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**Political Islam and Translation:  
Metaphors and Frames in Media Reporting  
and Islamist Rhetoric**

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## ABSTRACT

This dissertation sets out to identify, categorise and analyse the metaphors employed in discourse dealing with political Islam, using a corpus-based approach to metaphor research. It also explores what these metaphors reveal about the text producer's worldview and attempts to identify the *frames* used in this type of discourse. Furthermore, it looks briefly at issues arising from the translation of metaphors. The dissertation is limited to two languages, English and Swedish, and two registers, media reporting and Islamist rhetoric, and the metaphor analysis is based on four corpora of 50,000 words each. A cognitive approach to metaphor is broadly followed in this analysis, but concepts drawing on pragmatics, as well as Lakoff's (2002) recent research on *frames*, are also incorporated. In terms of the framing of these registers, the dissertation sets out to identify the frame used in each register through a critical analysis of speaker intention as revealed by the underlying presuppositions implicit through the choice of metaphors. In line with a cognitive approach to metaphor, a cognitive view also informs the discussion on translation issues, drawing on ideas from Mandelblit (1996) and Holm (2002).

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For Märit,  
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Thinking is the ultimate human resource.  
Yet we can never be satisfied with our most  
important skill.

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# INTRODUCTION

## Focus, Scope and Rationale

The purpose of this dissertation is threefold. First, to identify, categorise and analyse the metaphors employed in discourse dealing with political Islam. Second, to explore what these metaphors reveal about the text producer's worldview, or to use Lakoff's terminology, what *frames* are used in this type of discourse. Third, to look at some issues arising from the translation of texts containing these metaphors. The dissertation will be limited to two languages, English and Swedish, and two registers, media reporting and Islamist rhetoric.

Metaphors pose a challenge to the translator because the text producer's intentions might not be immediately obvious. For this reason, the translator of media reporting and political discourse is likely to benefit from a more formal analysis of the metaphors associated with political Islam, as this topic area is increasingly attracting attention post-September 11. Furthermore, if different sets of conceptual metaphors underlie reporting or rhetoric in source language (SL) and target language (TL), the translator's task of choosing appropriate equivalents is likely to be made easier if the underlying conceptual metaphors used in the reporting of political Islam are identified and analysed. Therefore, this dissertation will not only set out to identify and categorise these metaphors, but also identify, describe and critically analyse speaker intention and the underlying worldview implicit in the choice of metaphors in these registers.

## Approach and Methodology

A corpus-based approach will be used in the analysis of metaphor in this present work as this method provides a useful framework which facilitates the compilation of metaphors and simplifies the gathering and management of the data, in particular data on frequency.

A cognitive approach to metaphor will broadly be followed, but concepts drawn on pragmatics, as well as Lakoff's (2002) recent research on frames, will also be incorporated.

In line with this approach, the cognitive view of metaphor will also inform the discussion on translation issues, e.g. drawing on ideas from Mandelblit (1996) and Holm (2002), while a more traditional view on metaphor translation, as exemplified by Newmark (1988), will also feature in the discussion.

## **Definitions of Terms**

The term *political Islam* is intended to serve as a broad label, describing any individual, group of Muslims or set of beliefs which propagates that Islamic Law (Sharia) should be the guiding principle in the political life and administration of a country. As 'there is no separation between church and state responsibilities in any branch of Islam' (Webster's Online Dictionary 2005), this term might appear redundant. However, it is intended to serve as a contrast to *moderate Islam*, which would describe any Muslim group, person or belief system that accepts or advocates a secular government and a separation between religion and politics in Islamic societies.

The term *Islamist* has many interpretations and it is important to recognise that the Muslim world includes a wide variety of view points. This said, Western governments would generally label as 'Islamist' groups such as Al-Qaida, Hamas and Hizbollah etc., and this usage of the term is the one primarily, but not exclusively, intended in this dissertation.

No attempt is made in distinguishing between 'political Islam' and 'radical Islam' or 'militant Islam', although it should be pointed out that there are obvious differences between these terms. Many Muslims wanting to see Sharia law enforced have nothing to do with either militant political views or radical action. Also, even though the term *terrorist* features relatively frequently in this dissertation, this is by no means to imply that terrorism is inextricably linked to Islam. However, as many Islamist groups that engage in terrorist activity base their rhetoric on Islamic beliefs, it is inevitable that a study involving political Islam will include references to terrorism.

Linguistic terms in general, especially those referring to metaphors, will be defined as and when they appear in the discussion. All translations in square brackets are provided by the author.



## CHAPTER 1

In this chapter, three different views of metaphor will be explored, the classical view, the cognitive view and the pragmatic view. Furthermore, the chapter contains a brief analysis of the concept of *frames* and how this concept may serve as a link between metaphors and the text producer's world view.

### 1.1 The Classical View of Metaphor

In a classical view of metaphor, one semantic field is seen as being applied (or transferred) to another semantic field, or to use Aristotle's definition: 'Metaphor is the application to one thing of a name belonging to another thing' (1965: 61). To take a recent example, when the Home Office Minister Hazel Blears is accused of 'playing the Islamophobia card' in *The Daily Telegraph* (2 March 2005), the field of card games is applied to the field of politics, where card games would be the source field (or 'vehicle' to use Richards' (1936) terminology) and politics the target field ('tenor').

A classical view would generally see metaphors 'as a sort of happy extra trick with words' (Richards 1936: 90) and often focuses on describing or labelling the transfer taking place between the semantic fields rather than attempting to describe how metaphors actually 'work'. It could be argued, of course, that the card metaphor above achieves more than just scoring points for a lively, rather than a dull, journalistic writing style: it might, for example, prompt the reader to suspect that Ms Blears is acting out of desperation ('She's playing her last card'). However, within the classical view, there is a long history of seeing metaphor as something that essentially cannot be analysed. Reddy alludes to this attitude when he states that 'the belief that what goes on in metaphor is peripheral to an understanding of language is simply presupposition', a statement that also challenges this position (1969: 64).

It would be unfair, however, to place the blame of any perceived 'low status' of metaphor at the feet of Aristotle as he, in fact, argues that:

...but far the most important thing to master is metaphor. This is the one thing that cannot be learnt from anyone else, and it is the mark of great natural ability, for the ability to use metaphor well implies a perception of resemblances (1965: 65).

It should be added, though, that even if Aristotle praises metaphor in the loftiest of terms, he actually seeks a balance between clarity, using a style which 'consists of words in everyday use' and a style which is 'raised above the everyday level' (1965: 62-63). Not surprisingly, over the centuries the pendulum has swung between seeing metaphor as admirable on the one hand and, on the other, as unimportant. For example, during the Elizabethan era, there is great interest in the use of metaphor, with Shakespeare as a prominent master of the art. Yet, philosophers and thinkers have often tended to disparage metaphor as counter-productive to clear thinking. For example, John Locke states:

...all the artificial and figurative application of words eloquence hath invented, are for nothing else but to insinuate wrong ideas, move the passions, and thereby mislead the judgement; and so indeed are perfect cheats (1690: III, X, 34).

Summarising the classical view and its contribution to metaphor analysis, it would be fair to say that wherever there has been an appreciation of metaphor, it has primarily focused on poetry and creative aspects of language. Reddy's claim of metaphor being seen as a peripheral sphere of study was essentially correct at his time of writing, and echoes Finch's observation that within the framework of the classical view, metaphor is generally seen as 'a kind of decorative addition to language' (2000: 170).

Nonetheless, within the classical framework, much productive work has been done in categorising and labelling different types of metaphorical expressions, an aspect of metaphor analysis which may be useful to translators. Newmark, for example, provides a fairly comprehensive list of metaphor types, including labels such as 'dead metaphors', 'cliché metaphors' and 'adapted metaphors' (1988: 106-112). Newmark's categories will be expounded on and serve as a reference point for a classical view of metaphor in the discussion on the translation of metaphors in section 4.1 below.

It might, however, be important to point out that Newmark's list is by no means accepted universally. For example, Dagut argues that a metaphor is by definition 'an entirely new and unique creation' (1976: 23), and therefore what often passes as metaphor or figurative language is, in fact, polysemy and idiom. Therefore, according to Dagut's definition, the only category in Newmark's inventory of metaphor types that actually qualifies as metaphor is the 'original metaphor'. Furthermore, other approaches to categorising metaphors include discussions on concepts such as tropes and figures, as well as the differences between metonyms and synecdoche, similes, allegories and symbol. All these attempts at categorising metaphorical language do, undoubtedly, have their merits. However, for the purpose of this dissertation, Newmark's list will serve as a typical inventory of metaphor types.

## **1.2 The Cognitive View of Metaphor**

It could be argued that the cognitive approach to metaphor took its first wobbly steps with Richards' claim that, '*Thought* is metaphoric, and proceeds by comparison, and the metaphors of language derive therefrom.' (1936: 96). Furthermore, Reddy clearly laid some important foundations for a cognitive view with his thorough analysis of the conduit metaphor, first published in 1977 (1993: 164-201). However, it is really with Lakoff's and Johnson's more precise articulation of a cognitive view (1980) that a completely new approach to metaphor analysis emerges in full, one that challenges the classical view and its roots all the way back to Aristotle.

Lakoff challenges the traditional division between literal and figurative language and claims that 'metaphor is absolutely central to ordinary language' (1993: 203). Although he builds on the semantic presupposition that metaphorical expressions are examples of cross-domain mappings, he argues that these mappings are, in fact, surface realisations of cross-domain mappings in the conceptual system. In other words, Lakoff claims that metaphors are primarily based in thought, not semantics, and that this process of mapping concepts across domains is prevalent in human thought, and by extension, language.

In order to give an example of how a cognitive approach could be used to analyse and categorise metaphorical expressions, we may look at some examples taken from British

media reporting on political Islam, following September 11. Looking at the following four quotes:

- ⇒ Over the subsequent centuries *waves* of Islamic 'jihad's' *swept* through the dry semi-desert regions of West Africa (www.news.bbc.co.uk 24/9/03)
- ⇒ it has done little or nothing to *stem the tide* of Islamism *sweeping* across the country (www.news.bbc.co.uk 26/9/03)
- ⇒ I think it is difficult to imagine that these fundamentalist *currents* are going to be used against the regime but it depends on developments (www.news.bbc.co.uk 12/5/04)
- ⇒ Few believe that this is the end of the *flow* of suicide bombers from these areas (Guardian 27/11/03)

we see political Islam conceptualised in terms of flowing water. This could be made explicit in the following conceptual metaphor:

POLITICAL ISLAM IS FLOWING WATER

following the syntax

TARGET DOMAIN IS SOURCE DOMAIN.

