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ABSTRACT This study is unique in two ways: 1) it explores the little-known discourse site of English-language Arab newspapers; and 2) it applies quantitative methods to a large amount of data to uncover patterns that show how these newspapers reproduce, resist and/or challenge the discourse that stems from a dominant Euro-centered culture. The article focuses on a corpus of 422 'hard' news texts that address the events and issues known as the 'Prophet Muhammad cartoons controversy'. The analysis of the data is approached via the contextual linguistic paradigm of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). An important model in this study is derived from Mills' (1995) concept of 'signals of affiliation' which is here adapted specifically to the context of Arab newspaper discourse production. Central to the investigation is a computer-assisted quantitative frequency and concordance analysis of the corpus.

KEY WORDS: *Arab, cartoons, CDA, dominance, Muslim, newspaper discourse, Prophet Muhammad, signals of affiliation, social conflict, textual heterogeneity*

A man once asked the Prophet Muhammad if to love one's tribe was bigotry. 'No,' replied the Prophet.
'Bigotry is to help your tribe to oppress others.'

(Narrated by Ibn Majah)

Introduction

The 'Prophet Muhammad cartoons controversy' that gripped Europe in early 2006 spurred a burst of production in the discourse of English-language Arab newspapers. Making use of this rich source of data, this article aims to explore,

via critical analysis, just how ideology is both reproduced and resisted in the English-language Arab press.

Contextual background

THE ENGLISH-LANGUAGE ARAB NEWSPAPER

In line with the understanding of media discourse as a product of societal and institutional practices (see the theoretical discussion of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) (p. 36), the English-language Arab newspaper may be described as both a product of society and a shaper of its discourse. The discourse-driven conflict that will be examined here involved the entire 'Muslim world',¹ so it should be stressed that the terms 'Muslim' and 'Arab' are in no way synonymous: there are non-Muslim Arabs as well as non-Arab Muslims. Nonetheless, the countries that make up the Arab region of the Middle East (often called the 'Arab world') have cultures that are greatly 'influenced by the Arabic language and by Islam, the main religion' (Amin, 2001: 23).

Rugh's (1979) and Hafez's (2001) analyses of the Arab press have shown that overall in the Arab world the state has managed to maintain control (albeit often indirectly) over the press. The result of this overall lack of independence from government has meant that Arab media discourse is associated with poor credibility, such that newspaper readers have generally been skeptical of what they read, assuming that there is a bias inherent in the content (Rugh, 1979: 12). Glass (2001) gives a similar assessment of the situation in the 21st century (p. 231).

Given the historically constrained condition of the press in the Arab world, it is not surprising that the concept of 'freedom of expression' is also understood rather differently than it is in the Euro-centered 'West'. Indeed, the concept of 'freedom' is commonly viewed as relative, rather than absolute, and one that ought to be curtailed on occasion in the interest of the 'greater good' (Ayish, 2001: 122). Hence, in Islamic and Arab societies, 'censorship is tolerated and even expected as a form of civic responsibility' (Amin, 2001: 24, emphasis added).

Although news editing rules are expected to conform to Islamic norms and values, 'Western' or 'Euro-centered'² news agencies dominate the flow of international news through the Arab media (Hafez, 2001: 15). The 'big four' (Bell, 1991: 48) of Reuters, Associated Press (AP), United Press International (UPI) and Agence France Presse have long been the major sources of foreign news for Arab newspapers (Glass, 2001: 232; Rugh, 1979: 134). There is, predictably, an 'honor system' in place whereby the Big Four-generated news report is compared to the state news agency's version, and the Arab news editor then uses the latter as a guide on how to present the story in his/her own paper (Rugh, 1979: 144). Locally generated news is more often produced by the official state news agency (Rugh, 1979: 141) or attributed to an individual reporter or simply 'the staff'.

The 'cartoons controversy'

The controversy over the 'Prophet cartoons' began in September 2005, when the 'conservative' Danish newspaper, *Jyllands-Posten*, having decided 'to challenge what it saw as de facto censorship' regarding images of the Prophet Muhammad, published 12 caricatures of the Prophet of Islam that the culture editor of the paper had commissioned. Several of the drawings associate Islam with terrorism and suicide bombings. The Prophet is depicted in one drawing 'wearing a turban in the shape of a bomb with a burning fuse' and in another, telling would-be suicide bombers that they had 'run out of virgins' (with which to 'reward' them, presumably) (Agence France Presse, 2006).

The Arab League officially condemned the publication of the caricatures, and in January 2006, when a newspaper in Norway published the images citing 'freedom of expression', peaceful protests began to take place in the Muslim and Arab world. The culture editor of the *Jyllands-Posten* apologized to Muslims for 'causing offence', but defended the paper's right to publish what it saw fit (Agence France Presse, 2006; Rose, 2006).

In early February, more European newspapers published the cartoons, all citing 'freedom of expression'. Crowds of angry protesters in Damascus and Beirut attacked and set fire to the consulates of Denmark and other countries. The violence quickly spread to other parts of the Muslim world (Agence France Presse, 2006). Muslim clerics reiterated their calls for peaceful demonstrations and boycotts. Consumers in Gulf Arab countries complied by refusing to buy Danish products.

The diplomatic consequences multiplied, as Danish and other European Embassies were closed temporarily throughout Arab and Muslim nations (Agence France Presse, 2006). During the spring of 2006, delegations from the world's Muslim communities and Arab countries made visits to Denmark to encourage dialogue (Agence France Presse, 2006). By the summer of 2006, however, the controversy had all but disappeared from the pages of the world's newspapers – even Arab ones.

THE ESSENCE OF THE NEWSPAPER DISCOURSE

The cartoons controversy became a flashpoint that exacerbated pre-existing tensions between Muslims and the Euro-centered 'West'. That is, although the rallying cry throughout Europe and Euro-centered nations was 'freedom of expression', the underlying issue – for some, at least – was the ongoing controversy over Muslim immigration and the debate over their integration into European society (BBC News, 2006). Correspondingly, while the major issue for many Arabs and Muslims was 'blasphemy vs. respect for religion', the underlying issue was perceived as European and 'Western' arrogance, and the military, political, cultural and economic domination that persisted so many decades after European colonialism had ended (Khouri, 2006). The 'cartoons crisis' epitomizes the struggle for control over discourse in that the debate is not overtly about anything other than the extent and limits of freedom of expression. Consequently, the newspaper discourse in the English-language Arab press contains specific

references to lexical choice wherever the merits and (political) correctness of terminology and ideological concepts are debated and discussed.

