about MWs is very modest and more particularly in P_1; as a result, two occurrences appeared to have a high rate in a corpus of 2950 words (TM_1). Therefore, raw frequencies (Figure 7-9) were also used as they reflect the exact number of occurrence/interest in using the lemma *liberat** in each newspaper.
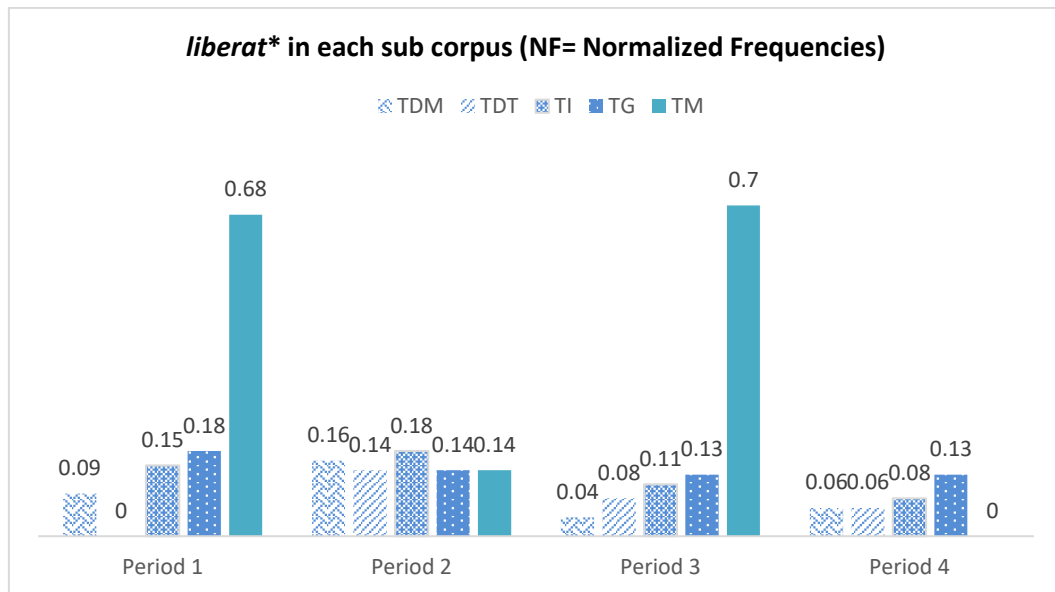
Figure 7-8 *liberat** in each sub-corpus (NF)
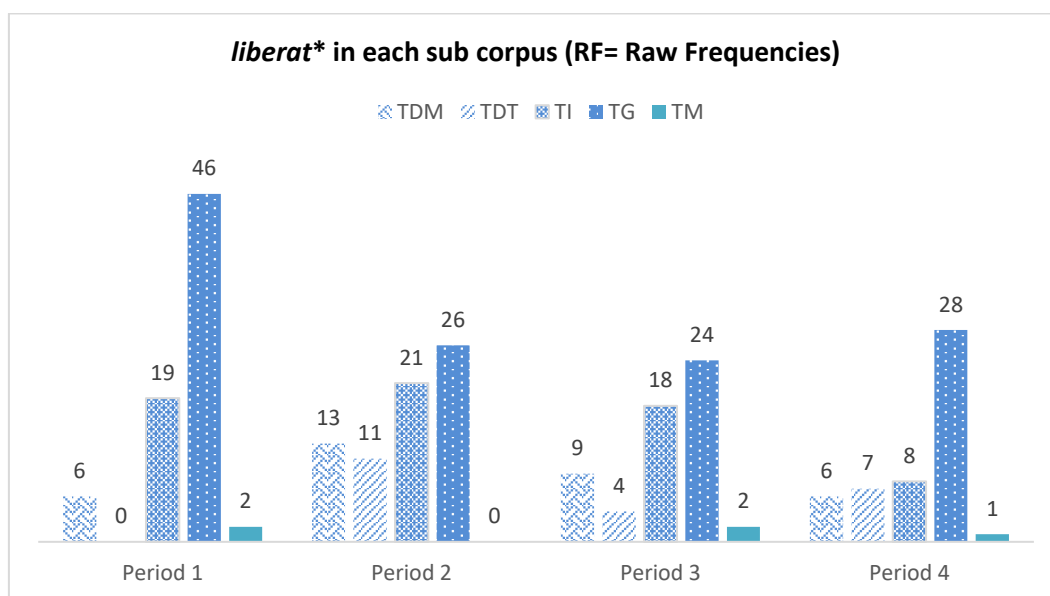
Figure 7-9 *liberat** **in each sub-corpus (RF)**
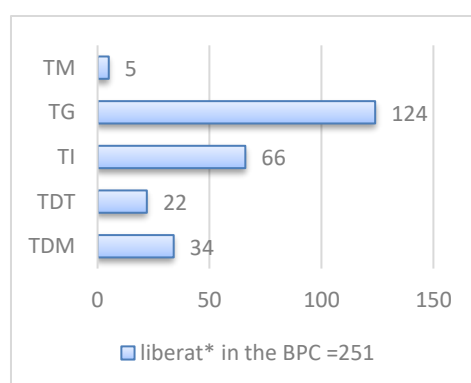
Figure 7-10 *liberat** **in the BPC newspapers in all periods**

Similar to the examples of *liberate* women,* the LW press TI and TG were the most interested in the lemma *liberat**, see figure 7-9 and 7-10 above.

The discussed examples exhibit a micro-level recurrent conceptual discourse that utilises linguistic structures to debate power and force-dynamics e.g. *liberate Ws from the enforced veil* (No. 7, Table 7-7). The cognitive experience embodied in this structure is related to the need to use power (*liberate*) against a standing barrier/blockage to release women's motion/ability, see the blockage schema (Figure 7-7 above).

The opposite conceptual scenario is also notable here. More exactly, for example, the cluster *Ws should be banned from wearing* (F=5) (discussed earlier with the Ws-collocate *should*) evokes the same cognitive schema (Figure 7-7), however,

in reverse direction i.e. the use of power is utilised to block or restrict Ws' agency and motion/ability to dress the face-veil in public. Both scenarios, though they claim to be in support of women's rights, represent Ws cognitively as agentless and powerless patients in an ongoing debate about power dynamics, e.g. *politicians* versus *very few women[111] in a religious minority*. The overall conceptual structure/metaphor in *liberate* women* is VEILED/MUSLIM Ws ARE NOT LIBERATED/ ARE BLOCKED AND RESTRAINED.

In a similar way, the same scenario of *liberate* can be captured in a different schema, see Figure 7-11.
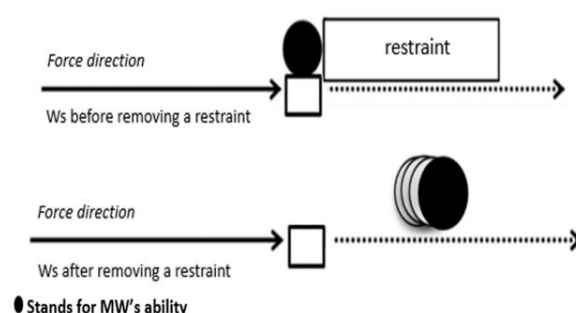
Figure 7-11 Removal of restraint schema

The experiential similarities of putting barriers to block the motion of moving objects in real life experiences are schematically utilised in a discourse that perpetuates Ws as restricted/imprisoned by restraints/barriers/ *obstacle[112]*, see Figure 7-11. Cognitively, in this schema, Ws are the object that should be released through removing barriers and restraints which was found in many examples above to be the 'Islamic culture or dress'.

Lastly, the discussion above demonstrated a continuous and significant lexical (Appendix 7B) and epistemic preference (priming, see 2.11) in the LW broadsheets for the use of this lemma in the period before and after 9/11 which means that this conceptual structure is essential to the use of the term MW(s) in the TG and TI.

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[111] Face-veiled women.

[112] *Obstacle* was a significant RW Ws-Collocate (Appendix 7B) that appeared in Table 7-5 and Excerpt 6-7A in 6.9.

7.5.3 Imprison* Ws

The schematic meaning in figures 7-7 and 7-11 above evokes similar scenarios to those that are driven from a mental model in reality where prisoners are restricted and oppressed. In fact, this was noticed in a number of linguistic instantiations that were found in the retrieval of Examples 7-6 and Table 7-7 above. For example, *Sir: Whether the wearing of the hijab **imprisons** or **liberates** women maybe the subject of debate, but what's undeniable is the fact that it is a uniform* (No. 14, see also No.15 in Table 7-7 above).

In addition, while Ws-collocates mentioned earlier such as *downtrodden oppressed*, *oppression* and *subjugation* cohere with the conceptual representation of Ws where power is utilised against them, visual scanning of significant Ws-collocates (F=777) retrieved also *imprisoned* (number 117 out of 777 in LL order). These collocates including *imprisoned* reflect the same conceptual scenario as *liberate** but in a reverse way, where the use of power is utilised to put barriers and restraints against Ws. When searching the concordance with careful attention for occurrences of Ws with *imprisoned* (F=61) the following examples were retrieved.

Examples 7-7

1- Yet we must. In April 1992, in the town of Foca, **Muslim women** and girls were rounded up by Bosnian Serb soldiers, **imprisoned** in a school and for a period of nearly a year were systematically enslaved, tortured, raped and gang-raped. (TDM1, March 26, 2000)
2- But even as this garment was being embraced in Britain, **women** and **girls** in Algeria, Afghanistan and Iran were being beaten and **imprisoned** for resisting their enforced veiling. Some are still dying for the right not to cover themselves.(TI2, October 23, 2003)
3- We already know what happens when this reactionary Islam wins, because we watched Taliban Afghanistan for years. It means **Muslim women imprisoned in burqas and in ignorance**, Muslim adulterers stoned, Muslim gays beheaded, and all Muslims forbidden from listening to music or watching television or admiring art. (TI3, August 7, 2006)
4- In Iran, educated women who fail stringent veil tests are **imprisoned** by their theocratic oppressors. (TI3,October 9, 2006)
5- In Nigeria, a senator has drafted a bill which would result in **women** being **imprisoned** for three months if they display their belly buttons, breasts or wear miniskirts in public places. (TG3, July 25, 2008)
6- ….Nicolas Sarkozy's centre-right UMP party, he said: "The sight of **these imprisoned women** is already intolerable to us when they come from Iran, Afghanistan or Saudi Arabia . . . It is totally unacceptable on French soil.". (TG4, June 20, 2009)
7- He said: 'We find it intolerable to see images of **these imprisoned women** when they come from Iran, Afghanistan or Saudi Arabia. (TDM4, July 2, 2009)
8- Mothers and daughters **imprisoned** in head to-toe black robes are the antithesis of every freedom and equality Western women have fought for. (TM4, July 20, 2010)

While example No. 1, 3 and 5 were related to real prisons, the remaining examples of *imprisoned* were overwhelmingly metaphorical and used after 9/11 i.e. in P_2, P_3 and P_4. In this metaphorical IMPRISONMENT, the MW's dress is conceptualised as the jail boundaries, barriers and restraints which evoke the CONTAINER SCHEMA (Johnson, 1987) as well.

These conceptual commonalities reflected in most of the significant Ws-collocates discussed so far indicate a mental model or ideology in the BPC that represents MWs as 1) inferior human beings with less agency than their men through which Ws are subjected to violent use of power that they should be liberated from or 2) should be banned[113] by the force of power from wearing their face-veils which are 'obstacles' and 'prisons'. The collocate *imprisoned* evokes the schema of the use of compulsory force towards the entry of a container (see Figure 5-10 in 5.8.2).

Similar to the discussion of the containers of forced marriages in 5.8.2, some containers are fine – the shelter/ refugee`s camps for homeless and refugees for example, however, the issue of decisions about ENTERING and EXITING the CONTAINER/PRISON is critical to the meaning of these conceptual structures i.e. imprisonment by religion / 'Islamic oppressors'/the burqa or the veil as Islamic dress. The pragmatic meaning of this and similar conceptual structures in 5.8.2 is that they evoke the meaning that the PATIENT '*women*' are held within the concrete boundaries of the container (CAGE) of religion, religious dress (veil)/ family that they cannot escape. Additionally, the collocate *imprisoned* necessitates the use of excessive/violent force (see Figure 5-10 in 5.8.2) towards the entrance into that metaphorical container (prison) i.e. *the burqa.*

A *prison* is a negative closed place - which restricts someone's activity or life- that does not have an exit (i.e. people cannot escape/ exit from prison for a long period of their life). This background experiential information is shared across human societies and is almost the same everywhere. Through it, the discourse pragmatic meaning is retrieved and inferred. The conceptual structure

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[113] *Barred* was also a significant W-collocate that appeared in Table 7-4 in 7.4.

of the VEIL IS PRISON derives its SOURCE from the scenarios and experience of what a *prison* is. Particular experiential elements are mapped from the SOURCE mental space of *prison* and the action of *imprisonment* onto the target concept *wearing the veil*; things like *living a limited/ unpleasant/restricted life in a closed place* are mapped to represent the experience of wearing a face-veil in social life to look similar to living in a cage/ a prison.

Conceptual structure
The linguistic example: Mothers and daughters **imprisoned** in head to-toe black robes are the antithesis of every freedom and equality Western women have fought for
MUSLIM WOMEN'S FACE-VEILS ARE PRISONS

Source Concept	Target Concept
FORCE DYNAMICS; CONTAINER	WEARING FACE-VEILS

Table 7-8 The conceptual mapping in VEILED WS ARE IMPRISONED IN VEIL

The SOURCE concept *prison* imposes the force dynamics of a CONTAINER which restricts the movement and daily activities of a human being. The selection of the SOURCE 'domain' is a pragmatic choice for the purpose of ideological persuasion (Charteris-Black, 2004). Hence, the conceptual structure that can be derived from the collocates in many of the examples 7-6 and 7-7 is that of MW's VEIL IS PRISON/BARRIER; this conceptual structure is consistent with those found with the lemma *empower**. All of these conceptual structures utilise the domain of FORCE DYNAMICS, i.e. the use of force against/for MWs, e.g. *liberate/imprison/empower*. The LW (TI and TG) was also found, as with *liberat**, more interested in the conceptual structure of IMPRISONMENT than the RW press TDM and TDT.

In sum, whether the positive impression of *empowerment* and *liberation* or the negative impression of *oppression* and *imprisonment*, these significant Ws-collocates state that Ws are usually represented in the 'semantic slot' of an agentless weak PATIENT who suffers from severe restraints or violent use of power against them. In fact, *suffrage, subjugation, downtrodden, oppress*, mistreated, inferior* and *second-class*, were significant Ws-collocates in the BPC (see Table 7-5). Recurrent examples of *inferior* and *second-class* in the BPC included *the inferior*

position/status of women in Muslim societies, Ws are inferior species, Ws as/treated as second-class citizens which cohere semantically and epistemically with the many conceptual structures given above.

7.5.4   Nationality and Ws in the BPC

One final type of Ws-collocate was related to nationalities and geographical spatial location, i.e. *Albanian*, *Asian, Western,* and *Malaysian*. While *Albanian* was found to refer to the *Kosovo Albanian women* in relation to the war in Bosnia, the other three collocates revealed interesting patterns. The collocates *Asian* and *western* occurred in the following clusters in the BPC, see clusters 1R, 4R and 5L in Table 7-9.

Table 7-9 Clusters: *western* **versus** *Asian* **in the BPC**

N	Clusters with Western	Freq.	N	Clusters with Asian	Freq.
1L	IN THE WESTERN WORLD	10	1R	**BLACK AND ASIAN PEOPLE**	13
2L	OF THE WESTERN WORLD	9	2R	THE ASIAN COMMUNITY IN	6
3L	IN THE WESTERN MEDIA	8	3R	FROM THE ASIAN COMMUNITY	6
4L	THE WESTERN WORLD AND	5	4R	**ASIAN WOMEN IN BRITAIN**	6
5L	**AS A WESTERN WOMAN**	5	5R	BLACK AND ASIAN BRITONS	6
			6R	IN THE ASIAN COMMUNITY	5

The clusters above suggest that Ws are associated more with their Asian (community) origins as well as black people more than being presented as western or British. This, in turn, indicates the level of acceptance which these Ws are granted in the BPC discourse. In fact, while Asian was a significant top Ws-collocate, the words *British* and *French* were not found among the top 50 Ws-collocates. Yet, these were significant keywords in P_3 and P_4 and were always related to the face-veil wearing dilemma in the European context after 7/7 bombings. In fact, *Asian* was always a top significant W(s)-collocate, see tables 7-4 and 7-5 and Appendixes 7A and 7B.

The last Ws-collocate found to reveal a notable pattern in this section was *Malaysian* (Column B; Table 7-5). *Malaysian* was found to reflect a preference in

the BPC after 7/7 to report negatively about women from well-developed Muslim countries such as Malaysia (No. 2 to 7 versus No. 1), see Examples 7-8.

Examples 7-8

1- As a **Malaysian** Muslim I have heard many strong words said by Muslims about the Saudis and their often illogical restrictions on women. **Malaysian** Muslim women are among the highest educated people I know and occupy various positions in the society, including in the army and police. (TG$_2$, October 4, 2001)

2- **Malaysian** Muslim women 'live under apartheid'. (TDT$_3$, March 11, 2006)

3- She suggests that in Malaysia "there is an insidious, growing form of apartheid among **Malaysian** women - that between Muslim and non-Muslim women". (TI$_3$, May 10, 2006)

4- Women in a northern **Malaysian** city ruled by conservative Islamists are being urged by the city's authorities to forsake bright lipstick and noisy high-heels "to preserve their dignity and avoid rape". (TG$_3$, June 25, 2008)

5- A GROUP of **Malaysian** Muslim women is forming The Obedient Wife Club with the aim of curbing social ills such as divorce, domestic violence and prostitution. (TDT$_4$, June 4, 2011)

6- But the **Malaysian** women's minister, Robia Kosai, dismissed the OWC's views as "nonsense", and said the club was "not welcome" in the state she represents, Johor, which borders Singapore. "Divorce - and other social ills - won't stop just because the wife is good in bed," she said. (TG$_4$, July 7, 2011)

7- **MALAYSIAN** officials have banned a controversial book that offers sex tips to Muslim women. (TM$_4$, November 4, 2011)

Examples 7-8, at the micro-level of the BPC discourse, coincide with the findings reached in Chapter Five and Six that the BPC macro-level discourse evokes negativity from outside UK boundaries, e.g. *Nigeria, Kashmir, Egypt* and *Malaysia*, using the term *MWs*. In fact, *Malaysian* was a significant Ws-collocate in the LW list (Appendix 7B) which makes this negativity in Examples 7-8 a distinctive feature of its discourse using the term MWs.

7.6   Chapter summary

Overall, it is worth noting here that while the LL provides an analytical window onto the most frequent significant collocates, the MI order provided another window onto the significantly frequent 'conceptual' collocates e.g. *liberate* i.e. collocates that suggest conceptual structures.

In addition, the Wmatrix$_3$ classification provided a way to filter out collocates that are similar between W and Ws, and focus on the 'overused' or distinctive collocates associating with each node separately. For example, religion collocates, i.e. *Muslim/Moslem*, were highly significant collocates with

both nodes (*W* and *Ws*). However, they did not appear in the Wmatrix₃ categorisation (tables 7-2 and 7-3) because they were, most likely, not identified due to either 1) occurring in a limited number of lemmas e.g. Moslem/Muslim, Islam, or 2) because of their very frequent occurrence in both lists. On the other hand, the Wmatrix₃ semantic categorisation of collocates provided a useful panoramic window on the most frequent 'conceptual' collocates that associated with each node *W/Ws,* i.e. collocates that suggest conceptual structures.

In the last two sections 7.4 and 7.5, the top fifty collocates for each node separately have to some extent confirmed conclusions reached from the Wmatrix₃ categorisation of collocates with W and Ws in tables 7-2 and 7-3.

The discussion of the W(s)-collocates lays the foundation with statistically significant evidence for a more informative discussion of how conceptual structures are essential to the representation of MWs. This will be explored more for the node *MW(s)* in the next chapter.

Indeed, the corpus linguistic tool of obtaining collocations and concordance has already been methodologically valuable in guiding our uncovering of the linguistic conceptual patterns of empowerment/removal of restraint as well as the blockage schema (see figures 7-3, 7-7 and 7-11 above), e.g. *liberate Ws* versus *Ws are imprisoned in Burkas.* Nevertheless, it was found that the same conceptual structure can be evoked by variant linguistic and grammatical forms, e.g. *ban (banning) Muslim women from wearing* as we will see also in the next chapter in 8.2.4. In other words, W(s) were found with significant LL values to be 'epistemically primed[114]' rather than 'lexically primed' - as claimed by (Hoey, 2005) - with collocates that grant them the 'semantic slot' of a weak PATIENT in an action frame, e.g. *liberate, oppressed, empower, downtrodden, suffrage, mistreated, barred, banned* etc.

The overall analysis in Chapter 7 is also consistent with the textual investigation and conclusions reached in previous chapters about how the BPC discourse represented MWs in negative contexts related to their dress or religious

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[114] See 2.10 and 2.11 for explanations about the current use of the term.

profile at the macro-level of discourse, e.g. by *evoking negativity from outside UK using the term 'MW' e.g. Nigeria, Egypt, and Malaysia.*

Thus far, collocates associating with W and Ws at both the sentence or micro-level (Chapter 7) and the headline/ macro level (Chapter 6) in the BPC were analysed and discussed. In the next chapter (8), I will investigate collocates that co-occur with the nodes *MW* and *MWs* within a 1-2 word span in the BPC and suggest conceptual structures. This step was taken following the rationale that although the span of 4 collocates on each side of the nodes *W(s)* was found to be informative, the 4 word span sometimes appears to be problematic for two reasons. First, it was difficult to locate the exact W(s)-collocates among their massive number of occurrences in the BPC, e.g. *Liberat** (*liberated Ws*, *liberate Ws*, *liberation army…*, etc.). Therefore, in many cases, I restricted the discussion to the adjacent collocates with W(s) as in *liberat* Ws*. The second reason was that W and Ws were found in very rare cases irrelevant or not directly related to the node MW(s), see Example 2 in Table 7-7. Nevertheless, the choice of the nodes W and Ws was more informative of the variant ways through which MW(s) are classified and identified (van Leeuwen, 2008) in the BPC at the sentence-level.

8   Chapter Eight: conceptual structures and schemas

8.1   Micro-level collocations: collocates with MW(s)

In this chapter, I present further concordance analysis, focusing on collocates that have conceptual structure and appear with the nodes *MW/MWs*. As mentioned earlier, the problem faced when interpreting collocations within wide spans such as 4 words on each side of the node *W(s)* is that they encourage researchers to make generalisations about the connotation of highly significant collocates as if all the occurrences convey the same semantic connotation, despite their variant contexts, e.g. *liberated woman* versus *liberation of women* or *liberation army*.

In this section, a narrower span of 2 words to the left or right side of the node *MW(s)* was chosen, see 4.3.6 and 4.3.7. The rationale behind this choice was to generate a more informative sample for analysis with fewer drawbacks arising from the corpus-based methods, so that recurrent conceptual structures with the node MW(s) could be investigated. Two lists of the top fifty collocates with *MW* and *MWs* are given in tables 8-1 and 8-2 below.