In order to evaluate how this WATER metaphor is used, and what effect it achieves, it might be useful to look at the connotations that are commonly associated with this metaphor. If, as an experiment, we were to make up a new context for the second quote above and apply this metaphorical expression to another political movement, e.g. 'conservatism', we would get:

- ⇒ it has done little or nothing to stem the tide of *conservatism* sweeping across the country

Here, however, this sounds slightly odd, as if the writer wants to imply that an increased support for the conservatives is a sinister threat. On the other hand, if we exchange 'conservatism' for 'fascism', which produces:

⇒ it has done little or nothing to stem the tide of *fascism* sweeping across the country

we would get a more natural-sounding text. In fact, this metaphorical expression would suit the context even more appropriately if we exchanged 'fascism' for 'violence', which would produce:

⇒ it has done little or nothing to stem the tide of *violence* sweeping across the country

This experiment confirms that the connotations ordinarily linked to this WATER metaphor are those of threat and sinister occurrences. From this observation, it might be more accurate to state that the conceptual metaphor underlying the four quotes above reads more along the lines of:

POLITICAL ISLAM IS A RELENTLESS/TREATENING FLOW OF WATER

where we perceive flowing water as something dangerous, something which we might not be able to control or stop — a concept possibly rooted in the tidal waves of the Thames being a potential threat to London.

In terms of systematising metaphors within a cognitive framework, subcategories of the type Newmark suggests (1988: 106-112) are less important since metaphors are, by definition, cross-domain mappings in the conceptual system and might therefore produce original metaphors as well as include dead or fossilised ones. For example, the conceptual metaphor COUNTRIES ARE BUSINESS produces both dead metaphors such as

⇒ That's why America, which has preserved the religious imagination it *imported* from Europe (Guardian 6/3/03)

and more recent ones like:

⇒ the White House's unofficial *brand manager* (Guardian 14/3/05)

However, Lakoff and Johnson offer the following sub-categories:

1. *structural metaphors* (1980: 14). This category describes mappings across different conceptual domains of the type POLITICAL ISLAM IS AN ILLNESS, producing metaphorical expressions like 'to preach...*inflammatory* sermons'. (Daily Mail 4/2/03)
2. *orientational metaphors* (1980: 14). This category includes orientational mappings of the type UP IS MORE, producing metaphorical expressions like 'relentless *rise* of Islamist politics'. (www.news.bbc.co.uk 26/9/03)
3. *ontological metaphors* (1980: 25). These are conceptual mappings based on experience, e.g. entities, substances and containers, of the type POLITICAL CONTROL IS A CONTAINER, producing metaphorical expressions like 'has long kept a *tight lid* on Islamists'. (www.news.bbc.co.uk 12/5/04)

It is also important to notice that within a cognitive framework, the actual utterances are generally referred to as *metaphorical expressions* (e.g. 'stem *the tide* of Islamism') all realising the underlying *metaphor* or *conceptual metaphor* (e.g. POLITICAL ISLAM IS A RELENTLESS/THREATENING FLOW OF WATER), which, in turn, is based on a *source domain* (e.g. WATER) being applied to a *target domain* (e.g. POLITICAL ISLAM).

As Lakoff points out, the presuppositions underlying a conceptual approach to metaphor are supported by the systematic mappings from a source domain to a target domain that may be discovered through metaphor research, including the possibility of understanding novel extensions drawing on conventional conceptual correspondences (1993: 210). This makes a conceptual approach to metaphor eminently suited to corpus-based research since metaphorical expressions found in a corpus may be categorised according to source domain and data can be presented by simply counting tokens drawn from different conceptual metaphors.

Comparing a classical and a cognitive view of metaphor, it would appear that a cognitive view offers a more consistent and systematic framework to metaphor research as well as a more straightforward approach when discussing different types of metaphors. The approach to the research conducted for this dissertation will therefore broadly be based

on a conceptual view of metaphor, and the labels and conventions used within a conceptual framework will be adhered to, including the capitalisation of conceptual metaphors and source domains.

### 1.3 The Pragmatic View of Metaphor

Returning to the critical statement concerning Home Office Minister Hazel Blears at the beginning of section 1.1, it might be true to say that a cognitive approach might help in analysing her statement by referring to an underlying conceptual metaphor as being POLITICS IS A GAME. However, in terms of providing an understanding of how metaphors actually work, and how they achieve their effect, it is probably necessary to look at the context of an utterance containing metaphorical expressions as well as how the utterance might be received by the hearer. In other words, metaphor also concerns the area of *pragmatics* (see for example Charteris-Black 2004: 10).

Using a very broad definition of pragmatics, we might simply say that pragmatics is the study of language use, which might suffice considering the scope of this dissertation. Also, pragmatics is, as Levinson claims, very difficult to define (1983: 5) and it might not be particularly productive to outline a number of different definitions. However, by looking at one of the possible definitions Levinson puts forward, a slightly clearer concept emerges, and one that might provide a slightly more specific framework for the discussion in this dissertation:

Pragmatics is the study of deixis (at least in part), implicature, presuppositions, speech acts, and aspects of discourse structure (1983: 27).

Within pragmatics, metaphor is traditionally seen as exploiting Grice's maxims (especially of quality and relevance). For example, if a person opens a Sunday paper and reads:

There is a new plague on the streets of London, the pathological virus of the cult of suicide bombing. (Observer 7/8/05)

he or she will seek to re-interpret 'new plague' in a way that fits the context, following Grice's co-operative principle — as Grice's maxim of relevance seems to have been

flouted. However, as Levinson points out, this would not give a full account of how metaphors are recognised and interpreted, and he argues that interpretation must also 'rely on features of our general ability to reason analogically' (1983: 161), a notion that is closely reminiscent of Lakoff's cross-domain mappings in the conceptual field.

Charteris-Black might offer a useful viewpoint here, one that could provide an alternative way forward and a clearer focus on the intentions of the text producer of metaphors. Charteris-Black goes full circle back to Aristotle and places metaphor firmly where it began, namely within rhetoric, thus pointing out that the role of metaphor is one of persuading an audience of a particular point of view. What he then terms a *critical* analysis of metaphor is simply identifying the speaker's intention and the underlying propositions (2004: 11).

If we take Charteris-Black's critical metaphor analysis as a given, a cognitive approach to metaphor analysis is likely to be a tool well suited to pinpoint underlying propositions. The reason for this is that analysis of conceptual metaphors is likely to reveal, at least partly, speaker intention, as these metaphors are rooted in the conceptual system. Furthermore, when Charteris-Black claims that a speaker invites a listener to 'engage in an interpretive act' (2004: 12) when using metaphor, he links his view of pragmatics with the notion that using metaphor bypasses literal statements and gives direct access to 'an accepted communal system of values' (2004: 12), including a listener's feelings and attitudes.

Let us once again return to the accusation that Hazel Blears is 'playing the Islamophobia card' with a fresh eye (see section 1.1). If this statement is analysed from a view of pragmatics as outlined by Charteris-Black, we could probably read more into the accusation than just criticism that she is about to tap into a latent anti-Islamic feeling among the general public in order to achieve her own political ends. Instead, the writer could be seen as tapping into a *generally held notion* among the readership that politics is only a game, thus inviting the reader to accept this view, including an attitude of disapproval, maybe even contempt, towards politicians in general, and Hazel Blears in particular.



As this dissertation concerns two registers, media reporting and Islamist rhetoric, one of which is assumed to be neutral and objective and one which is purposefully aimed at persuasion, a critical metaphor analysis, using the viewpoint as outlined by Charteris-Black (2004), is likely to provide a framework that is well suited to this type of analysis.

#### **1.4 Framing: Taking a Cognitive and a Pragmatic View One Step Further**

Charteris-Black defines the pragmatic aspect of metaphor as the hearer being involved in an interpretive act where he or she tries to 'overcome the tension between what is said and what is meant' (2004: 12) and emphasises the role of metaphor as 'a fundamentally persuasive discourse act' (2004: 13). Combining this view of pragmatics with a cognitive approach to metaphor, Charteris-Black looks to the conceptual metaphors found in a text or register to provide him with the data he needs for his critical analysis, with the aim of determining speaker intention. It is, however, interesting to note that he also makes use of concepts such as 'lexical chains', 'domains' or 'fields' (2004: 57, 59, 63). For example, he compares data on conceptual metaphors such as CONFLICT and RELIGION with an 'ethical chain' containing words like: *justice, right, value, equal, commitment* etc. (2004: 59), and discusses how these two elements produce a political discourse where religion and ethics are intermingled. His analysis is that speaker intention might be to shift ethical discourse away from the domain of the sacred to the secular domain (2004: 63).

Charteris-Black's methodology shows similarities with Lakoff's recent focus on *framing* in political discourse. What Lakoff means by this term is that an extended metaphor functions like a matrix or conceptual framework which provides a constant source of reference for a particular kind of discourse. For example, Lakoff claims that a 'Strict Father model' of the family (2002: 33) provides the conceptual context, or *frame*, for much of conservative discourse in the US, foregrounding concepts such as self-reliance, character and self-discipline, which would then account for conservative values like minimal government interference, supporting the death penalty and holding a pro-life stance on abortion.

If we were to apply Charteris-Black's lexical chains and Lakoff's frames to the analysis in the present study, this might improve the quality of the analysis of speaker intention and the presuppositions underlying the discourse types. If WAR, for example, is a major conceptual metaphor in the media reporting analysed in this dissertation, the implication might be that political Islam is framed, conceptually, within an extended WAR metaphor by the Western media. However, if we were to add an analysis of a lexical chain belonging to the domain of CRIME, the picture might change. This is a significant issue as terrorism is, indeed, a crime, and therefore unlikely to feature as a metaphor in Western media reporting. Yet, the CRIME theme might be more prevalent than metaphorical expressions drawing on the WAR domain, indicating that political Islam is fundamentally framed within the domain of CRIME. In other words, if we are to determine speaker intention and presuppositions, lexical chains and the identification of frames are likely to complement an analysis of conceptual metaphors and provide a more balanced picture overall.