Theoretical background

CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS (CDA)

While the Internet and satellite television may have created the illusion of a global village, relationships of dominance often rooted in colonial history have also become more evident, manifested as 'clashes of ideology' in the virtual village square. This phenomenon is visible in the heated debates that one frequently encounters between participants from diverse backgrounds and distant parts of the world in the virtual cafés known as Internet chat rooms, and can be found in the op-ed pages of local as well as international newspapers. Fairclough (2001) observes that a struggle for control over discourse is evidence of ongoing social conflict; thus, the discourse becomes not only the site of that struggle, but a prized resource in the competition itself (Fairclough, 2001: 73). The need for an approach to discourse as a product of social interaction is thus obvious and urgent. CDA provides just such an approach, since 'CDA understands language . . . to be a form of social practice and, as such . . . [takes a] contextualist stance' (Page, 2006: 118).

CDA is perhaps especially suited to the study of media discourse because of its unequivocally socio-political outlook, given that a central principle of CDA is to uncover and examine 'the role of discourse in the (re)production and challenge of dominance' (Van Dijk, 1993: 249). The mass media play a pivotal role in the establishment and perpetuation of power relationships, as it is through the discursive practices of the media that the dominant ideology is disseminated and reinforced (Fairclough, 2001: 28, 43–5). As with any resource, media discourse can also be wielded to negotiate, challenge and resist existing relations of inequality and dominance (Fairclough, 1999: 205; Garrett and Bell, 1998: 6).

Scholars have asserted that CDA is 'essentially a qualitative paradigm' (Mautner, 2005: 815), and indeed, most CDA work in the area of news media discourse on cross-cultural, ethnic or other issues in which dominance plays a role (see Brookes, 1995; Machin and Mayr, 2007; Murata, 2007; Pietikäinen, 2003; Teo, 2000) has employed qualitative methods almost exclusively in examining data for linguistic evidence. Furthermore, as a quick review of collections of CDA work, such as Caldas-Coulthard and Coulthard (1996), and of CDA research papers published in *Discourse & Society* in the past 10 years, will confirm, until very recently the great majority of corpus-based CDA studies of discourse have relied on very small data samples. Notable exceptions from these collections are, respectively, Krishnamurthy (2006) and Page (2003); and in the two years since the data for the present paper were collected, a few studies have been published that make use of large corpora: these include Baker (2006), Mautner (2007) and Pearce (forthcoming).

As a result, it has been difficult to perform quantitative analyses on a scale large enough to draw statistically significant conclusions. Patterns of language

use that are not directly observable, but may be intuitively discernible, need to be described systematically, which requires searching large amounts of text and using quantitative methods (Stubbs, 1996: 131). A computer-assisted, corpus-based approach to the critical study of discourse assembles data on culturally meaningful terms or 'keywords'. Although the term 'keywords' can have a specific and limited reference in corpus linguistic terminology, here it is used in its original meaning, which is a concept attributed to Williams (1976), as cited in Stubbs (1996: 166). The corpus-assisted approach identifies keywords and tabulates their frequency in the corpus and their collocations with other words. To date, there have been few corpus-based studies on Arab-generated news texts, as researchers have seemed to prefer more readily available European and Anglo-American data. It is hoped that this study will contribute new insights in this arena.

Quantitative analyses should reveal potentially significant patterns of variation and instances of *textual heterogeneity*: the often incongruous mixing of genres that Fairclough believes to be indicative of 'social and cultural contradictions' (1995: 60). Fairclough's model of the contextual theory of discourse incorporates the use of *intertextual analysis*, an approach that 'aims to unravel the various genres and discourses' woven into the text (Fairclough, 1995: 61). Through intertextual analysis, the discourse analyst looks for evidence of textual heterogeneity.

Van Dijk (1998) contributes a useful theoretical concept he calls the 'ideological square', which encapsulates the twin strategies of positive 'ingroup' description and negative 'outgroup' description (Van Dijk, 1998: 33). The double strategy of this binary opposition is often manifested in discourse by lexical choice and other linguistic features (Van Dijk, 1998: 33). Using the analytical tools described below, the discourse under investigation here should yield salient examples of this 'us vs them' paradigm.

A core group of linguistic features ought to be examined in the search for the ideological underpinnings of discourse (Toolan, 2001: 221–9). The features most relevant to the present study are as follows:

Modality

As it functions 'to express group membership' (Stubbs, 1996: 202), the use of modality is crucial to signaling the alignment or 'affiliation' of the writer (see overleaf).

Naming and description

By examining naming choices or 'labeling', one uncovers ideological assumptions (Thetela, 2001: 354). Another aspect of naming and description is 'overlexicalization', or the employment of

an excess of quasi-synonymous terms for entities and ideas that are a particular preoccupation or problem in the culture's discourse.

(Fowler, 1991: 85)

Patterns of naming and description may also include pronoun use, specifically the polarizing *we/us* and *they/them* (Van Dijk, 1993: 278).

Collocational incongruity

The 'habitual co-occurrence' or *collocation* of words reveals associations and connotations, through which underlying assumptions can be exposed (Stubbs, 1996: 172). 'Collocational incongruity' then, is manifested as 'clashes of idiom or usage', which could indicate ideological 'turbulence' (Toolan, 2001: 227), or in other words, textual heterogeneity.

Presupposition

In CDA, exposing ideological presuppositions is necessary precisely because these ideological assumptions are so often presented to the reader as 'common sense'.

'Signals of affiliation': a context-specific adaptation

'Signals of affiliation' is a concept from critical theory developed by Mills (1995) to account for gendered stylistic differences in women's writing (1995: 58). Her model has appeal here because it offers a macro view that explains differences in texts of a similar nature, written by members of a socially definable group. At the same time, the analyst is prompted to look for linguistic cues in the text that function at the micro level as signals of ideological alignment or *affiliation* (Mills, 1995: 58–61). Intertextual analysis, especially the investigation of markers of textual heterogeneity, is a key aspect of this model.

It is posited that there are three main affiliations that an Arab writer/editor might adopt in a particular text. The three choices of affiliation are as follows:

1. The Arab news editor/writer publishes the text generated by one of the 'Big Four' news agencies ('Big Four-generated') as is, without making editorial changes that would challenge the dominant Euro-centered ideology underlying the text (*reproduction*); or
2. The Arab news editor/writer publishes the Big Four-generated text, but only after making editorial changes that make use of textual heterogeneity to effectively challenge or undermine the dominant Euro-centered ideology underlying the original text (*reproduction of discourse with resistance*); or
3. The Arab news editor/writer produces her/his own text ('Arab-generated'), often in response or opposition to a Big Four-generated text (*challenge and resistance to discourse*).

This model of ideological alignment forms the basis for the hypotheses in this study, set forth as follows.

