

A corpus-assisted discourse study of the media language in the Egyptian revolution

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Abstract

The present study analyses media coverage of the Egyptian revolution (2011-2015). We use the corpus-assisted discourse (CADS) approach to examine how Arabic and English media covered the 2011 protests in Egypt. Adapting corpus techniques and the discursive news values analysis (DNVA) approach, We analyse a bilingual (Arabic and English) corpus of news reports in *Al Jazeera* and *Al Arabiya*, as well as the Western written media in English (BBC and CNN). This method helps to uncover differences and similarities between the three media categories in terms of collocations' categories, frequency distribution, and story content. The results suggest several inconsistencies in the frequency distribution along with many similarities in the collocations categories, story contents and the news values, based mainly on a negative ideology that focuses on the unstable political life and the violent social protests, which manipulates the audience and affects their understanding of the news.

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Keywords

Corpus analysis, critical discourse analysis, news values, ideology, media

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Introduction

The Egyptian revolution of January 25, 2011, inspired by the Tunisian uprising of January 14, 2011, culminated with the resignation of President Hosni Mubarak on February 11, 2011. Massive demonstrations throughout the country attracted enormous media attention worldwide. However, media coverage of these events varied dramatically, suggesting vested interests of the involved parties. Following Ashley and Olson’s (1998, p. 268) argument that the news media play a prominent role in the continuity of social protests through specific choices of sources and framing of social unrest, in the present study, we analyse the language of the media and ideological orientations in the coverage of the 2011 Egyptian revolution. To this end, the news reports published in Arabic and English versions of *Al Jazeera* and *Al Arabiya*, as well as CNN and BBC reports, are analysed using corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis (CADS; Romero-Trillo & Attia, 2016; Attia, 2022), which combines corpus linguistics (CL) (i.e., frequency, keywords, collocation and concordance) and critical discourse analysis (CDA). To enhance the objectivity of my qualitative investigation, We also apply the discursive news values approach (DNVA).

The originality of the present study lies in the innovative use of a combination of CL, CDA, and DNVA approaches to analyse a bilingual media corpus and unveil hidden biases in the media discourse on the outcomes of the 2011 Egyptian revolution during the post-revolution period (2011-2015).

1. Literature review

1.1. Media discourse

While different theories of the relationship between the media discourse and the audience have previously been proposed (Romero-Trillo, 2011; Baker et al, 2013; Yılmaz and Sinanoğlu, 2014) numerous empirical studies have focused on the controversial issue of media ideology concerning the "Arab Spring" events (Hamdy and Gomaa, 2012; Haider, 2016; Haigh and Bruce, 2017). For instance, in an analysis of media coverage of the Libyan revolution, Attia (2022) found that, as the Libyan situation worsened and turned into terrorism, both Arab and Western media persistently reported violent and brutal clashes between different Libyan factions, which promoted the image of Libya’s instability and shaped the audience’s perceptions of the events accordingly. Furthermore, in an analysis of media coverage of the Tunisian revolution (2011–2015), Romero-Trillo & Attia (2016) observed that, while Arabic and English versions of *Al Jazeera* and *Al Arabiya* tended to adopt a violent discourse in reporting the events, the Western media BBC and CNN were more objective. Using CDA, Romero-Trillo & Attia (2016) unveiled the biased ideology of the Arab media and its hatred to political Islamism, which affected readers’ perceptions of the Islamist political parties.

In another relevant study on *Al Jazeera* English and CNN’s coverage of the Egyptian coup of July 2013, Elena (2015) found that, while CNN highlighted the need to fight this dictatorship, *Al Jazeera* English remained faithful to the Islamist approach and defended its legitimacy. Furthermore, several scholars used critical discourse analysis to expose the different standpoints and ideologies behind Western media news coverage of the Arab Spring events. For instance, using critical discourse analysis to analyse the coverage of protesters, Mubarak, and the Muslim Brotherhood by CNN and Fox, Guzman (2016) found that these media tended to implement previous frames mainly related to Muslims and Middle East. These frames reflect the U.S. political ideology that is wary of Islam but encourages democracy over the authoritarian rule.

1.2 Corpus linguistics and critical discourse analysis

To start with, critical discourse analysis (CDA) is frequently understood as "an academic movement [...] of doing discourse analysis from a critical perspective, which often focuses on theoretical concepts such as power, ideology and domination" (Baker et al., 2008, p. 273). It focuses on the description of the discourse and the explanation of the reason, and the way specific discourses are generated. Fairclough (2001) states that it particularly crosses the boundaries of "unconscious" ideology that retains "unequal encounters" in both social and political life. For CDA, language is not powerful by definition; instead, an individual's actions give it authority. In fact, Romero Trillo and Attia (2016) introduce CDA as follows: CDA views discourse-language employment in speech and writing as a way of "social practice".

However, corpus linguistics (CL) is considered a branch of linguistics that can be defined as the study of language focused on corpora as a primary source like machine-readable samples representative of authentic language use. It uses quantitative and statistical methods of investigation for the scientific analysis of languages. It is also defined as "the study of language based on examples of real-life language use" (McEnery & Wilson 2001: 1). The primary analytical techniques in CL are frequency, concordance, collocation, and keywords. Following several empirical studies (Orpin, 2005; Baker et al., 2008; Cheng & Lam, 2013; Gabrielatos & Duguid, 2015; Romero-Trillo & Attia, 2016; Attia, 2022), in the present study, we use a combination of CDA and CL.

In the last several decades, a growing body of studies have combined different aspects of CL and CDA, deeming that a combination of these two paradigms would be more fruitful than using them separately (Baker et al., 2008; Wodak & Meyer, 2016; Romero-Trillo & Attia, 2016; Haider, 2019; Attia 2022). This synergy of the two approaches has given rise to what is referred to as corpus-assisted discourse studies (CADS). According to Partington et al. (2013), CADS are "not tied to any particular school of discourse analysis" and have "no overarching political agenda" (p. 10). Partington (2008) claimed that the main aim of CADS is to uncover non-obvious meanings that are not opened to direct observation (Partington, 2008). In the present study, the CADS approach will be used to expose the implicit bias in the media discourse on the outcomes of the Egyptian revolution. To this end, Bednarek and Caple's (2017) DNVA framework, outlined in further detail in Section 1.3, is used.

1.3 Discursive News Values Framework (DNVA)

According to Caple and Bednarek's (2017) definition, DNVA is an approach that examines how news values are discursively constructed through semiotic resources (language, image, etc.). Defining newsworthiness of an event, i.e. whether it deserves being reported as news, Caple and Bednarek (2017, pp. 55-67) discussed the following ten news values: Consonance, Eliteness, Impact, Negativity, Personalisation, Positivity, Proximity, Superlativeness, Timeliness, and Unexpectedness. Furthermore, it has been argued that the news values are socially and culturally constructed, rather than "natural" (Fowler, 1991, pp. 13, 15), and "reflect ideologies and priorities held in society" (Bell 1991, p.156).