In view of the fact that the stated purpose of this study includes determining speaker intention and analysing the presuppositions and worldview underlying the discourse, it would therefore seem that the concepts of frames and lexical chains are useful tools to help achieve this aim. Accordingly, an analysis of lexical chains and frames will be included in the dissertation and dealt with in Chapter 3.

## CHAPTER 2

The primary aim of this chapter is to analyse the inventory of metaphors present in the four corpora compiled for the purpose of this study in an attempt to establish if there are any discernable patterns. The two registers will first be looked at individually, and then compared and contrasted. The chapter will begin with some background information and end with a brief summary of the findings.

### 2.1 Metaphor Analysis and Corpus Research

Using a corpus-based approach to metaphor research offers two distinct advantages. First, once assembled, a corpus is well suited to collect, categorise and analyse data since both register and size may be carefully controlled. Second, given that the corpus is sufficiently large, frequency comparisons may be made with larger corpora like the British National Corpus (BNC). Both these aspects make it easier to make claims that are relatively well supported, which adds a sense of rigour to a field of study that otherwise might seem to be based on subjectivity to a large degree.

There are, however, difficulties involved. First, there is no automatic method available to help distinguish between a metaphorical and literal use of a particular search term. This means that corpus-based research on metaphor can be very tedious. For example, in the English corpus on media reporting used in this dissertation, a word such as 'attack' is used both metaphorically and in a literal sense. This means that when the data show that there are seven tokens of 'attack' in this corpus, a researcher will, in fact, have looked at each of the 166 occurrences of attack/attacks/attacked etc. in the corpus to determine which ones are used metaphorically and which ones are not, e.g. rejecting 'Osama bin Laden, mastermind of the *attack* on the Twin Towers in New York' (DM 11/9/04) while accepting 'The ferocity of recent *attacks* on Muslims and Islam in the mainstream British media' (Gd 5/8/04). Second, when comparing two or more languages, it might be difficult to find exactly matching registers or text types in the languages concerned. For example, while it is relatively easy to find Islamist websites in English, similar sites in Swedish are more difficult to find.

This said, the advantages far outweigh the disadvantages and a corpus analysis is a highly useful tool when applied to metaphor research, yielding significant insight into the use of metaphors in different registers.

## **2.2 Corpora Used in This Study**

For the analysis of the two registers and the two languages selected for this dissertation, four corpora were assembled, each containing approximately 50,000 words. Although all source texts — except for a few texts included in the Swedish Islamist corpus — are dated after September 11, 2001, the emphasis is on texts dated from 2003 and onwards. The reason that texts dating from before September 11, 2001, are included in the Swedish Islamist corpus is that source texts in this register are much more difficult to find online, which, in turn, is partly due to the fact that Swedish is a less well-known European language and partly due to the fact the Swedish authorities seem more vigilant in closing down any website that could be termed 'Islamist'. Furthermore, one source for the Swedish Islamist corpus, the Radio Islam website, contains a lot of material from the Algerian Islamist movement, material which often pre-dates Sept 11, 2001.

To ensure consistency in terms of content for the corpora based on news media, all British and Swedish media texts were selected by using the search terms: 'political Islam' and 'Islamist'. As the online articles available in Swedish are generally a shortened version of the printed version (as can be noticed when comparing the number of articles included in each corpus), a wider variety of search words were needed in Swedish in order to locate enough articles dealing with political Islam. These additional search terms included: 'Al-Qaida' and 'terrorism'. The text types used in the corpora for media reporting primarily consist of news reporting, with some editorials and reviews also included.

Articles selected from Islamist websites in both English and Swedish would primarily fall under the headings of debate, discussion and propaganda. However, some news reporting from an Islamic/Islamist view point is also included. It should be noted that a substantial section of texts included in the Swedish Islamist corpus comes from

discussion forums frequented by Swedish Muslims. This, again, is due to the difficulties involved in locating Islamist rhetoric in Swedish. Although the English corpus with Islamist rhetoric does not include this particular text type, it might be argued that entries made at discussion forums still broadly fall within the category of 'rhetoric'.

A detailed outline of source texts used in the four corpora can be found in Tables 1-4 (the online version of the print media listed has been used throughout).

**Table 1** Corpus of British Media Reporting

<b>EngMedia 1: Source Texts</b>	<b>Articles</b>	<b>Words</b>
BBC News (BBC)	14	10,234
The Guardian (Gd)	10	10,159
The Daily Mail (DM)	17	10,064
The Daily Telegraph (DT)	14	9,966
The Economist (Ec)	10	10,517
<b>Total</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>50,940</b>

**Table 2** Corpus of Swedish Media Reporting

<b>SwedeMedia 1: Source Texts</b>	<b>Articles</b>	<b>Words</b>
Svenska Dagbladet (SvD)	22	10,128
Dagens Nyheter (DN)	16	10,005
Sveriges Radio (SR)	20	10,157
Sydsvenska Dagbladet (SyD)	19	5,264
Expressen (Ex)	18	7,561
Aftonbladet (Af)	17	7,626
<b>Total</b>	<b>112</b>	<b>50,741</b>

**Table 3** Corpus of Islamist Rhetoric in English

<b>EngRhetoric 1: Source Texts</b>	<b>Articles</b>	<b>Words</b>
www.shareeah.org (Finsbury Park Mosque)	11	10,364
www.tanzeem.org (Islamist/Pakistan)	10	10,077
www.islamicawakening.com (Salafyist/Jihadist)	11	10,237
www.palestine-info.net ( Hamas)	10	5,090
www.jihadunspun.net (Al-Qaida/Jihadist)	15	15,113
<b>Total</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>50,881</b>

**Table 4** Corpus of Islamist Rhetoric in Swedish

<b>SwedeRhetoric 1: Source Texts</b>	<b>Articles</b>	<b>Words</b>
www.sindbad.se (Islamic Discussion Forum)	7	12,663
www.fajaf.com/lokalt/jihad.html (Jihad Manual)	1	3,138
www.radioislam.org (Islamist/Algerian)	9	12,558
www.islamiska.org (Islam and Society)	7	5,159
www.palestinagrupperna.a.se (Palestinian)	3	2,492
www.darulhadith.com (Wahabi/Saudi)	6	7,023
www.muslimer.se/forum (Islamic Discussion Forum)	4	5,590
http://rami.tv/sv/biog.htm (Ahmed Rami)	2	1,923
<b>Total</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>50,546</b>

The number of source domains identified in each corpus was found to be very stable across the four corpora. The number ranges from 31 to 34, with Islamist rhetoric showing the higher number of source domains in both languages (see Table 5). Taken together with the fact that there was a higher number of tokens in the texts taken from Islamist rhetoric, this could be an indication that rhetoric contains a higher proportion of metaphorical expressions compared with media reporting. However, the difference is not significant enough warrant any claims, even though one could take note of the fact that these differences occur both languages.

The overview also shows that there seems to be a fairly large core of domains common to all four corpora (Table 5). For example, even though the average number of source domains is above 30 for each corpus, there is only a total of 47 source domains overall.

A third observation that is noteworthy is the fact that there seems to be a small number of key domains unique to each of the four corpora. For example, if the three domains with the largest number of tokens are added together, these tokens account for an average of about 44 percent of all tokens in each corpus. In fact, taking the four corpora as one unit, the top three domains overall still account for 38 percent of all tokens.

This last observation is a strong indication that there are, indeed, metaphors that can be linked specifically both to the registers and languages analysed in this dissertation. It also supports Lakoff's notion that metaphors are not used arbitrarily, but draw on shared cognitive categories. Furthermore, if we take Charteris-Black's view that metaphors may give us insight into a speaker's intentions and presuppositions, the data obtained in this corpus-based research should yield fairly specific and well-supported conclusions.

**Table 5** Overview of Source Domains and Tokens

	EngMedia 1	EngRhetoric 1	SwedeMedia 1	SwedeRhetoric 1	Overall
Total number of source domains	31	34	31	34	47
Total number of tokens	460	628	461	552	2,101
Sum of tokens in top three domains	212	264	224	218	789*
Ratio of top three tokens to total number of tokens (expressed in %)	47%	42%	49%	39%	38%

\* For details, see Appendix C

### 2.3 Corpora of Media Reporting

When comparing the English and Swedish corpora for media reporting, it immediately becomes obvious that these mirror each other closely, both in terms of source domains used and number of tokens found. The four most prominent source domains in the two corpora are: NETWORK, WAR, BUSINESS and RELIGION. Table 6 shows the top three source domains in each corpus, with the top two domains being the same in both languages.