Table 8-1 Collocates with MW within 2 word span

	Moslem/Muslim woman: MW						
N	Column A: LL order			N	Column B: MI order		
1	A	26	POWERFUL	1	BARRED	26	BODY
2	FIRST	27	DEVOUT	2	VEILED	27	ACCUSED
3	YOUNG	28	WHOSE	3	SERVE	28	MODERN
4	WHO	29	BODY	4	PEER	29	LIVING
5	IN	30	AM	5	WIN	30	A
6	TO	31	LIVING	6	ELDERLY	31	WORDS
7	WORDS	32	NORTH	7	DEVOUT	32	WHOSE
8	AS	33	PEER	8	WEARS	33	MP
9	VEILED	34	ACCUSED	9	STABBED	34	TRADITIONAL
10	MARRIED	35	SHE	10	YOUNG	35	BRITISH
11	WAS	36	SHOULD	11	MARRIED	36	WHO
12	BRITISH	37	ONE	12	DRESSED	37	FORCED
13	S	38	PREGNANT	13	POWERFUL	38	AM
14	WIN	39	ORDERED	14	REMOVE	39	WEARING
15	REMOVE	40	WEARS	15	FIRST	40	ASIAN
16	BE	41	MP	16	PREGNANT	41	ARAB
17	WITH	42	AN	17	ATTEND	42	ASK
18	FROM	43	MOST	18	ORDERED	43	EVERY
19	WEARING	44	BEING	19	ENTER	44	GOOD
20	BOSNIAN	45	HAS	20	MARRY	45	BLACK
21	SERVE	46	HAD	21	MURDERED	46	FRENCH
22	BARRED	47	ASIAN	22	SIT	47	WHETHER
23	DRESSED	48	MODERN	23	NORTH	48	SHOULD
24	ELDERLY	49	STABBED	24	ATTACKED	49	MOST
25	MARRY	50	FORCED	25	BOSNIAN	50	ANOTHER

Table 8-2 Collocates with MWs within 2 words span

	Moslem/Muslim women: MWs						
N	Column A: LL order			N	Column B: MI order		
1	OF	26	WORN	1	HELPLINE	26	CONSEQUENCES
2	TO	27	WERE	2	EMPOWER	27	VEILS
3	WHO	28	VEILED	3	RAPING	28	COVERING
4	WEARING	29	RAPING	4	NON	29	LIFT
5	ARE	30	HAVE	5	ADVISE	30	GAMES
6	FOR	31	TWO	6	POSE	31	MILLIONS
7	WEAR	32	ALL	7	OPPRESSED	32	RAPE
8	IN	33	COVER	8	REMOVE	33	COVER
9	MANY	34	RAPED	9	EMANCIPATION	34	HEADSCARVES
10	BY	35	ON	10	NETWORK	35	WORE
11	YOUNG	36	CHOOSE	11	URGED	36	ALLOWING
12	REMOVE	37	BE	12	VEILED	37	INSIST
13	THAT	38	BOSNIAN	13	WORN	38	VOICES
14	SHOULD	39	RIGHTS	14	ADULT	39	BANNING
15	CHILDREN	40	OPPRESSED	15	ASKS	40	MODESTY
16	BRITISH	41	BEING	16	OPPRESSION	41	YOUNG
17	S	42	CAN	17	BURKAS	42	HUNDREDS
18	SOME	43	WHETHER	18	DEVOUT	43	SUGGESTED
19	VEILS	44	GIRLS	19	WEARING	44	EDUCATED
20	HELPLINE	45	GROUP	20	RAPES	45	TREATMENT
21	FROM	46	OTHER	21	ASSUME	46	ASKING
22	WORDS	47	AMONG	22	ENCOURAGE	47	MANY
23	ABOUT	48	DRESS	23	CHOOSE	48	VOTERS
24	NOT	49	BRITAIN	24	RAPED	49	BOSNIAN
25	RAPE	50	NETWORK	25	WEAR	50	CHILDREN

These lists were produced based on the criteria summarized as: LL ≥ 15.13, MI ≥ 3, T score ≥ 2, and F ≥ 5 within a 2 word span on each side of the node *MW* or *MWs* within sentence-level boundaries (see 4.3.6). They represent the most adjacent collocates to the right and left side of *MW(s)* in the BPC[115]. First, Table 8-1 presents the first 50/76 MW-collocates ordered by the LL measure (Column A) and the top 50/76 MW-collocates based on their MI order (Column B). In a similar way, Table 8-2 includes the top 50/184 MWs-collocates that emerged ordered by the LL measure (Column A) and the top 50/184 MWs-collocates based on the MI measure (Column B). These lists were retrieved in order to provide a further consideration of the significantly most frequent (LL) as well as conceptual (MI) collocates, see (4.3).

8.2 Collocates that represent recurrent schemas/force dynamics

This section will deal with a number of conceptual schemas evoked through various linguistic patterns and structures in the BPC discourse.

8.2.1 The obligation schema

The modals *must* and *should,* in their deontic meanings, suggest cognitive moral or social obligation/prohibition (Evans & Green, 2006, p. 625; Charteris-Black, 2014, see Section 2.2.2). They also dictate psychological necessity (Johnson, 1987) and suggest that certain conditions are not yet satisfied (Langacker, 2008, pp. 308-09). In this sense, they might evoke the following obligatory psychological pressure/compulsion schema, see Figure 8-1.

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[115] The top 50 MW(s)-collocations including their statistical values (LL and MI) are given in Appendix 5 (A &B)

- *SHOULD* and *MUST*
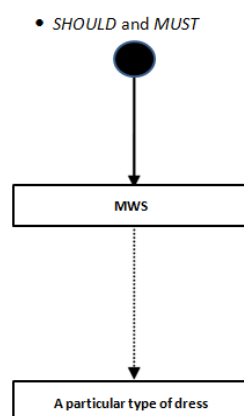
Figure 8-1 Vertical pressure schema

The use of the obligatory/deontic modals above indicates conceptually that MWs are presented to the readers as less mature and weak social actors who should/must adhere to the 'moral' or 'social' obligation/prohibition suggested, see Figure 8-1.

The deontic modal *should*, which was found as a significant macro-level collocate in P$_{2\,\&\,3}$ (see 6.1: Table 6-1), was also found here as a significant MW(s)-collocate (see tables 8-1 and 8-2). ConcLs of *MW(s) should* revealed the following recurrent conceptual schematic patterns, see figures 8-2, 8-3 and 8-4.

1	. "If the prayer cap and the crucifix can be worn, then Muslim women should be allowed the same rights," he	TG 1994
2	week suggested that more than a third of people think Muslim women should be barred from wearing	TI 2003 .t
3	is their own (rather than an imposed) choice. Young Muslim women should be supported in their fight against	TI 2003 .t
4	London. Racist e-mails to Muslim groups include: "All Muslim women should be forced to cover their faces -	TI 2006 .t
5	a duty to integrate - reigniting the row over whether Muslim women should be allowed to wear veils. Mr Blair	TM 2006
6	fasting, that women wear the veil. Let me be clear. No Muslim woman should be forced to wear a veil. No	TDM 2012
7	be the best news for all of us." Mr Besson also said Muslim women should be banned from wearing the veil.	TDT 2009b
8	Bulletin SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 2 LENGTH: 73 words Muslim women should be banned from covering their	TDT 2010
9	what he calls "the most moderate opinion" that all Muslim women should be subjected to female	TDT 2011
10	said there needs to be a national debate as to whether Muslim women should be banned from wearing veils.	TDT 2013
11	. The committee will recommend to parliament that Muslim women should be allowed to continue covering	TG 2010
12	less of a concern. In September a judge ruled that a Muslim woman should be allowed to stand trial wearing	TG 2013
13	Lord Macdonald had said that it was "unarguable" that Muslim women should be banned from wearing a niqab	TI 2013 .t
14	NASH SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 16 LENGTH: 195 words MUSLIM women should be banned from wearing the full	TM 2010

Figure 8-2 The pattern: *MWs should be (done)*

In the pattern *MWs should be allowed/banned/subjected/forced/supported/barred* (Figure 8-2), most of the uses of the term 'MWs' occupies the semantic slot of an agentless weak patient (ConcLs 2, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 13 & 14). The conceptual structure in these structures is dependent on 1) the deontic modal *should* and 2)

the conceptual schematic meaning evoked by the verbs *allowed/banned/subjected/forced/supported/barred.* While the modal *should* has a deontic meaning that suggests a moral or social obligation/prohibition (Evans & Green, 2006, p. 625) or a psychological necessity (Johnson, 1987), the accompanying lexical verbs derive their meaning from various schemas in the source domain of force-dynamics, e.g. *allowed* (removal of restraint/barrier schema), *banned/barred* (blockage schema), *forced/subjected* (excessive vertical power schema), *supported* (evokes the enablement/empowerment schema).

The selection of the source domain for these conceptual structures is driven in turn by the discourse communicative purpose (Charteris-Black, 2004, 2006 & 2014), which is a socio-cognitively driven purpose, e.g. sympathising (ConcL 3), political (ConcL 7), debating (ConcL 5), etc.

ConcLs in Figure 8-2 were all in the period after 9/11 except ConcL 1 which was speaking about MWs' right to wear headscarves to school in France on a par with other religious groups in P$_1$. One positive example in Figure 8-2 was in ConcL 3, i.e. *young Muslim women should be supported in their fight against the fashion industry which seems to want everyone to conform to some Western norm.*

Nevertheless, the negativity of the pattern in Figure 8-2 started to occur and spread after the French ban on religious symbols in 2003- 2004 (ConcL 2), continuing to occur with MWs in relation to the 2009-2010 French ban on face-veils (ConcLs 7, 11 & 14) as well as the British anti-veil 'row' in 2006 (ConcL 5), 2010 and 2013 (ConcLs 8, 10, 11, 13), cf. 3.4.5. Nevertheless, it is surprising that TG was the only newspaper that had repeatedly (ConcLs 1, 11 & 12) viewed/reported the issue in the pattern *MWs should be allowed* more than any other newspaper in the BPC.

Another recurrent conceptual pattern, found to co-occur with the MW(s)-collocate *should,* was that of *MWs should wear/remove,* see figures 8-3 and 8-4.

1	the issue in a calm and measured way of whether Muslim women should wear the full veil when coming	TDM 2006
2	stirring up disorder in the debate about whether Muslim women should wear the veil. The Metropolitan	TDM 2006
3	it.' Miss Kesting called for a debate over whether Muslim women should wear veils but warned against	TDM 2006
4	only last autumn waded into the debate over whether Muslim women should wear the veil by revealing that	TDM 2007
5	wear it because they believe this is what a good Muslim woman should wear, and, they add, why	TG 2001b
6	took a firm and deliberate position on whether Muslim women should wear a full face veil. The	TM 2006
7	and deliberate position for the first time on whether Muslim women should wear a full face veil. In a	TM 2006
8	they see fit, for instance, by dictating what clothes a Muslim woman should wear". Shahid Malik, the	TDT 2009b
9	his opposition to westerners "dictating what clothes a Muslim woman should wear". Whether this sensitive,	TG 2009b
10	see fit - for instance, by dictating what clothes a Muslim woman should wear". This was seen by some	TG 2009b

Figure 8-3 The pattern: *MWs should wear*

While ConcLs 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 (Figure 8-3) debated wearing the face-veil as a social obligation, on the other hand, ConcLs 8, 9 and 10 criticised the socio-political obligation placed on MWs in Western countries[116].

When the pattern *MW(s) should wear* (Figure 8-3) was compared to the opposing pattern *MW(s) should remove* their veils (in Figure 8-4) and *MW(s) should be banned from* (ConcLs 7, 8 and 10 in Figure 8-2), it was concluded that there is a negativity in the RW press TDT expressed through their preference to use the phrase *MW(s) should* consistently with the negative verb *remove* (ConcL 1, 2, 5, 6, 7 and 8: Figure 8-4); similar conclusions were reached earlier in Chapter 6 (Figure 6-7 in Section 6.7).

1	after Jack Straw, the former home secretary, said Muslim women should remove their veils as he felt	TDT 2006
2	head and neck - a hijab. The question of whether Muslim women should remove their veils if asked was	TDT 2006
3	he disagreed with justice secretary Jack Straw that Muslim women should remove their veils. "If the	TG 2007
4	2006 LANGUAGE: ENGLISH GRAPHIC: Straw is right... Muslim women should remove their veils	TM 2006
5	in some public places. A judge ruled this week that a Muslim woman should remove her reuters veil while	TDT 2013
6	September 30, 2013 Monday Edition 1; Scotland PM: Muslim woman should remove their veils in court	TDT 2013
7	: NEWS; FRONT PAGE; Pg. 1 LENGTH: 506 words MUSLIM women should remove veils in court because	TDT 2013
8	." In September, a judge ruled that a 22-year-old Muslim woman should remove her veil to give	TDT 2013

Figure 8-4 The pattern: *MWs should remove*

Overall, it can be said here that the modal *should* was found to occur consistently on the right side of the lexical node MWs in a context that implies or debates a social order/obligation in relation to the MW's dress. Almost all these occurrences were after 9/11 and more notable after the 7/7 bombings in London.

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[116] This phrase (ConcLs 8, 9 and 10: Figure -37) was found to be part of the American President Obama's speech to the 'Muslim world' at Cairo University in 2009.

The psychological/moral obligation indicated by *should* was found to originate from a variety of agents and in some cases was socio-politically bound, i.e. dependent on the level of power of those who suggest the obligation. For example the pattern *MWs should remove* was associated with the following social actors: 1) political: PM David Cameron (ConcL 6 & 7), Mr. *Straw* (ConcL 1), 2) legal: *judge* (ConcL 5 & 8), see Figure 8-4.

Similarly, the modal *must*, in its deontic sense, which suggests a high degree of social obligation and/ or a strong commitment to the certainty of the claims uttered (Charteris-Black, 2014; see 2.2.2), was found to occur consistently on the right side of the lexical node MW(s) as in *MW(s) must* (F=19). Most of these nineteen occurrences (F=13/19) were related to statements and orders uttered by politicians and powerful social actors e.g. a judge about the Muslim women's dress, see Figure 8-5 below.

1	this can entail a physical search. However, devout Muslim women must keep their hair and faces	TDM 2000
2	Lashkar-e-Jabbar group has decreed that Muslim women must wear yashmaks or the	TDT 2001
3	party - the state's opposition - agrees that 'Muslim women must wear headscarves'. 'We	TG 2000
4	. A directive on dress a decade ago decreed that Muslim women must wear non-transparent	TG 2008
5	booed by hardline Muslims when he insisted that Muslim women must remove their veils for identity	TI 2003
6	pronounces that the hejab is too revealing, that Muslim women must cover their faces, too, and	TI 2003
7	also aware that the ultra-conservative view stating Muslim women must cover their faces applies -	TDM 2013
8	: 203 words AN Australian court has ruled that a Muslim woman must remove her burka in public for	TDT 2010
9	issue. On Monday, a district judge ruled that a Muslim woman must remove her veil while giving	TDT 2013
10	came after a district judge ruled that a Muslim woman must remove her veil while giving	TDT 2013
11	arose after a District Court judge ruled that a Muslim woman must remove her veil while giving	TDT 2013
12	January 23, 2014 Thursday Edition 1; Scotland Muslim woman must remove veil to give evidence,	TDT 2014
13	HOME PAGES; Pg. 4 LENGTH: 593 words A Muslim woman must remove her full-face veil when	TG 2013

Figure 8-5 The pattern: *MWs must remove*

First, the pattern *MW(s) must* (Figure 8-5) exhibited a consistent lexical preference in the RW broadsheet (TDT) to report discursively 'veil' stories with a negative 'semantic prosody' (Partington, 1998, p. 68) with the verb *remove* and the deontic/obligatory modals *must* and *should*, similar to the findings reached earlier in 6.7 (Figure 6-7). Thus far, there is recurrent evidence of how the RW broadsheet (TDT) enjoys a discursive interest in reporting about controversies related to face-veils under the term MW(s) after 7/7.

While the phrase *MW(s) must* had a positive connotation, in P$_1$, suggesting religious (ConcL 1) and political compulsion (ConcL 3) in relation to wearing

headscarves, nevertheless, the phrase diachronically gained a negative connotation evoking variant schematic compulsion as follows. The obligatory schemas evoked by *MWS MUST* were: 1) compulsion by militants in Kashmir (ConcL 2), 2) compulsion 'by conservative Islamists rulers in a Malaysian city' (ConcL 4), 3) compulsion by the 2003 Minister of Interior Affairs in France *Nicolas Sarkozy* (ConcL 5), 4) compulsion by extremist understandings of Islam (ConcL 6), 5) compulsion by 'ultra-conservative Muslims with their mediaeval reasoning' (ConcL 7), 6) compulsion by a judge in Australia (ConcL 8), and finally 7) compulsion by a judge in the UK i.e. *Peter Murphy* (ConcL 9, 10, 11, 12 and 13, cf. Excerpts 6-8 in 6.7).

The examples above confirmed what has been concluded to be a recurrent feature of BPC discourse reporting/writing about various women under the term *MWs*. It has been found recurrently that most of the BPC newspapers rely on a negative frame of reference (FoR), i.e. violence or negative incidents happening to women from various places; usually outside the UK, in Kashmir, Nigeria, Malaysia, Pakistan, France and Afghanistan and more recently Egypt (see 6.3, 7.5 and 7.5.4).

In this context, ConcLs 9, 10, 11, 12 and 13 (Figure 8-5) were mainly about a negative incident happening to a British woman as was discussed earlier in Excerpt 6-8 Section 6.7. In fact, *must*, *judge* and *Murphy*, also appeared, earlier, as macro-level collocates in Chapter 6 (Table 6.1).

It can also be concluded from the pattern *MW(s) should/must* that, the level of power a particular social actor possess in British/French life is a cognitive component that can magnify/intensify the suggested obligation and affect the overall pragmatic message of each ConcL (figures 8-3, 8-4 and 8-5).

8.2.2 The vertical pressure schema

The schema of vertical pressure (compulsion) (Figure 8-1) was also found in various linguistic patterns with MW(s) e.g. *attacks on MWs /ban on MWs/pressure on MWs /impose on MWs*, see Figure 8-6 below.

1	McConnell said he believed it was inappropriate to put pressure on Muslim women to remove their veils or to	TDM 2006
2	When asked whether - without putting any obligation or pressure on Muslim women - he would "prefer it and	TG 2006
3	repeatedly challenged with a false dichotomy: was the imposition of the veil on Muslim women any worse than	TG 2005
4	Hollobone, a Conservative MP who has called for a ban on Muslim women wearing the burka in Britain, said	TDT 2011
5	"Islamise" Turkish society, for example, by relaxing the ban on Muslim women wearing headscarves. Turkey's	TG 2012
6	streets across the country to protest at a government ban on Muslim women wearing headscarves in	TI 1998
7	and Damian Green have spoken out against France's ban on Muslim women wearing the veil in public.	TM 2010
8	We Are Hated, a report on the impact of Islamophobic attacks on Muslim women, written by Dr Chris Allen, a	TG 2013
9	as a whole. Time and again, verbal and physical attacks on Muslim women increase when we have these	TG 2013
10	since the bombings has not led to a noticeable rise in attacks on Muslim women wearing the hijab. But since	TG 2005
11	during the Bosnian war. They were convicted of brutal attacks on Muslim women at "rape camps". It was the	TM 2001a
12	Johnson has warned his cabinet colleagues that their attacks on Muslim women for wearing the veil may	TI 2006
13	Edition 1; National Edition Girl gang hunted over attack on Muslim woman; In Brief SECTION: NEWS; Pg.	TDT 2011

Figure 8-6 The pattern: *attack(s) on MW(s)/ban on MWs/pressure on MWs /impose on MWs*

The preposition *on* has a high semantic propensity to co-occur with words indicating different forms of excessive social power e.g. *attack/order/ban/impose,* to form an epistemically primed conceptual structure EXCESSIVE POWER IS EXERCISED ON MW(s), similar findings were noticed in the pattern *to live under sharia law* in Figure 5-2 (5.5). It is apparent from ConcLs 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10 and 12 (Figure 8-6) that the underlying motivation of this representation (conceptualisation) of MWs in Europe in the British press is, in fact, a power conflict between the religious power within Muslim communities and the power of 'liberal' governments of European countries. This manifests itself in misrepresentations of MWs: classifying Ws (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 42) based on their religious profile in a similar way invites negative pragmatic inferences related to their religious identity.

Scott (2010) argues in his book *The Politics of the Veil* that racism in the 2004 headscarf ban in French schools was justified through secularism (Scott, 2010, p. 90); by outlawing the headscarf the French state "declared those who espoused Islam, in whatsoever form, to be literally foreigners to the French way of life" (Scott, 2010, p. 149). Though the ban was not extended to university girls, it contributed to stigmatising them (Scott, 2010, p. 149) and hence contributed to social bias and exclusion.

The pattern above represents a power conflict in which the Muslim women's powerful voice is nearly excluded except in negative contexts or where it agrees with western-liberal feminist principles, see 3.4.3 and 3.4.4. As we have seen in chapter 5 and 6, the conceptualisation of MWs as weak agentless victims

who should be banned from wearing the veil or liberated from oppression and 'veil' prisons (example 7-7 in 7.5.3) was recurrent in the BPC and consistent after 9/11. In fact, misrepresentation of MWs in relation to their dress is not new in the British press as Richardson (2001b) already pointed out that the voice of Muslims (including women) is nearly excluded from the British press except in negative contexts, e.g. the Muslim women's hijab being labelled as 'ghastly bags' (p. 238), Richardson's data included only news reports before 9/11, see Chapter Three section 3.3.

8.2.3 The compulsory force schema

The lexical nodes *MW* and *MWs* were also found to appear in different chronological periods with different lexical items and grammatical patterns which evoke the conceptual structure of a compulsory 'force schema' (Talmy, 2000, p. 209), see Figure 8-1 above[117]. In a similar way, the grammatical passive structure MWs /ARE /WERE/SOMETHINGED/ BEING SOMETHINGED occurred consistently with MWs (figures 8-7, 8-8, 8-9 and 8-10) to evoke the compulsory force schema where the MW(s) occupy conceptually the 'semantic slot' of an agentless PATIENT (Chilton, 2004).

1	old friends that western women are free while Muslim women are oppressed irritates her	TG 1995
2	against my father". But al-Shaykh, who has said Muslim women are oppressed not by the	TG 2001a
3	("The media says Muslim men are terrorists and Muslim women are oppressed. Have these	TG 2007
4	with reading stories in the papers about how all Muslim women are oppressed. Even when I tell	TG 2009a
5	a blow to individual freedom. If legislators think Muslim women are oppressed, then why attack	TDT 2011
6	their potential. "It's quite patronising. To say Muslim women are oppressed or don't contribute	TG 2011
7	not the case at all." Captions: 'To say that Muslim women are oppressed or don't contribute	TG 2011

Figure 8-7 The pattern: *MW(s) are oppressed*

| 1 | DAILY MAIL REPORTER LENGTH: 199 words Two Muslim women were ordered out of a swimming | TDM 2010 |
| 2 | : NEWS; Pg. 18 LENGTH: 110 words Two Muslim women were ordered to leave a | TDT 2010 |

Figure 8-8 The pattern: *MW(s) were ordered*

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[117] cf. *forced into arranged marriages* (Figures 5-9 and 5-10 in 5.8.2) and imprisoned in 7.5.3.

1	three Serbs charged with running camps where Muslim women were forced to bear Serb babies 13	TG 2000
2	HAS been a huge rise in the number of British Muslim women forced into arranged marriages	TI 1998
3	because of their views. Van Gogh's film, about a Muslim woman forced into an arranged marriage	TDM 2004
4	is 11 minutes long, in English and depicts a young Muslim woman forced into a marriage with a man	TDT 2005
5	society. Submission told the fictional story of a Muslim woman forced into a violent marriage,	TI 2004
6	ideas. The film is a fictionalised story of a young Muslim woman forced into marriage, who is raped	TI 2004
7	, particularly its immigrant communities. He has all Muslim women forced to wear a veil, and domestic	TI 2005
8	and male relatives. The plot centred on a Muslim woman forced into a marriage against her	TI 2005
9	practical issues too. I have seen appallingly beaten Muslim women forced into the niqab to keep their	TI 2006
10	most prestigious museums has apologised to a Muslim woman forced to leave the building by a	TI 2008
11	it is a symbol of oppression, arguing that some Muslim women are forced to wear the veil their	TDM 2010

Figure 8-9 The pattern: *MW(s) forced/ are(were) forced.*

1	discrimination for far too long. Time and time again Muslim women are being denied job opportunities due	TG 1995
2	12 LENGTH: 451 words GROWING numbers of young Muslim women are being "groomed" by extremists,	TDT 2008
3	, of the Islamic Human Rights Commission, said: "Muslim women are being attacked without wearing	TG 2005
4	* What is missing is an international perspective. Muslim women are being forced to cover up in a	TG 2006
5	with Dutch law banning the veil because she believes Muslim women are being asked to submit not to the	TG 2006
6	silent and invisible. Yet from Canada to Australia, Muslim women are being encouraged (and many	TI 2007
7	: COMMENT; Pg. 30 LENGTH: 2252 words Sir: Muslim women are being referred to as being in need	TI 2008
8	Pankhurst chaining herself to the railings," he says. "Muslim women are being brainwashed by men into	TI 2009a
9	undoubtedly much higher. In parts of the Midlands, Muslim women are being forced to marry at gunpoint	TM 2003
10	are not anti-Islam, but rather feminists who say that Muslim women are being oppressed by their menfolk.	TG 2010
11	Muslims in this country and it won't be the last. Muslim women are being scapegoated. France is	TG 2011
12	state security police after al-Qa'ida's claim that two Muslim women are being held against their will by the	TI 2010

Figure 8-10 The pattern: *MW(s) are being*

The examples above show lexical choices that reveal a systematic way of conceptualising the MW(s) as agentless objects under religious or familial or legal force (e.g. *being forced, were oppressed, ordered to*) and hence evoke the commonly recurrent conceptual structure MW(s) ARE/(ARE BEING) FORCED but through a range of lexicalisations and linguistic patterns (see figures 8-7, 8-8, 8-9 and 8-10). The overwhelming majority of these patterns appeared in the LW press.

8.2.4 The blockage schema

The examples in Figure 8-11 below exhibit a lexico-grammatical pattern which spread in the fourth chronological period i.e. P$_4$.