However, while DNVA has been applied to investigate a wide range of topics (Bednarek, 2016; Dahl & Fløttum 2017; Kitano, 2019; Makki, 2019, 2020), only a few studies have integrated DNVA with corpus techniques (Potts et al., 2015; Maklad, 2019). Moreover, this method has only recently started to be used in studies focusing on languages other than English, including Chinese (Caple et al. 2020), Spanish (Fuster-Márquez & Gregori-Signes, 2019), Persian/Farsi

(Makki, 2019), and Arabic (Attia, 2022). In this study, following Attia (2022), we will consider six news values relevant to the Arabic news context: Eliteness, Negativity, Impact, Positivity, Superlativeness, and Personalisation. With a particular focus on Negativity and Positivity, we will analyse a corpus of media reports on the Egyptian revolution and its outcomes in five years after the 2011 events.

2. Methodology

Following Attia’s (2022) analysis of the media discourse on the outcomes of the Libyan revolution, in this study, the CADS approach was used to analyse a total of 232 news articles from Arabic and English versions of *Al Jazeera* and *Al Arabiya*, as well as from BBC and CNN. The overall size of the analysed corpus was 113.013 words. Figures 1 and 2 show the number of the reports and the number of words in each media category.

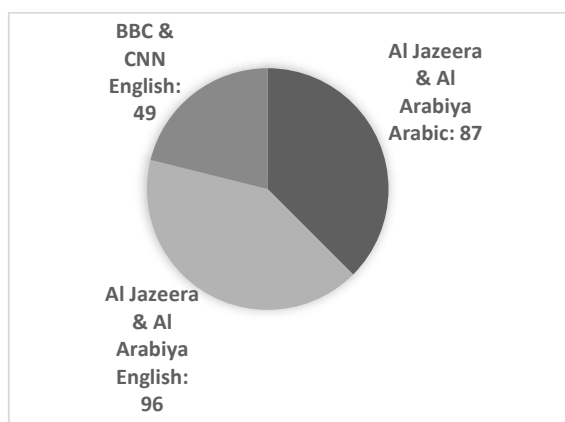


Figure 1: The number of news articles in the corpus

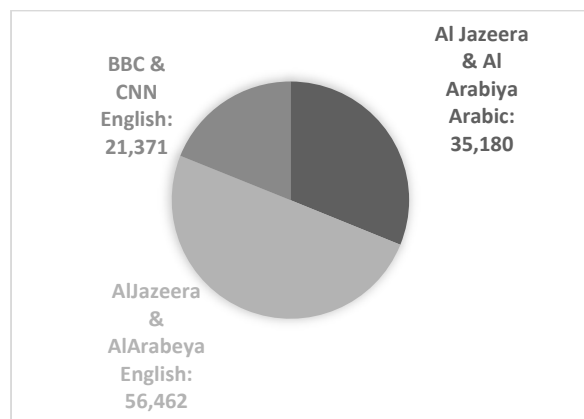


Figure 2: The number of words in the corpus

The corpus was created through compiling the reports published on official websites of each media outlet. The search term was *Egypt*, and the search period was December 2011-2015, i.e. from the first sparks of the Egyptian Revolution onwards. The collected data were then filtered to remove irrelevant articles. Eligible news reports were then extracted, converted to .txt format, and fed into *AntConc 3.5.8* (Anthony, 2019) for further analysis. Along with DNVA approach, the following corpus techniques were used: keywords, frequency lists, collocations, and concordances.

However, there were some problems when creating concordance lines for Arabic since the software does not fully support right-to-left languages, which led to manual support for putting the words in the proper order.

For the sake of simplicity, the year is considered a discrete period, allowing the corpus to be divided into five parts. Additionally, the first 100 keywords for each year of each sub-corpus were obtained by comparing the data from each year of each sub-corpus against the other five years of all the sub-corpora. Then, they were compared with the top 100 lexical items to extract the words related to each year's revolution in each sub-corpus. The first 100 keywords and lexical items were selected due to their high frequency. Next, all keywords were manually examined and divided into subcategories (politics, economy, social problems, democracy, terrorism, and police violence). Then, the top 10 collocates of each keyword were selected, and only the most significant linguistic elements were chosen for further analysis. After conducting concordance searches, salient patterns were extracted for a closer, qualitative examination using the CDA approach. A span of 7 words on either side of the keyword was used. Collocations and concordances with CDA were used to scrutinise the language of media to reveal any ideological orientation. Finally, the raw data of each subcorpus were normalised per percentage to yield valid comparable results.

3. Results

The data were examined by year, and frequency distribution of the topics was expressed in raw frequencies (RF) and percentages (%).

3.1 The Year 2011

Table 1 summarises the frequencies of three topics (“politics,” “social protests,” and “democracy”) in three media categories—Arabic and English versions of *Al Jazeera* and *Al Arabiya*, as well as BBC and CNN, thereafter, referred to as AL Arab media, EL Arab media, and EL Western media, respectively).

Table 1

Frequency distribution of the topics “politics,” “social protests,” and “democracy” (2011)

Topics	AL Arab media		EL Arab media		EL Western media	
	<i>RF</i>	%	<i>RF</i>	%	<i>RF</i>	%
Politics	116	1.4	100	8.69	12	1.02
Social protests	88	1.06	193	16.77	24	2.04
Democracy	0	0	29	2.52	0	0

As can be seen in Table 1, “politics” had the highest frequency in AL Arab media (1.4%), followed by “social protests” (1.06%). However, in EL Arab media and Western media, the topic “social protests” was far more frequent (16.77% and 2.04%, respectively), followed by “politics” (8.69% and 1.02%, respectively) and “democracy” (2.52% and 0%, respectively).

In what follows, we present a detailed linguistic and ideological analysis of each topic within each media category.

Politics

The keyword *elections* appeared in both AL and EL Arab media with a similar frequency (24% and 22%, respectively). Similarly, collocations of this keyword in AL and EL Arab media did not show much variation (Table 2).

Table 2
Frequency and collocations of the keyword elections

Media category	Frequency	Collocations
AL Arab media	24	ائتلافات (“Coalitions”), أعضاء (“members”), ناشطون (“activists”), مراقبين (“monitors”), تنافسوا (“compete”), النزاهة (“honest”), الشريفة (“fair”), الحرة (“free”), المتنافسة (“competing”), المتنافسين (“competitors”), المتنافسة (“competitive”)
EL Arab media	22	Winner, prosperous, fair, accomplishment, stable, free, transition, democratic, Brotherhood

Both AL Arab and Western media Arab shared the same story regarding the Egyptian elections and the Muslim Brotherhood party, "the Freedom and Justice party." The corresponding collocations (e.g., *competitive, coalition, transition*) suggest a free and fair competition between the political parties in Egypt. Özdemir (2013) described this political competition, with 67 political parties rather than four, as the freest and the most vibrant since Hosni Mubarak’s rule. The results of collocation analysis (see concordances (1)-(4)) suggest the same and construct Positivity as news value.