It is expected that both quantitative and qualitative analyses of the data will reveal that:

1. almost every Big Four-generated text shows evidence (via textual heterogeneity) of editorial changes, however minor, that give the text a 'Type Two' affiliation complex wherein the discourse is reproduced with resistance; and
2. the Arab-generated texts show consistent and substantial differences in their use of modality and 'naming and description', which characterize them with a 'Type Three' affiliation complex wherein the discourse is challenged and resisted.

Data description

The data for this study comprise articles culled from the websites of 19 English-language Arab newspapers representing 12 different countries in the Arab world (see Table 1). The selection of newspapers was limited by certain parameters. Specifically, each must be a 'serious' newspaper – neither 'tabloid' nor serving a special interest group (such as the tourist industry) – that is published in English on a daily or weekly basis, and each paper must be available both online and on newsstands in the Arab region.

The texts are in the form of news reports, editorials/opinion pieces or news analyses that focus on the 'cartoons controversy'. The 334 news reports are classified as either 'Big Four-attributed' or 'Arab-generated', based on the attribution given by the newspaper or in the text itself (on attribution of news stories, see Bell, 1999: 244). The remaining 88 texts are 'op-ed' or analyses from the same newspapers that carried the news reports.

The data collected do not form a random sample, but rather represent a fairly comprehensive corpus of the three genres of texts produced by the 19 newspapers on the topic of the 'cartoons controversy'. The corpus includes texts dating from the initial publication of the cartoons in late 2005 until the controversy apparently lost its news value in the spring of 2006. Online searches were performed in February, March, June and September 2006, yielding a total of 422 texts.

This corpus is analyzed using concordancing software (*WordSmith Tools 4.0*) by creating lists of lexical items and performing frequency/distribution analyses of keywords, or words that have 'sociological significance'. Keywords deemed salient to the hypotheses of this study are then checked for the collocations that appear in the text. Each Big Four-attributed Arab text is checked against the source text to which it is attributed, where such a source was actually found, and the Arab text is then categorized as a Type One or Type Two text, based on whether or not the Arab text shows evidence of the sort of alterations that

TABLE 1. *Distribution of source newspapers by country*

Country	No. of papers
1 Bahrain	1
2 Egypt	4
3 Iraq	1
4 Jordan	1
5 Kuwait	1
6 Lebanon	1
7 Oman	3
8 Qatar	1
9 Saudi Arabia	2
10 Syria	1
11 United Arab Emirates	2
12 Yemen	1
Total	19

TABLE 2. 'Cartoons controversy' text count (total: 422 texts)

Newspaper	Big Four-attributed		Arab-generated (total: 228)	
	News	News	Op-ed/analysis	Totals
1 Al-Ahram (Egypt)	7	3	18	21
2 Arab News (Saudi Arabia)	4	10	13	27
3 Asharq Alawsat (S. Arabia)	9	4	0	13
4 Azzaman (Iraq)	0	1	1	2
5 Bahrain Tribune	41	4	3	48
6 Daily Star (Lebanon)	26	34	12	72
7 Egyptian Gazette	0	1	0	1
8 Egyptian Mail	1	0	0	1
9 Gulf News (UAE)	43	40	11	94
10 Jordan Times	1	4	6	11
11 Khaleej Times (UAE)	20	0	11	31
12 Kuwait Times	3	1	4	8
13 Middle East Times (Egypt)	2	0	3	5
14 Oman Observer	1	2	0	3
15 Oman Tribune	11	1	0	12
16 Peninsula Qatar	6	14	0	20
17 Syria Times	1	14	1	16
18 Times of Oman	25	2	1	28
19 Yemen Times	0	5	4	9
Totals	201	140	88	422

would signal affiliation with a projected Arab/Muslim standpoint. Headlines and lead sentences of all news reports are then isolated and examined for textual heterogeneity, modality, presuppositions, and other indicators of reproduction, resistance, or challenge to discourse, and the results tabulated for each text group.

Data analysis and interpretation

COMPUTER-ASSISTED ANALYSIS

As Table 2 above shows, the Big Four-attributed texts in this corpus are all news reports. The Arab-generated texts are of three genres: news reports, opinion/editorial pieces, and news analysis articles. In order to make an equitable comparison of the Big Four-attributed versus the Arab-generated texts, the news reports were also isolated from the rest of the Arab-generated group to form a third group that could be analyzed on a par with the Big Four-attributed news reports. These three groups of the corpus and a smaller control sample not in the corpus (described below) are the focus of the analysis. The corpus

of 422 Arab newspaper texts comprises nearly 187,000 words. Of these, almost 75,000 words come from the Big Four-attributed group of news reports, while the Arab-generated group of news reports contains over 53,000 words. The opinion and analysis texts make up the remainder of the word count for this corpus.

In order to confirm that individual Big Four-attributed texts were indeed altered in significant ways by the Arab writer/editor in the version published by the Arab newspaper, each text had to be matched to its source text, usually an actual newswire text from one of the Big Four international news agencies. These Big Four-generated texts are not part of and were not counted with the corpus, but are used as a reference. One group of such texts is the set of source texts for all the Big Four-attributed texts that were attributed specifically to the Associated Press (AP). Although comprising only 31 texts, the 'AP control sample' covers all the major events of the 'crisis' and forms a representative cross-section of the Big Four-attributed Arab newspaper news stories in this corpus. The AP control sample (consisting of 12 full-length news reports and 19 headlines-and-leads) forms a separate corpus used for comparison with the Arab data. This smaller collection comprises nearly 10,700 words, and was subjected to most of the same quantitative analyses as was the Arab corpus.

Concordance analysis

For concordancing searches carried out on this data, the span of text on either side of the keyword was 10 words. In compiling the lists of ordered collocates (Table 4), the collocations are displayed in order of their Mutual Information (MI) score, which is derived by a statistical test calculated by the concordancing program *WordSmith Tools 4.0*, which gives the probability 'based on total corpus size in tokens'. The results of every concordancing search were checked manually, and individual examples were analyzed to ascertain that the context was in line with the expected significance of the collocations. Thus, if the word 'offensive' is listed as a collocate of 'cartoons', the surrounding text was checked to ensure that the data was indeed contextually accurate, and that the text did not by chance read (for example): 'the cartoons are NOT offensive'.

Lexical choice: keywords that name and describe

The topic of the texts in the sample and the search criteria ensure that there will be a relatively high frequency and 'blanket' distribution in all three groups of texts of the word *cartoons* and/or either of its 'contextual synonyms' *caricatures* and *drawings*. That is, every text is expected to contain at least one occurrence of any of the three keywords. These three lexemes provide an ideal starting point for a quantitative analysis, as they furnish a great deal of interesting data. Concordancing searches were carried out on the three groups of texts and the control sample for *cartoons*, *caricatures* and *drawings* and their modifiers. After omitting any occurrences of these keywords that did not refer specifically to the caricatures of the Prophet at issue in the discourse, the results were summarized as in Table 3.