1	: 612 words A TORY MP has launched a legal bid to	ban Muslim women from wearing burkas in public	TDM 2010
2	said the Prime Minister would not support legislation to	ban Muslim women from wearing the niqab in the	TDM 2013
3	. A source said the party had dropped its pledge to	ban Muslim women from wearing the veil in public and	TDM 2013
4	words THE French government is drawing up a law to	ban Muslim women from wearing a full-face veil in	TDT 2010
5	Assembly will begin debate in early July on a bill	banning Muslim women from wearing the full Islamic	TDT 2010
6	Islamic district of Aceh, on northern Sumatra, has	banned Muslim women from wearing revealing clothing	TDT 2010
7	MP has launched a proposal to pass a law that would	ban Muslim women from wearing the burka in Britain.	TDT 2010
8	French republic to its secular core. On Monday, France	barred Muslim women from covering their faces "in	TDT 2011
9	: NEWS; FRONT PAGE; Pg. 1,8 LENGTH: 513 words	BANNING Muslim women from wearing the veil is "not	TDT 2013
10	after the government said it would not rule out	banning Muslim women from wearing the full Islamic	TG 2009b
11	795 words France will today take the first step towards	barring Muslim women from wearing the full veil when	TG 2010
12	France yesterday rubber-stamped proposals to partially	ban Muslim women from wearing the full veil, President	TG 2010
13	. The immigration minister, Damian Green, said	banning Muslim women from covering their faces in	TG 2010
14	: 169 words Britain will not be following the French in	banning Muslim women from wearing the all-enveloping	TG 2010
15	SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 6 LENGTH: 139 words	BANNING MUSLIM women from covering their faces is	TI 2010

Figure 8-11 The pattern: *ban (banned/banning)/bar (barring/barred) MWs from wearing*

It is, in fact, a conceptual structure that covey a socio-political discourse related to the full-face veil in Europe. It is worth noting that this pattern has spread in the BPC in P$_4$ which supports the prediction that the face-veil ban in France has influenced the BPC discourse. The linguistic pattern BAN* SOMEONE FROM DOING SOMETHING above suggests a blockage schema, similar to the schema given earlier in 7.5.2 Figure 7-7 and given again in Figure 8-12 below.
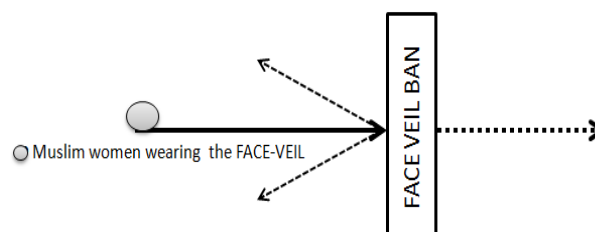
Figure 8-12 The blockage or ban schema

In this schema, MWs are considered as a moving object that should be restrained. This is a conceptual structure that utilises variant linguistic forms, (see Figure 8-11), to convey power and force-dynamics in relation to face-veiled Muslim women in Britain and other European societies.

The conceptual structure explains the use of power (BAN/BAR) against a moving object to restrict its motion. The experience of putting barriers to block the motion of moving objects in real life is schematically mapped into a socio-political discourse that does not want the full-face veil in Europe. Cognitively the *Muslim women's practice and will to wear the full-face veil in public* is the moving object that should be blocked. Methodologically, given that MWs-collocates

included *banning* (Table 8-2 in 8.1), the corpus linguistic tool of concordancing has provided extra evidence to uncover the linguistic conceptual pattern of the banning schema given in different lemmas and forms (see Figure 8-11 above) in the discourse of different newspapers. Nevertheless, it is clear that the same conceptual structure can be evoked by various grammatical forms of *ban (banning) MWs from wearing, bar(barring) MWs from wearing,* etc.

While the grammatical tenses and verbs are various, the meaning of the conceptual structures is always the same. The *MW(s)* occupies the position of the agentless weak object/PATIENT in a vertical, e.g. *oppressed*, or a horizontal, e.g. *ban*, force schema (Talmy, 2000). The compulsory power and passive structures together conceptualise the Muslim woman as an (agentless) object under the vertical or horizontal force of social/political/familial/life and so promote a misconception of Muslim women in society. This conceptualisation is a recurrent cognitive pattern that was found in many examples in the BPC, see (figures 8-7, 8-8, 8-9, 8-10 and 8-11) above; see also *barred* in 7-4 and *liberate* MWs* in 7.5.2 and *imprison** in 7.5.3. The cognitive selection of this conceptual schema, whether social e.g. *oppression* or linguistic *should/must*, perpetuates the image of the Muslim woman as a weak agentless object. This type of recurrent conceptualisation represents a recurrent epistemic priming of the node MW(s) (see 2.11) and reveals an ideological orientation towards Muslim women (and their dress) in the BPC. It utilises the passive grammatical structure to evoke a conceptual structure from the source domain of compulsory force dynamics as well as 'exclude' or 'background' (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 29) the voice and the agency of the Muslim women concerned from the press.

Another coherent conceptual pattern with the force-dynamic schemas discussed above in 8.2.3 and in the current section (8.2.4) was that of EMANCIPATION OF MWs, see Figure 8-13 below.

1	to ban the hijab from schools as a positive step in emancipation of Muslim women. If any girl or	TI 2003
2	Muslim and Dutch MP who campaigns for the emancipation of Muslim women, describes in her	TI 2006
3	on 11 November 1957 under the banner "The Emancipation of Moslem Women". Born in 1930 to	TI 2011

Figure 8-13 The pattern: Emancipation of MWs

The MWs-collocate *emancipation*[118] (Table 8-2) was found to co-occur with the node MWs in the pattern above in TI after 9/11. This conceptual pattern coheres with TI's preference for the conceptual structure of LIBERATE Ws FROM the ISLAMIC DRESS (BLOCKAGE/ CONSTRAINT) given earlier in Table 7-7 (see 7.5.2 and 7.5.3). Furthermore, the schema of enablement, i.e. *emancipate*, where power is granted to an object to free it from particular restraints, is the opposite of the blockage schema; see figures 7-3 and 7-11 (in 7.5).

8.2.5 The enablement schema

The lemma *empower** was found to co-occur on the left side of the node MWs to form the recurrent conceptual pattern *empower*/empowerment of MWs,* see Figure 8-14 below. In fact, *empower** was a significant collocate of the MWs (see Table 8-2 in 8.1). The patterns, in figures 8-14 and 8-15, all evoke the enablement schema given earlier in Figure 7-3 (Section 7.5.1).

1	them. Sweep away the old-fashioned assumptions, and empower Muslim women. Above all, monitor the masjids	TDT 2007
2	is concerned but the educational and economic empowerment of Muslim women, in particular, would help,	TG 2006 .t
3	can help the awakening of the Muslim world by empowering Muslim women; she dubs it "Operation	TI 2004 .b
4	wrote about how the best way to defeat jihadists was to empower Muslim women, and I was inundated with	TI 2005 .b
5	sound prescient. All along, there has been a real way to empower Muslim women to give up their veils - one that	TI 2006 .b
6	Muslim schools be different? We desperately need to empower Muslim women to reinterpret the Koran in less	TI 2007 .b
7	Law. Quite a different matter. Meanwhile, a group called Empowering Muslim Women, under the auspices of the	TI 2008 .b
8	trampling on women's rights, the Islamic Sharia Council is empowering Muslim women in Britain, giving them a way	TDM 2009b
9	Pg. 10 LENGTH: 347 words A government body set up to empower Muslim women has been dismissed by one of its	TI 2010 .b
10	she felt compelled to quit, accusing the body of failing to empower Muslim women and becoming sidetracked by	TI 2010 .b
11	about the timing of this renewed interest to empower Muslim women. I believe that this gives the	TI 2010 .b
12	become active to save itself rather than for the genuine empowerment of Muslim women which is a task that has	TI 2010 .b
13	of family and criminal law. Baroness Cox says her Bill will empower Muslim women to fight any decision made by a	TI 2011 .b

Figure 8-14 The pattern: *empower/empowering/empowerment of MWs*

1	to wear headscarves. Hopefully this ruling will enable Muslim women to wear exactly what they	TDT2
2	Helpline, which does extraordinary work enabling Muslim women to deal with domestic	TI1

Figure 8-15 The pattern: *enable (enabling) MWs*

However, the negative aspect of this schema, (as discussed earlier in Examples 7-5: Section 7.5.1), is that it semantically presupposes that Muslim

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[118] *emancipation* was a top significant W-collocate in the LW list in Appendix 7B, cf. Table 7-2: in 7.1, Chapter 7.

women are not powerful; this is because there is no semantic specification of the expression MW(s) i.e. *which type of women needs to be empowered* and *why.* This is also similar in the case of the MW-collocate *first*[119] where MW is significantly referred to as the *First MW to be….* Hence, it encourages a generalisation and contributes to the spread of a particular misconception of MWs that they are powerless, see discussion in the previous chapter Section 7.5.1.

Thus far, in sum, while TI is discursively interested in conceptualising MWs as agentless weak patients who need to be *empowered* (ConcLs 3 to 7 and 9 to 13 in Figure 8-14)/*liberated* (No. 10 to 14 in Table 7-7 in Section 7.5.2) /*emancipated* (Figure 8-13), TDM, TDT and TG, on the other hand, were found more interested in conceptualising the MW as an object who *is to be/ will be/has been banned*(barred) (see Figure 8-11). In all of these scenarios, Muslim women are negatively presented to the reader as agentless patient and passive social actors and in discourse clearly 'denying them their resisting agency' (Shirazi, 2010, p. 9) except in negative context as in refuses to remove her veil (ConcL 4, Figure 6-7 in Chapter 6), similar examples will be discussed next.

8.2.6 Counter-force schema

When searching the ConcLs of MW(s), the following conceptual structures were found to associate the MW(s)-collocate *who*, see figures 8-16, 8-17 and 8-18.

1	he's probably right." This is not a easy time for Muslim women who choose to cover their heads:	TG 2001b .
2	, and following up with the account of a Muslim woman who chooses to cover herself. It	TG 2006 .
3	children to Christian or Jewish faith schools. Muslim women who choose to wear the niqab	TG 2007 .
4	Mrs Blair urged people not to feel threatened by Muslim women who chose to cover up. She said	TDM 2010
5	their right. It is only a very small percentage of Muslim women who choose to wear the burkha	TM 2010 .

Figure 8-16 The pattern: *MW(s) who choose(s) to wear/cover.*

1	(Mrs) Braintree, Essex …How would those Muslim women who insist on their right to wear	TDM 2006
2	: 228 words SHOULDN'T we pity the young Muslim women who insist on shrouding	TDM 2007
3	Peter Murphy was forced to rule on whether a Muslim woman who insists on wearing the niqab	TDT 2013
4	10 LENGTH: 524 words A JUDGE has ordered a Muslim woman who insisted on wearing a face	TDT 2013

Figure 8-17 The pattern: *MW(s) who insist* on.*

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[119]It will be discussed next in 8.4.1

1	with gay couples. Meanwhile, in London, a Muslim woman who refuses to take off her	TDM 2008
2	women who don the niqab. By definition then, Muslim women who refuse the cloths are	TI 2006
3	scruple". He cites the fairly trivial example of a Muslim woman who refused to handle a book of	TI 2008
4	that they violate religious laws. Last year two Muslim women who refused to be scanned on	TDM 2011
5	SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 12 LENGTH: 307 words MUSLIM women who refuse to remove their veils	TDT 2011

Figure 8-18 The pattern: *MW(s) who refuse* to take off/remove*

In this section, while the LW press (TG and TM) represents dress as a *choice* (ConcLs 1, 2, 3 and 5: Figure 8-16), the RW press represented this choice with verbs such as *insist* (ConcLs 1, 2, 3 and 4: Figure 8-17), or *refuse(s/ed)* (ConcLs 1, 4, 5: Figure 8-18) suggesting a negative agency of MWs. The pattern *insist on* is a negative representation of the MW's agency in relation to her dress choice; the findings here are consistent with Baker, et al. (2013) who described the pattern *insist on wearing veil* as "militant", which was notable in the RW press (p. 206), see 3.3. Both *insist on* and *refuse* represent a force-dynamic schematic meaning, where a counter-part force is confronting an existing ('legitimate') power that is being 'resisted' or 'refused'. These linguistic patterns are biased against the agency of the MWs and reflect the stance the RW press takes towards MWs. In fact, it represents them as problematic social actors, cf. Excerpts 5-5, Figure 5-6 in 5.8.1 and Figure 6-2 in 6-2,. This is coherent with previous research findings where Baker, et al. (2013) found that British press discourse not only "occasionally displays a dislike or disapproval of "Muslim women but that they were also "doubly problematized", compared to Muslim men (p. 229).

8.3   Collocates that act as quantifiers

This section will discuss another distinctive type of collocates; I call this type the ***cognitive semantic modifiers***. These quantifiers are one of various cognitive mechanisms found in the discourse reporting news events related to MWs in the BPC. These are also called in the RSA model (van Leeuwen, 2008) (2.4) *aggregation* and were found to associate the node *MWs* as follows.

The word *millions* was found as MWs-collocate (Table 8-2 in 8.1): when keyed into the concordance it retrieved 8 instances in the form *millions of MWs.* These were mainly found to reflect an anti-face-veil stance, see Figure 8-19 below.

1	may seem timid to Western ears but for millions of Muslim women living under Islamic	TG 1994
2	, and she hoped her case would 'bring hope to millions of Muslim women around the world'.	TDM 2005
3	deeply and toss it to the floor. I hate it. Millions of Muslim women across the globe are	TDM 2005
4	and grandmothers struggled for freedoms; millions of Muslim women around the world	TI 2006
5	herself insists her victory will "bring hope to millions of Muslim women around the world". It	TM 2005
6	words During the first half of the 20th century, millions of Muslim women decided to abandon	TG 2011
7	had used; in the second half of the century, millions of Muslim women resumed wearing the	TG 2011
8	LEADER PAGES; Pg. 39 LENGTH: 88 words Millions of Muslim women worldwide oppose the	TG 2013

Figure 8-19 The quantifier: *Millions of MW*

Instances of *millions of MWs* varied from quantifications supporting (ConcLs 2 & 5: Figure 8-19) or debating the face-veils and headscarves (ConcLs 6 & 7) to instances clearly opposing the face-veils (ConcLs 1, 3, 4, 7 & 8 Figure 8-19). It is clear that a large number of instances are anti-face-veil. However, while these quantifications were overstated personal judgments rather than actual figures, a number of examples were found to associate this overstating mechanism with other conceptual structures such as MW'S VEIL IS PRISON/BARRIER (found earlier in 7.5.3), these are given in Examples 8-1 below.

Examples 8-1

1- **Millions of Muslim women** across the globe are isolated in **these fabric prisons**. (TDM₂, November 10, 2005)
2- The jilbab is seen by some as a symbol of that **subservience**. Shabina herself **insists** her victory will "bring hope to **millions of Muslim women** around the world". (TM₂, March 6, 2005)
3- Their mothers and grandmothers **struggled** for freedoms; **millions of**
    Muslim women around the world yearn for **liberty**. And these women throw themselves into **subjugation**. (TI₃, December 29, 2006)
4- **Millions of Muslim women** worldwide **oppose** the full veil and some **object to** headscarves and cloaks too. (TG₄, September 19, 2013)

Example No.1 refers to the burka/face-veil as the boundaries/barriers of a 'fabric prison'. This evokes the conceptual structure found earlier i.e. MW'S FACE VEIL IS PRISON (see Table 7-8 in 7.5.3). However, it is noticeable that in some examples MWs are represented as possessing agency, with counterforce schematic meaning, e.g. *insist* (No.2), *struggled* (No.3), *oppose* (No.4) and *object to* (No.4). As raised earlier, similar instances suggest a conflict of the dynamic relations between MWs and the community they live in, for example, the verb

insist (No.2) was used to negatively portray a MW who 'won' a court case to wear her jilbab in school[120]. In these examples, the overstatement in *MILLIONS OF MWS* is associated with some other negative conceptual structures that construct an image of MWs either as agentless weak PATIENTS (No.1), or as active agents with views counter to the face-veils and headscarves (No.4).

In a similar way, the phrase *a million* was found to co-occur with *MWs,* as shown in Figure 8-20. TG$_4$ and TDM$_4$ (ConcLs 1 and 2: Figure 8-20) used the quantifiers *a million* and *only a few thousand*.

1	would be a completely disproportionate response. There are a million Muslim women in the UK and only a few thousand are	TDM 2010
2	would be a completely disproportionate response. There are a million Muslim women in Britain, and only a few thousand are	TG 2010

Figure 8-20 The quantifier: *a million MWs*

The meaning of these quantifiers could not be attributed to the press's stance before contextual details were consulted. After studying the co-text, it was revealed that the recurrent phrase was quoted from someone's speech. The quoted phrase has a semantic connotation in support of MWs. However, the meaning is framed differently according to the socio-political stance that a particular newspaper adopts towards MWs as shown in Table 8-3 below.

Table 8-3 Framing quantifiers inside discourse

ConcL1	**MP'S BILL TO OUTLAW OFFENSIVE BURKA** **A TORY MP has launched a legal bid to ban Muslim women from wearing burkas in public places. [lead]** Philip Hollobone has tabled a private members' bill which would make it illegal for anyone to cover their face in public. Mr Hollobone has previously likened full face veils to 'going round with a paper bag over your head'. **But Shaista Gohir, of the Muslim Women's Network UK**, said: *'I agree that wearing a face veil has a negative effect on community cohesion and the majority of Muslims do not believe it is a religious obligation. 'But a ban would be a completely disproportionate response. There are a million Muslim women in the UK and only a few thousand are estimated to wear a veil.* [**near the end**]	**TDM$_3$** **July 1, 2010**
ConcL2	**You're breaking the law, niqab ban MP is told: Tory warned of legal action for discrimination Women have a right to wear veil, says Liberty** A Tory MP has been warned he could face legal action if he follows through on a threat to refuse to meet constituents wearing the veil. Lawyers for Liberty have written to Philip Hollobone insisting that his stance is unlawful and that they "will be happy to represent any of your constituents that you refuse to meet because they are veiled".**[lead].....................** However, **Shaista Gohir, executive director of the Muslim Women's Network UK**, said his comments would simply exacerbate intolerance. She said: *"I agree that wearing a face veil has a negative effect on community cohesion and the majority of Muslims do not believe it is a religious obligation. But a ban would be a completely disproportionate response. There are a million Muslim women in Britain, and only a few thousand are estimated to wear a veil."* [**near the end**]	**TG$_3$** **July 26, 2010**

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[120] This example reflects the conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS BATTLING/WAR and was discussed in more details in Section 5.7.4.

While the semantic connotation of the phrase *a million of MWs* was the same in each of the examples above, its pragmatic meaning was framed differently. The headline (main frame) was different in each: negative in TDM₃ and positive in TG₃. ConcL 1 in Table 8-3 above was mitigated and negated by the main discourse frame *MP'S BILL TO OUTLAW OFFENSIVE BURKA* (Table 8-3; TDM₄). The word *offensive* is an adjective used in a way which reveals the socio-political stance TDM₄ takes towards face-veiled MWs. A *burka* is not an agent to offend someone, yet collocating it with the adjective *offensive* may require us to understand it as such. If such reading is possible, then the underlying conceptual metonymy of TDM₃ headline in ConcL 1 is that A FORM OF DRESS STANDS FOR A PERSON WHO SOCIALLY BEHAVES IN AN OFFENSIVE WAY.

Nevertheless, in each example in Table 8-3, there is a clear political alignment in reporting not only the news-event but also the quoted phrase. Shaista Gohir was titled/functionalised (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 42) as *director* in TG₄ coverage, however, TDM₄ ignored her position, see Table 8-3 above.

If TDM had labelled Shaista Gohir as the director of the Muslim Women *Network* [121] UK, then this would have worked semantically against the frame established by the headline *MP'S BILL TO OUTLAW OFFENSIVE BURKA* and hence would produce a conceptually incoherent discourse. This example is similar to that of Otaif (2015): he also found that metaphors and conceptual structures in headlines influence the conceptual and textual coherence in discourse, see 3.3.

However, while quantifiers like *hundreds of MWs* (F=7) and *thousands of MWs* (F=8) reflect relatively indefinite quantifications, i.e. uncertain numbers, more indefinite quantification mechanisms are those such as *many MWs*, *some MWs*, *majority of MWs*, *minority of MWs* and *most MWs*.

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[121] Network was a MWs- collocate, see table 7-1

Table 8-4 Quantifiers of MWs in the BPC (RF)

N.	Quantifiers	P1	P2	P3	P4	Total
1	*Many MWs*	11	11	33	31	86
2	*Some MWs*	5	12	24	16	57
3	*Most MWs*	1	7	0	7	15
3	*Majority of MWs*	0	1	4	2	7
4	*Minority of MWs*	0	0	2	7	9
5	*Few* MWs*	0	1	5	1	7
6	*Hundreds of MWs*	4	3	0	0	7
7	*Thousands of MWs*	6	1	1	0	8
8	*Millions of MWs*	1	2	2	3	8
Totals		28	38	71	67	204

In fact, *some* and *many* were significant MWs-collocates (see Table 8-2 in section 8.1). Nevertheless, while *hundreds of MWs* and *thousands of MWs* were mainly a linguistic feature of the BPC discourse referring to MWs in Bosnia, there was a marked increase in numbers of the more indefinite quantifiers in the BPC after 9/11 and 7/7 e.g. *many MWS* and *some MWs*, see Table 8-4.

It is clear from Table 8-4 that there is an unprecedented interest in quantifying/aggregating MWs in P_3, i.e. after 7/7. When ConcLs were consulted most of these quantifiers were connected with the veil 'row' instigated by Straw's comments in October 2006 (see 3.4.5), for examples, see frequencies of the MWs-collocates *some* and *many* in P_3 in Table 8-5 below.

Table 8-5 Mentions of *many MWs* versus s*ome MWs* in the BPC

Column A						Vs.	Column B					
Many MWs							*Some MWs*					
P	TDM	TDT	TI	TG	TM		P	TDM	TDT	TI	TG	TM
1	0	0	6	5	0		1	0	0	2	3	0
2	2	1	7	8	1		2	1	3	3	6	0
3	7	5	6	6	1		3	9	2	2	8	2
4	6	4	6	13	2		4	3	2	2	7	2
=	15	10	25	32	4		=	13	7	9	24	4

While instances of *some* and *many* were low in P_1, they were favoured in P_3 and became an essential part of the discourse reporting about MWs in P_4, see tables 8-4 and 8-5. Conversely, while semi-definite quantifiers such as *hundreds of MWs* and *thousands of MWs* decreased after 9/11 before they totally disappear in P_3 and P_4, indefinite and opaque quantifiers such as *majority, many, most* were

more favoured in the BPC in P_3 and P_4: see tables 8-4 and 8-5. This documents a diachronic linguistic change in the BPC discourse about MWs.

In terms of press preferences, while LW broadsheets (TI &TG) apparently were the most in using the indefinite quantifiers *many* and *some*, the RW (TDM and TDT) newspapers (tabloid and broadsheet) were found to favour them more than the LW tabloid (TM). This suggests that while the RW preference to make general judgments in relation to MWs has just started after 9/11, TM was the newspaper least interested in making general judgments about MWs in all the three periods. An alternative to the use of quantifiers would be a more realistic reporting of incidents related to individual women or using the term MW(s) without any form of quantifications which was found to be the case in TM. Unlike the other newspapers in figures 8-22 and 8-23 below, in the TM, the term MWs in the phrase *worn by MWs* was not quantified at all, see Figure 8-21 below.

1	heart and character. "I started wearing a hijab (a scarf worn by Muslim women) as a symbol of freedom from my	TM 1999
2	a crack about the chador - the traditional head-covering worn by Islamic women. "I think they're great because	TM 2001b
3	shopping centres and golf sweaters on anyone. Kilts worn by Professional Jocks at English weddings,	TM 2006
4	. Many are angry after a series of ministers criticised veils worn by Muslim women and warned of the dangers of	TM 2006
5	." He also referred to the "black sack-like" clothing worn by Muslim women. Councillor Robert Bennett made	TM 2008
6	become the first European country to ban face coverings worn by Muslim women. Belgian authorities are said to	TM 2010
7	a Bill to ban the burqa - the full face and body covering worn by Muslim women - has reached the UK parliament.	TM 2013

Figure 8-21 the phrase *worn by MWs* in the TM

When searching the BPC for occurrences of the significant MWs-collocates *many* and *some*, a number of recurrent patterns were found in their peak period (P_3), see Figures 8-22 and 8-23.

1	. Degrees of coverage HIJAB The name given to a headscarf worn by many Muslim women. The wider meaning of hijab within	TI 2006
2	Pg. 6 LENGTH: 702 words Tony Blair has said that the veil worn by many Muslim women in Britain is a "mark of separation"	TI 2006
3	to do as a tailor and couturier." After his abaya, an overgarment worn by many Muslim women, the former Barnardo's boy is now	TDT 2008
4	, Mudassar Arani's face is framed by the hijab, the headscarf worn by many Muslim women. But in this ethnically integrated	TDM 2006
5	she was sent home for turning up in a jilbab - the full-length gown worn by many Muslim women that covers all of the body except	TG 2004
6	what is being demanded of me. Take the hijab - the headscarf worn by many Muslim women - a rarity 20 years ago, but now	TG 2003

Figure 8-22 The quantifier *many* in the pattern: *worn by many MWs*

In Figure 8-22, the word *hijab/headscarf* (ConcLs 1, 4 and 6) occurred more than *veil* (ConcL 2) or *jilbab/overgarment* (ConcLs 3 and 5) with the verbal phrase *worn by.* By contrast, while occurrences in Figure 8-22 referred mainly to

headscarves and *body-garments*, occurrences of *some MWs* (Figure 8-23) referred mainly to *face-veils* (ConcLs 1, 4 and 5).

1	as a holy duty. Two extremists wearing burqas, the veil worn by some Muslim women, threw a grenade into the middle	TDT 2002
2	a Luton high school to ban the jilbab, a full-length hooded gown worn by some Muslim women, was reversed by the appeal court.	TG 2005a
3	to wear the hijab - a scarf which covers the head and shoulders worn by some Muslim women in public as a sign of their	TI 2002
4	of the Commons, was praised for raising a debate about the veils worn by some Muslim women, which he described as a "visible	TG 2006
5	, carried out in the wake of Jack Straw's criticism of the full veil worn by some Muslim women, shows voters take a largely	TG 2006
6	society and the modern world. The prime minister said the niqab worn by some Muslim women was "a mark of separation and	TG 2006

Figure 8-23 The quantifier *some* in the pattern: *worn by some MWS*

Each of these occurrences was found to be driven by a social or political stance concerning the 'appropriate dress for Muslim women'. ConcL 2 (Figure 8-22) above is an exaggeration by Blair as reported by TI_2 to magnify a very small group of Muslim women who cover their faces in Britain. When comparing the example in ConcL 6 (Figure 8-23) from TG_3 with ConcL 2 (Figure 8-22) from TI_3 above, the conceptual schematic quantifier 'some' versus 'many' evokes a different pragmatic meaning through each example was used to report the same incident. The different ways of conceptualising the same news-story reveal the ideological stance that TI_3 displays cognitively to the reader in comparison with that taken by TG_3 reporting the same news story. While many can be said to conceptualise an indefinite but significant portion of the group being quantified, some, on the other hand, conceptualises an insignificant portion of the group being quantified. Background experiential knowledge as well as the linguistic context also contribute to the ultimate meaning given to these conceptual modifiers within their discourses (see ConcL 2 in Figure 8-22 versus ConcL 6 in Figure 8-23). The resulting pragmatic confusion - from these quantifiers and the unspecified word veil - may influence the reader's perception and attitude with respect to the group being quantified in ConcL 2 (Figure 8-22).