- (I) [...] accelerated timetable for democratic transition. But **elections**, they insisted, would go ahead and polls [...] (*Al Jazeera* 22/12/2011)
- (II) [...] they did. For them, free and fair **elections** are an accomplishment in themselves and [...] (*Al Jazeera* 22/12/2011)
- (III) [...] the Egyptian people through free and fair **elections**... in a stable environment,” said Mohamed [...] (*Al Jazeera* 23/12/2011)
- (IV) [...] diverted to the first post-revolution legislative **elections** which begun on November 28, in which [...] (*Al Jazeera* 29/12/2011)

The linguistic choices in (1)-(4) enhance the positive discourse on the Muslim Brotherhood through the emphasis on the concepts of “freedom,” “honesty,” “fairness,” “stability,” and so on (see also the results on the keyword *party* in Table 3).

Table 3
Frequency and collocations of the keyword party

Media category	Frequency	Collocations
AL Arab Media	27	ينضم (“joins”), يمثل (“represents”), الحرية (“freedom”), العدالة, بغالبية (“majority”), بفعالية (“effectively”), الإسلام (“Islam”), السلفي (“Salafist”), الديمقراطي (“democratic”)
EL Arab Media	34	Salafi, ultraconservative, Salafist, conservative, coalition, Nour, freedom, Muslim, liberal, Brotherhood, Islamists

Both AL and EL Arab media referred to the emergent political party using the terms such as *Brotherhood, Salafist, Muslim, Islamists, ultraconservative*, etc., thus emphasising its political orientation (Islamist and conservative). The Brotherhood party won the election with astounding 43.4% of the votes, which equalled 216 seats (Özdemir, 2013). However, the

assessment of Positivity news value of this example depended on the target audience, as some people saw this victory as a positive event, while others, like Mubarak supporters, perceived it negatively. In this relation, Bednarek and Caple (2017, p. 61) argued that “[c]ertain target audiences might perceive a particular reported event as [positive], while others would not.” Accordingly, DNVA should always consider the target audience of a news outlet.

Furthermore, collocations of the keyword *Mubarak* in EL Arab and Western media, which highlight the overthrow of President Hosni Mubarak and his regime, construct the Impact news value (Table 4).

Table 4

Frequency and collocations of the keyword *Mubarak*

Media category	Frequency	Collocations
EL Arab Media	44	<i>toppled, shoot, overthrow, crackdowns, bomb, authoritarian</i>
EL Western media	12	<i>corruption, footage, accused, resumed, replaced, abusing, killing</i>

Although the frequencies of corresponding collocations differ between EL Arab and Western media (44 and 12, respectively), both highlight the amount of violence that Mubarak applied to stifle the protests. Interestingly, while these events construct Negativity, their outcomes were termed as positive, as they led to the liberation of Egypt. Yet, these outcomes can be seen as Negative by Hosni Mubarak’s supporters who wanted him to stay in the rule.

Nevertheless, after the overthrow of the president Hosni Mubarak from almost 30 years of rule, the political life in Egypt seems to follow a democratic path. The collocations of politics category in 2011 suggest the success of the free, fair, and democratic elections reported by both Arab media languages. Therefore, the Arab media, in both languages in 2011, reported on the same story content with a positive ideology towards this historic democratic transition in Egypt. Moreover, they have very similar frequency distribution whereas the Western media has a different distribution.

Democracy

Keywords in this topic, which emerged only in EL Arab media (see Table 1) were *democratic* and *democracy*. Corresponding collocations (e.g., *transitions, path, vote, elections, vowed, transition, promote, stability*) construct Positivity of the democratic political transition of the Egyptian government. Of note, however, Positivity news value is generally considered to be uncommon (Harcup & O’Neill, 2001, p. 279; Schulz, 1982, p. 152).

Social protests

Within the topic “social protests,” collocations of keywords *protesters* and *Tahrir Square* in Table 5 establish Negativity, which is referred to as “the basic news value” (Bell, 1991, p. 156).

Table 5

Frequency and collocations of keywords *protesters* and *Tahrir Square*

Media category	Frequency	Collocations
AL Arab Media	37	اعتقال (“Arrest”), ويرشقون (“throw”), طاردوهم (“chase”), أحرقوا (“burned”), بالاعتداء (“assault”), احتراق (“burning”), حريق (“fire”), بالحجارة (“rocks”), القتلى (“dead”), ميدان (“field”), عنيفة (“violent”), سقطوا (“fallen”), المصادمات (“clashes”), المتظاهرون (“demonstrators”), مطالب (“demands”), مستمرة (“continuous”)

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EL Arab Media	39	dispersing, violently, threw, shoot, fled, troops, stone, clashed, beating, assault
EL Western media	19	violent, uprising, shoot, propaganda, killing, conspiracy, aides, death, killed, shot, hundreds, demonstrations, crowd, condemnation, beating, protesters

The corresponding collocations were frequent in all three media categories (see Table 5), though slightly less frequent in EL Western media. During the 2011 events, Tahrir Square became the site of protests that forced Hosni Mubarak out of power. Hundreds of protesters had to face violence and brutality. Overall, in their coverage of the protests, the media were trying to gain readers’ attentions by focusing on the violent perspective of the uprising, thus introducing some bias through specific lexical choices. Along with other means, such as selection of a news story over another or quoting specific voices while excluding others, lexical choices can be used to create bias in the news (Hamborg et al., 2020).

Similarly, the keywords *military*, *army*, and *police* construct the negativity news value in both AL and EL Arab media (see Table 6).

Table 6
Frequency and collocations of keywords military army and police

Media category	Frequency	Collocations
AL Arab Media	28	مهاجمة (“attack”), أطلق (“shoot”), أشعل (“burned”), أسلحة, الحجارة (“clashes”), الرصاص (“bullets”), الحجارة (“rocks”)
EL Arab media	111	threw, threat, tensions, shield, rallies, detainees, bloody, bans, abolishes, stripped, sparked, clashed, attacked, deadly, wounded/ vicious, thugs, shut, kicking, brutally, attacks, violently, harsh, beating, aborted/ confiscated, raided, riot, crushed, cracking, Molotov, clashed, stones, demonstrations
EL Western media	5	support, peace, defence, calm

In contrast, EL Western media constructed the Positivity news value through, for instance, relating the keyword *military* with positive items (e.g., *support*, *peace*, *defence*, *calm*; see (5)-(7)) so as to beautify the picture of the National security to the audience.

- (V) [...] Friday- a relatively peaceful sit-in against **military** rule on the edge of Tahrir Square [...] (*BBC* 19/12/2011)
- (VI) [...] immediate transfer to civilian rule. Yet the **military** is counting on the support of the [...] (*BBC* 19/12/2011)
- (VII) [...] Cairo for a rally against the ruling **military** council. Earlier this week calm was resto [...] (*BBC* 23/12/2011)

Yet, the collocations of key terms *clashes* and *people* in AL and EL Arab media constructed the Negativity news value (see Table 7).

