

CORPUS LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF THE REPRESENTATION OF ‘IAM’ IN THE AUSTRALIAN PRESS BEFORE AND AFTER 9/11

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Abstract

Among the most controversial groups, in particular after 9/11, which are frequently represented in news and which has attracted growing political and academic attention, are Arabs and Muslims. Different news discourses have been examined and numerous frameworks in different fields of study have been employed to study and understand the representations of Arabs and Muslims in the media. This study examines the existence of three terms, namely ‘Islam’, ‘Arab’, and ‘Muslim’ (collectively, ‘IAM’) in two Australian newspapers, *The Australian* and *The Age*, during two periods of time (i.e., a year before and a year after 9/11) in terms of the selected corpus linguistic and lexical semantic features, namely the frequency of the selected lexical terms, collocations, collocation patterns, semantic fields, and lexical priming. The analysis was conducted using Wordsmith tools. It was noted that the frequency of ‘Islam’ and ‘Muslim’ in both newspapers increased after 9/11. In addition, it has been found that there were some ideologically significant collocations that increased, and some appeared, after 9/11. The results of this study revealed that there were some significant changes, which indicate that the context of ‘IAM’ has changed. This study also found that after 9/11, ‘IAM’ in both newspapers were mainly primed in terms of excessive level, for example, fundamentalists, extremists, radicals, etc. The growing interest in ‘Islam’ and ‘Muslim’ was not confined to Australian newspapers.

Keywords: Corpus linguistics; ‘IAM’ Representation; Collocations; Frequency; and Lexical Priming.

1. Introduction

This paper is part of an ongoing project which aims at examining Islam, Arabs, and Muslims (collectively, IAM) before and after 9/11 from a semantic perspective. Since September 11th 2001 a tremendous number of negatively charged stereotypes have appeared in Western media reports of Islam and Muslims (Abbas, 2001; Manning, 2004; Ahmad, 2006; Ameli, Marandi, Ahmed, Kara, & Merali, 2007). Commenting on the media role in representing Islam and Muslims, Azimifard (2008: 1) argues, “[n]owadays, numerous media campaigns are going on against Islam and Muslims. Most Western media with considerable financial resources and multiple channels try to show a rough picture of Islam to their public”. Previous academic studies have suggested that the representations of Islam and Muslims in news coverage “tend to be confined to a rather narrow framework of understanding” (Moore, Mason, & Lewis, 2008, p.5). Richardson (2006: 22) suggests, “a discourse may be considered anti-Muslim if it constructs, perpetuates or transforms racist social practices”. This racism has been ‘normalised’ as Richardson claims (Richardson, 2004: p.xvi) in the sense that “racist stereotypes are accepted as normal by the general public, and are therefore generally not recognized to be racist” (Micciulla, 2004: 1). Azimifard (2008: 1) explains that the Western media has capitalized on the September 11th attacks to increase its political power. In so doing, to use Mirza’s words, Islam has been associated with terms such as "fundamentalism", "extremism" and "radicalism". He reasons that in the West, the media plays a central role in constructing reality; thus, when the Western media discourse is manipulated to misrepresent facts as in the case of Islam and Muslims, what is considered to be ‘reality’ is correspondingly distorted for uncritical readers.

The current study examines the Australian media due to the undeniable fact that Australia is a harmonious and migrant-friendly country which has contributed to its cultural diversity. Arab and Muslim communities have been enjoying all the benefits and services provided by Australia for years. Furthermore, they have been enjoying their religious freedom to practice Islam, allowing them to have their own Islamic schools and their own Islamic associations everywhere around Australia. Jonas (2003: 26) asserts that, “Muslims are the third largest religious group in Australia”. Moreover, almost 79% of the Muslims living in Australia have obtained Australian citizenship (Saeed, 2003: 5). Yet, it has been reported that Muslims in Australia have become vulnerable to discrimination, harassment, and attacks, especially since September 11th and the Bali bombing (Callaghan et al., 2003:1). Philips (2001: 1) adds, “[v]erbal abuse and physical attacks against Arab immigrants and Muslim residents in Australia

began soon after the terrorist attacks in New York and Washington on September 11". Hence, through conducting a corpus linguistic analysis, the current study attempts to trace the existence of three terms, 'Islam', 'Arab', and 'Muslim', in two Australian newspapers, namely *The Australian* and *The Age* before and after 9/11 in terms of frequency, collocations, collocation patterns, semantic fields, and lexical priming.

2. Corpus Assisted Discourse Studies (CADS)

Van Dijk (1988, as cited in Hardt-Mautner, 1995:4) suggests that the solution to the problem of how best to study news discourse is to combine both quantitative and qualitative analysis. He argues that the quantitative approach is limited to the surface structure of the discourse, covering frequency, size, and the major analytical questions such as the presence/absence of certain topics, the frequency of quotations, and the like. He also describes such an analysis as being a 'superficial content analysis' and argues that "it is useful but incomplete". In the same vein, Partington (2006:8) explains that Corpus Assisted Discourse Studies (CADS) has emerged from the need to borrow and adapt a typical corpus linguistic (CL) methodology to study discourse. Hence, now it is possible to employ both the *quantitative* analytical features, which emerge in corpus linguistics as large collections of texts to undergo statistical analysis, with the *qualitative* analytical features, which are typical features of discourse analysis. This combination can be used to examine a smaller collection of texts (or discourse), or single texts thoroughly.

CADS has been established as an interdisciplinary approach by many studies (Hardt-Mautner 1995; Partington 2004, 2009; Stubbs 1995, 1997, 2006; Baker, 2006; Koller & Mautner, 2004; O'Halloran & Coffin, 2004; Baker & McEnery, 2005; Orpin, 2005). The growing body of literature produced using CADS has shown how corpus linguistics and discourse analysis can be combined to exploit the strength of each approach (Baker et al., 2008). This combination of qualitative (CDA) and quantitative (CL) approaches identifies distinctive features and investigates non-obvious meanings within specific discourse types (Marchi & Taylor, 2009). McEnery and Wilson (2001:77) claim that whereas quantitative analysis is statistically reliable, qualitative techniques as a method are rich and precise.

3. Corpus Linguistic Features

The present study examines three main corpus linguistic features, namely frequency, collocations, and lexical priming. The following sections present a detailed account of these linguistic features.