TABLE 3. Frequency and collocation of cartoons/caricatures/drawings across three groups of texts in corpus and in control group

Individual lexeme:	AP texts (control)	Big Four- attributed news reports	Arab- generated news reports	All Arab- generated texts
<i>cartoons</i>				
<i>n</i> =	77	683	307	550
collocating negative modifiers	7	79	96	215
% of occurrences	9%	11.6%	26%	39%
<i>caricatures</i>				
<i>n</i> =	41	166	102	144
collocating negative modifiers	3	25	30	58
% of occurrences	7.3%	15%	29.4%	40.3%
<i>drawings</i>				
<i>n</i> =	36	84	20	54
collocating negative modifiers	7	14	5	15
% of occurrences	19.4%	16.7%	25%	27.8%
% of occurrences of negative modifiers for 3 lexemes combined	17/154 = 11%	118/ 933 = 12.6%	146/ 429 = 34%	288/ 748 = 38.5%

Although the three keywords are often used interchangeably in the data, they are not truly synonyms. A brief definition of each keyword in the sense in which it is employed in the current discourse is taken from the Oxford English Dictionary:

cartoon: a humorous or topical drawing (of any size) in a newspaper, etc. Cf. strip-cartoon.

(OED Online 2002: 50033926)

caricature: a portrait or other artistic representation, in which the characteristic features of the original are exaggerated with ludicrous effect; an exaggerated or debased likeness, imitation, or copy, naturally or unintentionally ludicrous.

(OED Online 2002: 50033515)

drawing: that which is drawn; a delineation by pen, pencil, or crayon; a representation in black and white, or in monochrome; a sketch.

(OED Online 2002: 50069656)

It should be clear from the definitions that *caricatures* is the term that most closely describes the ‘cartoons’ at issue, while *drawings* seems least apt as a description; *cartoons* may be seen as a ‘middle ground’ alternative. Given the differences in what each lexeme denotes, it is likely that the choice of one over the other

two terms may imply a certain attitude on the part of the journalist. One Arab newspaper editor identifies a potential ideological alignment embedded in such a choice, preferring the term *caricatures* as a more accurate name for the Prophet cartoons than *drawings*, explaining:

1. the western news agencies tend oftentimes to neutralise their obnoxious nature by describing them as drawings, as if that should take the sting out of the outrage . . .

('Height of arrogance', *Bahrain Tribune*, Commentary, 5 February 2006)

The results in Table 3 suggest³ that there are notable and substantive differences in the relative frequencies of the three keywords within and between groups of texts, such that the data seem to support this distinction (both connotative and denotative) between the terms. In general, the relative frequency of the word *drawings* in the Big Four-attributed group is twice that in the Arab-generated group of news reports. Looking at the sets of data in more detail, one notes that in the control sample of AP texts, the frequencies of both *caricatures* and *drawings* are close to equal. In the Big Four-attributed Arab news texts, the use of *caricatures* is preferred about two to one over *drawings*, while in the comparable set of Arab-generated news reports, *caricatures* is chosen in a ratio of more than five to one over *drawings*. Overall, however, *cartoons* occurs more frequently than either *caricatures* or *drawings* across all text groups, perhaps due to the predominant sense of this lexeme (in the definition above) that appears to fit the description of the caricatures at issue without assigning any inherently negative value to them.

Table 3 also highlights the frequency with which each of the three lexemes appears in collocation with 'negative modifiers', by which is meant adjectives or modifiers that one would sort into an imaginary column labeled 'Bad' rather than into the corresponding column labeled 'Good'. For each keyword, the number of collocating negative modifiers was divided by the total number of occurrences of the lexeme in that text group, giving a percentage which could then be compared both horizontally (across the spectrum of text groups) and vertically (between each of the three keywords and as a combined total of all three). The results appear significant: almost across the board, the percentage of negatively-modified occurrences increases as one moves from the most Euro-centered to the most Arab-aligned text group. Moreover, for both *cartoons* and *caricatures*, there is a clear split between the values in the AP-generated and Big Four-attributed text groups and the values in the two Arab-generated groups. The pattern for *drawings* is not as clear-cut, but this is probably due to the above-mentioned aversion to the term in the Arab groups. In addition, the higher percentage of negative modifiers associated with *drawings* in the AP control group could be due to the need for more explicit or evaluative comment when such a vague term is used to refer to the Prophet cartoons.

The combined totals for all three keywords confirm the overall pattern noted above: the increase in the percentage of negatively modified occurrences of *cartoons/caricatures/drawings* correlates with the presumed alignment of the texts, and there is a sharp divide between the AP-generated and Big Four-attributed texts on one side, and the Arab-generated texts on the other, in terms of the

frequency with which negative modifiers are found in collocation with these keywords. The strong correlations displayed in Table 3 reveal the tendency in the Arab-generated text groups to employ negative modality or evaluative comment when the Prophet caricatures are mentioned in the discourse, thus signaling an Arab/Muslim affiliation.

Collocational profile of ‘cartoons’ for each text group

In Krishnamurthy’s (2006) study, he uses computer-generated, ordered lists of collocates in order to compare the ‘collocational profiles’ of three semantically-related lexemes (2006: 141). Adapting Krishnamurthy’s technique to the requirements of this investigation, this analysis looks at a single lexeme (*cartoons*) as it occurs across three groups of texts. In order to assess the specific cultural significance the term holds in each set of texts, an ordered list of the adjective modifiers that collocate with *cartoons* has been compiled (Table 4).

The lexemes collocating with *cartoons* in each text group are listed in order of the relative strength of each collocate. This analysis is limited to the first 10 adjective modifiers only. The terms *prophet* and *Muhammad* were counted as adjective modifiers for the purpose of this analysis because they are used as such in the majority of occurrences where they modify the noun *cartoons*, as in *the Prophet Muhammad cartoons*. As mentioned, every instance of collocation was manually checked to confirm that the assumed collocation was semantically as well as proximally valid.