Table 7
Collocations of keywords *clashes* and *people*

<i>Clashes</i>	<i>People</i>
AL Arab media	EL Arab media
محتجين ("Protesters"), الاعتداء ("assault"), لاقتحامه ("to break into"), التعدي, الشرطة ("police"), الجيش, ("Army")	thousand, tensions, skyrocketed, resisting, protesting, marched, killings, demonstrate, died, bloodshed, killed, injured

In summary, news in news reports published in 2011, all three media categories predominantly emphasised the Negativity news value in their coverage of the events in Tahrir square, with the only exception being that EL Western media somewhat more positively conveyed national security. The three media categories also shared the same story contents and ideology during 2011. Praising the democratic transition in the beginning of the 2011 Egyptian Revolution events, the media then shifted their focus to a negative depiction of protests and violent clashes. In this way, the media sought to construct the news in a specific way to influence their audiences. Similarly, in an analysis of how uprisings in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, and Yemen were covered in *Al Jazeera*, Galanter (2013) argued that "the channel was present in every battle, not only to report, but also to provide a platform for the revolutionaries, to propagate, to uplift morale and, in some cases even, to provide direction for the insurgents" (p. 6).

3.2 The Year 2012

Table 8 summarises the frequency distribution of topics "politics" and "social protests" in the three media categories in 2012.

Table 8
Frequency distribution of topics "politics" and "social protests" (2012)

Categories	AL Arab media		EL Arab media		EL Western media	
	<i>RF</i>	%	<i>RF</i>	%	<i>RF</i>	%
Politics	204	2.72	399	25.7	387	32.03
Social protests	0	0	112	7.21	127	1.05

As can be seen in Table 8, the frequency topics "politics" and "social protests" in AL Arab media was considerably lower than in the other two media categories. The difference is particularly considerable with regard to the "politics" topic: 2.72% in AL Arab media vs. 25.7% and 32.03% in EL Arab and Western media, respectively.

Politics

In 2012, a major political theme in the analysed media was the aftermath of the Egyptian political life after the toppling of President Hosni Mubarak. As suggested by the analysis of the keyword *referendum*, the political life in Egypt at that time was characterised by instability and division between supporters and opponents of a referendum (see Table 9).

Table 9
Frequency and collocations of keyword referendum

Media category	Frequency	Collocations
AL Arab media	54	يلغي (“Cancels”) ، يقاطع (“interrupts”) ، يعلن (“announces”) ، يؤيد (“participate”) ، يشاركون (“makes”) ، يعقد (“approves”) ، توقف (“stop”) ، تعطيل (“delay”) ، الرفضة (“reject”) ، الداعمة (“supportive”)
EL Arab media	43	Snap, schedule, preparing, postpones, loser, condemned, Arrest, civilians, postponed, delayed, delay, cancel, sweeping, push
EL Western media	46	Widespread, urge, undermines, sparked, rival, removing, postponing, judge, delays, cancelled, boycotting, boycott, authoritarian, abuses

While the frequencies of collocations of the keyword *referendum* were similar across the three media categories (see Table 9). Furthermore, most of the collocations confirm that the focus was mainly on the members who wanted to *boycott*, *cancel*, *delay*, and *postpone* the new constitution introduced by Morsi, who was elected president in 2012, rather than on his supporters; therefore, the media reports constructed the Impact news value. The three media categories also shared the same story content and projected the same negative evaluation of the referendum.

This negative ideology was also substantiated by the collocations of keywords *Morsi* and *president* (see Table 10).

Table 10
Frequency and collocations of keywords Morsi and president

Media category	Frequency	Collocations
AL Arab media	48	يلغي (“Cancels”) ، يتعارض (“disagree”) ، مظاهرات (“demonstrations”) ، يعلن (“confidence”) ، يعاقب (“announces”) ، يعاقب (“punishes”) ، يرتضيه (“consents”) ، مناقشة (“discussion”) ، يدعو (“admits”) ، يعترف (“invites”) ، مواجهة (“confronts”) ، تسلم (“received”) ، دعمها (“support”)
EL Arab media	120	Coward, victims, traitors, teargassed, swipe, spurns, signed, shout, shooting, separation, resigns, reluctance, reinstate, reject, rejects, rejecting
EL Western media	172	Removing, murder, allow, withdraws, usurping, unleashed, triggered, threats, threat, stirred, smashed/ Warn, want, urge, unacceptable, sustain, supporting, supported, stripped, spread, sorrow

As can be seen in Table 9, in all three media categories, collocations of the keywords *Morsi* and *president* refer to Morsi’s supporters (e.g., *supports*, *supported*) and opponents (e.g., *removing*, *rejecting*, *conflicts*, *traitors*). Although Morsi was seeking dialogue with protesters, demonstrations against him were still taking place. This could be due to Morsi’s intent to ratify a new constitution. Collocations of the keyword *constitution*, such as *endorses*, *declares*, *scheduled*, among others, construct the Impact news value (Table 11). Indeed, Morsi’s decision to ratify the constitution encountered rejection and refusal from a specific part of the government and the people (e.g., *reject*, *boycott*, *stabbed*, *rejection*, *sparking*, etc.).

Table 11
Frequency and collocations of the keyword *constitution*

Media category	Frequency	Collocations
AL Arab media	49	يؤيد (“Endorses”), يعلن (“declares”), التفكك (“dissociation”), ستطعن (“stabbed”), نرفض (“reject”), مقاطعة (“boycott”)
EL Arab media	97	Write, summarised, state, starts, sparking, scheduled, repeating, ratified, release, provisional
EL Western media	84	Votes, violates, undermines, triggered, terrifying, secure, restore, rejection, reject

Despite the opposition's rejection to ratify the constitution, Muslim Brotherhood won the referendum. Accordingly, the new constitution of Egypt was adopted that seeks to enhance the security of the citizens of Egypt, grant them freedom of expression and of religion, stop the military trials of civilians, give observance of women's rights, and allow the compliance of the status of international obligation (Human Rights Watch, 2012).

Of note, however, the adoption of the new constitution was also negatively perceived by a certain target audience, including the opposition and protesters against the Muslim Brotherhood, who accused the government of “falsifying” the referendum results. Specifically, the collocations of the keyword Brotherhood were as follows:

AL Arab media: محاصرة (“Trapping”), قيادات (“leaders”), المعارضة (“Opposition”), المتظاهرين (“protesters”), هدم (“demolition”), تزوير (“falsify”)

EL Western media: wrote, withdraw, winning, win, pushing, motivated, destroyed.

Social protests

This topic emerged only in EL Arab and Western media. An illustrative example here is the keyword *revolution* that appeared with different frequency in the EL Arab and Western media reports (42% and 12%, respectively). Interestingly, while EL Arab media reports emphasised both positive and negative aspects of the revolution (e.g., *succeeded, successful, democratisation* vs. *standstill, thwarted*), in EL Western media reports, *revolution* had predominantly negative collocates (e.g., *suffering, terror, betrays, thwart, and resistance*; see Table 12).