**Table 6** Top Three Source Domains: Media Reporting

EngMedia 1		SwedeMedia 1	
Source Domain	Tokens	Source Domain	Tokens
NETWORK	89	NÄTVERK [network]	96
WAR	86	KRIG [war]	86
BUSINESS	37	RELIGION [religion]	42
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>212</b>		<b>224</b>

With respect to the metaphorical expressions used, there is also a great similarity between the languages. When, for example, EngMedia 1 contains metaphors based on the NETWORK source domain, such as:

⇒ al-Qaida was less a military base of operations than a database that *connected* jihadists around the world via the internet (Gd 11/12/04)

- ⇒ a Muslim cleric with suspected *links* to al-Qaeda (Ec 18/10/02)
- ⇒ Hambali is the operations chief of JI, a *tight-knit* group committed to creating a pan-Islamic state in South-East Asia (DT 27/10/02)
- ⇒ exists as a web incorporating scattered groups of militants, separated by geography, *connected* only by radical ideology (DT 1/2/05)
- ⇒ the CIA depicted al-Qaeda as a ruthless *network* reaching into 50 countries (Ec 5/9/02)

SwedeMedia 1 echoes these by using very similar metaphorical expressions:

- ⇒ en mycket allvarlig och välplanerad aktion av militanta islamister med *kopplingar* utanför landet [a very serious and well-planned action by militant Islamists with *connections* outside the country] (SvD 15/6/05)
- ⇒ Sympatisörer till terrornätverket al-Qaida kommer att välkomnas som medlemmar, heter det. [Sympathisers of the terror *network* Al-Qaida will be welcomed as members, it is claimed.] (DN 8/9/02)
- ⇒ Gruppen anses ha *kontakter* till islamistiska *nätverk* i Belgien och Spanien [It is thought that the group has *contacts* with Islamist *networks* in Belgium and Spain] (SR 14/11/04)
- ⇒ militanta islamister i gruppen Jemaah Islamiyah med *förbindelser* till al-Qaida [militant Islamists in the group Jemaah Islamiyah with links to Al-Qaida] (SR 9/9/04)
- ⇒ Gärningsmannen som enligt inrikesminister Johan Remkes har *band* till radikala islamister avlossade flera skott mot van Gogh. [The perpetrator who, according to the Minister of the Interior, Johan Remkes, has *links* — lit. *bonds* — to radical Islamists, shot van Gogh several times.] (SvD 4/11/04)

Similarly, when EngMedia 1 says that the US is 'inadvertently turning itself into al-Qaida's most effective *recruiting agency*' (Gd 11/12/04), SwedeMedia 1 echoes this metaphorical expression based on the BUSINESS domain with, 'Sedan återvänder de mer motiverade till sina hemländer och *rekryterar* nya *presumtiva* terrorister.' [Then they return to their countries more motivated and *recruit* new *potential* terrorists. — N.B. 'presumtiva' is a common Swedish collocate to 'kunder', i.e. customers.] (Af 20/4/05) Furthermore, when EngMedia 1 says that 'the arrival during the war of hundreds of often *fanatical* foreign



Islamic fighters, known as the mujahideen, was a *mixed blessing*' (BBC 12/9/03), SwedeMedia 1 echoes these metaphorical expressions drawing on the RELIGION domain when saying, 'Men bin Ladins *bannbulla* drabbar också Egypten och flertalet andra arabregimer i egenskap av *avfällingar* från, och förrädare av, islam.' [But bin Laden's *bull of excommunication* is also affecting Egypt and other Arab regimes as *apostates* from, and traitors of, Islam.] (DN 7/9/02)

However, some differences across the two languages may be noted as well, both in terms of type and variety of the metaphorical expressions used. For example, while the Swedish corpus shows a wider variety of metaphorical expressions drawing on RELIGION as a source domain, the English corpus shows a wider variety when drawing on the WAR domain. The use of Swedish expressions like: *kättare* [heretic], *villfarelse* [heresy], *avfällingar* [apostates], *apokalyptisk* [apocalyptic] and *väckelse* [revival] suggest that Swedish has a well established tradition of drawing on a wide variety of religious metaphorical expressions. English seems to draw on a narrower set of metaphorical expressions here and also seems to depend more on formulaic expressions such as, *Islamic flag flying* and *preaching to the converted*. On the other hand, English frequently seems to draw on metaphorical expressions linked to military rank, using expressions like, *third-in-command*, *operations chief*, *top general* and *tenth most senior figure*, thus alluding to Al-Qaida as an army. These expressions are completely absent from the Swedish corpus.

In Table 7, a complete list of the metaphorical expressions taken from the top three source domains in each corpus is presented, along with the number of tokens, showing clearly similarities and differences between the two corpora.

**Table 7 Metaphorical Expressions in Top Three Source Domains: Media Reporting**

EngMedia 1			SwedeMedia 1		
Source Domain	Metaphorical Expression		Source Domain	Metaphorical Expression	
NETWORK	links	50	NÄTVERK [network]	nätverk [network]	51
	network	28		kopplingar [connections]	18
	connected	6		kontakter [contacts]	10
	contacts	2		band [bonds]	8
	web	1		förbindelser [connections]	4
	tight-knit group	1		förgreningar	2

				[offshoots]	
	axis of evil	1		ondskans axel [axis of evil]	2
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>89</b>		anknuten [attached]	1
				<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>96</b>
<b>WAR</b>	threat	27	<b>KRIG [war]</b>	hot [threat]	28
	clash	8		krig mot terrorism [war on terrorism]	11
	attack	7		kamp mot terrorism [fight against terrorism]	10
	camps	5		fäste [stronghold]	8
	combat	4		fiender [enemies]	8
	conquer	4		krigare [warriors]	5
	war on terror	4		försvara sig [defend oneself]	3
	campaign	4		krig [war]	3
	enemy	4		attack [attack]	2
	siege	2		hotbild [perception of threat]	2
	third-in-command	2		strid [battle]	2
	operations chief	2		kamp [fight]	2
	strongholds	2		ta över [take over]	1
	war on terrorism	2		fiendebild [preception of the enemy]	1
	fight against terrorism	2		<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>86</b>
	top general	1			
	rallying cry	1			
	second day of Infamy	1			
	hit squad	1			
	adversary	1			
	tenth most senior figure	1			
	destruction	1			
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>86</b>			
<b>BUSINESS</b>	recruit	11	<b>RELIGION [religion]</b>	heligt krig [holy war]	11
	brand	7		kättare [heretics]	5
	agenda	7		fanatisk [fanatical]	5
	compete	3		korståg [crusade]	4
	invest	2		offra sig [sacrifice oneself]	2
	import	2		apokalyptisk konfrontation [apocalyptic confrontation]	2

	marketers	1		väckelse [revival]	2
	rebranding	1		missionerande grupper [evangelising groups]	1
	brand manager	1		religiöst färgad [with a religious tint]	1
	branding campaign	1		bannbulla [bull of excommunication]	1
	business	1		falla i frestelse [yield to temptation]	1
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>37</b>		gudskrigare [warriors of God]	1
				islamistkrigare [warriors of Islam]	1
				villfarelse [heresy]	1
				andlig fiende [spiritual enemy]	1
				kristen fiende [Christian enemy]	1
				avfallingar [apostate]	1
				kampen mot det onda [the fight against evil]	1
				<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>42</b>

With respect to major source domains, a brief comparison with Charteris-Black's corpus research on metaphors used in another sub-register of political discourse, namely British party political manifestos, shows several similarities, but also some significant differences. In the political manifestos, the five major source domains are: CONFLICT, BUILDINGS, PLANTS, JOURNEYS and RELIGION (2004: 81-82), all also ranking in the top half of the domain tables in both EngMedia 1 and SwedeMedia 1 (except for the JOURNEYS domain in SwedeMedia 1 – see Table 8). However, two significant differences are that neither the NETWORK domain, nor the BUSINESS domain – both ranking highly in EngMedia 1 and SwedeMedia 1 – feature among Charteris-Black's top five domains.

A similar comparison with Musolff's corpus EUROMETA 1, based on news reporting on the EU in English and German and consisting of 388,600 words (2004: 12), produces similar findings. It should be noted, however, that an ECONOMY-BUSINESS domain is included in his study. Again, the most notable difference is the prominence of the

NETWORK metaphor in EngMedia 1 and SwedeMedia 1, not featuring at all in Musolff's study. It seems from these two comparisons that the high ranking of the NETWORK metaphor is unique to media reporting on political Islam.

To provide further context for the prominence of the NETWORK metaphor in EngMedia 1 and SwedeMedia 1, a comparison in frequency (i.e. tokens per million words in the corpus) with a larger general corpus might provide some additional insight (for details on the following calculations, see Appendix D). If a search on the terms 'links' and 'network' is done in the British National Corpus (BNC), restricting the search to the sub-register of NEWS (10,638,034 words), this produces frequency readings of 47.94 and 49.63 per million words respectively. This compares to a frequency of 981.55 per million words for 'links' and 549.67 per million words for 'network' in EngMedia 1, readings between ten and twenty times that of the BNC. In this context, it should also be added that the BNC frequency readings do not differentiate between a literal and metaphorical use of 'network' or 'links', which means that tokens like 'computer networks' or 'web links' are also included in the BNC frequency readings. In other words, the frequency readings from the BNC would be on the high side.

A similar search for the Swedish terms 'kopplingar' [links] and 'nätverk' [network], using Språkbanken's Svenska Dagbladet corpus from the year 2000 (13,131,043 words), produces frequency readings of 6.32 per million words and 52.17 per million words respectively, compared to 354.75 per million words for 'kopplingar' [links] and 1,005.12 per million words for 'nätverk' [network] in SwedeMedia 1, results that are between twenty and fifty times higher than those from the Svenska Dagbladet corpus. This comparison with two major online corpora affirms the observation made above that the prevalence of the NETWORK metaphor in EngMedia 1 and SwedeMedia 1 seems to be unique to this register.

It might also be useful to determine what aspects of a network the metaphorical expressions in EngMedia 1 and SwedeMedia 1 draw on. For example, in his analysis, Charteris-Black differentiates between 'positive connotations of "framework"' and 'negative connotations of "barrier"' (2004: 72). In a similar way, the NETWORK metaphor can produce metaphorical expressions with both positive and negative connotations. For example, 'networking' at a conference is often seen as a positive

concept, since an exchange of ideas between participants can facilitate exposure to a variety of view points as well as recent trends.

However, a quick look at the ten examples on pages 22-23 presents a different picture. These metaphorical expressions all seem to draw on the notion that a network involves secret or hidden relationships, reminiscent of the type of illicit associations a prosecutor might seek to expose in a court of law. Thus the NETWORK metaphor seems to be used exclusively with negative connotations in EngMedia 1 and SwedeMedia 1.

As a result of this observation, it might be more accurate to label this source domain a HIDDEN/SECRET NETWORK, with clear clandestine associations. Furthermore, the decentralised nature of a network could link in with this notion of secrecy in that the size of the network is also difficult to gauge or determine. A conceptual metaphor covering the ten quotes above might therefore read something like:

POLITICAL ISLAM IS A SECRET AND SHAPELESS NETWORK.

Table 8 gives an overview of all the source domains found in EngMedia 1 and SwedeMedia 1, including the number of tokens found in the corpora.