3.1 Frequency and Collocation

A central notion of corpus linguistics is frequency. Freaque (2009:44) explains that word frequency shows the different lexical choices that a particular speaker or a writer has either made or ignored; therefore, the subject of the texts can be isolated. Equally, an unusual choice of words may reveal the speaker's or writer's intentions as an individual (Baker, 2007:48). In addition, Murphy (2003:99) divides lexical entities into three zones, namely the syntactic zone, the semantic zone, and the lexical combinatorics zone (which refers to the lexical co-occurrence or collocation). The current study is concerned with lexical combinatorics. Within the analysis of collocations, different aspects of collocations and semantic prosody, namely lexical priming, patterns, preference, and semantic fields, are examined. Manning and Schütze (1999:153) argue that the easiest way to reveal the collocation patterns in a corpus is to count them. When two words coincide frequently, this indicates there is a special function at work, which cannot be explained based on the resultant function of their combination. Therefore, when newspapers frequently discuss a specific group of people in certain contexts using specific words to describe them, this might indicate a different function, which is not the same as that which the combination of words describes.

Hoey (2003) argues that the analysis of collocations can be conducted on two levels, viz., lemmas and groups of associated words (keywords). At the lemma level, the analysis is done with groups of words (such as politics, politicians, political, etc.). On the other hand, the analysis on keyword level is conducted on single words of different groups such as politics and government. The present study analyzes collocations on the lemma and keyword level and their associations with other words in similar contexts. Specifically of concern to the current study is the premise that examining collocation can unveil pivotal linguistic habits of a specific community because these collocations can show different sets of social values.

3.1.1 Collocational Priming

According to Wynne (2005:4), the application of collocation has also been developed by the work of Michael Hoey through the introduction of the theory of *lexical priming*, which added a

cognitive dimension to the analysis. According to him, the association between words and their meaning, as a result of their intrinsic meaning as well as the linguistic context, are *primed* for certain purposes. Typically, the notion of semantic priming refers to the type of priming that is a result of both semantic and associative relations; for example the relation that exists between the words dog and cat (McNamara, 2005,p.4). Ferrand and New (2003:25) acknowledge that the ‘semantic priming effect’ is a psycholinguistic notion that has been studied extensively by many scholars (Neely, 1991; Lucas, 2000; Hutchison, 2003). According to Moore (2003:69), a number of studies have shown that frequent words are usually processed mentally faster than infrequent words.

According to Hoey (2007:24), priming is a pivotal feature of any word and usually what is primed is viewed as the priming word. Hoey (2003) emphasizes that collocational priming is not considered as an inherent property of words. Every time the word is used or encountered in a new way, its priming is either reinforced or loosened. Hence, he asserts that collocational priming may change during someone’s life, and the degree of these changes, the meaning or the function of the lexical item may come to vary according to such life changes.

4. Data Collection and Methodology

The data is comprised of some illustrative and representative samples from the corpus referring to Islam, Arabs, and Muslims from two selected Australian newspapers, namely *The Australian* and *The Age*. These two newspapers are chosen because the former represents a left local newspaper and the later is a national right-wing newspaper. The analysis carries out a comparison between the two newspapers in their representation of ‘IAM’ before and after the September 11th attack, i.e., from September 10, 2000 to September 10, 2001, and from September 11, 2001 to September 11, 2002. Scott’s (1988) WordSmith’s analytical tools (version 5.0) are used to conduct the analysis.

Using Fictiva software, the study ran a search for the following keywords: ‘Islam’; ‘Islamic’; ‘Arab’; ‘Arabs’; ‘Arabic’; ‘Muslim’; and ‘Muslims’ in both newspapers. The search produced 994 hits before 9/11 and 2150 hits after 9/11 in *The Australian*. On the other hand, in *The Age*, the search produced 612 hits before 9/11 and 887 hits after 9/11. Overlapping, duplicated, and unrelated articles were excluded. The articles are coded by Factiva software and these codes appear in the appendices (see, Appendices A & B).

Table 1: Data Set

Newspaper	Pre 9/11	No. of Words	Post 9/11	No. of Words
<i>The Australian</i>	463	281.180	463	241.615
<i>The Age</i>	274	192.255	380	248.315

In the current study, the relative frequency, which is the absolute frequency divided by the number of the words in a corpus, is utilized, as well as log-likelihood (Lgl), to measure the strength of the association that exists between the lexical choices under investigation. A high Lgl score demonstrates that “the words in the Ngram do not exhibit independent behaviour” (McInnes, 2004,p.2). Accordingly, the higher the score is, the less likely the null hypothesis to be true.

5. Data Analysis

5.1 Lexical Frequency of ‘IAM’

In respect to the frequency of lemmas ‘IAM’, the number of occurrences of each keyword, i.e., raw frequencies (RF) is counted. These frequencies are viewed from two different perspectives: i.e., collectively, ‘IAM’, and individually as keywords. Table (2) shows the normalized frequencies (NF) of ‘IAM’ in the four corpuses over the two periods of time. As these four corpuses are of different sizes, a comparison of the occurrences is based on NF, per 1.000 words.

Table 2: ‘IAM’ in *The Australian* and *The Age* Pre/Post 9/11

Newspapers	<i>The Australian</i>				<i>The Age</i>			
	Pre 9/11		Post 9/11		Pre 9/11		Post 9/11	
Keywords	RF.	NF.	RF.	NF.	RF.	NF.	RF.	NF.
Islam	113	0.40	300	1.24	57	0.30	128	0.52
Islamic	237	0.84	636	2.63	158	0.08	401	1.16
Arab	394	1.40	235	0.97	144	0.75	258	1.04
Arabs	145	0.52	67	0.28	12	0.06	30	0.12
Muslim	313	1.11	473	1.96	164	0.85	354	1.43
Muslims	190	0.68	327	1.35	91	0.47	184	0.74
AIM Total	1392	4.95	2038	8.43	626	3.25	1355	5.46

From the table, it is clear that ‘IAM’ were present during both periods of time and they increased after 9/11. However, the comparison between the two newspapers showed different patterns with reference to the presence of ‘IAM’. The differences between the presence of ‘IAM’ collectively in both newspapers during the selected periods of time are statistically significant (Chi-square test, p -value = 0.000). Before 9/11, the difference between the two newspapers was about (1.7) with more occurrences in *The Australian* than *The Age*. On the other hand, after 9/11 the difference between the two newspapers was (2.97), again with more occurrences in *The Australian* than *The Age*. Specifically, the occurrences of ‘IAM’ in *The Australian*, increased by (3.48) after 9/11, whereas in *The Age*, the increase after 9/11 amounted to (2.21).