Table 12
Frequency and collocations of the keyword *revolution*

Media category	Frequency	Collocations
EL Arab media	42	Uphold, thwarted, succeeded, standstill, democratisation, aborted, successful
EL Western media	12	Unseated, underwent, thwart, suffering, safeguarding, resistance, defend, betrays, terror

Similarly, the keyword *protesters* had negative collocations in both EL media (see Table 13).

Table 13
Frequency and collocations of the keyword *protesters*

Media category	Frequency	Collocations
EL Arab media	35	Yelled, worried, traitors, shooting, prevent, penned, mourners, footage, fired, demonstrating, burn, breach, threatened

EL Western media	36	Reoccupying, preserve, powerful, mess, hundred, grounds, dozens, dramatic, chased, broken, failed, tear, pressures, killings, killing, gas, death
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As suggested by collocations listed in Table 13, protesters refused the referendum, and hundreds of people demonstrated against Morsi. On the other hand, supporters were also protesting against opponents. As a result, both protesters and supporters were fighting against each other, and many were killed (see concordances (8)-(10)).

- (VIII) [...] the vote on a controversial new constitution as **clashes** between protestors and Muslim Brotherhood members [...] (*Al Arabiya* 07/12/2012)
- (IX) [...] Brotherhood members took place across the country. **Clashes** between supporters and opponents of Mursi continued [...] (*Al Arabiya* 07/12/2012)
- (X) [...] And more than 600 people were hurt in bloody **clashes** between the duelling camps. The army on Thursday [...] (*Al Arabiya* 07/12/2012)

Similarly, the keyword *clashes* and its collocations in Table 14 represent the events as negative and violent and suggest that the protests between Morsi’s supporters and opponents of Morsi were stopped by the police after many protesters were injured or killed.

Table 14
Frequency and collocations of the keyword clashes

Media category	Frequency	Collocations
EL Arab media	16	Provoked, hurt, detained, bloody, killed, fears, protestors, deadly, violent, violence
EL Western media	6	Armed, injured, fighting, broke, prevent, died, supporters, opponents, police, protests, violence

Similar insights can be derived from EL Western media concordances (11)-(13) below.

- (XI) [...] Five people died and 644 were injured in **clashes** between his opponents and supporters. Mr Morsi [...] (*BBC* 07/12/2012)
- (XII) [...] person died and 66 were injured Saturday in **clashes** at protests, both for and against the [...] (*CNN* 03/12/2012)
- (XIII) [...] since March 2011. Wednesday’s violence followed **clashes** Tuesday outside the palace, which has become [...] (*CNN* 06/12/2012)

Collocates such as *dies, injured, weapons, violence* demonstrate that violent clashes between Morsi’s opponents and supporters eventually went out of control. Accordingly, the corresponding reports construct the Negativity news value for all audiences.

In summary, the topics of “politics” and “social protests” in 2012 focused on violent tensions between Morsi’s opponents and supporters, starting from the referendum and continuing into bloody and violent clashes between the two opposing groups.

3.3. The Year 2013

Similarly to the reports published in 2012, those published in 2013 also predominantly focused on the topics of “politics” and “social protests”. However, as can be seen in Table 15, both topics were considerably more frequent in EL Arab media (13.9% and 12.2%, respectively) than in the other two media categories.

Table 15
Frequency distribution in 2013

Categories	AL Arab media		EL Arab media		EL Western media	
	RF	%	RF	%	RF	%
Politics	150	1.68	257	13.99	131	2.85
Social protests	141	1.58	224	12.2	73	1.58

Politics category

The “politics” topic in 2013 mostly concerned the Egyptian political life events after the 2013 military coup d'état. The keyword *coup* that frequently appeared in the 2013 news reports refers to the military *coup d'état* that toppled the elected president Morsi, thus shaking the democratic principles enchanted in 2011. As suggested by the collocations of the keyword *coup* in the data, this seizure of power had both opponents (e.g., *opponents*, *oppositions*) and supporters (e.g., *advocate*, *supporters*). This news event had only Negativity and Impact as news values, since it adversely affected the image of the new democratic Egypt and divided the people into supporters and opponents.

The ousting of Mohamed Morsi, the country’s first democratically elected president, was extensively discussed in 2013 reports in all three media categories (see Table 16).

Table 16
Frequency and collocations of keyword Morsi

Media category	Frequency	Collocations
AL Arab media	42	و عزل, (“leave”), بالرحيل, (“Prosecute him”) يحاكموه (“accusing”) متهمين, (“and judge”), وأحكام (“isolate”) بمؤيدي, (“supporters”), لأنصار, (“supporters”) مؤيدي, (“supporters”) سلمية, (“peaceful”), الحملات, (“campaigns”) احتجاجاتها (“her protests”)
EL Arab media	100	Wreaking, sanctions, insulting, fearful, dictatorial, denies, broken, amassing, strongman, supported, overthrown, ousted
EL Western media	37	Suspension, suspects, stop, sparked, revealed, removal, overthrew, escaped, demonstration, criminal, ousted

While many of the corresponding collocations of *Morsi* in EL Arab and Western media (e.g., *removal*, *ousted*, *suspension*, *sanctions*, *overthrew*,) and AL Arab media (e.g., *prosecute*, *leave*, *judge*, *isolate*) construct the Negativity news value, this event was also constructed positively for Morsi’s opponents. Hence, this event was had the Impact news value.

The Egyptian army chief General Abdel Fattah al-Sisi, who led the coalition to remove the President Morsi from power, was reported and described by EL Arab media with a very biased ideology. For instance, collocations such as *saviour*, *charisma*, *challenger*, and *successor* cultivated Sisi’s image as a patriotic country saviour and spiritual successor, which never occurred in the case of the former Islamist president Mohammed Morsi. This reveals that AL Arab media sought to bias its audience’s opinions and manipulate their beliefs. Similarly, AL Arab media and EL Western media seem to be biased when they reported on the Muslim Brotherhood party (see Table 17).