**Table 8** All Source Domains: Media Reporting

EngMedia 1		SwedeMedia 1	
Source Domain	Tokens	Source Domain	Tokens
NETWORK	89	NÄTVERK [network]	96
WAR	86	KRIG [war]	86
BUSINESS	37	RELIGION [religion]	42
RELIGION	26	FÖRETAG [business]	26
LANDSCAPE/SURFACE	23	BYGGNAD/STRUKTUR [building]	25
PLANTS	21	KRAFTMÄTNING [trial of strength]	22
UPWARD MOVEMENT/ EXPANSION	20	KROPPSSTÄLLNING [body posture]	18
JOURNEY	19	DJUR [animals]	16
DEVELOPMENT	17	MÄNNISKA/ MÄNNISKOKROPPEN [human being/human body]	14
HUMAN BEING/HUMAN BODY	16	VÄXTER [plants]	14
HEAT/FIRE	14	VATTEN [water]	11

BUILDING/STRUCTURE	12	SJUKDOM [illness]	12
ILLNESS	10	SKÅDESPEL [acting]	12
WATER	10	LANDSKAP/YTA [landscape/surface]	10
LABELS	10	SPEL [games]	8
FAMILY	9	LJUD [sound]	6
ACTING	7	RESA [journey]	5
BODY POSTURE	6	APPARATER [devices]	5
STORIES	5	MATERIA [matter]	3
GAMES	4	SÖMN/STÄNGDA ÖGON [sleep/eyes closed]	4
SLEEP/EYES CLOSED	3	FAMILJ [family]	4
SOUND	3	SYRA [acidity]	4
ANIMALS	2	POLITIK [politics]	3
MATTER	2	HETTA/ELD [heat/fire]	2
DEVICES/PCs	2	EXPLOSION [explosion]	2
FOOD	2	ETIKETT [label]	2
POLITICS	1	FARTYG [ship]	2
WEATHER	1	KRIMINALITET [crime]	2
STUDY	1	MUSIK [music]	2
KIDS' STORIES	1	ELECTRICITET [electricity]	2
CHEMISTRY	1	KEMI [chemistry]	1
<b>TOTAL TOKENS</b>	<b>460</b>		<b>461</b>

The metaphors in Table 8 have a fairly similar distribution across the two languages. Two significant differences between English and Swedish may be noted, however. English uses the EXPANSION/UPWARD MOVEMENT' (20 tokens) metaphor, which is not found in SwedeMedia 1 at all, while Swedish uses the KRAFTMÄTNING [trial of strength] metaphor (22 tokens), not appearing in the English corpus. Similarly, the metaphor RELIGION IS DEVELOPMENT' (17 tokens), found in EngMedia 1, is completely absent from SwedeMedia 1. This mismatch of domains between languages raises the issue of translation strategies utilised when the source domain is completely missing in the TL. However, this will be analysed in more detail in Chapter 4 below.

Looking at the list of metaphors in Table 8, it may be argued that a link can be established between some of these metaphors and the NETWORK metaphor, namely linking the concept of a network as being 'invisible or difficult to gauge' with the idea of an 'unstoppable threat'. Many of the metaphorical expressions drawing on the PLANTS, EXPANSION/KRAFTMÄTNING [trial of strength], HEAT' and WATER metaphors hint at an underlying sentiment of an uncontrollable or unstoppable threat. Below are a

few sample expressions highlighting these connotations, though some of the Swedish expressions might be more understated than the English ones:

#### POLITICAL ISLAM IS A PLANT

POLITISK ISLAM ÄR EN VÄXT [political Islam is a plant]

- ⇒ the currently sporadic attacks in the Shia-dominated south can be expected to *mushroom*. (Gd 13/10/03)
- ⇒ I över 20 år har missionerande grupper sökt *plantera* en militant, våldsam tolkning av islam [For over 20 years, mission-minded groups have sought to *plant* a militant violent interpretation of Islam] (SvD 15/6/05)

#### POLITICAL ISLAM IS EXPANSION

POLITISK ISLAM ÄR EN KRAFTMÄTNING [political Islam is a trial of strength]

- ⇒ Suharto, who kept a *tight lid* on militant and political Islam (DM 28/10/02)
- ⇒ Samma mönster går igen i Libanon där Hizbollah har *spänt sina politiska biceps* under våren. [The same pattern can be found in Lebanon, where Hizbollah has *flexed its political biceps* during the spring.] (Ex 27/5/05)

#### POLITICAL ISLAM IS HEAT/EXPLOSION

POLITISK ISLAM ÄR HETTA/EXPLOSION [political Islam is heat/explosion]

- ⇒ Islam in Nigeria: *Simmering* tensions (BBC 24/9/03)
- ⇒ Landet är en *krutdurk* som bara väntar på att explodera [The country is a *powder keg* that is just waiting to explode] (Af 1/5/05)

#### POLITICAL ISLAM IS WATER

POLITISK ISLAM ÄR VATTEN [political Islam is water]

- ⇒ it has done little or nothing to stem *the tide* of Islamism sweeping across the country (BBC 26/11/03)

⇒ Efter en våldsvåg i mitten av 90-talet har Egypten de senaste åren varit förskonat från terrordåd riktade mot turister. [After a *wave* of violence in the middle of the 90s, Egypt has been spared terror attacks aimed at tourists.] (Af 10/5/05)

In summary, it might be possible to link the conceptual metaphors mentioned in this section. A useful concept here is the *conceptual key*, defined by Charteris-Black as 'a statement that resolves the semantic tension of a set of conceptual metaphors by showing them to be related' (2004: 22). Such a conceptual key might read something like:

POLITICAL ISLAM IS A SECRET AND SHAPELESS NETWORK THAT IS EXPANDING AND A THREAT TO THE WEST

Here, the NETWORK metaphor seems to correspond to, or tap into, a feeling of anxiety about the imprecise nature of a growing threat, which could explain why this metaphor is being drawn upon so very frequently in this particular register.

## 2.4 Corpora of Islamist Rhetoric

Looking at the top three source domains in the corpora of Islamist rhetoric, we do not find the same kind of similarities evident in media reporting. In Table 9, it may be noted that only one domain occurs in both corpora, namely WAR.

*Table 9* Top Three Source Domains: Islamist Rhetoric

EngRhetoric 1		SwedeRhetoric 1	
Source Domain	Tokens	Source Domain	Tokens
RELIGION	114	KRIG [war]	110
WAR	96	FAMILJ [family]	64
LACK OF MANHOOD	54	RESA [journey]	44
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>264</b>		<b>218</b>

That Islamist rhetoric often refers to Islamist attacks on Western and American interests within a framework of war is evident from EngRhetoric 1. For example, the following quote, purportedly from Osama bin Laden:



⇒ Then came the New York *military expedition* to set afire the homes of today's Habul crushing its towers... (www.jihadunspun.net)

clearly defines the September 11 attack as a war effort. And in terms of WAR as a source domain, data from EngRhetoric 1 and SwedeRhetoric 1 confirms its importance. Also, the high proportion of tokens drawing on the *crusader* theme in EngRhetoric 1 (under RELIGION in Table 10) creates a sub-category that fuses war with religion. However, to define how the *war* theme applies to the aspirations of political Islam in a reasonably precise manner is not altogether straightforward. One attempt at articulating a relevant conceptual metaphor could be:

POLITICAL ISLAM IS A WAR AGAINST THE WEST

Another attempt, which would clarify the roles of the agents involved, might be:

THE POLITICAL GLOBAL HEGEMONY OF THE WEST IS AN ACT OF WAR/A CRUSADE AGAINST ALL MUSLIMS

In terms of differences between the languages, what is particularly interesting to note is the prominence of the LACK OF MANHOOD metaphor in EngRhetoric 1. With 54 tokens, it ranks third in this corpus, while there is only one token drawing on this metaphor in SwedeMedia 1, placing it among the bottom four in the Swedish corpus.

Examples of the LACK OF MANHOOD metaphor range from quotes like:

- ⇒ '*Spineless* Arabs are condemning this blessed strike' (www.jihadunspun.net).
- ⇒ It was left to Yvonne Ridley [at Al Jazeera] to show some *Islamic manliness* (www.shareeah.org)
- ⇒ We all know he was referring to Sheikh Abu Hamza but *lacked the requisite hormones* to actually mention the name. (www.shareeah.org)

to more flowery metaphorical expressions like:

- ⇒ We call upon the Mujahiddeen to under take [sic] the noble task of ridding the Muslim Ummah of these pestilent *eunuchs*, thus clearing the way for the Muslims to re-establish the Islamic State (www.shareeah.org)
- ⇒ That is why I could not refer to Bungle the Coolie as the MCB's spokesman because he *has no bulges where it matters most* but I cannot call him a *spokeswoman* either as he is too ugly. (www.shareeah.org)

The one token using this metaphor in the Swedish corpus appears fairly understated by comparison:

- ⇒ Jag blir ännu mer förargad när muslimerna säger till exempel att det som händer i irak o. afghanistan idag var usma's fel... Vi har *ingen ryggrad*, om vi inte kan urskilja fienden från vän. [I get even more annoyed when the Muslims say, for example, that what is happening in Iraq and Afghanistan was Usama's fault... We have *no backbone* if we can't distinguish an enemy from a friend.]  
(www.muslim.se/forum)

Other examples linked to the LACK OF MANHOOD metaphor make use of allusions to homosexuality, which is not only seen as a perversion of true manhood – as created by Allah – within the context of Islam, but is also considered *haram* (forbidden) and deeply shameful. Thus the taunting tone underlying the quote:

- ⇒ ...if every Qatari is occupied *servicing an American rear end* – someone has to run the rest of Qatar! (www.shareeah.org)

not only accuses Muslims accommodating American interests in the Gulf of not being real men: it also implies shame, which is perhaps felt more deeply in an honour-based Arab culture than the West.

That it is the moderate Muslim who is the butt of these taunts regarding lack of manhood can be seen in this quote:

- ⇒ Warning: Look away if you have Moderate *tendencies*. (www.shareeah.org)

where the play on 'homosexual tendencies' underlies the irony.

Even though these metaphorical expressions are quite varied, they clearly draw on the same conceptual metaphor: MODERATE ISLAM IS LACK OF MANHOOD.

In this context, it is interesting to note Lakoff's comment on phallic symbolism in relation to the September 11 attacks. He writes:

Towers are symbols of phallic power, and their collapse reinforces the idea of loss of power. Another kind of phallic imagery was more central here: the planes penetrating the towers with a plume of heat, and the Pentagon, a vaginal image from the air, penetrated by the plane as missile (2004:55).