This analysis of the separate keywords provides us with a substantial in-depth understanding of the use of the most relevant keywords in the discourse of these newspapers. Before 9/11, the most frequently employed terms in *The Australian* were ‘Arab’ and ‘Muslim’. On the other hand, after 9/11, ‘Islamic’, ‘Muslim’, ‘Muslims’, and ‘Islam’ became the most frequently used items in *The Australian*. It should be noted that the occurrence of the terms ‘Islam’ in *The Australian* and ‘Islamic’ in both newspapers trebled after 9/11. In addition, the term ‘Muslims’ increased more dramatically than ‘Muslim’. The term ‘Muslims’ after 9/11 increased up to (1.35), whereas the term ‘Muslim’ increased up to (1.96). On the other hand, the terms ‘Arab’ and ‘Arabs’ decreased significantly after 9/11. It is also worth pointing out that the word ‘Arabs’ was the least frequently used keyword over both periods of time. This may show that

‘Arab(s)’ are not significant ideologically as ‘Islam’ and ‘Muslims’, specifically after 9/11. With reference to *The Age*, after 9/11 the frequency of all six terms increased. However, the terms ‘Islamic’, ‘Muslim’, and ‘Arab’ occurred with the highest frequency in the data after 9/11. Additionally, the term ‘Arabs’ was the least frequent across both timeframes.

Despite some minor differences, there are similarities with respect to the presence of ‘IAM’ in both newspapers as far as frequency is concerned. The most salient points of comparison can be summarized as follows:

1. When the three lemmas are compared among themselves, ‘Islam’ and ‘Muslim’ are present to a relatively high degree in both newspapers, in particular after 9/11.
2. When the six keywords are compared together after 9/11, the most frequently used terms are ‘Islamic’ and ‘Muslim’; the fourth most frequently employed term is ‘Islam’; and the least frequent term is ‘Arabs’.
3. The keyword ‘Arabs’ in both newspapers shows a lower relative frequency, whereas ‘Muslims’ shows a higher frequency in both newspapers after 9/11, which might be due to a relatively high association between ‘Islam’ and ‘Muslim’ in general.

The presence of ‘IAM’ increased notably after 9/11 with more attention drawn to ‘Islam’ and ‘Muslim’ than had been the case before 9/11. Unlike the term ‘Muslim’, the increase of the term ‘Islam’ is ideologically significant for two reasons. Firstly, in both newspapers, ‘Muslim’ was among the most frequently used keywords before 9/11, which may show their ideological importance before 9/11. Secondly, in both newspapers, the keyword ‘Islam’ was one of the least frequently employed keywords before 9/11. These two findings indicate that the focus of concern shifted away from ‘Arab’ to ‘Islam’ after 9/11. The increasing focus on ‘Islam’, whether intentional or non-intentional, presents Islam as being one of the issues that are related to the attacks and terrorism. However, in order to ascertain any ideological changes, it is important to examine the collocations that co-occurred with ‘IAM’ collectively as well as individually. The next section explores the most prevalent collocations coinciding with ‘IAM’ over both periods of time.

5.2 Collocation

5.2.1 Lemma Level Collocations

The *findings* above need further elaboration to reveal any patterns in the collocation as they occur in all the corpuses. In so doing, tables were generated for each lemma and each keyword. Table (3) shows the RF of the collocations (and their percentages) of ‘IAM’ found to be the most frequent in the corpus. From Table (3) below, the frequency of the collocations in both

corpus increased significantly after 9/11. The differences between the two newspapers in terms of frequency before 9/11 (Chi-squared test, p -value = 0) and after 9/11 (Chi-squared test, p -value = 0) are significant. On the other hand, the differences in terms of frequency during both periods of time in each newspaper were also significant (*The Australian*, Chi-squared test, p value = 0.00 and *The Age*, Chi-squared test, p value = 0.00). However, the increase in *The Australian* was greater than that of *The Age*. Additionally, the number of the collocations that co-occurred with 'IAM' in *The Australian* is greater than that of *The Age* over both periods of time. There are also a number of ideological collocations that were not employed in *The Age* over both periods of time. Just to mention a few 'hardline', 'opposition', 'terror' and 'threat' did not appear in the discourse of *The Age*.

Table 3: Distribution of Bigrams of 'IAM' in both newspapers Pre/Post 9/11

No	Frequent Collocates	The Australian				<i>The Age</i>			
		Pre 9/11		Post 9/11		Pre 9/11		Post 9/11	
		RF	%	RF	%	RF	%	RF	%
1	Australian	2	1%	19	2%	2	1%	14	3%
2	Community/communities	9	2%	27	4%	4	3%	35	7%
3	Control	2	1%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
4	Country/countries	35	9%	36	5%	18	12%	34	7%
5	Defenders	3	1%	4	1%	0	0%	7	1%
6	Extreme Extremism Extremist Extremists	13	3%	56	8%	2	1%	31	6%
7	Fantasy	0	0%	4	1%	0	0%	0	0%
8	Fascism	0	0%	2	0%	0	0%	0	0%
9	Fighters	0	0%	7	1%	2	1%	9	2%
10	Forces	0	0%	0	0%	2	1%	0	0%
11	Fundamentalism Fundamentalist	4	1%	58	8%	4	3%	12	2%
12	Group/s	33	8%	65	9%	17	11%	31	6%
13	Government/s	5	1%	3	0%	0	0%	4	1%

14	Guerrillas	8	2%	2	0%	0	0%	0	0%
15	Israeli	50	13%	6	1%	4	3%	2	0%
16	Hardline Hardliners	2	1%	14	2%	0	0%	4	1%
17	Immoderate	2	1%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
18	Indonesian	0	0%	9	1%	0	0%	5	1%
19	Innocent	2	1%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
20	Jihad	17	4%	37	5%	2	1%	21	4%
21	Liberation	4	1%	3	0%	0	0%	2	0%
22	Militia Militants Military Militancy Militant	31	8%	47	7%	6	4%	18	4%
23	Moderate	3	1%	23	3%	11	7%	6	1%
24	Movement	3	1%	15	2%	0	0%	3	1%
25	Nation/s	6	2%	33	5%	5	3%	49	10%
26	Neighbour/s Neighbouring Neighbourhoods	17	4%	2	0%	12	8%	3	1%
27	Opposition	0	0%	1	0%	0	0%	3	1%
28	Parti	6	2%	3	0%	0	0%	2	0%
29	Party Parties	4	1%	8	1%	8	5%	2	0%
30	Political	3	1%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
31	Practicing	2	1%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
32	Radical	4	1%	46	7%	5	3%	22	5%
33	Reaction	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	2	0%
34	Rebels	5	1%	2	0%	0	0%	5	1%
35	Regime	6	2%	8	1%	0	0%	4	1%
36	Resistance	3	1%	0	0%	0	0%	4	1%
37	Revolution	3	1%	2	0%	0	0%	4	1%
38	Sentiment	0	0%	2	0%	0	0%	3	1%
39	Society	3	1%	5	1%	4	3%	9	2%
40	State/s	18	5%	25	4%	17	11%	48	10%
41	Taliban	4	1%	6	1%	2	1%	0	0%
42	Terrorist/s Terrorism	6	2%	30	4%	0	0%	10	2%