Table 17
Frequency and collocations of the keyword Brotherhood

Media category	Frequency	Collocations
AL Arab media	45	فازت, (“decide”), يقررون, (“Denounce”) يندد إرهاب, (“jurists”) حقوقيون, (“ratified”) , صدقت (“won”) , ترسخ, (“condemn”) تنديد, (“jihadist”) , جهادية (“terrorism”) , (“by attack”) بالهجوم, (“detonated”) , بتفجيرها (“acquiesce”) , المسلمين, (“detainee”) المعتقل, (“crime”) بالجريمة, (“Muslims”) , إرهابية (“terrorist”) , البشعة (“hideous”) , إرهابيا (“terrorist”) ,
EL Arab media	114	Wreckage, vow, strikes, smuggling, sanctions, rioters, punishment, preventing, presses, poised, intensifies, declares, deaths, crush, crime, combats, blamed, accused
EL Western media	94	Muslim, violently, demonstrations, declaration, crimes, contested, condemnation, blaming, banned, terrorists, crime, crackdown, Zionists, violent, committed, cracked, blaming, terrorists, Brotherhood

As shown in Table 17, AL Arab and EL Western media reports frequently combined the keyword *Brotherhood* with *terrorists*, *terrorism*, *terrorist*, and *jihadist*. Accordingly, these media reports tended to construe, through the Negativity news value, the Muslim Brotherhood party as a jihadist terrorist movement. The negative perception of the Muslim Brotherhood party is not limited to terrorism, but also included allusions to violence during the protests. In all three media categories, the reports contained the terms such as *crimes*, *wreckage*, *rioters*, *strikes*, *deaths*, and so on. In summary, with regard to the “politics” topic, the 2013 news reports in all three media categories supported Sisi and opposed Morsi and his Muslim Brotherhood party.

Social protests

In the topic “social protests”, most keywords were related to violent protests in 2013. To start with the keyword *police* its frequency was high in the Arab media and low in the Western media.

Table 18
Frequency and collocations of the keyword police

Media category	Frequency	Collocations
AL Arab media	52	ومواجهات (“condemned”) وندد, (“arrested”) اعتقلت , قنابل (“practices”) , وممارسات (“confrontations”) , , انتهاكات (“dispersed”) , تفريق (“killed”) , قتلت (“bombs”) , (“assault”) , اعتداء (“incitement”) , التحريض (“violations”) , اعتقال (“arrest”) ,
EL Arab media	67	Rallied, threw, tires, sparred, soldiers, shotgun, ripped, repressive, prevent, hurled, fired, clashed, tear, riot, gas
EL Western media	13	Violently, suicide, fire, injured, arrested, attacked, prisons, detained, clashes, bombing, killed

The word *police* generally constructs the Negativity news value (Bednarek & Caple 2014, p. 8). Consistently, the collocations in the three media (e.g., *confrontations*, *bombs*, *killed*, *dispersed*, *violations*, *incitement*, *clashes*) confirm an association between police and violence. In addition, data analysis also suggests that a major group of protesters in the 2013 events was students, as suggested by the high frequency of the corresponding keyword (see Table 19).

Table 19
Frequency and collocations of the keyword *students*

Media category	Frequency	Collocations
AL Arab media	54	ينفذون (“execute”), يشاركون (“participate”), وفاة (“death”), معارضي, وأصيب (“injured”), والاعتقالات (“arrests”), كافر (“disbelief”), لانتهاكات (“violations”), رفضهم (“refusal”), باعدياءات, خرطوش (“bullet”), واعتديات (“assaults”), المداهمات (“raids”), الاعتقالات (“Violations”), واعديت, تفريق (“dispersed”), يواجهه, لا اعتقال, تظاهرة (“demonstration”), (“arrested”),
EL Arab media	30	Hurled, throwing, rocks, fire, clash, injured, arrested, demonstrations, gas, protesting, killed, security, forces

Many of student protesters were *arrested*, *assaulted*, and even *killed*, which construct the Negativity and Impact news values. More specifically, while the Negativity value is explicit in collocations that refer to various types of violence used by the police (e.g., *violations*, *death*, *throwing*, *rocks*, *fire*, *clash*, *gas*) the Impact news value is highlighted in collocations related to the outcomes of these violent clashes (e.g., *arrested*, *killed*, *dispersed*, *assaulted*, *injured*, etc.).

Violent clashes between student supporters of Morsi and the police are also highlighted through the keywords *protest* and *supporters* in EL Arab media. The corresponding collocations of these two terms (e.g., *stifling*, *rallied*, *oppression*, *lobbying* for the keyword *protest* and *mass*, *widespread*, *massive*, *gunned*, *fractures*, *carving*, *protested* for the keyword *supporters*) construct not only Negativity, but also the Superlativeness news value—particularly, through collocations such as *angry*, *massive*, *mass*, and *widespread*.

Interestingly, EL Western media news reports suggest a different story as compared to the one construed in EL Arab media. This is particularly evident from the use of collocations *police officers*, *Islamists*, and *Muslim*. Specifically, although EL Western media also reported on clashes, protests, and violence, their story content appears to be different from that in EL Arab media. The collocations found in EL Western media results suggest that there was a *suicide attack* through *bombings* and *explosions* from an *Islamist*, which resulted in *killings* and *injuries* in the protests, which constructs the Negativity news value. Moreover, it is clear that the Western media reports introduce an implicit bias by using the term *Islamist* without further investigation on the attacker.

To conclude, the year 2013 saw many interesting story contents and different news values. The event of the toppling of Morsi by Sisi led to numerous street clashes between the police and Morsi’s supporters. Major news values in the corresponding news reports, in order of their prominence in this period, were Negativity, Impact, and Superlativeness.

3.4 The Year 2014

Similarly to the previous analysed years, major topics in the news reports in the three media categories in 2014 were “politics” and “social protests”. Interestingly, however, “politics” was by far more frequent (27.76%) in EL Western media than in AL and EL Arab media (10.35% and 10/55%, respectively; see Table 20).

Table 20
Frequency distribution of topics “politics” and “social protests” (2014)

Categories	AL Arab media		EL Arab media		EL Western media	
	<i>RF</i>	%	<i>RF</i>	%	<i>RF</i>	%
Politics	73	10.35	38	10.55	55	27.76
Social protests	41	5.81	40	11.10	16	8.07

Politics category

After the violent clashes between the police and the supporters of Morsi in 2013, many protesters were arrested. Table 21 lists major keywords (e.g., court, judge, trial) that refer to trials of the arrested people. In 2014, news reports in the three media categories predominantly focused on how the protesters were sentenced to death or to the *execution* by the court.

Table 21
Frequency and collocations of keywords court, judge, and trial

Media category	Frequency	Collocations
AL Arab media	22	طعنا, (“they appealed “), لمحاكمتهم, (“To prosecute them “), بإعدامهم, (“executed “), تنفيذ, (“by executing them “), المحامون, (“the lawyers “), النشطاء, (“activists “), القضاة, (“Judiciary “), واثامات, (“accusations”), المناهضي, (“opponents “), سلاح, (“weapon “), مستأنف, (“appellant “), (“dismissed “), دعاوى, (“lawsuits “), رفضت, (“punishment “), حبس, (“imprisonment “), (“by endorsement”), (“by death”) بتأييد
EL Arab media	7	Swift, sign, presided, die, detention, death, judge, crackdown
EL Western media	7	Terrorist, guilty, exclusion, authoritarian, prosecutors, verdict, deaths, Mubarak

While news reports in the three media categories shared the same story content, AL Arab media frequently alluded to *lawyers, lawsuits, activists, accusations*, which suggests that this media resource was trying to give a chance to the protesters to not be executed through lawyers and activists’ defence. However, with frequent allusions to *terrorist, guilty, exclusion, and authoritarian*, BBC and CNN seemed to be more in support of court verdicts. As with other news reports, the media coverage of these events construed both Negativity and Positivity news values (the latter- value---to the opponents of Morsi who encouraged the death of the protesters).