There are some interesting similarities and telling differences between the four lists. The first term is the same for all three Arab group lists, and for the AP control group list, yet over all, only three of the 16 different lexemes occur in all four lists. These are *prophet*, *Muhammad* and *offensive*. It could be said that these represent the two points on which the Euro-centered and Arab press appear to agree about the caricatures: they are about the Prophet Muhammad, and they are (deemed) offensive. The AP list and the Big Four-attributed list share six lexemes, which include the three just mentioned, in addition to *violent*, *Danish* and *Arab*. The three Arab groups also share six lexemes: the three first

TABLE 4. Ordered lists of collocates for cartoons (adjective modifiers only)

<i>AP texts (control)</i>	<i>Big four-attributed news reports</i>	<i>Arab-generated news reports</i>	<i>All Arab-generated text</i>
1 prophet	prophet	prophet	prophet
2 Muhammad	Danish	Muhammad	Muhammad
3 violent	Muhammad	Danish	offensive
4 Islam’s	European	blasphemous	blasphemous
5 Danish	controversial	offensive	Muslim
6 Islamic	blasphemous	insulting	insulting
7 offensive	offensive	European	European
8 Muslim	offending	controversial	offending
9 Zionist	violent	Muslim	Jesus
10 Arab	Arab	Jesus	controversial

mentioned above, plus *European*, *blasphemous* and *controversial*. The fact that the Big Four-attributed list shares an equal number of adjective collocates with both the AP source texts list and those from the two Arab-generated groups of texts points to the heterogeneous nature of the Big Four-attributed group of Arab texts that is predicted by the hypothesis. Finally, the lists from the two Arab-generated groups of texts share the greatest number of terms – as one might expect.

Although the lists from the AP control group and the Big Four-attributed group both start and end the same way, some words in between are significantly diverse. The term *Zionist* stands out in the AP list as an unusual collocate. This apparent anomaly is explained by the repeated reports in that control group, that the Iranian government had labeled the publication of the caricatures as a 'Zionist conspiracy'. By verifying the surrounding text in all instances, it was found that the presence of the three semantically-related lexemes *Islam's*, *Islamic* and *Muslim* in the AP list is due to the Euro-centered press' need to explain the cartoon controversy in terms of Islamic beliefs and taboos about graven images. There are only two negative modifiers in the AP list. The first, *violent*, is also in the Big Four-attributed list, but does not make it to the 'top 10' of the lists from the two Arab-generated groups of texts. This would suggest either that the nature of the world-wide demonstrations against the cartoons was more of a concern for the Anglo-American/European press than for the Arab press, or that there was some effort in the Euro-centered press to reinforce the stereotype of the 'violent Arab'. *Offensive* is the one negative modifier that appears in all four lists, and is more neutral in its modality than *blasphemous*, which has specific religious meaning (see overleaf). Significantly, *blasphemous* appears in all three Arab lists. As expected, the Big Four-attributed Arab list contains a greater number of negative modifiers than does the AP list, due to the evidence (see pp. 46–7) of modifications to the Big Four-attributed texts that would allow them to project an Arab/Muslim affiliation.

The three Arab lists share *European*, which in some contexts indicates the use of Van Dijk's *us/them* ideological square to 'emphasize their bad properties/actions' as shown in this example from an Arab-generated op-ed piece:

2. The cartoons, including one depicting the prophet's headdress as a bomb, were only the fuse setting off a combustible mixture of pressures and tensions anchored in a much wider array of problems. These include the cartoons themselves; provocative and arrogant European disdain for Muslim sensitivities about the prophet Mohammad; attempts by some Islamist extremists and criminal-political elements to stir up troubles; the Europeans' clear message that their values count more than the values of Muslims; and, a wider sense by many citizens of Islamic societies that the West in general seeks to weaken and subjugate the Muslim world.

('The Danish cartoons: a neo-colonial slap', *The Daily Star*, 8 February 2006)

Alternatively, sometimes it simply reflects the repeated mention in the Arab news reports of the numerous European newspapers that carried the controversial caricatures. Two lexemes that are in the Arab-generated lists but not in the Big Four-attributed list are *insulting* and *Jesus*. The former term is overtly representative of the reaction by the Arab press to the publication of the caricatures. The name

Jesus might seem an anomaly, but in fact the Arab-generated texts made reference to Jesus in two different but connected contexts:

3. [T]he Danish paper had previously turned down cartoons of Jesus because they were deemed too offensive.

('Drawing the Line', *Al-Ahram Weekly*, 9–15 February 2006)

4. Neither Moses nor Jesus or any of the other prophets would ever be an object of a malicious drawing or cartoon [by Muslims].

('It's Not Just About the Danes', *Arab News*, 4 February 2006)

These collocational profiles reveal the complex ways in which the keyword *cartoons* is utilized in the discourse to reproduce, resist, or challenge ideologies – particularly those accepted as commonsense by the Euro-centered press.

Modality and evaluation

According to Bell (1991), '[a] journalist sanctions the form of language culled from other sources just by adopting it' (1991: 42). Based on this assertion, one might expect that Arab news editors would attempt to modify the Big Four-generated texts where the discussion or presentation of the Prophet caricatures is not in line with the views of the newspaper or its readership. One way to check for this revision is to look for evidence of modality by studying the various modifiers that accompany or are associated with the mention of the cartoons (their collocations). The lists in Table 4 confirm that texts appearing in the Arab newspapers do not present the keywords *cartoons/caricatures/drawings* with any sort of positive modality, as no positive modifiers collocate with those three lexemes when they are used to refer to the Prophet cartoons. Collocations of the three keywords in all three groups of Arab newspaper texts seem either neutral in their modality (adjectives like *controversial*, *contentious* and *satirical*) or modify the nouns using negative modality (as in *insulting*, *sacrilegious*, *offensive* and *blasphemous*).

The degree of lexical commitment to or detachment from the perceived negativity associated with the Prophet cartoons varies across the corpus. This variance can be shown to correlate with the projected alignment of each sample group, displayed in Table 5. Distancing markers or qualifiers are what Stubbs (1996) calls 'surface markers of detachment' (p. 208), and include phrases such as *described as*, *deemed (as)*, *seen as*, and so on. Furthermore, Bell (1991) notes that employing 'scare quotes' around a word or phrase in news text also has the effect of distancing the reporter and his/her newspaper from the linguistic forms used by the 'news actors' (p. 208). The concordance analysis shows that negative modifiers collocating with the specific referential nouns *cartoons/caricatures/drawings* are sometimes qualified in the data within the corpus and in the control sample with distancing markers, as in these examples from the data: *deemed offensive*, *seen as blasphemous*, and by the use of scare quotes, as in '*disparaging*' *caricatures*. The percentages of negative modifiers of the three lexemes with and without distancing are shown for each text group in Table 5.