43	Threat	0	0%	2	0%	0	0%	0	0%
44	Uprising/s Rising	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	8	2%
45	Violent violence	2	1%	0	0%	0	0%	3	1%
46	World	57	15%	79	11%	17	11%	54	11%
47	Women	12	3%	20	3%	12	8%	9	2%
Total		389	100	706	100	156	100	482	100

It is also notable that some other collocations were found with ‘IAM’ after 9/11 that were not used beforehand. This time, *The Age* exceeded *The Australian*. In *The Australian*, the collocations, which appeared after 9/11, were ideologically significant to the representation of ‘IAM’; they are ‘fantasy’, ‘fascism’, ‘fighters’, etc. On the other hand, in *The Age*, they were ‘hardline’, ‘defenders’, ‘movement’, ‘opposition’, etc. The new collocation that appeared after 9/11 in both newspapers i.e., ‘Indonesian’, reveals the way both newspapers viewed Indonesian people after 9/11 (for more detail, see point 4 below). Another point to note is the decrease of crucial collocations after 9/11 such as ‘neighbours’ in both newspapers and ‘moderate’ in *The Age*. In both newspapers, there are crucial collocations that increased after 9/11. Although the collocational trends for both newspapers showed different patterns, there are some noteworthy similarities:

1. Collocations such as ‘countries’, ‘community’, ‘group’, etc. 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.
2. The collocation ‘neighbour/s’ decreased after 9/11 in *The Australian* and *The Age*, which may show that a friendly attitude towards ‘IAM’ decreased post 9/11 and again creates a sense that ‘IAM’ are the ‘Other’ and ‘outsiders’.
3. The collocate ‘Israel’ decreased in both newspapers after 9/11, which may indicate that Arabs and Muslims were viewed in a different context and were thus represented differently.
4. After 9/11, both newspapers viewed Indonesia and Indonesians differently. They were connected to ‘IAM’ through the employment of lemmas ‘Islam’ and ‘Muslim’.

5. Both newspapers employed ‘Australian’ more frequently after 9/11 to differentiate between Muslims outside Australia (the ‘Other’) and Australian Muslims or to create the internal ‘Other’.

5.2.2 Keyword Level Collocations

To enable a discussion of ‘IAM’ on the level of keywords, tables are provided to show the distributions of the collocations that co-occurred with each keyword in both newspapers over each period of time. Each table shows the raw frequency (RF) and log-likelihood (Lgl) of the most frequent collocations for each keyword. From the first table (4) below, which introduces the bigrams of the lemma ‘Islam’ alphabetically, the term ‘Islam’ did not attract significant collocations as the term ‘Islamic’, specifically after 9/11. In *The Australian* before 9/11, the term ‘Islam’ was connected with one collocate, namely ‘parti’, which refers to an Islamic political party in Malaysia.

Table 4: Bigrams of the Lemma ‘Islam’ Pre/Post 9/11 in both newspapers

The Australian				$C(w, k)$		Keyword	$C(k, w)$		The Age			
Pre 9/11		Post 9/11		LI	Word		RI	Pre 9/11		Post 9/11		
Lgl	RF	Lgl	RF	Word		Word		RF	Lgl	RF	Lgl	
0	0	9.04 7	2	Fundame -ntalist	Islam	-----	2	23.0 6	0	0		
0	0	17.2 9	3	Indonesi an	Islam	-----	0	0	0	0		
0	0	16.4 5	3	Militant	Islam	-----	0	0	2	14.9 2		
94.2 6	6	40.2 3	3	Parti	Islam	-----	0	0	2	30.3 3		
0	0	8.44 4	3	Political	Islam	-----	0	0	0	0		
0	0	0	0	Radical	Islam	-----	3	30.6 1	5	43.5 0		
0	0	18.0 0	3	Extreme	Islamic	-----	0	0	2	13.7 3		
17.5	2	8.42	8	Hardline	Islamic	-----	0	0	4	32.4		

		3				list				0
0	0	174. 3	18	-----	Islamic	Fundamenta lists	0	0	0	0
75.8 7	11	168. 5	28	-----	Islamic	Group	5	28.9 3	13	73.8 7
0	0	0	0	-----	Islamic	Government	0	0	2	8.66 5
57.1 5	6	14.3 0	2	-----	Islamic	Guerrillas	0	0	0	0
0	0	20.7 5	3	-----	Islamic	Hardline	0	0	0	0
190. 0	17	290. 9	37	-----	Islamic	Jihad	2	18.9 4	21	179. 4
32.9 7	4	16.3 4	3	-----	Islamic	Liberation	0	0	2	12.2 2
50.8 1	6	90.3 7	12	-----	Islamic	Militia	0	0	0	0
0	0	19.9 8	2	-----	Islamic	Militancy	2	24.6 5	0	0
125. 7	12	125. 3	17	-----	Islamic	Militants	3	32.1 4	11	83.3 0
18.5 4	3	102. 7	15	-----	Islamic	Movement	0	0	3	17.2 8
0	0	4.13 0	2	-----	Islamic	Nations	2	9.94 1	7	37.6 7
0	0	10.8 9	2	-----	Islamic	Neighbour	0	0	0	0
0	0	1.17 2	1	-----	Islamic	Opposition	0	0	3	11.1 4
11.1 3	2	22.9 0	4	-----	Islamic	Parties	2	11.4 4	0	0
0	0	0	0	-----	Islamic	Party	5	24.3 8	0	0

0	0	14.3 0	2	-----	Islamic	Radicalism	0	0	0	0
0	0	74.6 2	9	-----	Islamic	Radicals	0	0	2	16.2 3
0	0			-----	Islamic	Rebels	0	0	3	20.3 5
12.2 5	2	24.1 9	6	-----	Islamic	Regime	0	0	4	16.3 1
26.7 4	3	0	0	-----	Islamic	Resistance	0	0	4	28.0 4
26.7 4	3	19.9 8	2	-----	Islamic	Revolution	0	0	3	25.7 6
20.8 7	3	27.2 5	5	-----	Islamic	Society	4	31.0 4	9	65.4 6
0	0	0	0	-----	Islamic	State	7	38.7 4	9	40.0 7
0	0	0.17 8	6	-----	Islamic	Taliban	2	10.4 1	0	0
6.24 7	2	6.24 7	2	-----	Islamic	Terror	0	0	0	0
6.02 8	3	6.02 8	3	-----	Islamic	Terrorism	0	0	0	0
38.3 0	11	38.3 0	11	-----	Islamic	Terrorists	0	0	8	35.9 3
4.43 6	2	4.43 6	2	-----	Islamic	Threat	0	0	0	0
14.0 5	3	3.98 9	2	-----	Islamic	Women	3	14.1 2	0	0
21.1 0	5	51.7 3	16	-----	Islamic	World	2	6.31 6	6	63.8 6