Both EL Arab and Western media characterised the *Brotherhood* movement as terrorist; its frequent collocates in the corpus were negative terms (e.g., *jails, destroyed, blacklisted, banned, violence*), which were used to support court decisions on the execution of the Brotherhood supporters.

Moreover, EL Arab and Western media were obviously accusing the Muslim Brotherhood of taking part in the terrorist acts in Egypt, which clearly suggests a biased media portrayal. In addition, similarly negative collocations were associated in EL Arab and Western media with Morsi, the former president (e.g., *terrorist, stormed, spiked, overthrown, dissidents, demolished, violence, toppled, cracked, accused, ouster, jailed, etc.*). However, the tone and

vocabulary used in the Arab news reports on Sisi, the current president, were very different. On the one hand, the analysed media reports sought to present Sisi as a strong leader. To this end, various action verbs (e.g., *says, calls, presents, intends, seeks, performs*) were extensively used.

Furthermore, EL Western media construal of Mubarak in 2014 was also predominantly negative, with frequent use of violent terms such as *repression, cracked, deaths, corruption, authoritarian*, and so on, all of which suggested that Mubarak has an authoritarian regime. In fact, the EL Western media apparently tried to link the Brotherhood movement regime and Mubarak era. Accordingly, both events were constructed negatively, and both regimes were deemed to be related to violence, terrorism, and corruption.

In contrast, in AL Arab media, Sisi and the coup were evaluated more positively, as demonstrated the collocations such as (“organised “), *نظمت* (“chanted “), *هتفوا* (“two demonstrations “), *وقفتين* (“opponents “), *معارضين* (“opponents “), *معارضين* (“demonstration “), *باعتقال* (“arrested “), *بتأييد* (“support “), *وسجناء* (“prisoners “), *طلاب* (“students “), *لمظاهرة* (“protesters”).

In summary, news reports in 2014 clearly attempted to compare the political party Muslim Brotherhood with either Sisi or Mubarak, thus clearly highlighting a biased representation of Sisi’s regime.

Social protests

Two important keywords within topic “social protests” in 2014 news reports were *army* and *police*. Frequent collocations of these two key words are listed in Table 22.

Table 22
Frequency and collocations of keywords army and police

Media category	Frequency	Collocations
AL Arab media	18	(“Armed people “), <i>مسلحين</i> (“trigger “), <i>شن</i> (“triggered “), <i>تشن</i> (“injured”), <i>مصابين</i> (“bloody “), <i>دموية</i> (“uprising “), <i>إرهابي</i> , <i>قتلا</i> (“terrorist “), <i>الهجمات</i> , <i>انتفاضة</i> (“attacks “), <i>انفجار</i> (“explosion”), <i>dead</i>
EL Arab media	12	Stormed, shot, protesters, murder, guns, fleeing, fired, deadly, brigadier, angry, dead, fire, clashes, attacks, wounded, shooting, death, attack
EL Western media	7	Tear, rocks, soldiers, overthrew, gas, fired, curfew, attacks, deadly, army, attack

News reports in all three media categories shared the same story content, focusing on the *attacks* of the police/army on protesters and vice versa (see Table 22). Those attacks were very violent, and many weapons were used (e.g., *guns, gas, and rocks*), which construct the Negativity news value. Violence also led to many *injured, wounded, and dead* people, which highlights the Impact news value. Similar results were found for the keywords *killed, demonstrations, fighters, and protesters* (Table 23).

Table 23

Frequency and collocations of keywords killed, demonstrations, fighters, and protesters

Media category	Frequency	Collocations
AL Arab media	32	جرح, (“injured “) سقوط, (“fall “) , متسللا (“Crept out”) , (“Egyptians “) مصريين (“Korean “) كوريان, (“two tourists “) سائحان, (“bullets “) رصاص, (“suicide bomber “) مسلح, (“armed “) وفاة, (“death “) الانتحاري, (“attack “) إرهابيا, (“terrorist “) الهجوم, (“demonstrators “) إطلاق, (“marches “) المتظاهرين, (“shoot”) (“dispersed “) اعتقالهم, (“arrested “) وفرقت, (“coup “) تنظيم (“organisation”) للانقلاب,
EL Arab media	28	Troops, stormed, soldiers, shootings, policeman, motorbike, shooters, brigadier, bombings, assault, assailants, wounded, fighters, injured, killed, attacks
EL Western media	9	Unemployment, repression, poverty, killings, cracked, death, shot, injured, revolt

The three media categories’ results also suggest that violent attacks between the *protesters* and the *troops* and *soldiers* not only killed and injured many people, but also threatened two Korean tourists who were about to die. These results also highlight Negativity and Impact news values of these reports.

One peculiarity that emerged in the EL Western media news reports is that they additionally highlighted social issues (e.g., *unemployment*, *repression*, *poverty*) that may have led to the demonstrations. These collocations suggest that, after four revolutionary years, the people were exhausted by poverty and unemployment. These social causes are depicted as the impetus to the 2014 protests, which also constructs the Negativity news value. In summary, the 2014 reports differed from those published in previous years in highlighting the causes of social protests.

3.5 The Year 2015

Frequency distributions of the three major topics (“politics,” “social protests,” and “international relations”) that emerged in the analysis of the 2015 data are summarised in Table 24.

Table 24

Frequency distribution of topics “politics,” “social protests,” and “international relations” (2015)

Categories	AL Arab media		EL Arab media		EL Western media	
	RF	%	RF	%	RF	%
Politics	16	4.65	65	8.69	13	8.45
Social protests	10	2.9	43	5.75	17	11.05
International relations	34	9.88	34	4.54	4	2.6

As can be seen in Table 24, the three topics were relatively infrequent in the news reports in all three media categories. However, compared to AL Arab media, EL Arab Western media

reported were more concerned with the topics “politics” and “social protests. At the same time, the topic of “international relations” was somewhat more frequent in the AL Arab media reports in 2015.

Politics

Table 25 lists the collocations of the keyword *Brotherhood* that refer to different kinds of activities and sufferings that the *Brotherhood* protesters were exposed to during the protests.