This analysis complements the findings in this dissertation and presents the September 11 attack as a visual metaphor, drawing on the conceptual metaphor POLITICAL ISLAM IS REAL MANHOOD. Needless to say, turning the metaphor around and applying it to the American view point, it could also read: ISLAMIST TERROR IS RAPE, something Lakoff alludes to in his analysis (2004:55).

As to the question why this metaphor hardly appears at all in the Swedish corpus some possible reasons may be put forward. One reason might be that the strong sense of political correctness in relation to sexual equality in Sweden has influenced the discourse. Another reason could be that this metaphor is used more widely among Islamist groups that are more vocal in their criticism of moderate Islam. The latter suggestion is supported by the fact that many of these metaphorical expressions are taken from [www.shareeah.org](http://www.shareeah.org), whose Swedish mirror site has been closed down, making it unavailable for inclusion in SwedeRhetoric 1.

For a more detailed analysis of the differences and similarities between EngRhetoric 1 and SwedeRhetoric 1, a complete list of metaphorical expressions drawing on the top three metaphors in each corpus is presented in Table 10.

**Table 10** Metaphorical Expressions in Top Three Source Domains: Islamist Rhetoric

EngRhetoric 1			SwedeRhetoric 1		
Source Domain	Metaphorical Expression		Source Domain	Metaphorical Expression	
<b>RELIGION</b>	high priest	3	<b>KRIG [war]</b>	kämpa [fight]	23
	crusade / crusader	26		fiender [enemies]	22
	martyr/ martyrdom (i.e. killed by US/ Western forces)	15		krig [war]	17
	Armageddon	3		bekämpa [fight against]	4
	missionary zeal	1		terrorisera [terrorise]	3
	revival	3		mål [target]	5
	evil	3		attack [attack]	3
	sinful crime	3		förklara krig [declare war]	1
	demonise	2		vapen [weapons]	5
	cross worshippers	10		förkämpe [fighter]	2
	hypocrite	1		strid [fight]	10
	plunder	3		ammunition [ammunition]	1
	loot	1		militära operationer [military operations]	1
	apostate	8		kampen [the fight/struggle]	10
	blessed	11		besegra [defeat]	2
	advent	1		högborg [stronghold]	1
	sacrifice	11		<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>110</b>
	infidel	4			
	magic	1			
	banner of Jihad	1			
	inquisition	3			
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>114</b>			
<b>WAR</b>	attack	18	<b>FAMILJ [family]</b>	bror broder [brother]	35
	warrior	2		syster [sister]	27
	battle/ battling	3		släktskap [family relationships]	1
	front	2		familj [family]	1
	war	14		<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>64</b>
	target	11			
	contain	1			
	defeat	6			

	conquer	12			
	onslaught	2			
	fall	2			
	loss	2			
	taskforce	1			
	clash	7			
	defend	8			
	New York military expedition	1			
	downfall	2			
	concentration camp	2			
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>96</b>			
<b>LACK OF MANHOOD</b>	backside	5	<b>RESA [journey]</b>	följa exempel [follow an example]	5
	tongue	12		efterfölja [follow after]	3
	rear end	4		steg [steps]	11
	service (rear end)	2		väg [road]	16
	rent-boy	1		gå i hans fotspår [walk in his footsteps]	1
	castration	1		vägledning [guidance]	5
	cut off testicles	1		vilseledning [being led in the wrong direction]	1
	impotence	1		köra över [run over]	1
	eunuch	1		framfart [advance]	1
	losing manhood	1		<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>44</b>
	requisite hormones	1			
	bulges (where it matters)	1			
	manliness	1			
	no guts	2			
	whimper	2			
	spineless	2			
	armchair jihad	1			
	moderate tendencies (used ironically)	6			
	'moderate' (used with quotation marks)	7			
	call him spokeswomen	1			
	boyhood	1			
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>54</b>			

In contrast to the one-sided presence of the LACK OF MANHOOD metaphor in the English corpus, there are several similarities between EngRhetoric 1 and SwedeRhetoric 1. In Table 11, there is a complete list of all source domains used in the two corpora, and some interesting similarities may be noted.

**Table 11** All Source Domains: Islamist Rhetoric

EngRhetoric 1		SwedeRhetoric 1	
Source Domain	Tokens	Source Domain	Tokens
RELIGION	114	KRIG [war]	110
WAR	96	FAMILJ [family]	64
LACK OF MANHOOD	54	RESA [journey]	44
FAMILY	50	KROPPSSTÄLLNING [body posture]	37
HUMAN BEING/HUMAN BODY	31	MÄNNISKA/ MÄNNISKOKROPPEN [human being/human body]	36
ANIMALS	30	BYGGNAD/STRUKTUR [building/structure]	30
EMPIRE	26	IMPERIUM [empire]	29
BUSINESS	26	NÄTVERK [network]	21
ENGINEERING/DEVICES	25	RELIGION [religion]	18
BUILDING/STRUCTURE	21	KRAFTMÄTNING [trial of strength]	16
ACTING	16	HJÄRNA [brain]	14
CRIME	15	VÄXTER [plants]	14
BONDAGE	14	FÄNGENSKAP [bondage]	13
ILLNESS	14	SKÅDESPEL [acting]	12
MIND/BRAIN	12	FÖRETAG [business]	11
BODY POSTURE	10	LJUS/ELD [light/fire]	11
GAMES	7	SPEL [games]	9
SLEEP	7	INGENJÖRSKONST/ APPARATER [engineering /devices]	9
LABELS	6	RENHET [purity]	8
JOURNEY	6	DJUR [animals]	8
POLITICS	6	HJÄRTA [heart]	7
SPORTS	5	SÖMN [sleep]	4
PLANTS	5	NATUREN [nature]	4
SURFACE/LANDSCAPE	5	VATTEN [water]	4
NETWORK	5	FÄRG [paint]	3
DRINKING VESSELS	5	SJUKDOM [illness]	3
PURITY	4	YTA/LANDSCAPE [surface/landscape]	3
BREAKING WIND	3	VERTICAL POSITION [vertikal position]	2
FIRE	3	POLITIK [politics]	2

OVERWEIGHT	2	KLÄDER [clothes]	2
NATURE	2	VÅG [set of scales]	1
SHIP	1	SPORT [sports]	1
WATER	1	INTE RIKTIGA MÄN [not real men]	1
HOLIDAY	1	KRIMINALITET [crime]	1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>628</b>		<b>552</b>

First, the FAMILY and HUMAN BEING domains both feature among the top five in the two corpora. The FAMILY metaphor is almost exclusively seen in the frequent metaphorical use of 'brother' and 'sister', which adds emphasis on the personal aspect as well as to a sense of belonging to a group, a family. The HUMAN BEING/HUMAN BODY domain links in with this and often adds a human element to the discourse. The following are a few examples where metaphorical expressions draw on the HUMAN BEING/HUMAN BODY metaphor, and it could be argued that these expressions foreground the personal aspect of the struggle linked to political Islam:

- ⇒ Oh Fallujah! While *you have suffered* great loses, *you* have made great gains. (www.jihadunspun.net).
- ⇒ Such calamities that befell us caused some Muslims to lose hope and *embrace* defeatism (www.islamicawakening.com)
- ⇒ The US administration certainly does not *blush* in shame as it declares Sharon a man of peace. (www.jihadunspun.net)
- ⇒ Är det inte dubbelmoral att påstå att Sverige är neutralt och samtidigt *slicka "USA:s fötter"*? [Is it not a double standard to claim that Sweden is a neutral country and at the same time *lick the 'feet of the USA'*?] (www.muslim.se/forum)
- ⇒ Islam är faktiskt det enda okuvliga kulturella fenomen som har unkommit [sic] denna världsordnings *omättliga hunger*. [Islam is the only unconquerable cultural phenomenon that has escaped the *insatiable hunger* of this world order.] (www.radioislam.org)
- ⇒ The material and scientific progress of the West had already dazzled the *eyes* of the world's conquered people. (www.tanzeem.org)

If this personal focus were to be applied to the LACK OF MANHOOD domain, a more appropriate underlying conceptual metaphor might be:

## A JIHADI IS A REAL MAN

A second theme that appears in the top half of the list in both English and Swedish is the complementary EMPIRE and BONDAGE domains. Terms like 'imperialism' and 'colonialism' appear frequently in both languages. To clarify classifications used here, a metaphorical use of these terms means that they are used in reference to the US or the West as colonial powers at the present time. All references to colonialism pre-dating the independence of countries ruled by Western colonial powers are excluded from this count.

A few quotes drawing on the BONDAGE domain follow below as examples. These metaphorical expressions echo or highlight the frequent literal references to Muslims being under the political control of the West, references which appear equally in both EngRhetoric 1 and SwedeRhetoric 1. A conceptual metaphor for these quotes could be:

### BEING UNDER THE POLITICAL GLOBAL HEGEMONY OF THE WEST IS BONDAGE

- ⇒ democratic change that could give Muslims a chance to free themselves from the *shackles* of secularism. (www.tanzeem.org)
- ⇒ Med dessa tillgångar förstärker vi den nuvarande världsordningen, vi hjälper den till att hålla våra *fötter och händer ännu hårdare fastlåsta*. [With these assets we strengthen the current world order, we help it to hold our *feet and hands locked* even harder.] (www.radioislam.org)
- ⇒ Bland de rättigheter som Islam givit människorna är rätten att protestera mot regeringens *tyranni*. [Among the rights that Islam offered man is the right to protest against the *tyranny* of the government.] (www.islamiska.org)

In summary, an attempt at articulating a conceptual key that would incorporate the conceptual metaphors outlined in this section, including the foregrounding of the personal aspect, could read something like:

### A JIHADI IS A REAL MAN AND A WORRIOR WHO FIGHTS TO LIBERATE ALL MUSLIMS FROM THE TYRANNY OF THE WEST



Here, the jihadi seems to encapsulate the *war* theme and give it a personal face, in line with the people focus present in Islamist rhetoric. Also, he encompasses both war and religion in his heroic stand against the West.