TABLE 5. Combined frequency and collocation of cartoons/caricatures/drawings across three groups of texts in corpus and in control group

Statistics for 3 lexemes combined	AP texts (control)	Big Four- attributed news reports	Arab- generated news reports	All Arab- generated texts
Sum of <i>n</i> (in Table 3)	154	933	429	748
total no. of different negative modifiers (types)	10	22	33	55
total of all collocating negative modifiers (tokens)	17	118	146	288
as % of total occurrences	11%	12.6%	34%	38.5%
total of all collocating negative modifiers using distancing modality	14	19	7	9
as % of total negative modifiers	74%	16%	4.8%	3%

Table 5 also shows an interesting difference in the frequency distribution of different negative modifiers (types rather than tokens) that collocate with the three lexemes. There is a definite progression across the four groups from fewest types to greatest number of types. These numbers simply summarize the variety of negative modifiers found in close proximity to the three keywords: the two Arab-generated groups of texts use comparatively more numerous negative descriptive lexemes in their discourse about the cartoons. Thus, modifiers such as *vulgar*, *slandorous*, *malicious* and *vilifying*, which are found in the Arab-generated texts, are not present in either the Big Four-attributed or the AP control groups. This 'overlexicalization' (Fowler, 1991: 85) appears to be another indicator of the stigma attached to the caricatures in the Arab and Muslim worldview.

Modality in the text as it relates to the attitude of the writer towards the Prophet caricatures is perhaps most apparent with the use of the lemma *blasphemy* – in particular its adjective variant *blasphemous*. Although blasphemy is a term with a highly specific reference that originated in Christian theology, the word has a more general meaning in contemporary English, and it is this general sense in which the term is employed in the discourse at issue here. An important keyword in the discourse surrounding the publication of the Prophet cartoons, *blasphemy/blasphemous* encapsulates two presuppositions: that making or displaying graven images of the prophets is sacrilegious, and that to portray (graphically or verbally) the Prophet Muhammad in a disrespectful manner is a form of blasphemy. In general, the word *blasphemous* seems to be used in this discourse to mean 'sacrilegious'. Moreover, the term *blasphemous* has highly emotive connotations, and is used in ordinary English only to denote the most serious offense against religious belief or what is regarded as sacred. It is expected that the three groups of Arab newspaper texts will differ in a predictable way with respect to the frequency of occurrences of the lexemes *blasphemy* and *blasphemous*. More precisely, the keyword and its lemmas used in connection with

the mention of the Prophet caricatures should appear with distancing markers in the AP-generated source texts and in the Big Four-attributed Arab texts, while in the Arab-generated news reports and the set including Arab-generated op-ed and analysis texts, the terms are expected to appear without qualifiers that would project a distancing modality.

It is clear from the data in Table 6a that there is a progression in the use, with distancing modality of occurrences of the keyword *blasphemy* and its lemma that directly correlates with the aforementioned spectrum of text groups. Before this search was performed, it was expected that the AP control group, as representative of the Euro-centered English-language press, would employ distancing markers with every occurrence of the keywords *blasphemy* and *blasphemous*. This would be the predicted outcome because the presuppositions as encoded in the choice of these keywords by Arab journalists (noted above) are not taken for granted in the ideological paradigm of the Euro-centered media. However, there is one anomalous instance of the lemma without any distancing modality, which seems textually heterogeneous for an AP news report:

5. More protests, which target the President Gen. Pervez Musharraf and the United States as well as the blasphemous cartoons, are scheduled for March 3.

(Zarar Khan, Associated Press Writer: *Associated Press Archive*, 26 February 2006)

The Big Four-attributed group of Arab texts shows a ‘50–50’ split in the use of the modifier with and without distancing, which probably reflects the heterogeneous Arab and Euro-centered nature of many of these texts. The two Arab-generated text groups display distancing markers in less than 4 percent of occurrences of the keywords. This low proportion of distancing modality is interpreted as evidence that Arab journalists actively foreground the perceived sacrilegious nature of the caricatures.

It is supposed that the ideological argument that was most often and most forcefully given in support of the publication of those contentious cartoons – ‘freedom of expression’ – will show a similar correlation with the spectrum of text groups, only in reverse order. That is, from the discourse in the European source texts, it is evident that in the Euro-centered press, ‘freedom of expression’ is often portrayed – in contrast to its much more tempered and qualified representation

TABLE 6 A. *Frequency and modality with the keywords ‘blasphemous’/‘blasphemy’*

<i>Occurrences of blasphemous/ blasphemy</i>	<i>AP texts (control)</i>	<i>Big Four- attributed news reports</i>	<i>Arab- generated news reports</i>	<i>All Arab generated texts</i>
<i>n</i> =	6	62	58	82
used w/ distancing modality	5 = 83.3%	31 = 50%	2 = 3.4%	2 = 2.4%
used w/o distancing modality	1 = 16.7%	31 = 50%	56 = 96.6%	80 = 97.6%

in European law – as an absolute right, one that must not be compromised under any circumstances, as in the following example (not in the corpus):

6. Democracy is the institutionalised form of freedom of expression. There is no right to protection from satire in the west; there is a right to blasphemy.

(editorial in *Die Welt*, 1 February 2006, reported in *Guardian Unlimited*, 1 February 2006)

Thus, when the term or keyword *freedom of expression* is found, it might be expected to be used with some sort of distancing modality more frequently in the Arab-generated texts than in the Anglo-American and European source texts or in the Big Four-attributed texts. In fact, the concordancing search revealed that the term *freedom of expression* is only ever used in the Arab-generated texts when it occurs with markers of distancing modality or – more often – with some sort of contextual balancing (Table 6b). This latter discursive strategy is an effort by Arab journalists to denaturalize the assumptions embedded in the Euro-centered press' use of the term, and is often manifested as the phrase *freedom of expression* placed in opposition to other concepts:

7. Does the right to freedom of expression legitimise offending the religious sentiments and beliefs of others?

('World press: Freedom or Offence?', *Al-Ahram Weekly*, 16–22 February 2006)

8. Hate Speech in the Guise of Freedom of Expression.

(*Arab News*, 5 February 2006)

9. The row . . . was not about Islamic taboos versus freedom of expression. Editors are wary of any form of expression that could be remotely interpreted as anti-Semitic.

('Showdown of Cultures', *Al-Ahram Weekly*, 6–22 February 2006)

The statistics in Table 6b reveal that the Arab texts attributed to the Big Four news agencies contextualize and use distancing modality to a far greater degree than do the texts which are their attributed sources. From this, one could infer that the Arab writers and editors are engaged in challenging the dominant Euro-centered

TABLE 6B. *Frequency and collocation of 'freedom of expression'*

<i>Occurrences of freedom of expression</i>	<i>AP texts (control)</i>	<i>Big Four- attributed news reports</i>	<i>Arab- generated news reports</i>	<i>All Arab- generated texts</i>
<i>n</i> =	19	90	73	178
used w/ contextual balancing w/ other concepts or distancing modality	10 = 52.6%	72 = 80%	73 = 100%	178 = 100%
used w/o contextual balancing and w/o distancing modality	9 = 47.4%	18 = 20%	0 = 0%	0 = 0%

(and absolutist) concept espoused in the phrase 'freedom of expression', and reworking it to concord with common Arab/Muslim ideologies.