Table 25
Frequency and collocations of the keyword brotherhood

Media category	Frequency	Collocations
AL Arab media	7	(“Smuggling “) وتهريب, (“promoting “) وترويج, (“imprisonment “) عذبوا, (“torture “) واعتقال, (“arresting “) بحرق, (“by burning “) جموع, (“crowds “) حبس, (“prisoners “) المسلحة, (“armed “) المعارضين, (“opponents “) الإرهابية (“terrorist”)
EL Arab media	28	Utilise, Salafi, revolutionary, prisoners, outnumbered, outlawed, ousted, missing, supporters, members

Some of these collocations (e.g., *arresting*, *torture*, *imprisonment*, *burning*, *armed*, *prisoners*, and *missing*) highlight that the protests ended in the arresting of many Brotherhood members and their supporters. Moreover, as shown in concordances (14)-(17), many of the arrested protesters were not only sentenced to many years in the jail, but also faced death penalty (e.g. “facing several trials on charges punishable, death sentence, 15-year jail sentences, and jailed”; EL of Arab media).

- (XIV)[...] Morsi and several top leaders of the **Brotherhood** are facing several trials on charges punishable [...] (*Al Jazeera* 03/12/2015)
- (XV) [...] death sentence has been ordered against Muslim **Brotherhood** leaders, including Badie. On Wednesday, a court [...] (*Al Jazeera* 03/12/2015)
- (XVI)[...] court upheld 15-year jail sentences against other **Brotherhood** leaders [...] (*Al Jazeera* 03/12/2015)
- (XVII) [...] mass trials that have left thousands of **Brotherhood** members and supporters jailed, calling them [...] (*Al Jazeera* 03/12/2015)

The collocations and concordances reviewed above construct the Negativity and Impact news values. These events were happening during Sisi’s rule. Furthermore, collocations of the keywords *Parliament* and *authorities* clearly show the tension between the Egyptian parliament and authorities and how they were “scared” by the dissolution of the parliament that still had the old members, including the Muslim Brotherhood. Eventually, the new president Sisi (described in news reports as *authoritarian* and *paranoid*) indeed dissolved the Parliament by the end of 2015 and took full control of it. Frequent verbs (e.g., *lobbied*, *cracked*, *expressed*, *decided*) used in relation to Sisi also highlight his dominating role in the new parliament.

These results construct the Negativity news value, suggesting that Egypt received another authoritarian regime with a new president. However, these events were positively perceived by Sisi’s supporters and those who opposed Morsi and his regime. At the same time, collocations of the keyword *Morsi* (e.g., *forced*, *removed*, *toppled*, and *overthrow*)) clearly suggest that Morse was forcefully removed, which constructs the Negativity news value. In summary, the news reports in 2015 highlighted the idea Egypt got a new dictatorship after celebrating democracy in 2011.

Social protests

In almost five years after the start of the Egyptian revolution, the protests were still taking place. In AL Arab media reports, the keyword “revolution” frequently collocated with “the poor,” “crowd,” “protests,” and so forth, suggesting that the poor were still struggling. Key demands of the protesters were *Aīsh* “bread,” *huriyya* “freedom,” and *‘adāla iġtimā‘iyya* “social justice” (Mittermaier, 2014). The protests remained persistently violent (e.g., “tortured,” “felonies,” “vandalism”), thus constructing the Negativity news value. Furthermore, the collocations of the keywords *police* and *security* in EL Arab and Western media highlight the amount of violence and brutality that the protesters had to face (e.g., *suspected, shoot, torture, death, arrested, death, arrested, brutality, accused, violent clashes, pressure, death, violent clashes, military, etc.*).

In summary, the 2015 news reports revealed brutality and cruelty of the Egyptian police, security guards, and, ultimately, the government.

International relations. In 2015, a new topic “international relations” emerged in the data. To start with the keyword *Ibrahim* in EL Arab and Western media, Ibrahim was an *Irish teenager* who was arrested by the Egyptian government and put in *jail* without any *trial*. The corresponding concordances also show that Ibrahim got *depressed* and went on a *hunger strike* to *pressure* the government.

Collocations of the keyword *Ibrahim* in EL Arab media were as follows: *trial, penalty, punishment, depressed, teenager, strike, prison, pressure, hunger, arrested, jailed, Irish*. Similar collocations of this keyword were found in EL Western media: e.g., *Ireland, detention, adjourned, trial*. This negative news event demonstrated that the Egyptian police used violence not only to Egyptian people but also to foreigners, which have caused a political crisis between Egypt and Ireland.

Furthermore, in 2015, AL Arab media reported a political crisis between Egypt and Israel due to gas issues. The keywords *gas* and *Israel* emerged in the data in response to the cancelation of the gas agreement between the two countries, and Egypt decided to stop *exporting* or *supplying* the gas and *electricity* to Israel. This decision *threatened* Israel, which then entered in *negotiations* with Egypt. The situation ended up with the annulment of gas export.

In contrast to the situation with Israel, another international event that was positively construed in the media concerned Ethiopia with which Egypt then signed an important agreement about the Nile River. Accordingly, the keyword *Ethiopia* collocated with positive terms (e.g., *respect, agreed, pledges, sign, deal*).

To conclude, the 2015 news reports in the three media categories share the same story content, with some inconsistencies in ideology. The Negativity news values also can be seen as Positive for another type of audience. This might also be a result of the political system, which was not fixed. Every now and then, there was a very different political system in play.

Summary and Conclusions

This study explored differences and similarities in the media coverage of the Egyptian Revolution events during the post-revolutionary period (2011-2015). The three media categories focused on Arabic and English versions of *Al Jazeera* and *Al Arabiya*, as well as English-speaking BBC and CNN. The results of applying the DNVA approach and corpus techniques of frequency distribution highlighted many similarities between AL Arab and

Western media, with low frequency in all topics, while the EL Arab media was found to have high frequencies in most themes during the five years. Furthermore, the analysis of story content also revealed that, throughout the studied period, the three media categories shared the same events and stories in the prominent topics of politics and social protests, as well as shared the same negative and violent ideology, which demonstrated by the DNVA analysis. Although most of the news values were negative, they could construct the value of Positivity to a specific target audience, as, in 201-2015, Egypt was divided between supporters and opponents of the ruling regime. Accordingly, it cannot be assumed that the events construct one news value. The results also revealed that, in 2011, Egypt succeeded in establishing a democracy with democratic and transparent elections. Soon afterwards, the division of the people started to appear, eventually culminating in violent protests with many injuries and killings. After the police and security guards interfered, the situation worsened and became a total chaos, which led to the coup d'état. Having overthrown the elected president Morsi, Sisi jailed the previous president and his party members, accusing them of terrorism. However, the results also revealed that, unlike in the Libyan case (Attia, 2022), terrorism in Egypt stemmed from within the government and the military. This eventually led to instability of the political system and social life in Egypt, with more power and abuse in the government.

Taken together, the results of the present study contribute to the current knowledge on language and media discourse. The originality of the present study lies in the innovative use of a combination of CL, CADS, and DNVA approaches to analyse a bilingual media corpus and unveil hidden biases in the media discourse on the outcomes of the 2011 Egyptian revolution during the post-revolution period (2011-2015). This method also helped us to uncover the negative and violent ideology promoted by both Arabic and English media. Further research can focus on elucidating the divergent ideological stances of the local networks after Sisi's rule to better understand the role of the government in controlling how local events are framed in local media.

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