On the other hand, in *The Age* 'Islam' was collocated with 'fundamentalist' and 'radical'. The Lgls of these two terms are high; thus, it is highly likely that these lexical choices are the

collocations of the term 'Islam' during that period of time. These collocations may indicate how *The Age* viewed Islam, i.e., beyond the accepted norms even before 9/11. In addition, this term introduces the idea that there are different versions of Islam, namely, 'radical' vs. 'moderate'; yet, the newspapers focused on the fundamentalist and radical version. With reference to the collocation after 9/11, the term 'Islam' in *The Australian* collocated with four collocations 'Indonesia', 'militant', 'fundamentalist' and 'political'; whereas in *The Age* it co-occurred with 'radical' and 'militant'. *The Australian* introduced a different way of viewing Indonesia. That is, after 9/11 *The Australian* viewed Islam in Indonesia as 'Indonesian Islam'. Accordingly, in both newspapers 'Islam' was represented in a similar manner, i.e., the hostile image/version of Islam. By offering one (negative) perspective, the newspapers acted coercively towards its readers, because readers are more likely to be unconsciously swayed and so come to accept it. It should be noted that this image of Islam was introduced by *The Australian* only after 9/11; whereas *The Age* favoured the term 'radical' during both periods of time. The Lgls of these terms are high; accordingly, they co-occurred together more often than normal. It is also significant to note that the comparison between 'radical/fundamentalist' and 'moderate' Islam indirectly implies a comparison between the radical and moderate Muslims.

The second keyword is 'Islamic'. From Table 4, it was noted that the term 'Islamic' attracted more collocations than the term 'Islam' during both periods of time. In addition, the number of collocations after 9/11 in both newspapers increased. Yet, during both periods of time *The Age* employed fewer terms than *The Australian*. Before 9/11, *The Age* employed a number of collocations on the left (L1) of the term 'Islamic' such as 'militant', 'moderate', and 'radical' to distinguish between two versions of Islam. These two terms were also employed as collocations with equal strength of association with 'Islamic'. Yet, 'militant' was associated with 'Islamic' more strongly than the previous two terms. This pattern of representation is different from the one before 9/11. On the other hand, *The Australian* employed 'hardline, radical, and Taliban' as the left side collocations (L1) with 'Islamic'. It is apparent that *The Australian* focused on one version of Islam, i.e., the radical version. This pattern is similar to the collocates (L1) that were associated with the term 'Islam' after 9/11.

Table 5: First 16 Bigrams of ‘Islamic’ in both Newspapers Pre 9/11

No	The Australian			Keyword	The Age		
	$C(k, w)$	RF	Lgl		$C(k, w)$	RF	Lgl
1	Jihad	17	190.015	Islamic	Countries	10	79.291
2	Militants	12	125.761	Islamic	State	7	38.743
3	Group	11	75.872	Islamic	Militants	3	32.148
4	Militant	7	65.860	Islamic	Society	4	31.043
5	Guerrillas	6	57.150	Islamic	Group	5	28.932
6	Militia	6	50.817	Islamic	Fundamentalism	2	28.471
7	Defenders	3	42.566	Islamic	Militancy	2	24.653
8	Liberation	4	32.974	Islamic	Party	5	24.387
9	Fundamentalists	3	30.360	Islamic	Jihad	2	18.947
10	Revolution	3	26.745	Islamic	Extremist	2	17.326
11	Resistance	3	26.745	Islamic	Women	3	14.121
12	Extremists	3	24.007	Islamic	Parties	2	11.446
13	Groups	4	23.421	Islamic	Taliban	2	10.417
14	World	5	21.101	Islamic	Nations	2	9.941
15	Society	3	20.870	Islamic	States	2	9.021
16	Movement	3	18.543	Islamic	World	2	6.316

In terms of the right side collocates (R1) before 9/11, Table 5 above presents the first sixteen bigrams of the keyword ‘Islamic’, which are the highest ranked according to the Lgl before 9/11 in both newspapers, arranged with accordance to their Lgls. From the table, it is apparent that *The Age* employed a number of negative collocates; however, the ultimate focus was on the collective and associative terms such as ‘countries, states, society, and group’. The second important collocate category was ‘militants’, ‘fundamentalism’, ‘jihad’, and ‘extremist’. Conversely, *The Australian* employed more frequently negative collocations such as ‘jihad, militant, guerrilla, and fundamentalists’; whereas the second category of collocations was comprised of the collective and associative collocates such as ‘group, society, and world’.

As for the collocations that co-occurred with the term ‘Islamic’ after 9/11, Table 6 introduces the first sixteenth bigrams in both newspapers after 9/11.

Table 6: First 16 Bigrams of ‘Islamic’ in both Newspapers Post 9/11

No	The Australian			Keyword	The Age		
	$C(k, w)$	RF	Lgl		$C(k, w)$	RF	Lgl
1	Jihad	37	290.997	Islamic	Jihad	21	179.458
2	Fundamentalists	18	174.358	Islamic	Extremists	17	162.902
3	Extremists	20	168.510	Islamic	Fundamentalism	9	95.859
4	Groups	28	168.510	Islamic	Militants	11	83.304
5	Militants	17	125.384	Islamic	Defenders	7	78.003
6	Fundamentalism	13	118.964	Islamic	Groups	13	73.878
7	Movement	15	102.777	Islamic	Community	11	66.185
8	Fundamentalist	14	98.936	Islamic	Society	9	65.466
9	Community	16	92.377	Islamic	World	6	63.861
10	Militia	12	90.373	Islamic	Leaders	12	62.305
11	Group	18	89.484	Islamic	Worlds	14	56.763
12	Militia's	8	85.287	Islamic	Countries	10	50.337
13	Militant	12	82.764	Islamic	Extremism	5	49.272
14	Radicals	9	74.621	Islamic	State	9	40.070
15	World	16	51.733	Islamic	Nation	7	37.678
16	Terrorists	11	38.302	Islamic	Terrorists	8	35.930

The Lgls of the collocates increased after 9/11. It should be noted that before 9/11, *The Age* did not employ the collocate ‘terrorists’ with the lemma Islam at all. However, after 9/11 such a term was employed and strongly associated with ‘Islamic’. This is apparent not only in the frequency of this term, but also the Lgl (35.93) of the term ‘terrorists’. As for *The Australian*, the pattern that existed before 9/11 continued after 9/11. When the collocations for both periods of time in *The Age* are compared among themselves, a striking change in its ideology is revealed. That is, *The Age* after 9/11 favoured negative collocations such as ‘jihad, extremists, fundamentalism, etc’, whereas the second category was the collective and associative terms. This pattern is similar to that of *The Australian* during both periods of time.