The two quantifiers *many* and *some* in the examples above are indefinite schematic determiners of the cognitive semantic nature of the mental space evoked by the phrase *the veil worn by some/many MWs is a mark of separation*. While *many*, *most* and *the majority* are quantifiers that can conceptually evoke a greater portion, over half of the group referred to, quantifiers like *few* and *the minority*

minimise the referents inside the constructed mental space in discourse, see Figure 8-24 below.

1	in their own homes or on the street. The few Muslim women who wear the veil have	TDM 2006
2	declared that it would be better for Britain if fewer Muslim women wore veils. The Chancellor	TDT 2006
3	if he thought it would be "better for Britain" if fewer Muslim women wore veils, Mr Brown	TDT 2006
4	in Britain. Like Haque, she encounters very few Muslim women in her executive meetings.	TG 2001b
5	by saying Britain would be a better place if fewer Muslim women wore the veil. The	TG 2006
6	of women's writing Leila Aboulela One of the few Muslim women writers in Britain to present	TI 2006
7	stampede to use the law to persecute those few Muslim women who wear a face veil. And it	TG 2010

Figure 8-24 The quantifier:: *few(er) MWs*

In sum, as shown from the examples above (Figure 8-19 to Figure 8-24), quantifiers such as *some* and *many* serve as a cognitive mechanism that decreases or increases the estimated number of referents inside a mental space of MWs to convey a particular pragmatic meaning in discourse e.g. *agreement* (ConcL 2 in Figure 8-22) or *disagreement* (ConcL 5 in Figure 8-23). This means that the pragmatic meaning arises from a discourse bound process where a lexical quantifier acts as a *conceptual modifier* of an *online mental space in discourse*; see ConcL 5 in Figure 8-23.

8.4   Collocates that act as conceptual modifiers of MWs

In many of the examples encountered and discussed above, MWs have been mainly described according to their religious dress. However, this meaning is not only derived from *modifiers* or *predicates* at the lexical linguistic level of meaning. It also has a cognitive semantic component, i.e. *a schematic/conceptual level of meaning*, where variant scenes and scenarios are evoked through a particular lexical choice to contribute to how MWs as social actors are presented in discourse. In the following section, I will discuss the mental space that is accessed and constructed with linguistic phrases like *FIRST MW* and *MOST PROMINENT MW*.

8.4.1   First MW(s)

The conceptual structure in this section was found to reveal another way of how 'successful' MWs are presented in BPC discourse. First, the lexical node

MW was mainly 'lexically primed' (Hoey 2005) with the modifier *FIRST* to form the cluster *FIRST MUSLIM WOMAN* with a frequency of 99 occurrences in the whole BPC corpus; 78 of these 99 occurrences were in the form of *THE FIRST MW*. The 99 occurrences of this linguistic cluster varied according to the person/reference, context and the chronological period. Further examination beyond the concordance lines - at the macro linguistic level of occurrence - revealed that the examples fall into a number of categories or topics: *political*, *Nobel Prize*, *education*, *hobbies* and *terrorism* contexts.

In all these categories, the meaning of the *FIRST MUSLIM WOMAN* is a cognitive schema which establishes its semantic nature in contrast to the remainder of Muslim women in an online mental space built through discourse, see Figure 8-25 below.

Figure 8-25 The schema of *THE FIRST MUSLIM WOMAN*

The black star in Figure 8-25 above indicates the semantic significance given to an individual Muslim woman (*the first*) in comparison to the remainder of the community of Muslim women which is represented with the grey stars in the image schema above. Whereas this semantic significance appears to be a positive reference, as we have said above, it was a negative one in some contexts, and in fact, its semantic connotation is far more complex; in some cases, it had a distinctive social discourse bound meaning that varied in each newspaper. For example, TI was found, mostly in P_2, to refer several times to Shirin Ebadi (ConcLs 1, 2, 3 and 5 in Figure 8-26), usually in a positive context.

1	of pre-emptive military strikes. By naming the first Muslim woman Nobel laureate and only the	TI 2003
2	Pg. 3 LENGTH: 308 words SHIRIN EBADI, the first Muslim woman to receive the Nobel Peace	TI 2003
3	Prize last year, making her the first Iranian and first Muslim woman to win the award. She wants	TI 2004
4	Had she been elected she would have been the first Muslim woman MP, a result to die for at a	TI 2005
5	development" n 2003 Shirin Ebadi, Iran First Muslim woman to win, "for democracy and	TI 2007

Figure 8-26 *FIRST MW* in TI$_2$

However, the reference in ConcL 1 above has included a negative connotation associated with the 'Islamic World', see Excerpt 8-1.

Excerpt 8-1A

> **NOBEL PRIZE GOES TO IRANIAN LAWYER WHO FIGHTS FOR THE RIGHTS OF MUSLIM WOMEN;**
> **A SURPRISE FROM NORWAY FOR A HEROINE WHO BATTLES OPPRESSION, BUT THE** [headline]
> SHIRIN EBADI was racing to Orly airport to catch a flight to Tehran yesterday morning when she got a
> call on her mobile telling her to turn on the car radio: her name was being read out at the top of the
> French news...........By naming the *first Muslim woman* Nobel laureate and only the third Muslim to win
> the prize since it was inaugurated in 1909, another unmistakeable signal was sent by the Nobel
> committee **of support for defenders of democracy and the fight for equal rights in the Islamic world.**
>
> (TI₂, October 11, 2003)

It is worth noting here that unlike Shirin Ebadi who was recurrently and significantly introduced[122] as the *first Muslim woman to win the Nobel prize* in '*her fights for the rights of Muslim women* (Excerpt 8-1A), other Nobel prize winners and educated Muslim women were almost excluded from the discourse using the term MW in the BPC such as the Nobel prize winner Tawakkol Abdel-Salam Karman who won the prize in December 2011 (Nobel Media , 2018).

In fact, Shirin Ebadi was always represented as the first and only Muslim woman to win the Nobel prize as found in the BPC (Figure 8-27 below).

Figure 8-27 The phrase *Muslim woman to win*

Figure 8-27 shows that most references (F= 12/16) using the clustered phrase *Muslim woman to win* in the BPC were given to the Nobel prize-winner Shirin Ebadi. Other references using the phrase *Muslim woman to win* (F=4/16;

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[122] *Nobel* and *first* were significant headlines collocates in P₂&₃ , see Table 6-1 and section 6.9, see also Table 7.4 in section 7.4.

ConcLs 2, 14 , 15 and 16: Figure 8-27) were in reference to Miss El Moutawakel the Moroccan who won an Olympic gold medal in the 1990s as mentioned earlier in 7.3 and Table 7.3.

When the family name of Tawakkol Karman -the Noble prize winner who is a Muslim hijab-wearing woman - *Karman* was keyed into the concordance of our corpora of the British press, only two articles were retrieved[123]. It was found that the name of Tawakkol Karman was mentioned in our BPC five times (F=5) only in two articles[124]; both articles were in TG4 in relation to her support to Arab women during the Yemeni revolution in 2011, see excerpts 8-1B and C.

While one of these mentions (Excerpt 8-1B) was before Tawakkol receives the award, the second one (F=4: Excerpt 8-1C) was six months after she received the Nobel Prize. The titles of these two articles are given in excerpts 8-1B&C below:

Excerpt 8-1B

Saturday: Comment: Perceptions of Arab women have been revolutionised: The stereotype of the submissive, repressed victim has been shattered by female protestors in Egypt, Tunisia and Yemen, Saida Sadouni does not conform to the typical image of an Arab revolutionary.
But this 77-year-old camped out in the bitter Tunisian cold for more than two weeks in front of the prime minister's headquarters, leading the historic Kasbah picket ……
Even in ultra-conservative Yemen, demonstrations against the rule of President Ali Abdullah Saleh have been led by a young charismatic woman, Tawakul Karman. She has campaigned since 2007 demanding political reform. When she was arrested in January, the authorities were forced to release her following a wave of angry protests in Sana'a. What has inspired these women and thrust them into the heart of protest is the yearning for change and political freedom that is sweeping across the region.

(TG4, March 12, 2011)

Excerpt 8-1C

International: Only half the struggle: Arab women fight to keep gains won on street
When Yemen's long-term dictator Ali Abdullah Saleh tried to silence Tawakkul Karman, he called in her brother.

Karman was in prison for her part at the forefront of the popular revolution against Saleh's rule, a role that earned her the Nobel peace prize. The president's warning to Karman's brother was blunt. "Saleh told him a clear message: if you don't restrain your sister, whoever disobeys me will be killed," she said. "My brother told me the day I was released from prison. The next morning I went protesting."

(TG4, June 14, 2012)

The two articles above were in relation to Tawakkol Karman`s support to Arab women during the Yemeni revolution. Despite the fact that the article in

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[123] The corpus size in P4 was 667,192 words and it extended from June 2009 to February 2014.
[124] In comparison to F=20 mentions of Shirin Ebadi in the BPC at the same period when Tawakkol Karman became a public figure i.e. from 2011 to Feb 2014 which is the end of our BPC.

Excerpt 8-1C was six months after she received the award, there was a brief reference to the award (see the underlined phrase in Excerpt 8-1C above). Through such type of linguistic structures i.e. *a role that earned her the Nobel peace prize*[125], her achievement as a Nobel Peace Prize winner was pushed to the background. Her 'agency' as an activist woman who is a Muslim was mitigated (see *mitigation* versus *intensifying* strategies in 2.5) and suppressed (van Leeuwen, 1996; 2008: 2.4) so that she is the object in the dependent clause *a role that earned her the Nobel peace prize* and not the subject/doer (*Nobel peace prize winner*), see *transitivity* in 2.2.2.

In other words, the TG suggests through this linguistic structure that it is the role that 'earned' her as an Arab woman the prize rather than a well-deserved nomination for her distinctive and exceptional efforts in supporting other women in her community to speak out. In fact, this type of phrasing in TG does not cohere with how TG has referred to Shirin Ebadi in P_2 (F=3; ConcLs 5, 6, and 7: Figure 8-27) and P_4 (F=3; ConcLs 11, 12, and 13: Figure 8-27). While Shirin Ebadi was always 'profiled' (van Leeuwen, 1996; 2008) and presented as *the first Muslim woman to win the Nobel peace prize* (figures 8-26 and 8-27); Tawakkul Karman was profiled as an Arab woman (excerpts 8-1B&C).

It is surprising to know here that though Tawakkul Karman became famous for protesting and marching the streets of Sana'a with thousands of face-veiled Muslim women who were inspired by her thought, speech and courage, this does not seem to have entitled her to receive the title of *a MW who became a Nobel Prize winner* anywhere in the BPC. When searching the BPC for further examples, it was found that Tawakkul Karman name was totally 'excluded/suppressed' (van Leeuwen, 1996; 2008) from the BPC coverage except in the two articles given in excerpts 8-1B&C above.

Lastly, unlike Shirin Ebadi (Excerpt 8-1A)- who does not wear any form of hijab, Tawakkul Karman - the Jilbab and hijab-wearing Muslim woman was not being referred to as a '*Muslim woman who is fighting for Muslim women rights in the*

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[125] In comparison to the recurrent cluster *the first Muslim woman to win Noble prize* which was always assigned to Shirin Ebadi in the BPC.

Islamic world 'anywhere in the BPC nor she was mentioned explicitly as a '*Nobel prize winner*'.

In this regard, it is worth noting here that the Nobel prize- received by Shirin Ebadi- was not welcomed by Iranian reformers who saw that her nomination was 'totally political' and made in order to 'externally influence the Iranian regime' (Barlow, 2008, pp. 30-33). Furthermore, given that Ebadi's "feminist politics are secular-oriented" (2008, p. 32), there is a critical issue about the appropriacy of referring to her as the "first Muslim woman to win Nobel Prize" in the Western press especially when we know that Tawakkol Karman who is Jilbab and Hijab-wearing Muslim woman was deprived the title of the *Muslim woman who is a Nobel prize winner* in the whole BPC. This can be seen as an example of "significant absences" (Al-Hejin, 2012, p. 17) and excluded themes from the discourse using the term MW in the British press.

Lastly, the recurrent use of the phrase *first Muslim woman to win* in P$_2$ with Shirin Ebadi could be, partially, attributed to the tension the West seems to have had with Iran or maybe the 'Islamic world' at that time i.e. in P$_2$ (Excerpt 8-1A).

Similarly, the crimes committed by individual women whom their religion is Islam was presented in TDT using the phrase *the First MW*, see Excerpt 8-2.

Excerpt 8-2

'Lyrical terrorist' wanted children to carry out jihad [Headline]
A HEATHROW shop assistant who dubbed herself the "Lyrical Terrorist'' yesterday became the **first Muslim woman** in Britain to be found guilty of terrorism offences. [Lead]

(TDT$_3$, November 9, 2007).

The example above implies to the public that she is the first among 'many MWs in Britain'. Let us imagine the difference if TDT has used the following structure **the first woman** *in Britain to be found guilty of terrorism*. This example coheres with the findings reached earlier in chapters 6 and 7 where TDT took a negative stance towards MWs hijab after the 7/7 bombings in London.

On the other hand, the positive connotation of the first Muslim woman`s achievements was found to be always framed within a negative context related to her or her culture as a MW, see Excerpts 8-3.

Excerpt 8-3A[126]

A Labour baroness, her 'barely occupied flat', and pounds 100,000 in allowances [headline]
A LABOUR peer has claimed pounds 100,000 in taxpayer-funded Parliamentary allowances by registering an allegedly barely occupied property as her main home. Baroness Uddin declared a small flat in Maidstone, Kent, as her principal residence for the purposes of her expenses, even though on the House of Lords website she says the East End of London has been her home for "30 years''. By stating that her main home has been outside of the capital since 2001, she has been able to submit expenses claims approaching pounds 200,000. Neighbours at the two-bedroom flat are said to have claimed that the property has lain empty for a number of years since it was purchased in 2005. **Lady Uddin became Britain's first Muslim woman** peer when she was ennobled in 1998, and was a close friend of Tony Blair and his wife, Cherie. …. Lady Uddin is said to have been paid pounds 83,000 in allowances from 2001 to 2004 on a separate property, the whereabouts of which she has refused to disclose. In a statement released by her solicitors, Lady Uddin said: "I do not believe that I have done anything wrong or breached House of Lords rules…."

(TDT₃, May 4, 2009)

Inquiry into peer's pounds 100,000 expenses for 'empty' flat **(Headline)**

(TDT₃, May 6, 2009)

Excerpt 8-3B

First pregnancy for rightwing French cabinet

Rachida Dati, the French justice minister appointed by President Nicolas Sarkozy to boost the visibility of ethnic minorities and women at the top of France's fractured society, announced yesterday that she was pregnant. Dati, 42, the **first Muslim woman** of north African descent to hold a major French cabinet post, is one of the country's most high-profile ministers and is treated in the press as a glamorous celebrity. When asked who the father was, she replied: "My private life is complicated and I'm keeping it off-limits to the press. I won't say anything about it." Dati is not married and had a brief marriage annulled when she was younger. (TG₃, September 4, 2008)

Excerpt 8-3C

International: Europe: Dati to quit as justice minister
Rachida Dati, the French justice minister picked by Nicolas Sarkozy to symbolise change and diversity, is to quit in June after running for election to the European parliament. Dati recently returned to work five days after the caesarean birth of her daughter in order to fight for her job. She is said to have resisted leaving the government and sought reassurances that she would continue to have a role in national politics. Sarkozy confirmed yesterday that she would run for election in Europe and leave the government after the vote. The move highlights the fall from grace of the **first Muslim woman** with north African parents to hold a major French government post. Dati has seen her ministry lurch from crisis to crisis. Advisers quit, judges questioned her style and France's prisons are in crisis with record suicide rates. The European election is seen as a way for her to stage a dignified exit. (TG₃, January 24, 2009)

Excerpt 8-3D

BURKAS DON'T CUT WOMEN OFF FROM SOCIETY SAYS TORY PEER

WEARING a burka does not prevent Muslim women 'engaging in everyday life' in
Britain, the Conservative Party chairman Sayeeda Warsi claimed yesterday. Lady Warsi, the **first Muslim woman** to serve in the Cabinet, defended the right of women to choose to wear the burka in comments that will reignite the row about the full face veil. (TDM₄, August 3, 2010)

Excerpt 8-3E

WARSI TRIGGERS BACKLASH OVER 'ISLAMOPHOBIA'

TORY chairman Baroness Warsi faced a fierce backlash last night after claiming anti-Muslim bigotry was commonplace around British dinner tables. The peer, the **first Muslim woman** to be appointed to the Cabinet, said Islamophobia had 'seeped into our society'. (TDM₄, January 21, 2011)

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[126] Though the amount of money in the headlines should have been written as *100,000 pounds* or *£100,000* it appeared as shown above.

Excerpt 8-3F

PLATELL'S PEOPLE

The Tories' powerful backbench 1922 Committee is agitating for the replacement of the hapless Baroness Warsi, claiming she is the worst chairman the party has ever had. Trouble is that, having paraded her as the **first Muslim woman** in the Cabinet, modernising Dave will never ditch her -- however useless she may be. (TDM$_4$, March 10, 2012)

It is worth noting here that, the RW figure *Lady WARSI* was usually the 'most prominent' British woman that was presented in positive contexts as 'the first MW' except when she 'attacked' prejudices and lslamophobic stances towards face-veiled women and Muslims in Britain. In this incident, her voice as a Muslim woman was questioned (see Excerpt 8-3D, E and F above).

The recurrent occurrence of the phrase *first MW* with particular women was negatively loaded in some newspapers, based on the women referred to, e.g. the Lady Uddin in the RW press TDT (Excerpt 8-3A) versus Lady Warsi in (Excerpt 8-3D, E and F) and thus there is evidence from the examples given above that the use of *First MW* was a deliberate discourse mechanism that can (re)constitute and 'negotiate'[127] the public cognitive model of what characteristics a successful MW 'entails' in public life, including her political and social behaviour, parliamentary expenses and what she would look like[128].

For example, in contrast to the RW press which was interested in reporting about the TORY figure Lady Warsi or using the *first MW* in negative context to talk about to the counter-party figures such as Lady Uddin from the Labour Party, the LW press TG$_4$ proved to talk about a wider variety of 'first MWs'; it referred more to Miss Ebadi (ConcLs 1, 9, 11 & 14: Figure 8-26), Lady Warsi (ConcLs 6, 7, 10,) and Miss Dati (ConcLs 8, 12). However, Miss Dati who is French was mentioned in negative contexts similar to those given in Excerpts 8-3B and C above.

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[127] In Koller's terms (Koller, 2012).

[128] This discourse meaning is multimodal (van Leeuwen, 2011; Jewitt, et al., 2016) i.e. related to the other semiotic forms of the press discourse like photos and TV coverage of public figures. Most references in the British press were given to a non-hijab wearing women.

1	of democracy and human rights. She is the first Muslim woman to win the award 1963	TG 2010
2	history: Salma Yaqoob could become Britain's first Muslim woman MP. The hijab-wearing	TG 2010
3	. Labour candidate Shabana Mahmood is the first Muslim woman to be elected, in Birmingham	TG 2010
4	number of minority ethnic MPs, including the first Muslim woman and first African woman to	TG 2010
5	MP and Labour's Shabana Mahmood is the first Muslim woman to be elected. But there	TG 2010
6	Conservative party chair. She will also be the first Muslim woman to serve in the cabinet.	TG 2010
7	Question Time programme last year. As the first Muslim woman to be a cabinet member she	TG 2010
8	Sarkozy's high-profile female proteges. Dati, the first Muslim woman of north African descent to	TG 2010
9	as Shirin Ebadi, the human rights activist and first Muslim woman to win the Nobel prize, have	TG 2011
10	Warsi, the Conservative chairman. Warsi, the first Muslim woman to attend Cabinet, is	TG 2011
11	that saw her become the first Iranian and first Muslim woman to be awarded the Nobel	TG 2011
12	. The former justice minister Rachida Dati, the first Muslim woman with north African parents to	TG 2012
13	or his lawyers). Not long ago, Collector was the first Muslim woman to sit on the NUS national	TG 2012
14	leaders, such as Dr Shirin Ebadi from Iran, the first Muslim woman to win a Nobel peace prize;	TG 2013
15	Muslim comic-book character, nor even Marvel's first Muslim woman, but she is their first to lead	TG 2014

Figure 8-28 *FIRST MW* in TG$_4$

In addition, TG$_4$ gave attention to a different type of MWs from those discussed in other types of the press. These were figures such as Shabana Mahmood from the Labour Party (ConcLs 3 to 5: Figure 8-28) and two other hijab-wearing political figures from the Respect Party, i.e. Salma Yaqoob (ConcL 2) and Ruqayyah Collector (ConcLs 13), see Figure 8-28. It is worth noting here that these were the first British hijab-wearing women mentioned in positive contexts as *FIRST MW* in the BPC, after nearly two decades of using the term *MW* (i.e. since 1992). ConcL 15 (Figure 8-28) referred to a comic-book character named Kamala Khan.

Thus far, we have seen how the clustered collocate *FIRST MW/ THE FIRST MW* was used in the different types of the BPC. This use proved to be tied to the ideological position and interest of the newspaper. Through the discussion of the linguistically significant collocational cluster *FIRST MW* in the British press, it can be concluded that the cluster has been 'epistemically' more than lexically primed with discourse bound connotations to highlight the positive or negative features of particular types of MWs, e.g. *those who do not wear the Islamic hijab.* However, in comparison to the RW press, the LW press was found more neutral towards British MWs and talked about a hijab-wearing MWs in P$_4$ e.g. Shabana Mahmood and Salma Yaqoob using the phrase *first MW.*

In sum, the ideological/political affiliation, chronological period, the construction of the news story, and the reference (type of MW in the discourse) all play a role in assigning the semantic connotation to the recurrent phrase *FIRST MW*: cf. 'contextual modulation' (Evans, 2009) (2.9). Hence, cultural values, including the political affiliation and religious beliefs stored cognitively [129], facilitate the understanding of the pragmatic meaning which the text conveys through *first MW*.

8.4.2   Veiled MW(s)

The word *veiled* was found as a significant MW(s)-collocate (see tables 8-1 and 8-2 in 8.1). When ConcLs were consulted, it was found that MWs are modified based on their dress as in the phrase *veiled/veil-wearing MW(s)* (F=47). This linguistic pattern of presenting MW(s) through an ambiguous word invites a variety of cognitive images that could be determined through co-text if extra details are provided. WordSmith$_6$ revealed that this pattern increased in P$_3$ and P$_4$ and it was more preferred in TI and TG than in other types of the press.

However, other similar ways of presenting MW(s) were also found; these are given in figures 8-29, 8-30 and 8-31.

1	in the election campaign imagery. There is no sign of the headscarved Muslim woman, embodiment of the	TG 2007
2	time. It dwells on the past's persistence in the present. Headscarfed Muslim women fold away some washing. A	TG 2011
3	secularism and Islam. Its initial endorsement of a young headscarf-wearing Muslim woman, Ilham Moussaid, as a	TG 2011
4	and numerous other private institutions where ordinary, headscarf-wearing Muslim women work, including their	TG 2012
5	the crowd about a podium discussion at which a young headscarf-wearing Muslim woman asked him what she	TI 2011

Figure 8-29 The pattern: *headscar*-wearing MW(s)*

1	. Coincidentally, a few days ago, it was revealed that a burka-wearing Muslim woman of Moroccan origin, married	TG 2008
2	like me," she explained, while on her way to meet a niqab-wearing Muslim woman from Manchester. Lees had	TI 2013
3	, with impressive candour, her own attitude towards niqab-wearing Muslim women, notably her silent	TI 2013
4	LENGTH: 60 words *Kate Melville weeps for the hijab- and niqab-wearing Muslim women who have no freedom of	TG 2009:

Figure 8-30 The pattern: *niqab/burka*-wearing MW(s)*

1	, to encourage them to 'come forward'. By my calculation, hijab-wearing Muslim women of TVpresenting age	TDM 2006
2	PAGES; Pg. 16 LENGTH: 465 words For Zarqa Nawaz, a hijab-wearing Muslim woman living in the Canadian prairies	TG 2007
3	of the Arabian Nights than they do to reality. I am a hijab-wearing Muslim woman. I have absolutely no	TG 2009a
4	make the breakthrough. It's even more difficult if you're a hijab-wearing Muslim woman. Right up to the last minute	TG 2010
5	job. Some men in Respect hated the fact that she was a non-hijab-wearing Muslim woman, she says. "The	TG 2012
6	in Bradford's Respect party hated the fact that she was a non-hijab-wearing Muslim woman. On 2 May, Ali-Khan was	TG 2013

Figure 8-31 *The pattern: hijab-wearing/hijab MW(s)*

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[129] By the reader and mainly the writer who compose the news story.