## 2.5 Similarities and Contrasts across Registers

Before looking at the most prominent similarities and differences across the two registers, it might be useful to look at some general data extracted from the four corpora. Table 12 provides some information on the distribution of domains across the four corpora: noticeable in this table is the fact that the similarity between the four corpora is very high. For example, within the same register, the two languages have between 77 and 82 percent of domains in common. This suggests that there is a high degree of similarity between cross-domain mappings in English and Swedish and this should help in finding matching TL domains when translating metaphorical expressions.

**Table 12** Comparisons: Number of Domains in Media Reporting and Islamist Rhetoric

	EngMedia 1	EngRhetoric 1	SwedeMedia 1	SwedeRhetoric 1
Total number of source domains	31 (100%)	34 (100%)	31 (100%)	34 (100%)
Number of domains in common within the same register	24 (77%)	28 (82%)	24 (77%)	28 (82%)
Number of domains in common within the same language	20 (65%)	20 (59%)	22 (71%)	22 (65%)
Number of unique domains overall – i.e. domains that only appear in one out of four corpora	8 (26%)	4 (12%)	4 (13%)	5 (15%)
Number of domains unique to one register – appearing in <i>both</i> languages	2 (6%)	7 (21%)	2 (6%)	7 (21%)

With respect to similarities between the registers, the most obvious feature is the fact that the WAR domain ranks very high in both. However, to determine whether there are

some differences in the use of this source domain between the two registers, it might be useful to look briefly at the actual metaphorical expressions used. This quickly tells us that while defensive or analytical metaphorical expressions based on words such as 'threat' (27 tokens) and 'clash' (8 tokens, 7 of which occur in the context of a 'clash of civilisations') are common in EngMedia 1, stronger and more active words like 'attack' (18 tokens), 'war' (14 tokens), 'conquer' (12 tokens) and 'target' (11 tokens) are commonly found in EngRhetoric 1. This reiterates the element of threat present in the FIRE, WATER and UPWARD MOVEMENT/EXPANSION metaphors found earlier in EngMedia 1, one which is contrasted with a more confident tone in EngRhetoric 1.

Also, it seems that the blend of WAR and RELIGION in Islamist rhetoric partly defines its unique outlook and sets it apart from media reporting. Nearly 30 percent of the metaphorical expressions drawing on RELIGION in EngRhetoric 1 are linked to the *crusader* theme. For example, with quotes like:

⇒ Statement From Al-Qaida Claiming Responsibility For Killing 15 *Cross*  
*Worshippers* And Destroying 3 Humvees In Fallujah ([www.jihadunspun.net](http://www.jihadunspun.net))

⇒ Abid Ullah Jan takes a closer look at the ins and outs of the democratization  
*crusade* in Muslim countries ([www.tanzeem.org](http://www.tanzeem.org))

it is hard to say whether it is the religious element or the war aspect that feature more strongly.

Interestingly, SwedeRhetoric 1 does not contain one single token drawing on the CRUSADER theme (there are two occurrences of 'korståg' [crusade] in the corpus, but in both cases the word is used literally). It is hard to say why there is such a difference between the languages in this regard. One likely reason might be that 'crusade' is not used in an alternative sense of 'a dedicated action...in favour of a cause' (Collins Dictionary 2003: 403) in Swedish, as it is in English, making the word less accessible to be adopted in a modern context.

With respect to domains unique to one register (but appearing simultaneously in both languages), it is interesting to note from Table 12 that Islamist rhetoric has seven such

domains, while media reporting only two. The seven domains are: LACK OF MANHOOD, EMPIRE, BONDAGE, BRAIN/MIND, PURITY, NATURE and SPORTS. Having already looked at the high-ranking LACK OF MANHOOD metaphor, as well as the medium-ranking EMPIRE and BONDAGE metaphors, the BRAIN/MIND metaphor might warrant a special mention.

The use of the BRAIN/MIND metaphor, appearing coming up in the context of brainwashing and mind control, seems to tap into a notion that a person – a brain – can easily be influenced, and care must be taken to protect young Muslims. This quote, for example, displays a sense of worry and anxiety:

⇒ Which translates to, marginalising Islam even further, and *colonising* the region, not just the resources but also, more importantly, the *minds*. (www.shareeah.org)

What makes this quote even more interesting is that it fuses the BRAIN/MIND metaphor with the EMPIRE metaphor, and, by implication, the BONDAGE metaphor. By contrast, the sense of threat emerging in media reporting often draws on impersonal domains such as FIRE and WATER.

Another contrast between the two registers is the conceptual link between the FAMILY and the NETWORK metaphors. It could be argued that these mirror each other in that both contain the notion of close contact between people. However, while the NETWORK metaphor primarily has negative connotations in media reporting, the FAMILY metaphor replaces impersonal 'links' with the positive connotations of family ties.

In summary, if we accept the earlier claim that the NETWORK and the JIHADI represent the centre of two conceptual keys, the main contrast between the two registers would be that of seeing political Islam as either an impersonal and imprecise but growing threat or as a revolt where individuals rise up against tyranny.

## CHAPTER 3

In this chapter, an attempt will be made at identifying a frame, as proposed in Lakoff's recent work (2002), for each of the two registers. This is in line with the second aim of this study, and the purpose here is to use the concept of frames to explore the text producers' worldview. The discussion will draw on the metaphors and conceptual keys that already have been identified, but will also be complemented by the introduction of lexical chains of the type Charteris-Black (2002: 60) employs in his analysis of political discourse. After different possibilities have been explored, the chapter will conclude with the articulation of two frames, one for each register. To differentiate between lexical chains and source domains/metaphors, italicised capitals will be used for the former. An initial capital will be used to indicate a name for a frame.

### 3.1 Candidate Frames

Both media reporting on political Islam and Islamist rhetoric generally operate within a framework of religion. For example, media reporting frequently includes references to the Koran made by extremist Islamist groups such as Al-Qaida. Similarly, Islamist rhetoric is often based on precepts taken from the Koran and Islamic teachings. From this observation, it might be assumed that Religion is the main frame used in the two registers analysed in this dissertation, a claim that also could be supported by the fact that RELIGION is a major source domain for metaphorical expressions in both registers. However, it is important to keep in mind that a frame is not the same as a framework. When an attempt is made at identifying a frame, what we are looking for is a metaphor, or more accurately, an extended metaphor, that serves as an organising principle through which a speaker or writer expresses his or her thoughts and ideas. In other words, frames carry with them a certain worldview, and the objective in this section is to attempt to articulate such frames, one for each register under discussion.

A second possible frame for one or both registers is War, a metaphor that is among the top three domains in each of the four corpora. As the 'war on terrorism' quickly became a catch phrase in the wake of the September 11 attacks, with President George Bush also

making references to a 'crusade' (White House press release 16 Sept 2001 at <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010916-2.html>), the War frame is by now well established in Western political discourse. It would also seem, from the research carried out in this dissertation, that the CRUSADER metaphor has been used widely as an organising principle and an extended metaphor in much of Islamist rhetoric.

However, taking the cue from Lakoff's discussion on frames used in American political discourse, we need to be more specific than this. Lakoff argues that both the Conservatives and the Liberals use the Family as a frame in political discourse. However, while the Conservatives use a model of the family that Lakoff labels the 'Strict Father model' (2002: 33), the Liberals use the 'Nurturant Parent model' (2002: 33-34). Lakoff goes then on to describe these two family models in a fairly detailed fashion. Similarly, if we want to put forward the claim that War is the frame used for one or both registers in question, it would be necessary to articulate what *model* or *kind* of war we are referring to. For example, if the war we refer to is an uprising against a powerful oppressor, the conceptual key closing section 2.4 above (p. 39) could serve as a starting point in an attempt to articulate a frame for Islamist rhetoric:

A JIHADI IS A REAL MAN AND A WORRIOR WHO FIGHTS TO LIBERATE  
ALL MUSLIMS FROM THE TYRANNY OF THE WEST

A third candidate, the NETWORK metaphor, could be put forward as a likely frame for media reporting as it is the metaphor that most frequently occurs both in EngMedia 1 and SwedeMedia 1. In this case, the conceptual key that concludes section 2.3 (p. 31) could serve as a starting point when trying to articulate the frame with more preciseness:

POLITICAL ISLAM IS A SECRET AND SHAPELESS NETWORK THAT IS  
EXPANDING AND A THREAT TO THE WEST

### **3.2 Frames and Lexical Chains**

However, before looking at these candidates for frames in more detail, it would probably be useful to broaden the scope and go beyond metaphors by considering some of the

other central themes present in the corpora. For example, two prominent themes that do not often feature metaphorically in the corpora are *crime* and *politics*. If lexical chains belonging to the CRIME and POLITICS domains were introduced, we might be able to determine to what extent these themes play any part in the framing of the two registers. Furthermore, as the NETWORK metaphor seems significant to media reporting, it could also be useful to isolate this concept and look at a NETWORK chain when comparing the two registers.

In Table 13, a comparison between the four corpora is made using a lexical chain belonging to the NETWORK domain. Similarly, in Tables 14 and 15, four lexical chains including terms belonging to the WAR, RELIGION, CRIME, and POLITICS domains are used to facilitate comparison. These data simply record all tokens found in the corpora, irrespective whether the terms are used metaphorically or literally, and the purpose is to determine whether using lexical chains might give an indication of how the two registers are framed.

Looking first at the NETWORK chain, a sharp contrast in the use of this domain between the two registers is noticeable.

**Table 13** Lexical Chain: NETWORK

NETWORK	No. of Tokens		NÄTVERK [network]	No. of Tokens	
	EngMedia 1	EngRhetoric 1		SwedeMedia 1	SwedeRhetoric 1
link/links	56	5	nätverk [network]	50	2
network	28	1	koppling/ kopplingar [connections]	27	0
connect/connected	8	1	kontakt/kontakter [connections]	25	6
contact/contacts	7	4	band/banden [bonds]	8	12
web	5	6	förbindelser [connections]	7	5
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>104</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>117</b>	<b>25</b>

The *NETWORK* chain, containing five key words, shows ratios of 6:1 and 5:1 when comparing the two registers, confirming that the *network* theme is significant in media reporting.