The next two keywords are ‘Arab’ and ‘Arabs’. Table 7 presents the most substantial bigrams that coincided with ‘Arab’ and ‘Arabs’ in both newspapers over each period.

Table 7: Bigrams of the Lemma ‘Arab’ Pre/Post 9/11 in both newspapers

The Australian				$C(w, k)$	Keyword	$C(k, w)$	The Age Pre			
Pre 9/11		Post 9/11					Pre 9/11		Post 9/11	
Lgl	RF	Lgl	RF	Word		Word	RF	Lgl	RF	Lgl
26.3 2	2	0	0	Immoderate	Arab	-----	0	0	0	0
13.3 7	2	0	0	Innocent	Arab	-----	0	0	0	0
14.4 2	4	14.5 7	6	Israel's	Arab	-----	2	20.6 5	2	12.0 3
19.6 6	3	47.6 6	6	Moderate	Arab	-----	4	36.1 4	2	12.7 4
26.6 3	3	0	0	Neighbouri ng	Arab	-----	0	0	0	0
0	0	0	0	-----	Arab	Commun ities	2	15.2 8	0	0
163. 4	20	32.4 5	6	-----	Arab	Countrie s	5	33.2 7	12	75.4 1
0	0	49.3 9	7	-----	Arab	Fighters			5	27.9 4
19.4 7	3	0	0	-----	Arab	Governm ent	0	0	0	0
21.4 8	5	0	0	-----	Arab	Group	0	0	0	0
27.4 5	13	0	0	-----	Arab	Israelis	2	11.4 5	0	0
0	0	33.6 5	5	-----	Arab	Militants			0	0
43.2 6	6	44.5 1	4	-----	Arab	Nations	3	17.8 8	10	60.3 4
47.8 2	6	0	0	-----	Arab	Neighbo urs	12	132. 5	3	26.7 6
43.1	4	0	0	-----	Arab	Regime	0	0	0	0

2										
0	0	16.3 3	2	-----	Arab	Sentimen t	0	0	0	0
0	0	75.3 2	10	-----	Arab	States	5	32.6 5	25	176. 6
27.4 2	4	0	0	-----	Arab	Terroris m	0	0	0	0
280. 6	38	152. 4	25	-----	Arab	World	13	92.0 4	26	161. 2
2.43 6	2	0	0	-----	Arab	Violence	0	0	0	0
0	0	16.3 4	2	Moderate	Arabs	-----	0	0	0	0

Remarkably, the frequency, as well as the number of collocations with ‘Arab’ in both newspapers, decreased after 9/11. In *The Australian*, before 9/11 the most significant collocations (L1) were ‘Israel’, ‘immoderate’, ‘moderate’, and ‘innocent’, which were unutilized after 9/11, except ‘Israel’ and ‘moderate’. As for *The Age*, the pattern regarding the (L1) collocates were the same during both periods of time. That is, *The Age* employed ‘Israel’ and ‘moderate’. It is obvious that the strength of association between the term ‘Arab’ and ‘moderate’ in *The Australian* increased after 9/11, whereas it decreased in *The Age*.

With reference to the (R1) bigrams, Table 8 below introduces the first fourteen collocates with the term ‘Arab’ in both newspapers before 9/11. To a great extent, the patterns that existed in both newspapers were similar to each other. Both newspapers favoured the collective and associative collocates with the term ‘Arab’. Yet, to a lesser degree in *The Australian*, the term ‘Arab’ co-occurred with negative collocates as well, which were not in use in *The Age* during both periods of time, such as ‘regime’ and ‘terrorism’. It should be noted that these two terms were strongly connected with the term ‘Arab’ before 9/11. The use of the term ‘regime’ instead of ‘government’ presents an ideology that realises a negative attitude. That is, “a government is an elected body, while a regime is usually a dictatorship”; at least this is how it is utilized in the media and by government officials (‘Taliban: Regime’, n.d., n.p.).

Table 8: First 14 Bigrams of ‘Arab’ in both Newspapers Pre 9/11

No	The Australian			Keyword	The Age		
	$C(k, w)$	RF	Lgl		$C(k, w)$	RF	Lgl
1	World	38	280.6	Arab	Neighbours	12	132.5
2	Countries	20	163.4	Arab	World	13	92.04
3	States	15	124.4	Arab	Counties	5	33.27
4	Neighbourhoods	6	73.30	Arab	States	5	32.65
5	Neighbours	6	47.82	Arab	Nations	3	17.88
6	Nations	6	43.26	Arab	Communities	2	15.28
7	Regimes	4	43.12	Arab	State	3	12.11
8	Israeli	13	27.45	Arab	Worlds	2	12.82
9	Terrorism	4	27.42	Arab	Israelis	2	11.45
10	Country	5	22.61	Arab	Community	2	8.578
11	Group	5	21.48	Arab	Israeli	2	8.221
12	Government	3	19.47	Arab	-----	---	-----
13	Community	3	10.42	Arab	-----	---	-----
14	Groups	2	7.030	Arab	-----	---	-----

On the other hand, after 9/11 fewer collocates co-occurred with the term ‘Arab’, see Table 9. As is the case with the other collocations, *The Age* employed fewer collocates with the term ‘Arab’ compared to *The Australian*.

Table 9: First 10 Bigrams of ‘Arab’ in both Newspapers Post 9/11

No	The Australian			Keyword	The Age		
	$C(k, w)$	RF	Lgl		$C(k, w)$	RF	Lgl
1	World	25	152.4	Arab	States	25	176.6
2	States	10	75.32	Arab	World	26	161.2
3	Fighters	7	49.39	Arab	Countries	12	75.41
4	Nations	7	44.51	Arab	Nations	10	60.34
5	Militants	5	33.65	Arab	Fighters	5	27.94
6	Countries	6	32.45	Arab	Neighbours	3	26.76
7	Sentiment	2	16.33	Arab	Nation	2	7.546

4.54 1	2	0	0	Military	Muslim	-----	0	0	0	0
0	0	30.8 1	5	Moderate	Muslim	-----	4	35.0 9	0	0
0	0	54.1 7	2	Radical	Muslim	-----	2	14.4 2	8	61.2 8
0	0	0	0	Violent	Muslim	-----	0	0	3	22.8 5
6.86 5	2	23.4 4	7	-----	Muslim	Australian	2	8.01 1	8	34.9 6
31.6 0	6	127. 9	1 9	-----	Muslim	Community	2	8.08 0	20	150. 8
11.9 1	3	113. 0	1 8	-----	Muslim	Countries	3	16.0 7	8	38.6 4
0	0	12.9 8	2	-----	Muslim	Extremism	0	0	0	0
63.9 0	6	64.4 5	9	-----	Muslim	Extremists	2	20.6 8	6	44.4 6
0	0	0	0	-----	Muslim	Fighters	2	17.5 2	2	6.39 6
0	0	0	0	-----	Muslim	Forces	2	8.99 5	0	0
		18.9 8	3	-----	Muslim	Fundamentali sm	0	0	0	0
14.2 8	4	10.4 0	2	-----	Muslim	Fundamentali st	0	0	0	0
12.2 3	2	13.6 9	3	-----	Muslim	Government	0	0	0	0
45.1 1	7	57.6 1	1 2	-----	Muslim	Groups	1 0	71.3 1	13	77.1 1
13.2 0	2	0	0	-----	Muslim	Guerrillas	0	0	0	0
0	0	22.5	3	-----	Muslim	Hardliners	0	0	0	0