In the examples above, the main description of identity, after the word *Muslim*, is based on the dress, and each description has its own pragmatic implications within the micro and macro structure of the given discourse. Given that the indefinite word *veil* was found more pervasive than definite dress words, e.g. *niqab* or *headscarves*, and refers, in most cases, to the face-veil, it could be concluded that there is a media and socio-political *exaggeration/magnification* of the tiny group who wears the *face-veil* to justify presenting this religious dress as a social problem in the British context in the period after 7/7. In addition, these choices help establish a particular cognitive schematic image of MW(s).

8.4.3 Modern versus Traditional MW(s): re-framers or modifiers

1	superimposed hats, veils and sleeves to represent modern Muslim women. "Seeing this magazine	TDT2
2	upon us is an abomination and I write here as a modern Muslim woman. He lectures the nation on the	TI2 .t
3	victim Shahara Islam was the embodiment of a modern Muslim woman. London born and bred, the	TM2
4	- for there on our screens was a confident, likable, modern Muslim woman, the antithesis of a	TG3
5	author Randa Abdel-Fattha features Esma, "a modern Muslim woman with an age-old dilemma".	TG3

Figure 8-32 The pattern: *Modern MW(s)*

1	, was puzzled and clearly disappointed that this traditional Muslim woman did not provide her with a	TI1 .t
2	and at Birmingham coach station disguised in the traditional Muslim women's dress, alongside his	TDM2
3	. She was puzzled and clearly disappointed that this traditional Muslim woman did not feed her nostalgia	TI2 .
4	without making a fuss. She is still very much a traditional Muslim woman, but she swims in a	TDM3
5	LENGTH: 375 words DRESSED from head to toe in a traditional Muslim woman's burkha, this is the	TDM3
6	escaped from Britain after hiding his face behind a traditional Muslim woman's niqab and using his	TDM3
7	force of his famous charisma. It takes a lot to get traditional Muslim women in niqabs out canvassing	TG3
8	votes were vital to his victory, and some came from traditional Muslim women who wanted an end to the	TG3

Figure 8-33 The pattern: *Traditional MW(s)*

The two patterns in figures 8-32 and 8-33 above reflect a tendency to associate MW(s) with the adjective *modern* or with *traditional*. While in Figure 8-32, the modifier *modern* was used almost always with a positive connotation in relation to the nodes MW(s), all the examples in Figure 8-33 involved a negative connotation attached to MW(s) (ConcLs 1, 3, 4, 7 & 8) or to their dress (ConcLs 2, 5 & 6). The negative instances of *traditional MW(s)* in relation to their dress were related to terrorism (ConcL 2 and 6) and robbery (ConcL 5). This negativity was particularly a feature of TDM $_{2\&3}$ and more notable after 7/7, see Figure 8-33. Indeed, it might be concluded from 8-32 and 8-33 that in comparison to other newspapers, TDM had adopted a more negative stance towards MWs.

However, classifying MW with the collocate *modern* invites cognitive comparison with that of an 'older' version of this type of social actor, i.e. MW.

Overall, examples in 8-33 suggest a conceptual reframing at the collocational level where the MW's 'veil' is presented as a cultural (traditional) practice in negative contexts rather than religious. The opposition *modern* versus *traditional* coheres with the claim that the representation of the veil is constructed in the British press with the exclusion of the Islamic, and more generally the Muslim feminists', view as that proves to be problematic for the simplistic dichotomous representation of gender relations in the press i.e. 'Muslim vs. Modernist' (Richardson, 2004, p. 90) (see 3.3 and 3.4).

8.5   Chapter summary

From the previous analyses and discussion, it was found that there is an excessive interest in the British press (of the persuasions represented by the BPC) to report the Muslim woman as an object under socio-political pressure either from her family/country or the community in relation to her dress. This conceptual structure was found to be prominent and was conveyed through a variety of linguistic structures and forms.

The examination of the occurrences of the research lexical nodes MW(s), beyond the limited scope of the Kew word in context KWIC (see 2.10), concordance lines has proved that semantic association is a far more complex phenomenon than just a lexical, i.e. *collocate,* or textual one. While Hoey (2004, 2005) suggests that semantic association is both a lexical and discourse phenomenon, cognitive semantics reveals that it is a cognitive experiential phenomenon, as discussed in the several schemas and conceptual structures discussed above.

The recurrent schematic conceptual structures found in the corpus have shown that most of the conceptual structures evoked are derived from the force dynamics domain. This cognitive account is what can contribute to filling the gap

that corpus-CDA (Baker, 2010) has called upon corpus linguists to seek to fill, in order to explain semantic prosody, i.e. evaluative meaning of lexical priming in the text; which he signalled but could not explain (p. 333), see 2.11. That was simply because corpus-CDA does not include the cognitive apparatus to account for the cognitive meaning of the discourse, i.e. *cognitive semantics*.

The semantic background information and textual and non-textual contexts of use are all elements which participate cognitively in the ultimate derived meaning and inferences perceived by the reader or listener. The lexical node MW(s) was found to collocate with a number of political lexical phrases that embody socio-political stances towards aspects of Muslim women's life, especially dress. To a great extent, similar themes and collocates were found to appear with the singular form of *MW* and with the plural form *MWs*. The phrase *Muslim woman* was found usually to denote a particular individual mentioned in a particular news story in the discourse event. However, the plural forms were found mostly to relate to a social or political stance towards a community of Muslim women.

An overwhelming interest was found in press discourse in reporting news stories related to the face-veil, which in fact is worn by a very small portion of the Muslim women's communities /minorities in the UK and France. This supports Richardson's (2004) claim about the British press using *the part* i.e. *individual Muslims* to represent *the whole* of Islam and the complete community of veiled/hijab Muslim women in this case. The corpus semantic tools such as concordancing and identifying collocates were not usually illuminative in regard to the 'quantification of bias' as claimed by corpus-CDA analysts (Baker, et al., 2008), however, they can automate the process of selection (Widdowson, 2004) and guide the discovery of the frequent linguistic (Baker, 2006) and conceptual patterns in the corpus. The linguistic collocates were also found to provide a rigorous basis for establishing the conceptual commonalities in the corpus.

The pragmatic meaning of the lexical nodes MW(s) in the text was found to be dependent on five main factors:

1- The recurrent scenes and scenarios that associate with a particular lexical choice or collocates, see 8.2, 5.7.3, 6.5.1 and 6.5.2.
2- The preceding text i.e. *the headline, discourse, events* and *chronological period, see* 5.7.3, 5.8.1 and Table 8.3 in 8.3.
3- The level of power which the discourse producer or institution has, see 5.8.1, 8.2.1, 8.2.2 and 8.2.3.
4- The common cognitive mechanisms which the writer employs so that the reader can unpack his intended (pragmatic) meaning, see Excerpts 5-4 in 5.7.3, 5.8.2, Excerpts 6-7 in 6.7, 7.5, 8.2.4 and 8.2.5.
5- The mutual cognitive environment and relevance between the writer, readers and the community, see 8.2.1, 8.2.2 and 8.2.3.

The last two points (4 and 5) are the connections which traditional CDA misses in its analysis of a text. Commonalities in the conceptual structures found in the press discourse which was analysed reflect the cognitive models which are inclined to be shared in British society. These models are captured through the analysis of different linguistic forms and structures where (part of) the lexical node MW(s) or a group of words in a particular structure sets up a particular schema combined with other background epistemic (cognitive semantic) information, e.g. *emancipation of MWs, the first MW, worn by many MWs, etc.*

A conceptual structure has a meaning which is understood through cognitive mechanisms like those of:

1- Quantifying for *magnification* or *minimising agreement, disagreement,* see 8.3.
2- Conceptual framing, reframing of the associated scene and scenarios, schematisation of identity and context, see Excerpt 5-7 in 5.8.2, 7.5.2 and 7.5.3.
3- Indefinite expressions in discourse for *ambiguity, uncertainty* and *exaggeration,* see 8.3 Figure 8-18 in 8.4.2, Table 5-2 & Figure 5-2 in 5.2, Excerpt 5-1 in 5.5 and Excerpt 5-7 in 5.8.2
4- Profiling, see Excerpts 5-4 in 5.7.3 and 6.5.2.
5- Frame of reference, see 8.2.1, 6.3, 6.5, the discussion of figures 6-12 and 6-16 in 6.8, Examples 1, 7, 8, 10 in Table 7-7 in 7.5.2 and Examples 7-8 in 7.5.4.
6- Exclusion and inclusion, see 5.7, 8.2.2 and 8.4.1.
7- Stylistic capital letters to attract the reader's attention, see ConcL 1 in Table 8-3; Excerpt 5-7 in 5.8.2 and Excerpt 8.2 in 8.4.1.

These mechanisms are constituted through semantic co-occurrence and lexical priming in discourse. The pragmatic meaning is cognitive model

dependent; and the cognitive models are believed to be values dependent, e.g. *religious/ideological* (Lakoff, 1996). For example, a feminist cognitive model of women's role in society is different from that of 'conservatives' and Muslims, see 3.4.4.

The selection of the source domain of particular metaphors or conceptual structures is pragmatic function dependent. For example, the selection of the force dynamics domain was always used either to describe the use of power against Muslim women through the veil ban or to describe civil violence against them in which MW(s) are usually presented as weak PATIENTS i.e. *occupying the 'semantic slot' of a weak agentless object under pressure in an action frame/ schema* (Chilton, 2004). Accounting for the conceptual structure in discourse is accounting for the commonly shared cognitive mechanisms employed in human production and consumption of discourse and hence the spread or 'entrenchment'[130] and recurrence of particular structures is 'epistemic priming' at the media and social level of discourse. The priming (epistemic and lexical) has been more noticeable in the third and fourth chronological periods which indicated a recurrent negative semantic prosody with MWs increasingly in relation to their dress.

This chapter has given a cognitive semantic explanation of conceptual patterns that contribute to the discourse/semantic prosody associated with MWs at the sentence-level in the BPC using mainly the corpus semantic tools of concordancing.

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[130] In Hart`s (2007) terms.

9   Chapter Nine: Conclusion

9.1   Introduction

This research set out to mainly investigate how a priming model of CDA can be used in studying the British press discourse about Muslim women (MWs). In addition, secondary goals included, first, exploring whether there have been variations in the representation of MW(s) over time (diachronic) in the BPC, and second whether there are, if any, (synchronic) variations in the use of 'MW(s)' between different types of the British newspapers i.e. RW versus LW and third, it aims to offer a way forward to deal with many of the conceptual representations and other aspects, i.e. cognitive mechanisms, that have been neglected in previous CDA research on the topic (e.g. Al-Hejin, 2012; Baker, et al., 2013). The research developed a corpus-based contextualised approach that integrates a number of analytical methods and concepts from corpus linguistics, cognitive linguistics and CDA in the analysis of the discourse representing/ using the term MW(s).

Corpora of articles from TDM (The Daily Mail), TDT (The Daily Telegraph), TI (The Independent), TG (The Guardian) and TM (The Mirror), were built for the analysis. These included two right-wing (RW) newspapers i.e. TDM and TDT, and three left-wing (LW) newspapers i.e. TI, TG and TM. The whole corpora were called the British Press Corpora about Muslim Women (BPC) which have included news articles and letters to editors that used the node MW(s) anywhere in the text.

The chronological tracing and analysis of discourses using *MW(s)* in the previous chapters led to several theoretical and methodological insights and conclusions. The findings provided evidence for the advantage of incorporating an 'epistemic priming' model of CDA to the study of semantics and pragmatics in discourse in general and in studying the representation of MWs in media discourse in particular.

This chapter will be organised under separate headings presenting the answers to the research questions (given in 1.5), besides providing the research's

strength and limitations, implications (theoretical and methodological) as well as recommendations for future research.

9.2 How are Muslim women represented in the British press media? (RQ 1)

In general, the representations of MW(s) in the BPC were found to centre around themes of war, violence, extremism, terrorism, political views and disputes in relation to veils and headscarf-bans. These were the main macro-semantic structures that were found through calculating significant keywords (Chapter 5), and collocations with the nodes *Woman* and *women* in headlines (Chapter 6) and at the sentence level (chapters 7 and 8).

In all of these scenarios, MW$_S$ are epistemically primed as AGENTLESS PATIENT WHO UNDERGOES A VIOLENT POWER. Muslim women are negatively presented to the reader as agentless PATIENT and passive social actors in a discourse that is clearly 'denying them their resisting agency' (Shirazi, 2010, p. 9) except in negative context as in *refuses to remove her veil* (ConcL 3, Figure 6-8 in Chapter 6), similar examples will be discussed next.

9.2.1 The main keywords and collocates that co-occur or are lexically primed with MWs in the BPC (corpus-based perspective)

In terms of keywords, each period exhibited distinctive keywords. First, keywords in P$_1$ included the theme of war crimes committed against Bosnian MWs in the 1990s e.g. *raping*, *ethnic cleansing*, *the Srebrenica massacre* and *war*, this was confirmed by the macro-level collocates i.e. at the headline-level in Chapter 6. For example, P$_1$ also included negativity from *Kashmir* about militants forcing MWs to wear the '*veil*' (Excerpts 6-3; ConcL 12, Figure 6-1). However, many of these articles are often arguing for the protection of Muslims by highlighting their victimhood and their religious profile. In other words, the negative semantic/discourse prosody in P$_1$ is more related to the brutal Serbian soldiers in the Bosnia War and the extremists in Kashmir as given in the BPC. In fact, no major significant keywords were found in relation to the Muslim women DRSS in P$_1$, however, they started to appear after 9/11 (Table 5-1). This suggests that the

British press interest in reporting controversies over MW's dress has become prominent in the period after 9/11 (i.e. in P_2, P_3 and P_4) but not before then. In addition, while the <u>DRESS</u> keywords in P_2 (after 9/11) were various and did not include face-covers, they became more ambiguous in P_3 e.g. *VEIL, VEILS* and *VEILED* before they, finally, turn to be more regular about facial covers in P_4 e.g. *BURKA, FACE-(veil) and NIQAB,* see tables 5-1, 5-2 and Figure 5-1 in Chapter 5, also cf. Table 6.1 in Chapter 6.

This documents a diachronic change in the discourse using the term MWs. The overall findings in this category suggest that the use of the term Muslim woma(e)n in the British press was narrowed down to denote those women who cover their faces more particularly after the terrorist bombings of 7/7 and the French and British political *DEBATE*s and calls to outlaw/*BAN* face-veils after June 2009 i.e. in P_4 (see section 3.4.5). It can be concluded that our split of the BPC corpora (4.2) proved to be informative in tracing a number of keywords that were distinctive of particular periods.

In fact, this is coherent with the findings in the list of keywords related to RELIGION (5.3) where very few keywords related to religion were found in P_1, instead, they started to appear more frequently after 9/11 (Table 5-1). This points to the conclusion that, unlike P_2, P_3 and P_4, the use of the term MW(s) in P_1 was not principally discussing or questioning the MW(s)` identity or religion; this indicates a major shift in using the term MWs in the British press i.e. after 9/11 2001 and more notably after 7/7/ 2005.

Collocates at the headlines level of the BPC (Chapter 6) were mainly related to publicly and politically debating variant forms of MW's dress such as the *jilbab*, *niqab*, *hijab* and *veil* and the possibility of a *ban* on *headscarves* in *France* and the *face-veil* in *Britain* and France. In fact, in P_3 the face-veil was found to be debated as an *obstacle* and *barrier* to *INTEGRATION* instead of being a sub-form of *MULTICULTURALISM* particularly in Britain after *STRAW's* and *Blair's* anti-face-veil comments in October 2006.

These findings were confirmed by the Wmatrix$_3$ semantic categories of the significant collocations with the nodes woman/women in the BPC (Chapter 7:

7.2 and 7.3). In addition, key-collocates (a keyword and collocate in headlines) have contained the themes of *INTEGRATION*, *terrorism*, *suicide bombers*, *honour killings*, and veil *BANS* (tables 5-1 and 6-1 and 6-2).

In P$_4$, keywords were related mainly to political and judicial *BANs* of *face-veils* in Britain and *FRANCE.* However, while the word *BAN* was found as a keyword in P$_4$, the word *DEBATE* was a keyword in P$_3$ and P$_4$, in fact, this recurrent theme was not significant before 9/11, but started to appear as significant macro-structure in P$_3$ i.e. after 7/7. This was attributed to the growing anti-face-veils stances in France, and in Britain after Straw's comments in 2006.

In addition, a discussion of the macro-level collocate *attacks* (see 6.5.2) revealed that the scene of battling is central to how issues related to MWs and debates about her veil are presented in the BPC. Furthermore, keywords and different types of significant collocations (in headlines and at the sentence level) revealed that negative connotations and discourse prosody were brought to the term 'MW(s)' from news stories happening in Nigeria, France, Britain, Afghanistan, Kashmir, Malaysia and Egypt (e.g. see 6.3 and 7.5.4). In addition, 'MW' was associated recurrently with a number of individual women involved in criminal (*Roshonara Choudhry*) or fraud contexts (*Lady Uddin*) as well as incompetent political performance (*Miss Dati*). Indeed, the RW figure *Lady WARSI* was usually the 'most prominent' British woman that was presented in positive contexts as 'the first MW' (8.4.1) except when she 'attacked' prejudices and lslamophobic stances towards face-veiled women and Muslims in Britain. In this incident, her voice as a Muslim woman was questioned (see Excerpt 8-3D, E and F in 8.4.1).

The macro and micro- semantic structure of the BPC discourse was also found to cohere with the colonial utilisation of the 'liberal feminist' discourse (see 3.4) about 'equality', 'forced marriages' and 'violence' against 'Muslim' women to disparage Islam as backward and violent to women. In fact, macro-level collocates in headlines (Chapter 6) confirmed with statistically significant evidence that MWs were overwhelmingly written about more than they were

given the opportunity to write by themselves (Ahmad, 2006, p. 980), except in TI which was found to have a Muslim woman who is a feminist writing about MWs significantly in P$_{2\ \&\ 3}$ (see 6.4 and 6.10).

Finally, there were only a few positive significant collocates with MW(s) at the sentence-level such as *devout*, *Nobel*, *powerful*, *first*, *empower* beside some other collocates that suggest a conceptual structure many of which proved to have a negative representation, semantic associations or were used in a negative context. For example, MWs occupied the semantic slot of 'weak agentless PATIENTS' with the collocate *empower,* and some instances of the collocational form *devout MW* occurred in a negative context such as *bombings* denoting a 7/7 bombings suspect who escaped in 'devout Muslim woman clothing', see ConcL 6, Figure 7-2 in 7.4.

The overall discourse emerging from the significant collocates, keywords, and Wmatrix$_3$ categories can be seen to represent and epistemically prime MWs as 1) victims of war crimes in Bosnia (before 9/11), 2) victims of sharia laws and 'Muslim' culture e.g. *stoned, honour killings*, *forced marriages,* 3) not an integrated part of UK society and irrational, particularly those who wear the face-veil (after 7/7) as well as 4) criminal and violent (after 7/7). In fact, even the discourse that aimed at condemning sharia law was not methodologically nor statistically grounded. It presents incidents in remote countries as a threat to liberty as well as solely affecting women and not men.

Further exploration of the lemmas *extremi** and *moderat** revealed that MWs are substantially associated with extremists and extremism; in fact, mentions of *moderat** (F=239) reached only 31.44% of the frequency of *extremi** (F=760) in the BPC. On the other hand, though *terrorism* was found as a collocate at the headlines level after 9/11, the lemma *terror** (F=1455) proved to be used frequently with 'MW(s)' associating terrorism with Islam since the early 1990s (see Excerpt 6-5A). Nevertheless, the frequency of the lemmas *extremi** and *terror** rose to unprecedented levels after 9/11 in the BPC (figures 5-5 and 6-3).

Therefore, it can be concluded that MWs have been increasingly associated with extremism, terrorism and men's violence in the given ideological spectrum of Islam and Muslims in the BPC, cf. 5.5 and 6.5.

In brief, the discourse reported in the BPC about MWs was found to be mainly about 1) incidents of violence and 2) socio-political views that reinforce an old trend in the British press perceiving MWs, as incompetent, weak and victims of violence that is claimed to be 'Islamic' (Richardson, 2004, p. 90; Brown, 2006, p. 310; Elgamri, 2008, p. 214 and others see 3.3); nevertheless, negativity has increased substantially after 9/11 and more particularly after 7/7 and Straw's comments in October 2006 as well as the French face-veil ban in 2010.

9.2.2 The main conceptual structures, cognitive semantic mechanisms and schemas that co-occur with or construe the image of MWs in the BPC

In this section, I will summarise the main conceptual structures found in the previous analytical chapters, then, I will summarise the cognitive mechanisms that were found to embody in discourse. Conceptual structures were found to be essential to the representation of MWs and their dress in the BPC more frequently after 9/11 and 7/7 and most of them represent MWs to be UNDER A VIOLENT FORCE or USING BARRIERS/ AN UNPLEASANT FORCE OF SEPARATION that PREVENTS THEM FROM INTEGRATION. These conceptual structures can be processed through a number of cognitive mechanism such as metaphorical framing, reframing and schematisation (2.8).

On the other hand, raising the religious profile i.e. *profiling* (Langacker, 2008, p. 67) of MWs was found to be the main source of misrepresentations and negativity in the British press (in the BPC) about this type of social actor e.g. *MW pupil* versus *School girl*; *A MW IS A KILLER* versus A *STUDENT/WOMAN IS A KILLER*. This 'mechanism' was more recurrent and discursive in the RW press after the French ban on the face-veils in 2010. In addition, the term MW was usually used within a negative frame of reference e.g. the status of Afghani women, stoning verdicts and sharia law, court cases in Britain and Malaysia, face-

veil bans in the Netherlands and France as well as fraud and criminal incidents. Indeed, framing was also made through a number of metaphorical and metonymical structures e.g. FACE-VEILS ARE PRISONS/BARRIERS TO INTEGRATION, FACE-VEILED MWs ARE NOT AN INTEGRATED PART OF OUR COUNTRY.

The analysis in all chapters confirmed a consistent epistemic and significant lexical priming of MWs in communicative events, news stories and linguistic structures where the MW occupies the semantic slot of a weak agentless PATIENT in the action frames i.e. victim of oppression and violence. In addition, a number of overstated views and impressionistic estimations were associated with MWs through indefinite quantification mechanisms (8.3), in many cases, quantification was used for either magnification or minimising the quantity of particular group of MWs who wear niqab versus those who wear headscarf through which the debate about MWs dress was intensified, this was more notable in the RW press TDM.

The discourse analysed in this study shows MWs to be usually epistemically primed to occur in the 'semantic slot' (Chilton, 2004) of an *agentless*, *weak*, *submissive* and *oppressed* patient in an AGENT-PATIENT COMPULSORY FORCE DYNAMICS schema. It further placed the 'face-veiled' MWs outside the mainstream of British society. The press interest in using the term MW(s) served three main goals: 1) spreading the views of the feminist movement to fight the so-called extremist 'political Islam' through *liberating*, *emancipating* and *empowering* MWs, as suggested after 7/7 (see Rees-Mogg (2005) in section 3.4.5); 2) maintaining the so-called 'social order' in the era of 'global terrorism' (Joppke, 2009); 3) spreading an atmosphere of Islamophobia to maintain this so-called 'social order' in Europe. The most used conceptual SOURCE concepts in the press came from the domain of force dynamics. Hence, this discourse exemplifies bias in the matter of the power conflict between the dynamic movement of Islam in the West and the political elite who is concerned with preserving the 'social order'; while they condemn the use of power against the oppressed 'Muslim' women, they excessively use political power to prevent MWs expressing their

moderate Islamic views in the press and social life. Since a debate on a footing of equal power does not exist between the parties concerned, this discourse represents a socio-politically powerful use of democratic channels to legislate social stances that criminalise and discriminate against a minority i.e. *face-veil/headscarf-wearing women* in Europe, cf. (Ahmed, 2014; Zempi & Chakraborti, 2014 and Danièle & Khursheed, 2017). Put simply, in many cases, the use of the expression *MWs* resembles the colonial feminist discourse of 'Muslim women's emancipation' and the veil (barrier) in the colonial era; it is used to attack Muslim communities (Ahmed, 1992; El-Guindi, 1990) and Islam. The analysis of the cluster *first MW* was found to be 'epistemically' more than lexically primed with discourse bound connotations to highlight the positive or negative features of particular types of MWs, e.g. *those who do not wear the Islamic hijab.* However, in comparison to the RW press, the LW press – just recently in P$_4$ - was found more neutral towards British MWs and talked about a hijab-wearing MWs e.g. Shabana Mahmood and Salma Yagoob using the phrase *first MW.* The achievements of Hijab-wearing Muslim women such as Tawakkul Karman - the Nobel prize winner- was supressed and almost totally excluded from the BPC discourse about MWs (8.4.1).

The findings confirm that what MWs need is a contextualised 'feminist' discourse which operates within the contextual background (Bullock, 2002) of their religion, countries and challenges e.g. playing sport and does not go beyond the boundaries of their country of residence to evoke incompatible cognitive political models which can spread biased generalisations and stereotypes about MWs and Islam, see 3.4.