If the concordancing data summarized in the statistics are looked at in detail, more evidence is revealed of changes that signal affiliation. Sometimes words are remarkable by their absence in the discourse. The keyword *arrogance* and its lemmas *arrogant* and *arrogantly* occurred in both sets of Arab-generated texts, with seven occurrences in the set of Arab-generated news reports, and 17 in the group of all Arab-generated texts. Two of these instances were in the titles of editorial pieces, as in:

10. Danish moral arrogance (*Gulf News*, 10 February 2006).

The contexts in which the keyword occurs indicate the attitudes and assumptions of the Arab press regarding the publication by European newspapers of the Prophet caricatures.

11. The Press in the West has struck an arrogant and irrational posture.
(*'Height of Arrogance'*, Commentary, *Bahrain Tribune*, 5 February 2006)

Conversely, no occurrences of the keyword were found in either the Big Four-attributed group or the AP control sample, indicating that the publication of the caricatures was not similarly portrayed in the Euro-centered press as the manifestation of a presupposed European superiority complex.

Collocational incongruity

The phrase '*peace be upon him*' (often abbreviated to *PBUH* or *pbuh*) is the honorific added parenthetically after mention of the Prophet Muhammad, and is found in many of the Arab-modified and Arab-generated texts. As expected, there are no occurrences of *peace be upon him* in the AP control sample. The use of this honorific phrase is considered by some Muslims to be obligatory with the mention of the Prophet, and by others as simply commendable. The first stance may be the explanation for the occasional insertion of the honorific phrase in some quotes attributed to non-Muslims who would have no reason to use the phrase in their actual speech, as found in this Arab-generated text:

12. Austrian Foreign Minister Ursula Plassnik told journalists . . . '*. . . the drawings of the Prophet Mohammed (peace be upon him) have caused strong negative reactions . . .*'

(*Oman Tribune*, 31 January 2006)

The result is collocational incongruity within the text. The presence of such textual heterogeneity in the data may point to contradictions and conflict in the underlying ideology. Moreover, textual heterogeneity is a key indicator of a 'Type Two' affiliation complex.

It was observed that, true to the journalistic maxim of brevity, many texts include the honorific after the first mention of the Prophet, and do not add it to any subsequent mentions in the same report. In the group of Big Four-attributed news reports from the eight newspapers that regularly use the honorific, 70 out

of 89 texts (78.6%) that mention the Prophet Muhammad by name add this honorific. Similar results were observed in the Arab-generated group of news reports: eight different papers were observed to use the honorific on a regular basis: out of those 90 texts, 86 mention the Prophet Muhammad, and of the 86 texts, 69 (80%) use the honorific. Thus, the percentage of texts employing *peace be upon him* (and its variant forms) in the Big Four-attributed group approximates that of the Arab-generated group. This result is significant, for adding the collocationally incongruous honorific phrase is evidence of an intentional and overt signal of affiliation. That is, the Arab editors have employed this form of textual heterogeneity to deliberately alter the Euro-centered source text in a manner that demonstrates an unmistakably Arab/Muslim alignment, and have done so with a frequency that nearly matches that found in the Arab-generated texts.

Headlines and leads: foremost in foregrounding

According to Bell (1991: 185–6), the editor of a (local) newspaper writes the headline for an agency-generated news report. Thus, when a headline is found to foreground an event different from that in the lead, it effectively ‘re-weights the news values in the story’ (Bell, 1991: 189), and is worthy of the analyst’s attention. Similarly, the lead sentence not only summarizes, but gives direction to a news story. While the information deemed most salient to a news report is given pride of place in the lead sentence, information or events perceived to be of lesser importance are placed further down in the text (Bell, 1999: 243). In order to ascertain that the text had been modified, the headlines/leads of the original text as produced by one of the Big Four news agencies – or a version of it as it appeared in an English-language European or Anglo-American newspaper (not included in the corpus) – were compared. If a change that signaled alignment was noted, then it was counted as an Arab-modified Big Four-attributed/generated (Type Two) text (see Table 7).

Bell (1991) cautions that identifying the precise sources of news text ‘is in practice virtually impossible’ (1991: 17). This is because it is standard practice for reporters to ‘cut and paste’ material taken from other news sources (p. 41), with the result that ‘[a] newspaper byline is no guarantee of authorship . . .’ (p. 42). Nevertheless, in the attempt to match the AP-attributed Arab news reports to their source texts, it was found that approximately 78 percent of the source texts had clearly been altered in the following way: from a particular Associated Press report, the Arab editor/writer had isolated a minor item in a larger story – usually a paragraph or two from the middle or the end of a newswire report – and recast that bit of text as the lead sentence in their own ‘Arab-modified’ news story. These discourse strategies – a combination of syntactical choices, naming and description, inclusions and omissions, and (in the case of many Arab-modified texts) textual heterogeneity – work together to break down the assumptions encoded in the ideological square that is portrayed in the Big Four-generated source texts, and to reassemble the square in a new ‘Arab-centric’ form in the Arab-modified texts.

TABLE 7. Corpus of Big Four-attributed texts sorted by newspaper

Newspaper*	No. of texts unchanged	No. of texts changed	Total
	(Type One)	(Type Two)	
1 Arab News	0	4	4
2 Asharq Alawsat	9	0	9
3 Bahrain Tribune	21	20	41
4 Daily Star	25	1	26
5 Egyptian Mail	1	0	1
6 Gulf News	17	26	43
7 Jordan Times	1	0	1
8 Khaleej Times	9	11	20
9 Kuwait Times	1	2	3
10 Middle East Times	2	0	2
11 Oman Observer	0	1	1
12 Oman Tribune	0	11	11
13 Peninsula Qatar	0	6	6
14 Syria Times	1	0	1
15 Times of Oman	6	19	25
Totals:	93	101	194
Percent:	48%	52%	100%

*15 out of 19 newspapers in the sample. Four other newspapers did not produce any Big Four-generated or attributed texts.
Changed vs unchanged refers to the minor alterations/additions to text made by Arab editors that specifically signal alignment.