		2								
29.7 2	4	0	0	-----	Muslim	Militants	0	0	0	0
0	0	162. 6	2 2	-----	Muslim	Nations	0	0	14	85.3 5
4.73 1	2	0	0	-----	Muslim	Neighbours	0	0	0	0
10.0 4	2	7.74 0	2	-----	Muslim	Parties	3	19.4 1	2	12.2 1
0	0	28.0 9	4	-----	Muslim	Radicals	0	0	4	40.1 7
23.4 0	3	15.0 1	2	-----	Muslim	Rebel	0	0	2	12.3 7
0	0	11.1 3	2	-----	Muslim	Regime	0	0	0	0
0	0	0	0	-----	Muslim	Sentiment	0	0	3	26.5 1
0	0	12.0 5	2	-----	Muslim	Societies	0	0	0	0
16.0 9	3	45.3 2	8	-----	Muslim	States	0	0	9	38.9 1
0	0	5.05 2	3	-----	Muslim	Terrorists	0	0	0	0
57.1 1	9	141. 8	2 0	-----	Muslim	Women	9	61.7 7	7	36.8 5
64.9 7	1 2	195. 6	3 6	-----	Muslim	World	0	0	19	93.2 6
0	0	9.42 7	2	Asian	Muslims	-----	0	0	0	0
0	0	47.5 1	1 2	Australian	Muslims	-----	0	0	6	14.9 4
0	0	18.1 0	2	Fanatical	Muslims	-----	0	0	0	0

0	0	8.715	2	Fundamentalist	Muslims	-----	0	0	0	0
0	0	42.16	6	Indonesian	Muslims	-----	0	0	0	0
0	0	43.68	6	Moderate	Muslims	-----	0	0	4	33.99
20.88	2	0	0	Practicing	Muslims	-----	0	0	0	0
0	0	0	0	Radical	Muslims	-----	0	0	3	20.70

On the other hand, the term ‘Muslims’ did not coincide with as many collocations as ‘Muslim’ did, specifically before 9/11. The absence of negative collocations in both newspapers before 9/11 is very prominent. However, each newspaper favoured different collocations. With reference to *The Australian*, ‘military’ co-occurred with the term ‘Muslim’ before 9/11; on the other hand, *The Age* employed ‘militant and violent’ after 9/11 that focused primarily on the unfavourable version or type of Muslim. Furthermore, the term ‘practicing’, collocated with the term ‘Muslims’ in *The Australian* after 9/11 and *The Age*, employed two opposing collocates, that is, ‘radical’ and ‘moderate’ after 9/11. The changes in terms of the representation of ‘Muslim’ in both newspapers are significant. Both newspapers employed a number of terms that helped in establishing a dividing line between two main versions or types of Muslims, i.e., conservative or moderate Muslim(s) versus extremist, fundamentalist, or radical Muslim(s) in *The Australian*, and ‘moderate’ and ‘radical’ in *The Age*. In addition, *The Age* employed the collocate ‘Indonesian’ with the term ‘Muslim’ to differentiate between Muslims and Indonesian Muslims and, on the other hand, between non-Muslim Indonesians and Muslim Indonesians. It is a similar pattern to the one that was employed by *The Australian* with the term ‘Islam’. Accordingly, it is safe to say that both newspapers viewed Indonesia and Indonesian people differently after 9/11. That is, before 9/11 Indonesians were viewed as Asian people; however, after 9/11 Indonesians were viewed as Muslims.

In regards to ‘Muslims’, Table (11) presents the first 16 bigrams in both newspapers before 9/11.

Table 11 First 16 Bigrams of ‘Muslim’ in both Newspapers Pre 9/11

No	The Australian	Keyword	The Age
----	----------------	---------	---------

	$C(k, w)$	RF	Lgl		$C(k, w)$	RF	Lgl
1	World	12	64.97	Muslim	Groups	10	71.31
2	Extremist	6	63.90	Muslim	Women	9	61.77
3	Women	9	57.11	Muslim	Extremists	2	20.68
4	Groups	7	45.11	Muslim	Parties	3	19.41
5	Extremists	4	32.25	Muslim	Fighters	2	17.52
6	Community	6	31.60	Muslim	Countries	3	16.07
7	Militants	4	29.72	Muslim	Forces	2	8.995
8	Rebel	3	23.40	Muslim	Communit y	2	8.080
9	Worlds	2	20.52	Muslim	Group	2	7.810
10	Group	4	17.22	Muslim	----- --	--- -	----- -
11	States	3	16.09	Muslim	----- --	--- -	----- -
12	Fundamentali st	4	14.28	Muslim	----- --	--- -	----- -
13	Guerrillas	2	13.20	Muslim	----- --	--- -	----- -
14	Governments	2	12.23	Muslim	----- --	--- -	----- -
15	Country	3	11.91	Muslim	----- --	--- -	----- -
16	Rebels	2	11.87	Muslim	----- --	--- -	----- -

It is apparent that ‘Muslim’ did not attract significant collocates before 9/11 in *The Age*. The ultimate focus was on the collective collocates. Yet, *The Age* employed two negative terms that were strongly associated with the term ‘Muslim’, namely ‘extremists’ and ‘fighters’. With reference to *The Australian*, they employed negative and associative collocates more frequently than *The Age*, in terms of frequency and strength of association such as ‘extremist’, ‘fundamentalist’, ‘militants’, ‘world’, ‘groups’.

The last table presents the first 16 bigrams of ‘Muslim’ after 9/11 in both newspapers. An important observation is that the patterns that were presented by both newspapers were similar, to a great extent. In both newspapers after 9/11, the associative collocates were more frequently utilized than the negative collocates that were employed after 9/11. Yet, the increase in the strength of the association between the term ‘Muslim’ and the negative collocates such as ‘extremist and radical’ is apparent.