9.3 What are 1) the linguistic and 2) the conceptual and cognitive differences or variations found within the British Press Corpus regarding how Muslim women are represented? (RQs 2 and 3)

Discussion in 9.2 have provided an overview of how the use of the *MW(s)* has developed diachronically in the BPC, in this section more focus will be given to the synchronic variations found between the RW and LW press in the BPC. First, the LW broadsheets (TI and TG) used the term MW(s) the most, followed

by the RW tabloid TDM in all the three periods. On the other hand, while the RW broadsheet TDT started its use of the term MW(s) (F=1) in the year 2000, this increased substantially in comparison to the LW tabloid TM which started its coverage in 1995 but was ironically the least interested in the term MW(s) in the BPC. This documents that TDT discourse was not interested in the term before 9/11; in fact, TDT has included positive cognitive representations of the religious practice of the hijab that was regrettably absent from all the other newspapers in the BPC, i.e. the MW IS A DIAMOND PROTECTED BY HIJAB (F=2) (Table 5-4)/*Terrorism should not stop Muslim women wearing the hijab* (Excerpt 6-6B)[131]. Nevertheless, this positive stance towards 'veiling' in TDT changed and disappeared dramatically after 7/7. In P$_4$, unlike the LW press, the RW (TDT) exhibited recurrent and discursive negative lexicalisations in relation to MWs' wearing of face-veils, i.e. *ordered to remove her veil, refused to remove, insisted on wearing*. In fact, the verb *remove* was found with a statistical significance to be a distinctive feature of the RW discourse about MWs i.e. W(s)-collocate (appendixes 7A and 7B).

In relation to cultural misconceptions, since the LW broadsheets were found to have started their intense interest in the term MW(s) earlier than the RW press, many of the widely shared stereotypes and prejudices about MWs were found consistently and more intensively favoured in the LW broadsheets (TG and TI) than in the RW broadsheet TDT. Similar to the LW broadsheets, TDM (the RW tabloid) showed less, though still frequent, preference of these stereotypes in P$_1$, nevertheless, it disseminated the most unprecedented number of mentions of these stereotypes in its discourse after 9/11 (see 5.5, 6.5.2 and 6.7). Therefore, it was concluded, MWs were always and recurrently associated with stereotypes of *honour killings*, *forced marriages*, *extremism* and *terrorisms* even before 9/11 (ibid). However, while some of these stereotypes and negative semantic associations declined, some others such as the *oppressed face-veiled Muslim women* unfolded after 9/11 and more particularly after 7/7.

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[131] This example was found to frame letters to editors in the early months after 7/7.

In terms of empowerment of Ws (7.5.1), the LW broadsheets have presented a more considerable type of 'empowerment' to MWs than that found in the RW press. While the LW press talks about economic and intellectual empowerment of Ws, the RW press was occupied with debating the 'claim' made by a number of Muslim women that their face-veil empowers them (7.5.1). Nevertheless, in coherence with the conceptual structure where MW(s) are represented as weak PATIENTS who need power to enable/ empower them, MWs were significantly conceptualised as prisoners in their veils who need to be liberated and emancipated from an oppressive force i.e. Muslim men, face-veils and religion (7.5). This was a significant and prominent feature of the LW press discourse about MWs (Appendix 7B) in P_1 and P_2.

On the other hand, in contexts where MWs show agency and a desire to wear the veil they are represented, mainly in the RW, as irrational and countering ('insist' to wear face-veils, and 'refuse') the judicial and political calls for 'removal' of face-veils (bans) (8.2.6). In fact, the face-veil' controversies in the press unfolded after the Straw's remarks and dress in itself was not a significant category or topic in P_1 i.e. before 9/11. In sum, it can be concluded that while the LW press was found to significantly present MWs as weak patients who need to be 'liberated', 'emancipated' and 'empowered', the RW press exhibited a statistically significant preference (Appendix 7A) to epistemically and semantically associate MWs with veiling news stories mainly related to restrictions posed by social or governmental institutions on MWs e.g. *ordered to remove, barred from wearing*, etc. Finally, the achievements of hijab-wearing MWs women were either suppressed or excluded from the BPC discourse (van Leeuwen, 1996; 2008), cf. Tawakkol Karman in 8.4.1.

9.4 How can the proposed model of epistemic priming inform CDA research? (Methodological and theoretical implications) (RQ4)

The findings revealed that semantic association is a far more complex phenomenon in discourse than the limited perspective of corpus 'semantics' or lexical priming theory (Hoey, 2005) would imply. The study of discourse

meaning should not be limited either to *Cognitive* or *Corpus* semantics but each of these approaches in linguistics should complement the other in support of a better understanding of the semantic behaviour of the linguistic phenomena and structures in text within a CDA theoretical framework. For example, the corpus semantics consensus that significant collocates appear within a four word span to each side of a node e.g. WOMAN (Stubbs, 2001, p. 29) affords only a limited view of the potentially and important semantic associations, especially if the claims and findings of cognitive semantic approaches to meaning are taken into account, i.e. the Encyclopaedic view of meaning, *profiling, framing, conceptual metaphors,* etc.

Collocations with MW in conceptual structures like MW'S FACE VEIL IS A MARK (STATEMENT) OF SEPARATION represent a whole discourse in some cases, but, they do not show up at the lexical level of priming that Hoey (2005) suggests. They rather reflect cognitive (epistemic) priming in discourse i.e. discourse prosody of the node MW(s). To deal with this in our study, both a macro and micro discourse analysis were carried out including more textual details in the analysis, see sections 4.3 & 4-4 and Figure 2-2 in 2.11. The discourse semantic behaviour in relation to the connotation of MW(s) revealed that the lexical node *MW(s)* has a semantic associative dialectical relationship with the discourse in which it occurs/is used; in other words, conceptual profiling and framing mechanisms were found to constitute and influence the discourse meaning and in some cases to be the main discourse e.g. A MW IS A CRIMINAL/ KILLER.

Semantic association is, therefore argued, from the evidence of the current research, to be a form of co-occurrence and a feature of simultaneous synchronic activation in discourse, e.g. *profiling* and diachronic epistemic and semantic prosody primed over a period of time, i.e. *in recurrent discourse.* It is simply a cognitive phenomenon of co-occurrence in social discourse and mainly but not totally context- and experience-bound.

The cognitive approach taken in my study has proven to be illuminative of the discourse meaning (semantic and pragmatic) associated with MW(s) and of how identification of conceptual structure in discourse can capture cognitive models/ideological orientations and illuminate the meaning of a particular discourse i.e. THE FIRST MW.../ THE MOST PROMINENT MW.../ MW IS A KILLER (8.3), etc. The most 'epistemically primed' meaning of the lexical node MW(s) in social (media and political) discourse is the one most often retrieved pragmatically with distinctive particular scenes that are experientially learned. For example, Muslim women are forced to marry their cousins/wear the veil/ Muslim women are imprisoned in their veils is an instance of the conceptual structure MW(s) ARE UNDER VIOLENT PRESSURE but not of YOUNG WOMEN ARE THE VICTIMS OF FAMILIAL VIOLENCE. Though they represent similar scenarios and have the same cognitive mechanism PART TO PROFILE THE WHOLE (*religion* versus *age*), yet each has a different pragmatic meaning in the discourse.

The current incorporation of cognitive semantics into corpus-based CDA with the capacity to account for recurrences as a type of lexical and epistemic priming, through statistically significant evidence, has proven to be illuminative in revealing the cognitive mechanisms and conceptual structures that become or are wanted to be entrenched in elite and the social/ media discourse about MWs[132]. This was also evident in Otaif (2015) where the constituents of particular conceptual patterns and structures were identified, with corpus assistance, as spreading through various linguistic forms and recurring in different discourse samples beyond the sentence and co-text level.

In other words, recurrent metaphors and conceptual structures in discourse but not the mitigated and reframed ones are the ones that matter for the overall meaning of discourse e.g. FACE-VEILED MWS ARE NOT INTEGRATED PART OF OUR COUNTRY WHO USES VIOLENT FORCE TO SPLIT THE COMMUNITY (5.7.4)/ FACE-VEILED MWS ARE UNDER

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[132] By socio-political stakeholders such as MPs.

VIOLENT FORCE, FACE-VEILED MWS SHOULD BE PUT UNDER FORCE versus A MW IS A PRECIOUS DIAMOND (see Table 5-4 in 5.7.4). While the first structures form a recurrent discourse that is textually and epistemically primed, with statistically significant evidence, through different communicative events and linguistic formats in the discourse analysed, the latter is rarely found or noticed in the discourse reported as it represents the 'good things' about the THEM group that have to be excluded/mitigated in a biased discourse (van Dijk, 1998), see Table 5-4 and Excerpt 5-5A in 5.7.4.

In cognitive semantics, the Conceptual Framing (CF) (Fillmore, 1975) (see 2.8.3) is about the *frames* and associated *scenes* or *scenarios* which bring about a distinctive perspective in discourse e.g. *it would be better if Britain had fewer face-veiled MWs*, THE FIRST MW, A MW IS A KILLER, MODERN MWs, MW'S FACE-VEIL IS A BARRIER. These associated scenes are evoked in the discourse and therefore they are pragmatic in the sense that they reflect the cognitive perspective of the author who wants to present the MW(s) in a particular ACTION frame e.g a criminal frame as in A MW IS A KILLER and A MW IS STABBED IN HONOUR KILLING. Similar to other CDA pragmatic models (Maalej, 2007), the pragmatic function of metaphors in discourse in this research is described based on CF and the CMT mappings. The reframing of the face-veil from its *religious background* as a religious belief and practice into an annoying social behaviour, and a *tradition* that does not conform to *integration*, is a pragmatic mapping that evokes and maps different semantic elements (concepts), scenarios and scenes from various mental spaces to represent issues related to MW(s).

Linguistic expressions and conceptual structures like MWs ARE NOT AN INTEGRATED PART OF OUR COUNTRY would seem normal after the reframing mechanism is processed and recurrently primed. MW(s) are placed far from the I/WE discourse world even though they are British. This ideological positioning of identities in discourse represents a deictic and pragmatic model of a 'discourse world' (Chilton 2004) (see, 2.9) and communication: 'discourse world' refers to the mental space entertained by the speaker or the utterer as 'real'

(p. 53), i.e. the speaker/writer's (discourse producer's) ideology or perspective presented in the linguistic structure; "one's choice of language" "e.g. choosing to speak a particular language; regional accent or words associated with particular ideologies rather than others or choosing a form of address e.g. pronouns that express distance or solidarity" (Chilton, 2004, p. 201). For MWs to be able to approach this 'discourse world' they have to comply with the process of INTEGRATION which involves removing the 'barrier' (*veil*).

The conceptual structures above depend on basic schematic meanings that we experience cognitively in everyday life. It involves a conceptual activation of background elements such as *force-dynamic scenarios* of SEPARATION versus INTEGRATION, which allow for a rigorous and unambiguous reading of the pragmatic inferences in the analysis. Another example of this complex deictic (spatial) cognitive meaning in conceptual structures is: MW'S FACE-VEIL IS A VISIBLE STATEMENT OF SEPARATION. This spatial discourse is conceptual and represents MW(s) in the outsider or THEM location in the discourse of bias. INTEGRATION and THE DISCOURSE OF SEPARATION are conceptual reframings and mappings that remove MW(s) outside the boundaries of the US container, where good things are usually presented, and placed the MW(s) in the outsider group of THEM (van Dijk, 1998).

In CDA, or any genuine critical study of meaning in discourse, the conceptual approaches to the analysis of the discourse structure should be an indivisible part, if not the main tool. *Intertextuality* and *discursivity* are argued to constitute linguistic and epistemic priming in discourse; variant forms and variant related (or wanted-to-be related) communicative events and quotes are used to signal a discursive stance and facilitate or support a particular social change e.g. *ban of MWs' face-veil* or manufacture particular cognitive models (ideologies) e.g. VEILED MW(S) ARE NOT AN INTEGRATED PART OF OUR BRITISH SOCIETY and MWS ARE UNDER VIOLENT FORCE.

Integration of *Epistemic Priming* into textual CDA should enable CDA practitioners to account for the following:

1- The 'entrenchment'[133] of conceptual structures in discourse is related to the level of power (institution/person/relevance) and frequency of use e.g. THE VEIL IS A MARK OF SEPARATION versus A JEWEL's PROTECTIVE WRAP.

2- Epistemic priming can result in dominant ideological priming which uses lexical units to evoke and manipulate mental images or scenes e.g. MARK /STATEMENT /SIGN OF SEPARATION/ SUBJUGATION / A PRISON.

3- Lexical and epistemic priming are ultimately a form of ideological priming of specific cognitive models which maintains and/or modifies social reality and bias through language use (discourse).

4- Epistemic priming and discourse/semantic prosody are aspects of the intertextual (discursive) nature of discourse; they take on different linguistic forms and appear in varied communicative topics.

5- Intertextuality and discourse coherence are claimed to be governed by certain principles that adhere to the CF (Fillmore, 1975), (see ConcLs 1 and 2 in Table 7.3 in 7.4).

6- Since conceptualisation is ideological (Hart, 2010), the 'entrenchments' or the **epistemic priming** of particular conceptualisations equates to social bias and attitudes (Hart, 2007) (emphasis and the term *epistemic priming* is mine, see 2.9 -2.11).

7- Socio-political epistemic priming might 'crack' (see 2.11.3), and is gradually mitigated where there is no interest in real social (coercive) immediate change but rather a recurrent discursive political one to preserve power and social order in society e.g. THE FACE-VEIL IS A SEPARATOR/BARRIER in 2006 and 2007 and THE FACE-VEIL IS AN OFFENSIVE PAPER BAG THAT HAS TO BE BANNED in February 2010 (see 6.5 and 3.4.5) versus THE VEIL EMPOWERS WOMEN[134] (No.1 in Examples 7-5c in 7.5.1)/ IT IS UNBRITISH TO BAN THE FACE-VEIL[135] (on the 23rd of July 2010).

As we noted in 9.2 above, it can be concluded that whereas the bottom-up (corpus-based CDA) approach was found to reveal unnoticed discourse structures that might have been overlooked through the macro-level approach (cognitive-based CDA) to discourse structure (consistent with Deignan, 2006), the current findings revealed that the opposite is true as well. Considering textual collocates that add to the semantic content of a node is not enough on its own. The alternative is a macro consideration of the cognitive nature of the discourse context, i.e. *time, power, relevance, background,* supported by bottom-up regulation and facilitation of the analysis of the textual and sentence-level occurrences of the target nodes, e.g. through collocations.

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[133] See the discussion in 2.11.2.

[134] See also Alibhai-Brown (2010).

[135] Immigration Minister Damian Green ruled out a ban on burkas, saying it would be "un-British" (TM, July 25, 2010).

In addition, if the analyst took only a purely corpus-based approach to the analysis of the main keywords and collocations, many cognitive mechanisms such as the *conceptual uses* would have passed unnoticed e.g. A MW IS A DIAMOND (Table 5-4 5.7.4) and MUSLIM PUPIL IS A LOSER IN A COURT BATTLE. The importance of a complementary cognitive macro account of meaning in corpus CDA is to explicate why and how the overall meaning (semantic and pragmatic) of a particular discourse is constructed in the text beyond the micro-level instances or restrictions posed by the corpus-based queries.

As stated earlier, there is an ongoing recognition among practitioners of corpus-CDA (Baker, 2010, p. 333; Al-Hejin, 2012, p. 203) for the need for an incorporation of cognitive apparatus into the analysis (see Section 2.11). Baker (2010) stressed that it is beyond corpus-CDA to analyse lexical priming in discourse; it needs a cognitive account of meaning to be explicated (p. 333). This is a missing link in the analysis of discourse in corpus-CDA, with the exception of this research and a few other corpus-based cognitive CDA studies (Charteris-Black, 2004; Koller, 2004). Future research is recommended to integrate cognitive semantics into corpus-CDA research.

In simple words, it can be said that the meaning of *MW* in a discourse is not solely based on the dictionary definition of the words *Muslim* and *woman*, nor even on the general encyclopaedic entries for these words (i.e. general facts about the Muslim religion and about female gender), but also on their use and what is stated or implied about these words in the current and preceding discourses. Therefore, future research has to take into account the conceptual structure including its metaphoric and metonymic forms in the materials analysed as well as their semantic behaviour outside the discourse e.g. *separation through face-veils* and *separation through other agents such as prison, saw and scissors* , etc. While the latter separate an entity from its previous continuum the first does not.

In sum, the discourse meaning was found to be determined by chronological period, relevance, associated scenarios and scenes, along with the level of socio-political power which a particular discourse entails. Linguistic

structures do not operate in a vacuum: instead they have a meaning only through and within the socio-political and ideological context of use or occurrence.

9.5 Research limitations and strengths and recommendations for future research

9.5.1 Limitations and strength

The current research was limited to five popular newspapers, and future research is recommended to explore more sample of the British press. Overall, there are two main methodological strength points of this research: 1) triangulation of corpus-based methods at the micro and macro levels of analysis, 2) incorporation of cognitive semantics into the analysis.

In addition, while the Wmatrix3 classification has yielded a few inaccurate categorisations raised in 7.2, it provided an economic and efficient way to filter similar micro- level collocates between W and Ws, and focus on the overused or distinctive collocates associating each node (7.2 and 7.3). For example, religion collocates i.e. *Muslim/Moslem* were very significant collocates with both nodes (W and Ws), however, they did not appear in Wmatrix$_3$ categorisation because they were, most likely to be, filtered out due to similarity, i.e. occurring very frequent in both lists or lack of occurrence in different lemmas (Chapter 7). On the other hand, Wmatrix$_3$ (Chapter 7) semantic classification of collocates provided a relatively informative panoramic window on the most frequent collocates that suggest a conceptual structure and are associated with each node but appear in various lemmas e.g. liberate, liberated, liberation, obstacle, barrier, etc., (see 7.2 and 7.3).

Furthermore, macro-level collocates (Chapter 6) provided an analysis of the macro semantic content of each period separately without relying on a reference corpus i.e. W(s)-collocates at the level of headlines. This allowed for overcoming limitations of the keywords (5) through 1) revealing a perspective of the data that was not found in the previous two types of analyses of the discourse macro-structure e.g. mentions of the word *veil* in P$_1$ and 2) providing a further statistically significant confirmation of the findings reached in the previous macro-level analyses (the semantic categorisation of significant keywords in

Chapter 5). In fact, the W(s)-collocates at the level of headlines provided a statistically significant evidence for the type of news or themes that are semantically associated or epistemically primed with the nodes W(s) in each period as well as revealing with significant evidence who writes about MWs in the BPC.

Turning to the corpus-related methods, a corpus has to be large enough to allow the analyst to trace diachronically the epistemic priming effect on language use as found in this research. The more focused and homogeneous i.e. *from one source* and *about one topic* the corpora and reference corpora are, the richer the research data will be. However, while diachronic corpora allow the researcher to trace the epistemic primings and deprimings in discourse, the corpus-based selection and systemicity of the analysis restrict the findings as epistemic priming occurs in different/ various linguistic (lexico-grammatical) forms. Nevertheless, stepping out of the corpus-based methods through e.g. predefined lemmas queries or previous knowledge based queries threatens the impartiality of the analysis. Therefore, a triangulation of corpus-based methods (chapters 5 and 6, 7 and 8) to account for semantic and cognitive associations in discourse is always recommended in CDA studies.

9.5.2 Recommendation for future research

Future research is recommended to integrate more cognitive-semantics in its study of conceptual structures associating social actors and minorities in corpus-based CDA research as a complementary apparatus to account for recurrences, co-occurrences and regulate the analysis. The more recurrent and so the more discursive a conceptual structure becomes, the more effective and entrenched in the discourse e.g. MWs' FACE-VEILS ARE PRISONS/ BARRIERS coheres conceptually with MWS ARE NOT LIBERATED/EMANCIPATED.

Future research is also recommended to look separately at the Western media representation of Muslim women from Pakistan, Afganistan and Saudi Arabia. As each country has a distinctive educational, economic, political and historical context, a comparative analysis will reduce the variation into an irresponsible generalisation that can threaten the validity of research conclusions

and findings. Furthermore, the two variant forms of the word Muslim/Moslem found in this study are a point for future research to look for and consider in more depth e.g. if there are distinctive semantic features associated with their use in the BPC i.e. the LW versus the RW discourse.

Finally, this research is an empirical and interpretive analytical account of discourse text and future research is recommended to consider an experimental examination of the actual effect of 'epistemic priming' of MWs in the British press on the public including the conceptual structures used and other forms of semiotics e.g. veil images.

9.6   Chapter Summary

This research set out to study the representation of MWs in the British Press in four successive periods through incorporating cognitive semantics into a corpus-based CDA analysis. Recurrent conceptualisations in discourse are essential to meaning in discourse as well as to the dynamic discursive building/challenging of socially shared or excluded cognitive models, voices and perspectives, e.g. A MW IS DIAMOND versus MW IS PRISONED/RESTRAINED. While the LW press was found to associate MWs with negativity by representing them as powerless and agentless patients under violent (Islamic) force who need to be empowered/'emancipated', the RW press was more interested in narrowing the discourse about MWs to the issue of veiling, representing them as problematic social actors who 'insist' to wear face-veils, and 'refuse' to adhere to judicial and political calls for 'removal' or ban of veils.

Power conflict is always fertile ground for biased representations and conceptualisations of people in social (media) discourse. Finally, I conclude that the representation of Muslim women in social discourse such as the British press demonstrates a socio-political linguistic policy designed to control conflict of power dynamics and interests involving the ever growing demographic and religious minorities in Europe. This policy is implemented and maintained through socio-political linguistics to handle the so-called 'public order issue' of security in the 'age of global terrorism' (Joppke, 2009).

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Appendixes

Appendix 1: Trial lists of the first 20 collocates found in the BPC

N	Node	Collocate	Freq.	Gap	MI▼	Log L.
1	Ws	EMPOWERS	7	1	7.67	59.90
2	Ws	NEWSREADERS	6	1	7.63	49.29
3	Ws	UPPITY	7	1	7.40	46.33
4	Ws	OPPRESS	19	1	7.34	118.56
5	Ws	ORDINATION	6	2	7.30	36.13
6	Ws	MUSLIMA	6	2	7.30	36.13
7	Ws	SUBJUGATION	40	2	7.27	232.77
8	Ws	EMPOWER	25	2	7.25	142.43
9	Ws	LIBERATES	11	1	7.24	62.18
10	Ws	SUFFRAGE	8	2	7.21	44.13
11	Ws	MOLESTATION	5	2	7.15	26.10
12	Ws	HEADSCARFED	5	1	7.15	26.10
13	Ws	SUBORDINATION	5	2	7.15	26.10
14	Ws	SUPPRESSING	5	1	7.15	26.10
15	Ws	ERRANT	5	2	7.15	26.10
16	Ws	BOSNIAK	5	1	7.15	26.10
17	Ws	DISCARD	10	2	7.15	52.20
18	Ws	SCANTILY	7	2	7.08	34.22
19	Ws	ENSLAVING	7	4	7.08	34.22
20	Ws	TSAR	7	3	7.08	34.22
N	Node	Word 2	Freq.	Gap	MI	Log L.▼
1	Ws	MUSLIM	9803	1	6.17	21452.20
2	Ws	OF	70303	1	3.41	10185.83
3	Ws	TO	67423	3	3.30	8545.99
4	Ws	AND	57924	1	3.33	7519.81
5	Ws	IN	50241	1	3.33	6425.31
6	Ws	ARE	13346	1	4.36	4990.62
7	Ws	S	20764	1	3.90	4851.03
8	Ws	FOR	21154	1	3.68	3904.52
9	Ws	WHO	10520	1	4.22	3394.31
10	Ws	THAT	26530	2	3.18	2779.01
11	Ws	MEN	2748	2	5.32	2618.89
12	Ws	THEIR	9999	3	3.96	2460.69
13	Ws	WEAR	1722	2	5.75	2457.29
14	Ws	WERE	7328	1	4.11	2097.70
15	Ws	HAVE	12377	1	3.58	2017.48
16	Ws	MANY	3039	2	4.89	1901.45
17	Ws	BY	13130	2	3.44	1817.72
18	Ws	YOUNG	1968	1	5.23	1714.58
19	Ws	RIGHTS	3196	2	4.68	1620.95
20	Ws	WEARING	1658	1	5.24	1452.06