Forms and functions of textual heterogeneity in news reports

In the comprehensive survey of all Big Four-attributed Type Two texts (see Table 7), the types of textual changes noted were as follows:

1. A quote or a phrase that appears within the body of the text in scare quotes or using other distancing modality is picked up by a headline or subheading, but with all distancing markers removed. This gives the effect of an editorial headline, or in the case of a quote appears to endorse it. This discursive strategy is illustrated here with the following examples from the corpus:

13. Subheading: **Shameful act**

Body: *The Gulf Cooperation Council . . . said Thursday that Magazinet had committed a ‘shameful act’ . . .* (Gulf News, 21 January 2006)

14. Headline: **Norwegian magazine regrets using insulting cartoons**

Lead: *The publication of cartoons deemed insulting to the Prophet . . .* (Bahrain Tribune, 1 February 2006)

With similar effect, a headline adds a modifier that projects modality to its summing-up of the source article’s more neutral lead:

15. Headline: Thousands of Palestinians rally against blasphemous cartoons
Lead: Thousands of angry Palestinians demonstrated following Friday prayers, burning flags and demanding apologies after European newspapers printed caricatures of the Prophet Muhammad . . . (*Times of Oman*, 4 February 2006)
2. A headline or subheading is assigned that is inconsistent with the lead, thus giving a different ideological alignment than that found in the original story. This form of textual heterogeneity between headline and lead is a common tactic in certain newspapers, as in these examples from the *Bahrain Tribune*:⁴
16. Headline: Down with Denmark (11 February 2006)
Lead: (a factual report on anti-cartoon protests in India)
17. Headline: Gulf hits back (3 February 2006)
Lead: (about the growing movement to boycott Danish goods)
3. Within the body of the text, again modifiers are used without scare quotes or other distancing markers; for instance, *deemed offensive* becomes *offensive*. Or a modifier in the source text is substituted with another modifier that has a stronger modality (*offensive* becomes *blasphemous*). Or a modifier is inserted in the Arab-modified version, where there was none in the Euro-centered source text (for example, in the *Khaleej Times* set of Big Four-attributed texts, the modifier *blasphemous* is inserted with the mention of the caricatures in four different texts).

This qualitative inspection of the news report subset of this corpus shows that textual heterogeneity may take several forms, and it functions in several distinct but related discourse strategies.

Conclusions

The discourse generated by the 'cartoons controversy' has indeed proved to be a locus of ideological struggle that is rooted in socio-cultural conflicts that are at once current and long-running. Computer-assisted quantitative frequency and concordance analyses of the lexis combined with detailed qualitative examination of the source texts have resulted in several important findings:

1. There are explicit references in the corpus to the lexical choices made by (other) participants in the discourse surrounding the controversy – evidence that defining the nature of the discourse itself is of considerable strategic importance in this particular social struggle, which supports Fairclough's theory about the competition for control over discourse.
2. As predicted by the model of 'signals of affiliation', each text in this corpus showed linguistic and extra-linguistic characteristics that facilitated its classification as one of the three possible choices of ideological alignment available to Arab news writers when confronted with the dominant Euro-centered discourse.

3. The search for markers of textual heterogeneity confirmed that over half of the Big Four-attributed texts showed clear evidence of changes made by the Arab editors or writers designed to resist or challenge the dominant ideology underlying the Anglo-American/European-generated discourse. Moreover, it was projected from the subset of AP-sourced texts that between 78 and 89 percent of all the Big Four-attributed texts may have been similarly altered in their macrostructure and/or in lexis and syntax so as to signal a Type Two affiliation, as predicted by the first of the two hypotheses. Furthermore, the frequency with which the collocationally incongruous honorific was added after the mention of the Prophet Muhammad in the Big Four-attributed group of texts approximated the frequency for this phrase in the Arab-generated texts. As this honorific is not found to occur in any AP or other Big Four-generated source text, this addition is proof of the intentional and overt signal of affiliation that categorizes those Big Four-attributed texts as Type Two.
4. The Arab-generated texts employed negative evaluative comment or modality in collocation with the mention of the Prophet caricatures with a significantly greater frequency than did the AP-generated and Big Four-attributed texts. This result substantiates the second hypothesis, and is consistent with the projected Type Three affiliation complex according to the model, in which the dominant discourse is resisted and challenged.
5. In a detailed quantitative analysis carried out on this same data (not included in this paper), it was noted that many of the Type One texts contained quotes from Arab or Muslim news actors, and thus embodied a considerable amount of Arab/Muslim opinion, which would work as signals of affiliation, rendering further changes to the alignment of the discourse unnecessary.

CDA balances the emphasis on the text with the careful examination of the discourse practices that produce it. Based on features noted in the texts of this corpus, and on the comparison between individual texts in the corpus and their Big Four source texts on the exact same events, it was observed that Arab journalists and editors – like journalists elsewhere – look for newswire stories that are ‘copy ready’ (in other words, that require as few editorial changes as possible). For the Arab newspaper, this means texts that already project some sort of an Arab/Muslim alignment. When they cannot find copy-ready material, editors choose stories that need only minor alterations to be made over into a text that signals Arab/Muslim affiliation. They will avoid choosing newswire material that projects an anti-Arab/Muslim alignment, and select texts that are Euro-centered when that can be tempered or reconciled in intertextual ways with Arab and Muslim ideologies.

In summary, this study found the following:

- The set of word frequencies and collocations in the sample of data taken from Big Four sources differed in meaningful and important ways from the set of word frequencies and collocations in the Arab-generated and Arab-modified samples.

- Arab news editors and reporters signal their affiliation in this social conflict by making small but significant changes to the text when they use news copy generated by the major (Euro-centered) international news agencies.
- When Arab journalists produce their own texts (such as editorials and analyses), their affiliation is clear from the lexical and syntactical choices they make.

If any benefit is to be had from this small study, it should be that it only highlights the importance of investigating strategies of alignment in discourse. By looking at textual heterogeneity in other contexts where cultural values seem to be intertwined with issues of dominance, one can find evidence that people do possess the skill – and the occasional will – to resist (mentally, verbally and physically) the confining, comfortably familiar ideologies that so often are utilized to ‘help one’s tribe to oppress others’.

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NOTES

1. The term ‘Muslim world’ may refer to communities of Muslims throughout the world, be they in the Middle East, South East Asia, Europe or elsewhere. Here it is used to refer to the predominantly Muslim-populated regions of the Middle East and South Asia.
2. To avoid the generalizing geographical inaccuracy of the word ‘Western’, the term ‘Euro-centered’ is used throughout this paper, for some societies in the Western hemisphere are neither ‘Westernized’ nor ‘Western’ in their ideologies, while some societies in the Eastern hemisphere are highly ‘Westernized’ and/or adopt aspects of a ‘Western’ worldview.
3. All the tables that compare the three groups of English-language Arab newspaper texts and the AP control group are arranged to show the ‘spectrum’ from ‘most Euro-centered content and ideological alignment’ to ‘most Arab content and ideological alignment’. Thus the AP control group is at one end, and the group of Arab-generated texts that includes Arab opinion and editorial articles is at the other end.
4. A detailed analysis of these and 40 other headlines and leads from the corpus is available in the form of an eight-page table but is not included here due to restrictions on space.

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