Table 12: First 10 Bigrams of ‘Muslim’ in both Newspapers Post 9/11

No	The Australian			Keyword	The Age		
	$C(k, w)$	RF	Lgl		$C(k, w)$	RF	Lgl
1	World	36	195.6	Muslim	Community	20	150.8
2	Nations	22	162.6	Muslim	World	19	93.26
3	Women	20	141.8	Muslim	Nations	14	85.35
4	Community	19	127.9	Muslim	Groups	13	77.11
5	Nation	17	115.1	Muslim	Nation	10	63.63
6	Countries	18	113.0	Muslim	Group	9	47.51
7	Extremists	9	64.45	Muslim	Extremists	6	44.46
8	Groups	12	57.61	Muslim	Radicals	4	40.17
9	States	8	45.32	Muslim	States	9	38.91
10	Country	10	39.65	Muslim	Countries	8	38.64
11	Communities	4	28.81	Muslim	Country	8	37.35
12	Radicals	4	28.09	Muslim	Women	7	36.85
13	Group	7	25.71	Muslim	Communities	4	32.11
14	Hardliners	3	22.52	Muslim	Worlds	3	27.18
15	Woman	3	19.48	Muslim	Sentiment	3	26.51
16	Fundamentalism	3	18.98	Muslim	Rebels	2	12.37

5.2.3 Lexical Priming

Priming may help to reveal more about the ideology involved in the construction of the image of ‘IAM’ over both periods of time. Due to the fact that they co-occurred frequently with ‘IAM’, the collocations discussed above are re-examined in terms of priming. The collocations that are coinciding with ‘IAM’ can be subdivided into five sub-classes (see Table 13 below). In

both newspapers, before 9/11 the first sub-class refers to ‘*a set of members*’ (e.g., countries, group, nations, neighbour, community, states, and world). The second sub-class refers to ‘*warfare*’ (e.g., attacks, guerrilla, jihad, and militant); whereas the third sub-class refers to ‘*excessive levels*’ (e.g., fundamentalist, extreme, hard-line, radical, and terrorists). The fourth sub-class refers to ‘*combative groups*’ (e.g., fighters, defenders, and rebels) and finally the fifth sub-class refers to ‘*opposing authority*’ (e.g., movements, regime, and Taliban).

Table 13: Frequencies of Bigrams Sub-Classes Pre/Post 9/11

		<i>Pre 9/11</i>			
Collocation Classes	Sub-	<i>The</i>	<i>The Age</i>		
		<i>Australian</i>			
		Freq.	%	Freq.	%
set of members		182	54	102	68
Warfare		62	18	10	7
excessive levels		31	9	11	7
opposing authority		15	4	2	1
combative groups		7	2	2	1
		<i>Post 9/11</i>			
Collocation Classes	Sub-	<i>The</i>	<i>The Age</i>		
		<i>Australian</i>			
		Freq.	%	Freq.	%
set of members		280	41	256	57
excessive levels		212	31	82	18
Warfare		94	14	39	8
opposing authority		24	3	26	6
combative groups		13	2	21	4

On the other hand, after 9/11 the order of the categories changed slightly. That is, ‘IAM’ after 9/11 were primed in terms of ‘*a set of members*’ firstly and ‘*excessive levels*’ secondly. This finding coincides with the previous finding, i.e., after 9/11 both newspapers employed more negative collocates. The ideological significance of these two subclasses is prominent.

In terms of priming, differences and similarities can be noted when the two newspapers are compared, particularly before 9/11. The increase of the frequency of the sub-class of the *set of members* after 9/11 shows that a deeper separation between ‘IAM’ and the rest of the world was established. In other words, it implicitly laid down an important theme through the corpus under investigation, namely ‘IAM’ vs. the West, which can be considered as one of the slogans in the selected corpuses. The frequent references to the ‘Muslim’ and ‘Arab’ ‘world’ and ‘nations’ introduced polarity into the discourse. Even before 9/11, a separation was already established in readers’ minds by the suggestion that ‘IAM’ had a world of its own. This tendency to divide the world into two on the basis of faith was also evident from the fact that Indonesia was referred to as Indonesian Muslims after 9/11. This strategy showed that this ideological split was well established in the discourse. Furthermore, it enabled writers and hence readers to put all Muslims in one category.

In addition, after 9/11, the *excessive levels* sub-class was the second most dominant sub-class in both newspapers. This sub-class accounts for a crucial element of the ideological stance of both newspapers, particularly after 9/11. In essence, these sub-classes largely reflect the ideology of the two selected newspapers, the construction of ‘IAM’, the semantic preference pattern, and, most importantly, the experience of the readers of these two newspapers. Through these priming categories, *The Australian* and *The Age* linked ‘IAM’ with some of the unfavourable associations these categories may evoke.

6. Conclusion

By way of summary, there was a critical ideological shift. The ideological changes unveiled were significant, particularly in the increase in the frequency of ‘IAM’ and its collocations, a crucial appearance of new collocations, and an equally important decrease in certain other aspects. It is apparent that the terrorist attacks of 9/11 changed the social as well as the political context of ‘IAM’. The existence of a causative connection between the attacks of 9/11 and press attention to ‘IAM’, in particular the lemmas ‘Islam’ and ‘Muslim’, is supported by the frequency of collocations, their strength over both periods of time, and the patterns of collocations and priming discussed above. One salient observation was the number of occurrences of some crucial negative collocations (with different frequencies) with the lemmas ‘Islam’ and ‘Muslim’. Such collocations show that newswriters delegated meanings to these two entities that extended beyond any neutral view of Islam or the identity of Muslims. The

collocations examined above embody negative prosody as well. Gabrielatos and Baker (2008:21) maintain “[t]his [may make] the frequency of semantic/discourse prosodies much higher than that of the individual collocation patterns that give rise to them”. These collocations indicate the (negative) stance writers adopted in the representation of ‘IAM’. Thus the collocations that have been investigated above may have an ideological function, creating, through semantic associations, a socially negative shared image of ‘IAM’ among the public.

However, the negative representations of ‘IAM’ in *The Australian* were a development of previously established patterns of misconceptions regarding Islam and Muslims. This is evident in the occurrences of some pivotal collocations and the frequency of the lemmas before 9/11. Nevertheless, *The Australian* showed a balance in its reporting in that it allowed a comparison between radical/moderate versions of the three lemmas. On the other hand, while before 9/11 *The Age* was more balanced, impartial, and friendlier than *The Australian*, after 9/11 it became more partial, less friendly, and imbalanced concerning the representation of Islam and Muslims, as *The Age* favoured a single biased perspective by emphasizing the ‘radical’ versions of ‘Islam’ and ‘Muslim’ after 9/11. Hakim and Harris (2009) note that after the attacks of 9/11, the media became more interested in ‘Islam’ and ‘Muslims’ in Europe as well. Indeed, the growing interest in ‘Islam’ and ‘Muslim’ was not confined to Australian newspapers. In short, the results of this study revealed that there were some significant changes, which indicate that the context of ‘IAM’ has changed.

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