Appendix 2: The top keywords in the BPC

Keywords	KWs: P1 vs. Ws Corpus	KWs: P2 vs. Ws Corpus	KWs: P3 vs. Ws Corpus	KWs: P4 vs. Ws Corpus
Period	Sep 1997 to 10 Sep 2001	11 Sep 2001 to 6 July 2005	7 July 2005 to 30 May 2009	July 2009 to Feb 2014
1	MUSLIM	MUSLIM	MUSLIM	MUSLIM
2	SERB	MUSLIMS	MUSLIMS	VEIL
3	MUSLIMS	ISLAM	VEIL	EDITION
4	GUARDIAN	ISLAMIC	ISLAM	MUSLIMS
5	ISLAM	GUARDIAN	STRAW	GUARDIAN
6	WOMEN	RELIGIOUS	ISLAMIC	NIQAB
7	BOSNIAN	WOMEN	EDITION	WOMEN
8	BOSNIA	INDEPENDENT	GUARDIAN	BAN
9	INDEPENDENT	HIJAB	WOMEN	BURKA
10	SERBS	RELIGION	RELIGIOUS	ISLAM
11	ISLAMIC	IRAQ	NEWSPAPER	ISLAMIC
12	KOSOVO	ASIAN	VEILS	NEWSPAPER
13	WAR	LIMITED	COMMUNITY	JOURNAL-CODE
14	ASIAN	WESTERN	SHARIA	RELIGIOUS
15	UN	TALIBAN	RELIGION	LIMITED
16	BHUTTO	KORAN	INDEPENDENT	TELEGRAPH
17	SREBRENICA	MOSQUE	WEAR	SHARIA
18	AL-SHAYKH	AFGHANISTAN	NIQAB	WEAR
19	ETHNIC	ALI	OCTOBER	VEILS
20	MILOSEVIC	HEADSCARF	WEARING	WEARING
21	RAPE	HIRSI	LIMITED	RIGHTS
22	RELIGIOUS	GOGH	HIJAB	SARKOZY
23	PAKISTAN	COMMUNITY	FAITH	INDEPENDENT
24	DESAI	DUTCH	DEBATE	GALLOWAY
25	CRIMES	INDIA	MOSQUE	LAW
26	PAKISTANI	VEIL	COMMUNITIES	RELIGION
27	ARAB	BIGLEY	ASIAN	FRANCE
28	NATO	HEADSCARVES	TELEGRAPH	HIJAB
29	PALESTINIAN	FAITH	ETHNIC	DTL
30	JEFRI	SADDAM	AZMI	CHOUDHRY
31	MOSLEM	PALESTINIAN	SOCIETY	PARTY
32	PRINT	ISRAEL	RIGHTS	TIMMS
33	CAIRO	PRINT	BRITISH	BRADFORD
34	THERESE	MOSLEM	PRINT	WARSI
35	BEIRUT	IRAN	JACK	IA
36	SAADAWI	TELEGRAPH	ALI	FAITH
37	THE	ARAB	SCHOOLS	Ã
38	LIMITED	SHABINA	MULTICULTURALISM	MP
39	HAGUE	WEAR	LAW	DEBATE
40	COMMUNITY	IRANIAN	CULTURAL	MOSQUE
41	EGYPT	EDITION	PAGES	CHRISTIAN
42	SERBIAN	JILBAB	HEADSCARF	PAGES
43	INDIAN	PROPHET	POLITICAL	RPTD
44	KARADZIC	OF	KORAN	FACE
45	YUGOSLAVIA	PAGES	IRAQ	COMMUNITY
46	MARRIAGES	AGAINST	EXTREMISM	FRENCH
47	FOCA	LADEN	INTEGRATION	MINORITY
48	EL	BUSH	REMOVE	MGN
49	BRUNEI	ISRAELI	VEILED	EGYPT
50	MARKETIC	AFGHAN	COUNTRY	HEADSCARF

Appendix 3: W(s)-collocations in the BPC Headlines

Appendix 3A: The calculated and used lists of W(s)-collocations in the BPC Headlines

Woman

N	Period1 Headlines (P1) Collocate	T	F	Periods 2&3 Headlines (P2&3) Collocate	T	F	Period4 Headlines (P4) Collocate	T	F
1	A	4	9	MUSLIM	5	30	MUSLIM	4	139
2	HER	3	5	A	4	26	IN	4	298
3	S	3	6	TO	5	19	TO	4	352
4	MISSION	2	2	IN	4	18	A	4	242
5	MUSLIM	2	3	S	4	14	JUDGE	3	19
6	IS	3	3	OF	5	17	FIRST	4	30
7	REPORTS	1	2	WITH	4	9	VEIL	4	84
8	WHO	1	2	THIS	3	8	WHO	4	45
9	OCTOBER	2	2	HER	4	8	FOR	4	150
10	TO	2	3	AS	3	8	MUST	4	25
11	MARCH	2	2	IS	4	9	BY	3	173
12	ON	1	2	FOR	4	8	IS	4	119
13				DANGER	1	3	EVIDENCE	2	5
14				BACON	3	3	BURKA	2	51
15				COURT	3	4	AT	2	54
16				SHE	3	5	FROM	3	55
17				FORCE	2	3	GIVE	2	7
18				FROM	3	5	AS	3	64
19				ENGLISH	1	3	HAD	2	8
20				OUT	3	4	REMOVE	2	9
21				BODY	3	3	VEILED	3	9
22				ONE	3	4	MP	3	31
23				BOMBER	3	3	SHE	3	35
24				NOBEL	3	3	BULLETIN	1	11
25				DEATH	2	3	NIQAB	3	12
26				VEIL	4	5	GIRL	2	16
27				SUICIDE	3	3	WITH	3	51
28				SAYS	3	4	WEARING	2	22
29				EDITOR	2	4	REFUSES	1	5
30				HOME	3	5	ATTACK	2	28
31				WHO	3	4	FRANCE	1	31
32				NOT	2	4	DOCK	2	6
33				MAN	1	3	GUILTY	1	6
34				JUNE	3	4	AFTER	1	36
35				VEILED	3	3	MARRIAGE	2	7
36				BID	2	2	AN	2	37
37				QUEEN	2	2	BEHIND	1	8
38				NETHERLANDS	1	2	TRIAL	2	8
39				BUT	2	4	YOUNG	1	8
40				PRESIDENT	2	2	RACIST	2	9
41				OSAMA	1	2	HER	3	45
42				CROSS	1	2	JAILED	2	10
43				ALIBHAI-BROWN	2	3	BRIEF	1	10
44				HONOUR	2	2	KILLING	1	10
45				MESSAGE	2	2	SHOW	2	11
46				JULY	3	4	MICHAEL	2	12
47				YASMIN	2	3	DEATH	2	12
48				BIN	1	2	OCTOBER	2	61
49				BACKS	2	2	MARCH	2	66
50				FATHER	1	2	CHRISAFIS	1	16

Women

N	Period1 Headlines (P1) Collocate	T	F	Periods 2&3 Headlines (P2&3) Collocate	T	F	Period4 Headlines (P4) Collocate	T	F
1	IN	5	35	MUSLIM	5	83	TO	5	45
2	OF	4	34	THE	5	97	MUSLIM	5	31
3	TO	4	25	TO	5	62	THE	5	42
4	MUSLIM	2	16	OF	4	60	OF	3	30
5	AND	3	18	WEARING	5	18	A	4	27
6	A	3	20	OCTOBER	5	32	IN	5	24
7	ON	4	15	VEIL	5	24	FOR	4	19
8	FOR	3	15	FOR	5	25	S	3	17
9	S	4	16	POSE	2	11	ON	4	13
10	ARE	4	11	VEILED	2	13	WEAR	3	7
11	AGAINST	2	6	OBSTACLE	2	9	IS	3	11
12	MOSLEM	1	5	AN	3	15	BE	3	9
13	UP	4	6	CAN	3	13	WHO	3	8
14	THAT	2	7	SHOULD	3	11	SEPTEMBER	4	10
15	BLACK	1	4	THEIR	4	13	NOT	4	7
16	NEW	3	6	IS	3	18	JULY	5	9
17	MEN	2	4	ARE	4	14	ARE	2	7
18	IS	2	7	HIJAB	3	9	SHOULD	3	5
19	WAR	3	6	INTEGRATION	1	8	TALK	2	4
20	ISLAMIC	2	4	JULY	2	14	VEIL	4	8
21	CONFERENCE	2	3	WEAR	4	9	SAYS	3	7
22	KASHMIR	2	3	AS	4	13	T	4	6
23	FEBRUARY	2	5	ISLAM	4	11	THEIR	3	5
24	AFTER	3	4	STOP	2	7	MANY	2	4
25	THEIR	3	5	WHO	5	11	FROM	4	6
26	THEY	2	5	UNEASY	1	5	FIRST	3	5
27	SEPTEMBER	3	5	IT	4	11	MINISTER	3	4
28	RIGHT	1	3	DO	3	8	ALLOWED	2	3
29	EQUALITY	2	3	WE	3	10	THEY	3	4
30	IT	2	5	MEETINGS	1	5	WEARING	1	4
31	HOW	3	4	RIGHTS	2	6	FRENCH	2	4
32	NOT	2	4	SEPTEMBER	5	11	UP	3	4
33	GET	1	3	MORE	2	7	THREE	2	3
34	HAGUE	1	3	AT	3	9	SEX	2	3
35	CHILDREN	2	3	HOW	4	7	CORRESPONDENT	3	4
36	TWO	1	3	OR	2	6	OUR	2	4
37	BEEN	2	3	WITH	2	9	DAY	2	3
38	SUZANNE	1	3	HAVE	3	7	FIGHT	2	3
39	VEIL	2	3	VEILS	4	7	ARAB	2	3
40	BUT	2	4	NOT	3	8	FEMALE	2	3
41	REPORTS	1	4	ABOUT	2	7	HAVE	2	4
42	WHO	2	4	LIFTING	4	4	MEETS	2	3
43	HAS	2	4	TERRORISM	1	5	VEILS	2	4
44	AT	1	4	BRITISH	4	7	RIGHTS	2	3
45	JUNE	3	4	DEFEND	1	4	ATTACKS	1	3
46	BOSNIAN	3	3	UP	3	6	MEN	1	3
47	OUT	2	3	DOES	3	4	TOLD	1	3
48	FISK	1	3	MARCH	4	7	AGAINST	1	3
49	CAME	1	2	AUGUST	3	7	NEW	2	4
50	TALKS	2	2	LIVES	3	4	MORE	1	3

Appendix 3B: Trial lists of W(s)-collocations in the BPC Headlines

	Woman											
	P1 W-collocates			P2 W-collocates			P3 W-collocates			P4 W-collocates		
N	Collocate	T	F	Collocate	T	F	Collocate	T	F	Collocate	T	F
1	THE	3	221	IN	4	252	MUSLIM	5	175	MUSLIM	4	141
2	A	3	111	MUSLIM	4	102	TO	3	341	WORDS	5	874
3				A	3	201	A	3	264	IN	4	301
4				THIS	2	44	OF	4	322	TO	4	351
5							IN	4	260	A	4	242
6							VEIL	4	112	PG	4	694
7							WORDS	4	932	THE	4	521
8							AND	3	318	JUDGE	3	18
9							THE	4	621	FIRST	4	30
10							PG	4	906	VEIL	4	84
11										FOR	4	150
12										BY	3	173
13										NEWS	1	258
14										WHO	4	44
15										AT	3	53
16										MUST	4	26
17										FROM	4	55
18										IS	4	118
19										WORLD	2	75
20										WITH	3	51
21										BURKA	2	51
22										AS	3	64
23										SATURDAY	3	210
24										FRIDAY	2	146
25										OF	3	301
26												

	Women											
	P1 Ws-collocates			P2 Ws-collocates			P3 Ws-collocates			P4 Ws-collocates		
N	Collocate	T	F	Collocate	T	F	Collocate	T	F	Collocate	T	F
1	OF	4	102	THE	4	464	MUSLIM	5	175	TO	5	351
2	IN	4	125	MUSLIM	3	102	THE	5	621	THE	5	521
3	ON	4	35	OF	4	270	TO	5	341	MUSLIM	5	141
4	TO	4	81	IN	4	252	OF	4	322	WORDS	5	874
5	ARE	3	14	TO	4	230	LETTER	2	57	OF	3	301
6	FOR	2	45	AND	4	166	OCTOBER	5	255	IN	5	301
7	MUSLIM	2	27	FOR	2	114	WEARING	4	33	A	4	242
8	THEY	2	16	WOMEN	2	69	POSE	2	11	FOR	4	150
9	UP	4	10	AS	4	55	VEIL	5	112	IS	3	118
10				VEIL	3	21	LETTERS	3	101	ON	4	133
11				ARE	4	44	OBSTACLE	2	9	NOT	4	37
12				ISLAM	4	31	VEILED	2	25	WEAR	3	18
13				IT	2	31	SHOULD	3	34	SAYS	3	54
14				SEPTEMBER	4	77	AN	3	50	BE	3	61
15				THEIR	3	26	FRIDAY	5	149	WHO	3	44
16							JULY	2	101	WEARING	1	28
17							BY	4	164	SEPTEMBER	4	118
18							CAN	3	34	JULY	5	90
19							INTEGRATION	1	15	MANY	2	11
20							STOP	2	13	PG	3	694
21							UNEASY	1	5	SHOULD	3	13
22							THEIR	4	33	WEDNESDAY	3	115
23							MEETINGS	1	6	FROM	4	55
24							HIJAB	2	12	BY	3	173
25							WE	3	41	ARE	2	38
26							VEILS	4	45	AND	4	223
27							TERRORISM	1	9	NEW	2	48
28							MORE	2	19	WHY	2	26
29							WHO	5	40	THEIR	3	25
30							AUGUST	4	65	VEIL	4	84
31							WITH	2	54	OUR	2	28
32							SAYS	5	49	GUARDIAN	1	255
33							ATTACK	1	17	MAY	3	83
34							ISLAM	2	36	NEWS	3	258
35							WEAR	4	21	BUT	2	52
36							UP	3	27	SATURDAY	3	210
37							STRAW	3	41	PAGES	1	251
38							NO	1	19			
39							HOW	2	21			

Semantic associations, epistemic priming and cognitive mechanisms in the British press discourse about Muslim women

Otaif, F. (2019)

Appendixes 4: W(s)-collocations

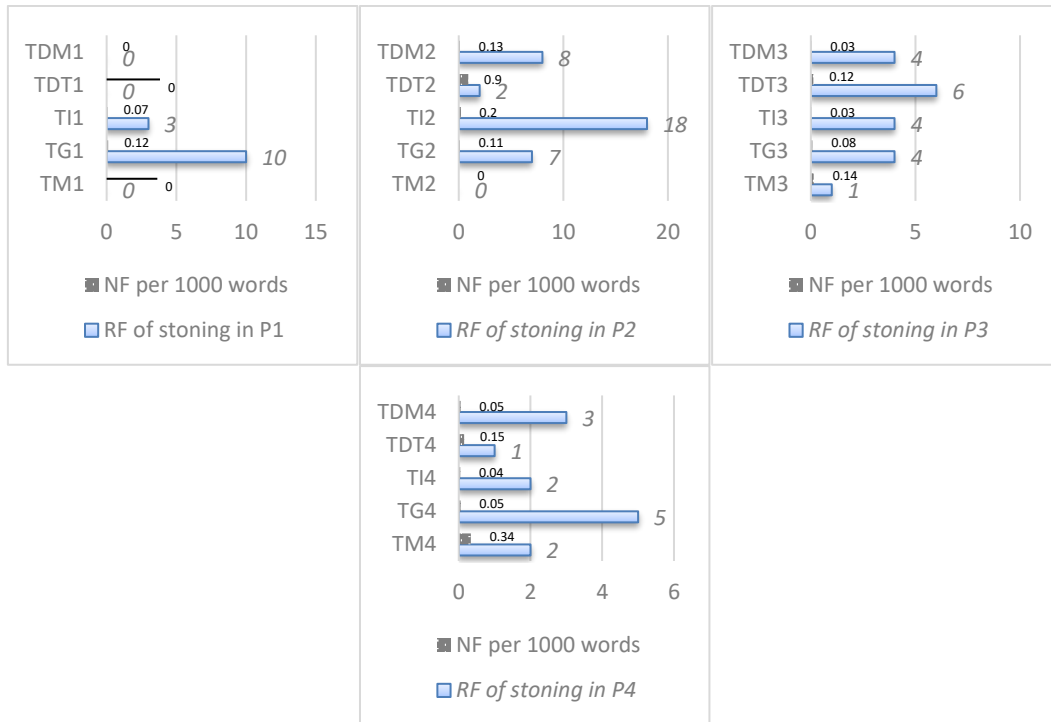## Appendix 4A: W-collocations

Woman (W) F= 3452: Lists of W-collocations in the BPC											
Column A: W-collocates in LL order						Column B: W-collocates in MI order					
N	Collocate	Freq.	Gap	MI	Log L.	T Score	N	Collocate	Freq.	Gap	MI	Log L.	T Score
1	A	59924	2	4.98	16941.60	51.21	1	JUROR	18	1	8.04	67.22	2.64
2	MUSLIM	9794	1	6.43	9318.44	34.96	2	HIJAB-WEARING	24	1	7.82	73.77	2.82
3	TO	67296	3	3.21	2669.86	27.07	3	CORPSE	26	2	7.51	61.01	2.63
4	WHO	10508	1	4.90	2324.29	20.80	4	PUZZLED	24	4	7.40	51.27	2.43
5	IN	50185	1	3.13	1782.35	22.63	5	MIDDLE-AGED	67	1	7.33	135.08	3.98
6	S	20750	1	3.71	1365.97	18.49	6	DESECRATION	37	4	7.19	65.73	2.81
7	YOUNG	1965	2	6.07	1285.80	13.76	7	VIRGINITY	29	2	7.13	48.70	2.43
8	FIRST	3242	2	5.46	1209.70	14.20	8	VEILED	282	2	7.09	460.51	7.49
9	WAS	20704	1	3.59	1198.02	17.62	9	DISGUISED	64	4	6.99	94.81	3.44
10	HER	13684	3	3.96	1176.21	16.64	10	WALKS	46	1	6.88	61.88	2.80
11	AS	15911	3	3.77	1118.46	16.63	11	WEARS	129	2	6.71	149.79	4.43
12	IS	26889	1	3.19	996.96	16.99	12	FINED	52	3	6.70	59.76	2.80
13	AN	9195	2	3.95	771.64	13.55	13	RIPPED	40	4	6.66	44.49	2.43
14	ONE	6505	1	4.25	744.24	12.82	14	CHOOSES	48	1	6.62	51.48	2.62
15	WITH	15025	3	3.38	679.13	13.74	15	DRESSED	252	1	6.59	263.45	5.94
16	SHE	13657	4	3.43	655.28	13.40	16	HACKNEY	57	2	6.57	58.18	2.80
17	BE	12830	2	3.33	548.50	12.45	17	ELDERLY	167	2	6.48	157.12	4.64
18	VEILED	282	2	7.09	460.51	7.49	18	SELECTED	46	3	6.46	42.70	2.42
19	WEARING	1654	1	5.12	444.10	8.95	19	MUSLIM	9794	1	6.43	9318.44	34.96
20	BY	13105	4	3.12	440.58	11.51	20	RESPECTABLE	48	2	6.40	42.16	2.42
21	MARRIED	628	3	6.01	388.72	7.63	21	NIGERIAN	49	1	6.37	41.90	2.42
22	VEIL	2029	4	4.75	382.56	8.67	22	INTIMIDATING	51	3	6.31	41.39	2.42
23	FROM	10800	1	3.16	378.75	10.62	23	TESTIMONY	77	2	6.30	61.97	2.96
24	WORDS	3378	3	4.23	378.21	9.18	24	PRISONER	96	1	6.28	75.29	3.27
25	HAS	9611	1	3.26	376.31	10.44	25	ORIGIN	105	3	6.27	82.07	3.42
26	HAD	8173	1	3.32	344.33	9.90	26	BLONDE	62	1	6.25	47.69	2.61
27	SAID	7993	3	3.31	330.43	9.72	27	BARRED	71	2	6.25	54.47	2.79
28	ANOTHER	1401	1	4.93	312.07	7.68	28	AFRICAN	222	3	6.25	170.30	4.93
29	ONLY	3473	2	4.01	309.55	8.55	29	TALL	56	2	6.18	40.22	2.42
30	ASIAN	827	1	5.46	307.69	7.18	30	SENTENCED	125	3	6.14	86.35	3.55
31	ANY	2212	1	4.42	298.63	7.98	31	SERVE	116	2	6.13	79.57	3.41
32	MAN	1854	3	4.50	271.02	7.53	32	YOUNG	1965	2	6.07	1285.80	13.76
33	DRESSED	252	1	6.59	263.45	5.94	33	NOBEL	121	4	6.07	78.52	3.41
34	IF	5045	2	3.49	256.41	8.35	34	ALGERIAN	71	1	6.06	45.71	2.61
35	BRITISH	2801	2	4.04	255.40	7.74	35	SOMALI	73	1	6.02	45.31	2.60
36	WHOSE	804	1	5.27	249.76	6.61	36	MARRIED	628	3	6.01	388.72	7.63
37	WEAR	1720	2	4.35	217.00	6.86	37	PREGNANT	209	1	5.94	120.94	4.29
38	BODY	604	2	5.41	213.51	6.02	38	WIN	286	2	5.94	165.54	5.02
39	CAN	4317	1	3.43	205.20	7.54	39	MOROCCAN	99	1	5.94	57.26	2.95
40	BEING	3282	3	3.67	203.45	7.26	40	PEER	113	1	5.90	63.07	3.11
41	SHOULD	2866	1	3.80	203.06	7.13	41	BURKHA	80	3	5.89	43.98	2.60
42	NIQAB	658	3	5.25	199.52	5.92	42	MARRYING	93	2	5.86	49.99	2.78
43	TOLD	2070	4	4.03	187.09	6.64	43	DEVOUT	152	2	5.85	81.09	3.54
44	HIJAB	715	3	5.09	186.16	5.82	44	BRIGHT	98	2	5.79	49.13	2.78
45	FACE	1568	2	4.28	183.19	6.36	45	REFUSES	86	1	5.78	42.94	2.60
46	AFRICAN	222	3	6.25	170.30	4.93	46	OBLIGED	63	2	5.75	30.41	2.19
47	WHITE	1171	1	4.49	169.95	5.97	47	FORCING	76	2	5.74	36.43	2.40
48	WIN	286	2	5.94	165.54	5.02	48	INTELLIGENT	78	2	5.70	36.11	2.40
49	REMOVE	462	2	5.41	162.74	5.26	49	NON-MUSLIM	164	1	5.63	71.02	3.39
50	AM	1189	3	4.43	162.54	5.88	50	MOSLEM	369	1	5.63	159.90	5.09

| Appendixes   318

Appendix 4B: Ws- collocations

Women (Ws) F= 9664: Lists of Ws-collocations in the BPC											
Column A: Ws-collocates in LL order						Column B: Ws-collocates in MI order					
N	Ws	Freq.	Gap	MI	Log L.	T Score	N	Collocate	Freq.	Gap	MI	Log L.	T Score
1	MUSLIM	9794	1	6.16	21294.81	53.60	1	EMPOWERS	7	1	7.67	59.90	2.44
2	OF	70204	1	3.37	9699.48	49.94	2	NEWSREADERS	6	1	7.63	49.30	2.22
3	TO	67296	3	3.26	8104.13	46.61	3	UPPITY	7	1	7.41	46.34	2.22
4	AND	57837	1	3.29	7164.47	43.85	4	OPPRESS	19	1	7.34	118.57	3.58
5	IN	50185	1	3.28	6113.19	40.74	5	EMPOWER	25	2	7.25	142.45	3.97
6	ARE	13340	1	4.34	4870.99	32.02	6	LIBERATES	11	1	7.24	62.19	2.63
7	S	20750	1	3.86	4630.16	33.15	7	SUFFRAGE	8	2	7.21	44.14	2.22
8	FOR	21121	1	3.63	3661.64	30.48	8	DISCARD	10	2	7.15	52.21	2.43
9	WHO	10508	1	4.21	3347.82	27.07	9	SUBJUGATION	40	2	7.09	197.24	4.76
10	THAT	26502	2	3.17	2749.42	28.21	10	RAPING	60	2	7.03	278.73	5.70
11	MEN	2745	2	5.29	2542.38	20.76	11	HALF-NAKED	11	1	7.02	50.52	2.43
12	WEAR	1720	2	5.72	2381.96	19.17	12	MISTREATED	12	1	6.89	49.05	2.43
13	THEIR	9980	3	3.88	2247.81	23.21	13	NIQAB-WEARING	10	1	6.89	40.88	2.22
14	WERE	7309	1	4.09	2047.60	21.57	14	EMPOWERMENT	23	2	6.83	88.60	3.29
15	HAVE	12356	1	3.56	1973.64	22.72	15	BIKINIS	17	2	6.80	64.08	2.80
16	MANY	3034	2	4.88	1881.81	18.76	16	LIBERATE	30	1	6.79	111.84	3.71
17	BY	13105	2	3.40	1741.55	21.86	17	DISSERVICE	11	3	6.75	39.59	2.22
18	YOUNG	1965	1	5.23	1700.61	17.14	18	ATLAS	14	2	6.67	46.58	2.43
19	RIGHTS	3189	2	4.65	1568.84	17.63	19	HELPLINE	52	2	6.65	170.10	4.64
20	WEARING	1654	1	5.23	1430.75	15.72	20	TREATS	29	2	6.62	92.09	3.43
21	VEILS	687	4	6.10	1348.55	13.87	21	EMANCIPATION	42	2	6.59	129.51	4.08
22	CHILDREN	2212	2	4.82	1293.05	15.67	22	VEILED	282	1	6.48	788.68	10.18
23	FROM	10800	1	3.29	1261.01	18.94	23	OBSTACLE	33	4	6.43	88.19	3.42
24	NOT	11734	2	3.17	1193.28	18.75	24	ASSERTIVE	17	4	6.39	43.65	2.42
25	SHOULD	2866	1	4.28	965.82	14.51	25	SECOND-CLASS	32	2	6.35	79.33	3.28
26	SOME	3547	2	4.05	942.34	14.77	26	BURQAS	56	2	6.33	136.44	4.30
27	VEIL	2029	4	4.57	920.03	13.65	27	WEEP	15	4	6.31	35.69	2.21
28	THESE	2290	1	4.38	858.00	13.50	28	INFERIOR	34	3	6.26	77.73	3.27
29	MORE	5064	3	3.58	814.16	14.63	29	EMPOWERING	31	1	6.26	70.59	3.12
30	OTHER	3100	1	4.01	794.94	13.63	30	SHROUDED	22	1	6.24	49.18	2.61
31	VEILED	282	1	6.48	788.68	10.18	31	HELMAND	16	2	6.21	34.91	2.21
32	MOSLEM	369	1	6.17	775.49	10.44	32	OPPRESSION	172	2	6.19	368.57	7.18
33	ABOUT	6076	2	3.36	760.63	14.60	33	MOSLEM	369	1	6.17	775.49	10.44
34	ALL	7690	2	3.12	730.94	14.83	34	SYSTEMATICALLY	43	4	6.16	89.77	3.56
35	AGAINST	2508	1	4.05	667.25	12.43	35	MUSLIM	9794	1	6.16	21294.81	53.60
36	TWO	2822	1	3.88	627.16	12.33	36	OPPRESSED	120	2	6.15	248.02	5.92
37	DRESS	781	2	5.14	619.47	10.46	37	DISCRIMINATING	20	3	6.15	41.32	2.42
38	RAPED	348	1	5.99	616.24	9.49	38	OBSERVANT	17	2	6.13	34.20	2.20
39	COVER	464	2	5.60	572.73	9.55	39	DOWNTRODDEN	17	2	6.13	34.20	2.20
40	REMOVE	462	2	5.58	557.19	9.44	40	VEILS	687	4	6.10	1348.55	13.87
41	ASIAN	827	1	4.97	554.74	10.11	41	LIBERATING	35	1	6.08	67.73	3.12
42	BEING	3282	2	3.58	525.09	11.77	42	BURKAS	96	2	6.06	181.92	5.12
43	LIKE	3447	1	3.52	519.85	11.80	43	ALBANIAN	32	1	6.06	60.63	2.96
44	AMONG	1001	2	4.69	511.85	10.04	44	GANG-RAPED	29	2	6.03	53.53	2.79
45	WESTERN	947	1	4.70	490.13	9.81	45	MODESTLY	52	3	6.00	92.90	3.68
46	GROUPS	788	2	4.82	458.86	9.35	46	RAPED	348	1	5.99	616.24	9.49
47	GROUP	1527	2	4.15	449.17	10.07	47	MALAYSIAN	34	1	5.97	59.37	2.95
48	DO	3601	1	3.35	448.16	11.23	48	EMPOWERED	19	2	5.96	32.91	2.20
49	GIRLS	948	2	4.60	443.11	9.44	49	SEPARATELY	31	2	5.94	52.31	2.78
50	RAPE	596	3	5.06	439.08	8.89	50	COMPETE	51	2	5.92	84.64	3.55

Appendixes 5: MW(s)-collocations

Appendix 5A: MW-collocations

Moslem/Muslim Woman (MW) F= 1233: Lists of MW-collocations in the BPC											
	Column A: MW-collocates in LL order						Column B: MW-collocates in MI order					
N	Collocate	Freq.	Gap	MI	Log L.▼	T Score	N	Collocate	Freq.	Gap	MI▼	Log L.	T Score
1	A	60001	1	4.97	5550.50	29.41	1	BARRED	71	2	7.85	72.08	2.82
2	FIRST	3246	1	6.11	729.05	10.34	2	VEILED	282	1	7.50	213.01	4.97
3	YOUNG	1967	1	6.45	594.04	9.06	3	SERVE	116	2	7.31	74.07	2.98
4	WHO	10517	1	4.61	577.98	10.77	4	PEER	113	1	6.98	54.36	2.62
5	IN	50239	1	2.63	313.36	10.33	5	WIN	287	2	6.92	130.59	4.09
6	TO	67415	1	2.29	268.95	10.09	6	ELDERLY	167	1	6.78	67.34	2.97
7	WORDS	3383	2	4.95	253.68	6.91	7	DEVOUT	152	1	6.75	59.47	2.80
8	AS	15927	2	3.29	213.94	7.82	8	WEARS	129	2	6.57	43.08	2.42
9	VEILED	282	1	7.50	213.01	4.97	9	STABBED	117	2	6.45	35.04	2.21
10	MARRIED	629	2	6.40	180.91	5.04	10	YOUNG	1967	1	6.45	594.04	9.06
11	WAS	20732	2	2.89	174.09	7.49	11	MARRIED	629	2	6.40	180.91	5.04
12	BRITISH	2804	1	4.63	154.28	5.60	12	DRESSED	252	1	6.34	68.63	3.12
13	S	20699	1	2.73	142.28	6.95	13	POWERFUL	233	1	6.30	61.27	2.96
14	WIN	287	2	6.92	130.59	4.09	14	REMOVE	466	2	6.22	113.88	4.07
15	REMOVE	466	2	6.22	113.88	4.07	15	FIRST	3246	1	6.11	729.05	10.34
16	BE	12858	2	2.87	105.03	5.85	16	PREGNANT	209	1	6.10	45.64	2.61
17	WITH	15036	2	2.74	104.08	5.95	17	ATTEND	155	2	6.04	32.21	2.20
18	FROM	10817	1	2.92	93.49	5.49	18	ORDERED	219	2	6.03	44.98	2.61
19	WEARING	1658	1	4.47	77.62	4.05	19	ENTER	161	2	5.99	31.83	2.20
20	BOSNIAN	766	1	5.22	74.51	3.64	20	MARRY	340	2	5.91	62.62	3.11
21	SERVE	116	2	7.31	74.07	2.98	21	MURDERED	184	2	5.80	30.50	2.20
22	BARRED	71	2	7.85	72.08	2.82	22	SIT	228	2	5.49	28.37	2.19
23	DRESSED	252	1	6.34	68.63	3.12	23	NORTH	497	2	5.36	55.08	3.09
24	ELDERLY	167	1	6.78	67.34	2.97	24	ATTACKED	320	1	5.26	32.20	2.39
25	MARRY	340	2	5.91	62.62	3.11	25	BOSNIAN	766	1	5.22	74.51	3.64
26	POWERFUL	233	1	6.30	61.27	2.96	26	BODY	604	2	5.22	58.44	3.23
27	DEVOUT	152	1	6.75	59.47	2.80	27	ACCUSED	581	1	5.14	52.01	3.07
28	WHOSE	804	1	4.93	59.09	3.35	28	MODERN	439	1	5.03	35.35	2.56
29	BODY	604	2	5.22	58.44	3.23	29	LIVING	694	1	5.02	55.45	3.21
30	AM	1189	2	4.48	56.19	3.44	30	A	60001	1	4.97	5550.50	29.41
31	LIVING	694	1	5.02	55.45	3.21	31	WORDS	3383	2	4.95	253.68	6.91
32	NORTH	497	2	5.36	55.08	3.09	32	WHOSE	804	1	4.93	59.09	3.35
33	PEER	113	1	6.98	54.36	2.62	33	MP	650	1	4.82	42.98	2.89
34	ACCUSED	581	1	5.14	52.01	3.07	34	TRADITIONAL	452	1	4.76	28.15	2.36
35	SHE	13664	1	2.26	50.15	4.47	35	BRITISH	2804	1	4.63	154.28	5.60
36	SHOULD	2871	1	3.51	48.90	3.65	36	WHO	10517	1	4.61	577.98	10.77
37	ONE	6508	1	2.79	47.75	4.01	37	FORCED	725	1	4.49	34.69	2.70
38	PREGNANT	209	1	6.10	45.64	2.61	38	AM	1189	2	4.48	56.19	3.44
39	ORDERED	219	2	6.03	44.98	2.61	39	WEARING	1658	1	4.47	77.62	4.05
40	WEARS	129	2	6.57	43.08	2.42	40	ASIAN	829	1	4.47	38.75	2.86
41	MP	650	1	4.82	42.98	2.89	41	ARAB	487	1	4.39	20.98	2.13
42	AN	9202	2	2.41	41.68	3.98	42	ASK	546	2	4.23	19.89	2.12
43	MOST	2731	2	3.39	40.63	3.38	43	EVERY	1134	1	3.85	27.90	2.63
44	BEING	3290	2	3.22	40.37	3.46	44	GOOD	1277	1	3.85	31.37	2.79
45	HAS	9618	1	2.35	39.95	3.94	45	BLACK	1004	1	3.83	24.25	2.46
46	HAD	8183	1	2.46	39.27	3.84	46	FRENCH	1061	1	3.53	18.46	2.24
47	ASIAN	829	1	4.47	38.75	2.86	47	WHETHER	895	2	3.51	15.27	2.04
48	MODERN	439	1	5.03	35.35	2.56	48	SHOULD	2871	1	3.51	48.90	3.65
49	STABBED	117	2	6.45	35.04	2.21	49	MOST	2731	2	3.39	40.63	3.38
50	FORCED	725	1	4.49	34.69	2.70	50	ANOTHER	1403	1	3.35	19.94	2.39

Appendix 5B: MWs-collocations

Moslem/Muslim women (MWs) F= 2860: Lists of MWs-collocations in the BPC											
Column A: MWs-collocates in LL order						Column B: MWs-collocates in MI order					
N	Collocate	Freq.	Gap	MI	Log L.▼	T Score	N	Collocate	Freq.	Ps	MI▼	Log L.	T Score
1	OF	70301	1	2.85	1395.03	20.76	1	HELPLINE	52	3	8.46	214.49	4.57
2	TO	67415	1	2.62	988.43	18.22	2	EMPOWER	25	2	8.30	89.29	2.99
3	WHO	10517	1	4.02	735.11	13.10	3	RAPING	60	3	7.95	158.91	4.11
4	WEARING	1658	1	5.91	721.60	10.50	4	NON	37	3	7.15	48.55	2.43
5	ARE	13346	1	3.67	647.50	12.87	5	ADVISE	33	1	7.05	39.72	2.22
6	FOR	21152	1	3.24	636.31	13.53	6	POSE	58	1	6.91	61.95	2.80
7	WEAR	1722	2	5.72	630.52	10.00	7	OPPRESSED	120	3	6.77	113.05	3.84
8	IN	50239	1	2.44	574.59	14.44	8	REMOVE	466	3	6.71	418.17	7.41
9	MANY	3039	1	4.89	505.54	9.81	9	EMANCIPATION	42	3	6.70	37.15	2.21
10	BY	13129	1	3.34	437.41	11.11	10	NETWORK	140	3	6.34	89.87	3.56
11	YOUNG	1967	1	5.17	428.18	8.75	11	URGED	119	3	6.33	75.93	3.28
12	REMOVE	466	2	6.71	418.17	7.41	12	VEILED	282	3	6.21	161.67	4.83
13	THAT	26529	1	2.58	357.43	11.24	13	WORN	294	3	6.21	168.37	4.93
14	SHOULD	2871	1	4.55	342.00	8.40	14	ADULT	86	1	6.15	46.47	2.61
15	CHILDREN	2216	2	4.68	299.79	7.75	15	ASKS	156	1	6.07	78.29	3.41
16	BRITISH	2804	1	4.32	264.02	7.60	16	OPPRESSION	172	3	6.04	84.35	3.55
17	S	20699	1	2.51	252.05	9.58	17	BURKAS	96	2	5.99	44.89	2.60
18	SOME	3555	1	4.04	251.91	7.69	18	DEVOUT	152	3	5.98	70.39	3.26
19	VEILS	694	2	5.65	237.85	6.20	19	WEARING	1658	3	5.91	721.60	10.50
20	HELPLINE	52	2	8.46	214.49	4.57	20	RAPES	104	1	5.88	43.75	2.60
21	FROM	10817	1	2.88	208.42	8.24	21	ASSUME	77	2	5.82	30.88	2.20
22	WORDS	3383	1	3.88	202.05	7.04	22	ENCOURAGE	140	2	5.81	55.41	2.95
23	ABOUT	6080	1	3.31	194.38	7.47	23	CHOOSE	315	2	5.79	122.71	4.39
24	NOT	11751	2	2.71	183.80	7.95	24	RAPED	348	3	5.79	134.80	4.61
25	RAPE	596	2	5.50	177.82	5.45	25	WEAR	1722	3	5.72	630.52	10.00
26	WORN	294	2	6.21	168.37	4.93	26	CONSEQUENCES	104	1	5.65	35.62	2.40
27	WERE	7325	1	3.00	162.84	7.16	27	VEILS	694	2	5.65	237.85	6.20
28	VEILED	282	1	6.21	161.67	4.83	28	COVERING	261	3	5.65	88.98	3.80
29	RAPING	60	1	7.95	158.91	4.11	29	LIFT	106	2	5.63	35.39	2.40
30	HAVE	12374	1	2.53	154.20	7.49	30	GAMES	160	2	5.62	52.98	2.94
31	TWO	2825	1	3.76	149.30	6.15	31	MILLIONS	170	3	5.53	51.88	2.94
32	ALL	7693	1	2.84	140.87	6.83	32	RAPE	596	3	5.50	177.82	5.45
33	COVER	464	2	5.50	137.34	4.79	33	COVER	464	3	5.50	137.34	4.79
34	RAPED	348	1	5.79	134.80	4.61	34	HEADSCARVES	275	3	5.47	79.62	3.66
35	ON	16772	1	2.20	132.20	7.33	35	WORE	250	2	5.39	66.82	3.38
36	CHOOSE	315	1	5.79	122.71	4.39	36	ALLOWING	126	2	5.38	33.30	2.39
37	BE	12858	2	2.33	121.87	6.89	37	INSIST	108	3	5.34	27.47	2.18
38	BOSNIAN	766	1	4.83	120.20	4.82	38	VOICES	163	2	5.23	37.41	2.58
39	RIGHTS	3196	2	3.45	119.48	5.75	39	BANNING	167	2	5.19	37.08	2.57
40	OPPRESSED	120	2	6.77	113.05	3.84	40	MODESTY	169	2	5.18	36.91	2.57
41	BEING	3290	1	3.33	107.92	5.55	41	YOUNG	1967	3	5.17	428.18	8.75
42	CAN	4318	1	3.09	106.36	5.72	42	HUNDREDS	317	2	5.05	61.15	3.36
43	WHETHER	895	1	4.55	106.18	4.69	43	SUGGESTED	245	2	5.00	45.32	2.91
44	GIRLS	948	2	4.47	103.50	4.68	44	EDUCATED	191	3	5.00	35.21	2.56
45	GROUP	1527	1	4.00	103.48	4.96	45	TREATMENT	250	3	4.97	44.96	2.90
46	OTHER	3102	1	3.30	97.89	5.32	46	ASKING	250	2	4.97	44.96	2.90
47	AMONG	1001	1	4.33	94.87	4.56	47	MANY	3039	3	4.89	505.54	9.81
48	DRESS	781	2	4.55	92.99	4.39	48	VOTERS	209	2	4.87	33.97	2.56
49	BRITAIN	2495	2	3.44	92.10	5.05	49	BOSNIAN	766	3	4.83	120.20	4.82
50	NETWORK	140	1	6.34	89.87	3.56	50	CHILDREN	2216	3	4.68	299.79	7.75
51	EMPOWER	25	1	8.30	89.29	2.99							

Appendix 6: Mentions of 'stoning' in the BPC

P	TDM	TDT	TI	TG	TM
1	0	0	3	10	0
2	8	2	18	7	0
3	4	6	4	4	1
4	3	1	2	5	2
Total F=80	**15**	**9**	**27**	**26**	**3**
NF Per 1000 words	**0.06**	**0.12**	**0.08**	**0.09**	**0.23**

Appendixes 7: Collocations with W in the LW and RW corpora

Appendix 7A: Categorised W-collocations in the LW and RW press

	Semantic category	LW: W-collocates	RW: W-collocates
1	RELIGION	*Muslim,* devout	*Muslim, moslem,*
2	DRESS	*veiled*, wearing, wear, *niqab*, hijab, *dressed*, veil, face, hijab-wearing, wears, full-face, burqa, fully, burka	*Wearing*, veil, *veiled, burka, hijab, wears*, wear, headscarf, burqa, wore, niqab, *dressed*
3	NATIONS, COUNTRIES AND LOCATION	*Asian*, British, *African*, Nigerian, Hackney, origin, Moroccan, Algerian, Pakistani,	*Asian*, western, African, Palestinian, Bosnian,
4	VIOLENCE AND CRIMES	Fined, beaten, murdered,	*Raped, accused*, murdered
5	TERRORISM		Bomber,
6	SOCIAL GROUPS AND INDIVIDUALS	Man, juror, prisoner, non-Muslim, Shah, judge	Man, *peer*, partner, witness,
7	AWARDS	Nobel	
8	DEONTIC/ EPISTEMIC MODALITY	can	Should, can,
9	ADJECTIVES & ADVERBS	*young, first, married*, another, *elderly*, black, white, old, middle-aged, blonde, tall, bright, pregnant, single, Olympic, modern,	*First, young, married, another*, respectable, middle-aged, barred, pregnant, pretty, powerful, poor, apparently, beautiful,
10	QUANTIFICATIONS	one, only, any,	One, any, only
11	NOUNS	*body*, words, testimony, graphic	words, addition, *body, cabinet*,
12	VERBS	was, is, be, has, said, had, *win*, told, being, am, says, intimidating, chooses, disguised, sentenced, marry	was, is, be, has, had, *remove*, being, *serve*, see, walks, disguised, marrying, ruled, walked, ordered, marry, alone,
13	FUNCTION WORDS AND PRONOUNS	a, to, who, in, her, s, as, an, with, if, whose, she	A, TO, WHO, IN , S, as, her, with, she, an, from, *whose*,

Collocates in Bold are those that have shown among the top fifty collocates based on both the LL and MI measures.

Appendix 7B: Categorised Ws-collocations in the LW and RW press

	Semantic category	LW: Ws-collocates	RW: Ws-collocates
1	RELIGION	*Muslim*, Moslem	*Muslim*, *moslem*,
2	DRESS	*Wear*, wearing, *veiled*, *veils*, veil, cover, bikinis, niqab-wearing, burkas, burqas, worn dress,	*wear*, *veils*, wearing, veil, dress, *cover*, hijab, *worn*, faces, *veiled*, burqas, headscarves, burkas, niqabs
3	NATIONS, COUNTRIES AND LOCATION	Asian, Helmand, Kurdish, Malaysian, Albanian, Bangladeshi	Asian, western, Croatian, Afghan
4	VIOLENCE AND CRIMES	*Raped*, Systematically, rape, mistreated, suffrage, subjugation, Raping, oppressed, gang-raped, oppress, traumatised	*oppression*, oppress, threats, raping, subjugation, downtrodden, oppressed, beating, raped
5	TERRORISM		
6	SOCIAL GROUPS AND INDIVIDUALS	Men, children, girls	men, children, prisoners, non-Muslim, recruits, campaigner,
7	EDUCATION	educated,	
8	DEONTIC/ EPISTEMIC MODALITY	should	should, can
9	ADJECTIVES & ADVERBS	Young, other, assertive, shrouded, illiterate, swathed, liberated, second-class, submissive, , modestly, vocal	young, other, inferior, second-class, modestly, few, fewer, sexually, segregated,
10	QUANTIFICATIONS	Many, some all more, group, two, groups, only,	many, some, two, more,
11	NOUNS	Rights, treatment, uppity, atlas, Empowerment, helpline, emancipation Disservice, treatment, roles, plight	rights, obstacle, empowering, chapter, priests, liberation, status, scores, appearance, rate, champion,
12	VERBS	Were, have, like, being, do, empower, *liberate*, liberate, liberating, treats, compete,	are, have, were, be, *remove*, like, want discard, asks, pose, believing, treat, attract,
13	FUNCTION WORDS AND PRONOUNS	of, to, and, in, s, are, for, who, THAT, their, by, from, not, these, about, against, among, where,	to, of, and, in, for, who, that, s, their, by, not, from, these, about, against, will, whether,

Appendix 7C: W(s)-collocations in the LW and RW press in their MI and LL original order

	LW corpus: TI, TG and TM					RW corpus: TDM and TDT			
	Woman-collocates		**Women-collocates**			**Woman-collocates**		**Women-collocates**	
N	W (LL order)	W (MI order)	Ws (LL order)	Ws (MI order)	N	W (LL order)	W (MI order)	Ws (LL order)	Ws (MI order)
1	A	JUROR	MUSLIM	UPPITY	1	A	VEILED	MUSLIM	DISCARD
2	MUSLIM	HIJAB-WEARING	OF	EMPOWER	2	MUSLIM	WALKS	TO	OPPRESS
3	TO	INTIMIDATING	TO	MISTREATED	3	TO	RESPECTABLE	OF	TREATS
4	WHO	MIDDLE-AGED	AND	LIBERATES	4	WHO	MIDDLE-AGED	AND	RAPING
5	IN	NIGERIAN	IN	SUFFRAGE	5	IN	DISGUISED	IN	OBSTACLE
6	HER	CHOOSES	S	BIKINIS	6	S	WEARS	ARE	INFERIOR
7	YOUNG	BLONDE	ARE	SUBJUGATION	7	FIRST	BARRED	FOR	SUBJUGATION
8	S	ELDERLY	FOR	OPPRESS	8	YOUNG	SERVE	WEAR	DOWNTRODDEN
9	WAS	VEILED	WHO	ATLAS	9	AS	MARRYING	WHO	OPPRESSION
10	FIRST	FINED	THAT	NIQAB-WEARING	10	WAS	PEER	THAT	EMPOWERING
11	AS	DISGUISED	MEN	RAPING	11	IS	MUSLIM	S	CHAPTER
12	IS	DRESSED	WERE	EMPOWERMENT	12	HER	RAPED	THEIR	BURQAS
13	AN	TALL	MANY	DISSERVICE	13	BE	DRESSED	VEILS	SECOND-CLASS
14	ONE	SENTENCED	THEIR	LIBERATE	14	WITH	MARRIED	MOSLEM	PRIESTS
15	SHE	TESTIMONY	WEAR	MOSLEM	15	ONE	PREGNANT	MEN	OPPRESSED
16	WITH	HACKNEY	HAVE	HELPLINE	16	SHE	YOUNG	HAVE	MOSLEM
17	VEILED	WEARS	RIGHTS	VEILED	17	WEARING	AFRICAN	WEARING	VEILS
18	BE	ORIGIN	YOUNG	EMANCIPATION	18	VEIL	PRETTY	BY	MUSLIM
19	WEARING	MUSLIM	BY	ASSERTIVE	19	AN	RULED	WERE	IRANIAN
20	ONLY	AFRICAN	FROM	SHROUDED	20	VEILED	PARTNER	CHILDREN	PRISONERS
21	HAS	WIN	WEARING	HELMAND	21	MARRIED	WALKED	BE	ASKS
22	SAID	MOROCCAN	NOT	TREATMENT	22	WORDS	ORDERED	YOUNG	BEATING
23	WORDS	PRISONER	CHILDREN	BURKAS	23	ANY	HEADSCARF	SHOULD	VEILED
24	HAD	DEVOUT	SOME	KURDISH	24	FROM	FIRST	MANY	HEADSCARVES
25	ASIAN	FULL-FACE	VEILED	ILLITERATE	25	HAS	CABINET	NOT	POSE
26	MARRIED	YOUNG	ALL	SYSTEMATICALLY	26	MAN	BURQA	VEIL	BURKAS
27	IF	BRIGHT	VEILS	SWATHED	27	HAD	ASIAN	REMOVE	MODESTLY
28	ANOTHER	ALGERIAN	THESE	MALAYSIAN	28	MOSLEM	MURDERED	FROM	BELIEVING
29	BRITISH	OLYMPIC	ABOUT	MUSLIM	29	ANOTHER	REMOVE	RIGHTS	LIBERATION
30	VEIL	NON-MUSLIM	MORE	LIBERATED	30	SHOULD	PALESTINIAN	SOME	NON-MUSLIM
31	DRESSED	MARRIED	OTHER	SECOND-CLASS	31	REMOVE	POWERFUL	DRESS	RECRUITS
32	ELDERLY	SHAH	SHOULD	ALBANIAN	32	WHOSE	POOR	THESE	NIQABS
33	WIN	PREGNANT	VEIL	LIBERATING	33	ASIAN	WHOSE	OTHER	REMOVE
34	WEAR	NOBEL	RAPED	RAPED	34	CAN	APPARENTLY	TWO	STATUS
35	WHOSE	BODY	AGAINST	OPPRESSED	35	RAPED	MOSLEM	MORE	CROATIAN
36	TOLD	BURQA	GROUP	BURQAS	36	DRESSED	WITNESS	ASIAN	FEWER
37	NIQAB	FULLY	BEING	MODESTLY	37	WESTERN	HIJAB	OPPRESSION	TREAT
38	AFRICAN	BEATEN	RAPE	VEILS	38	BURKA	ACCUSED	COVER	ATTRACT
39	ANY	LEAD	GIRLS	SUBMISSIVE	39	ONLY	BODY	LIKE	WEAR
40	BODY	NIQAB	TWO	TREATS	40	EDITION	BURKA	WESTERN	CAMPAIGNER
41	BLACK	SINGLE	AMONG	WORN	41	ACCUSED	BEAUTIFUL	ABOUT	SCORES
42	MAN	ASIAN	COVER	EDUCATED	42	BODY	BOSNIAN	AGAINST	RAPED
43	BEING	MARRY	GROUPS	ROLES	43	PEER	WEARING	WILL	SEXUALLY
44	AM	BURKA	DRESS	BANGLADESHI	44	HIJAB	WESTERN	HIJAB	WORN
45	FACE	MURDERED	DO	TRAUMATISED	45	WEARS	WORE	WORN	AFGHAN
46	SAYS	FIRST	TREATMENT	PLIGHT	46	CABINET	MARRY	WANT	SEGREGATED
47	WHITE	MODERN	ASIAN	VOCAL	47	BEING	ALONE	WHETHER	COVER
48	HIJAB	PAKISTANI	ONLY	COMPETE	48	SERVE	BOMBER	FACES	APPEARANCE
49	OLD	GRAPHIC	LIKE	GANG-RAPED	49	WEAR	ANOTHER	VEILED	RATE
50	CAN	JUDGE	WHERE	WEAR	50	SEE	NIQAB	CAN	CHAMPION