In terms of the other four lexical chains, twelve words or word pairs have been chosen for each chain to facilitate comparisons. In other words, it might be possible to gauge the importance of themes by looking at the total numbers of tokens in the two registers. The selection of terms is fairly random for each lexical chain. However, there has been an attempt at choosing central, not obscure, terms for each chain. Also, the primary purpose of the comparison is to use the same set of terms in the two registers in order to determine how they compare across the two registers. Please note that 'Islam' and 'Muslim' have been excluded from the *RELIGION* chain as these two terms directly represent the topic at hand, namely political Islam. However, for the sake of completeness, it may be noted that 'Islam' occurs 515 times in EngMedia 1 and 320 times in EngRhetoric 1. Similarly, 'Muslim' occurs 417 times in EngMedia 1 and 297 times in EngRhetoric 1.

It would appear from the data in Table 14, based on the two English corpora, that Islamist rhetoric is more closely associated with the *war* and *religion* themes than is media reporting, even though at a ratio of around 1.5:1 for both, the difference is not pronounced. There are significant differences in the *RELIGION* chain, however, in terms of the number of tokens for 'martyr' and 'sacrifice', suggesting that these terms might be important in the framing of this register, e.g. highlighting the heroic aspect.

As the ratio between the two registers is almost 2.5:1 in regards to the *crime* theme, it might with some certainty be argued that this theme is important in media reporting and could play a significant part in how political Islam is framed in this register. In terms of the *POLITICS* chains, there is a slight preference for the Islamist rhetoric corpus, but the difference is not significant.

*Table 14* Lexical Chains: *WAR/CRIME/RELIGION/POLITICS*

WAR	No. of Tokens		CRIME	No. of Tokens	
	EngMedia 1	EngRhetoric 1		EngMedia 1	EngRhetoric 1
army	11	21	police	63	33
attack /defend	177	129	suspect	44	1
war	45	70	criminal	12	7
command/commander	13	29	suicide	40	3
conquer	4	17	terrorist/terrorism	151	51
jihad / jihadi	60	135	court	20	10
fight/fighter	69	138	sentence	6	4
military	36	48	legitimate/illegitimate	4	6
resistance	21	55	legal/illegal	13	13
mujahid/mujahideen	8	66	charge	9	10
victory / defeat	10	26	crime	16	17
soldier	16	34	arrest	35	24
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>470</b>	<b>768</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>413</b>	<b>179</b>
RELIGION	No. of Tokens		POLITICS	No. of Tokens	
	EngMedia 1	EngRhetoric 1		EngMedia 1	EngRhetoric 1
belief/believe	82	77	political	58	112
blessing	2	7	democratic	20	28
faith	45	13	leaders/leadership	69	52
God/Allah	42	253	politics	2	19
heaven	2	6	ruler	16	9
holy	21	35	government	72	101
infidel	9	4	president/prime minister	39	28
martyr	3	34	control	21	17
pray/prayer	23	32	power	45	67
preach	15	9	vote	17	17
religion/religious	120	61	elections	21	16
sacrifice	1	15	democracy	32	35
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>365</b>	<b>546</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>412</b>	<b>501</b>

A similar comparison made looking at the two Swedish corpora produces similar results for the RELIGION and CRIME domains. In fact, both chains reveal a sharper



difference between the two registers, with the *CRIME* chain showing a particularly sharp difference at a ratio of 4:1. The fact that the *RELIGION* chain also shows a much stronger presence in Swedish Islamist rhetoric is interesting as the metaphorical use of *RELIGION* ranked quite low in SwedeRhetoric 1. In other words, an analysis using lexical chains has added valuable information in relation to the *religion* theme for SwedeMedia 1.

The only significant difference between the two languages is the fact that the *WAR* chain features more strongly in Swedish media reporting than in Swedish Islamist rhetoric, in contrast to the English corpora, where the opposite is true. A possible reason for this difference could be that the websites used for the Swedish Islamist corpus have a less militant focus. However, this argument does not line up with the fact that the *WAR* metaphor ranked higher in SwedeRhetoric 1 than EngRhetoric 1. Instead, it is more likely that this difference is connected with the ratio between literal and metaphorical language use.

**Table 15** Lexical Chains: *WAR/CRIME/RELIGION/POLITICS*

KRIG [war]	No. of Tokens		KRIMINALITET [crime]	No. of Tokens	
	SwedeMedia 1	SwedeRhetoric 1		SwedeMedia 1	SwedeRhetoric 1
arme [army]	1	6	polis [police]	172	7
attack /försvar [attack/defence]	154	79	misstänkte [suspect]	6	0
krig [war]	121	29	gärningsman [criminal]	2	0
befäl [commander]	7	0	självmod [suicide]	57	13
besegra [win over]	3	9	terrorist/terrorism	209	40
jihad	16	82	domstol [cour of law]	21	6
förkämpe [fighter]	0	2	brottsling [criminal]	0	3
militär [military]	72	33	legitim [legitimate]	1	10
motstånd [resistance]	0	24	laglig / olaglig [lawful/unlawful]	1	18
mujahid/mujahideen	8	33	åta [prosecute]	14	3
seger/ nederlag [victory/defeat]	0	3	brott [crime]	24	20
soldat [soldier]	42	7	anhålla [apprehend]	1	1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>424</b>	<b>307</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>508</b>	<b>121</b>

RELIGION [religion]	No. of Tokens		POLITIK [politics]	No. of Tokens	
	SwedeMedia 1	SwedeRhetoric 1		SwedeMedia 1	SwedeRhetoric 1
Gud/Allah [God]	24	203	politisk [political]	65	46
tro [faith]	1	34	demokratisk [democratic]	21	22
välsignelse [blessing]	1	9	ledare/ledarskap [leader/leadership]	67	39
paradiset [paradise]	3	6	politik [politics]	36	27
helvetet [hell]	1	12	överhuvud [head]	2	6
helig/heligt [holy]	18	28	regering [government]	75	24
avfälling [apostate]	2	4	president/premiärminister [president/prime-minister]	82	6
martyr [martyr]	8	7	kontroll [control]	21	10
bön/bedja [prayer/pray]	15	20	makt [power]	53	95
predika [preach]	7	5	röster [votes]	3	1
religion/religiös [religion/religious]	68	97	val [elections]	16	11
offra sig [sacrifice oneself]	2	5	demokrati [democracy]	53	78
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>142</b>	<b>430</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>494</b>	<b>365</b>

As the people focus seemed to be stronger in Islamist rhetoric than in media reporting, the scope of some lexical chains could be narrowed by only selecting the terms designating people to see if the contrast between the two registers changes. This would be particularly interesting in relation to the *WAR* and the *CRIME* chains, as only one of these two chains is used metaphorically in a significant way in the corpora. In Tables 16 and 17, the data from these shorter lexical chains is presented.

With a focus on the people aspect of the *WAR* chain, it may be noted how the ratio has increased when counting the tokens in the two registers in the English corpora, which suggests that the human aspect of war is a significant element in the framing of Islamist rhetoric. The trend is the same for Swedish, reducing the difference between the two registers, making them virtually identical in size.

**Table 16 Lexical Chain: WAR (People Focus)**

WAR	No. of Tokens		KRIG [war]	No. of Tokens	
	EngMedia 1	EngRhetoric 1		SwedeMedia 1	SwedeRhetoric 1
commander	5	19	befäl [commander]	7	0
fighter	10	20	förkämpe [fighter]	0	2
soldier	16	34	soldat [soldier]	42	7
jihadi*	19	1	krigare [warrior]	8	1
mujahid/mujahideen*	8	66	mujahid/mujahideen	8	33
enemy	14	27	fiende [enemy]	15	36
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>72</b>	<b>167</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>80</b>	<b>79</b>

\*The terms 'jihadi' and 'mujahid' both mean 'a person involved in jihad', i.e. fighting – literally 'struggling' – for Islam. As 'mujahid' (pl. 'mujahideen') is the correct Arabic term, 'jihadi' is seldom used by Muslims.

A similar tendency may be noticed with the *CRIME* chain. In Table 17, the difference is even more marked, with a ratio of nearly 3:1, supporting the notion that crimes committed by human agents is closely linked to the frame of media reporting of political Islam. In fact, this trend is even more significant in Swedish, changing the ratio from 4:1 to 13:1.

**Table 17 Lexical Chain: CRIME (People Focus)**

CRIME	No. of Tokens		KRIMINALITET [crime]	No. of Tokens	
	EngMedia 1	EngRhetoric 1		SwedeMedia 1	SwedeRhetoric 1
police	63	33	polis [police]	172	7
suspect	44	1	misstänkte [suspect]	6	0
criminal	12	7	gärningsman [criminal]	2	0
terrorist	84	28	terrorist [terrorist]	127	16
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>203</b>	<b>69</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>307</b>	<b>23</b>

As there seems to be a real strong tendency in media reporting to use the *CRIME* chain, it might be useful to consider Lakoff's observations regarding the US administration's framing of the September 11 attacks:

The administration's framing and reframing and its search for metaphors should be noted. The initial framing was as a crime with victims, and perpetrators to be "brought to justice" and "punished." This entails law, courts, lawyers, trials, sentencing, appeals, and so on. It was hours before crime was changed to *war*, with *casualties, enemies, military action, war powers*, and so on. (2004: 56).

This uncertainty in how to frame terrorist attacks perpetrated by Islamists still prevails, and it is interesting to note that the Bush administration has recently been rethinking its War frame, replacing 'war on terror' with 'struggle against violent extremism' (The Daily Telegraph, 27 July 2005), a frame The Daily Telegraph describes as 'less snappy', which is an indication that it does not as easily catch the imagination of the readers. From the perspective of seeing metaphors as potentially powerful tools in rhetoric and persuasion, it may be noted that the metaphorical expression 'struggle' is more vague, conjuring up images of wrestling or conducting physically strenuous tasks. Nonetheless, this 'rebranding' of the war on terror (The Christian Science Monitor, 28 July 2005) could be interpreted as a recognition that the WAR metaphor does not capture the essence of the effort to combat Muslim extremism by the US and the West.

With respect to Islamist rhetoric in English, it may also be noted that while positively charged terms like 'victory' and 'conquer' are more common in Islamist rhetoric, negatively charged terms such as 'suspect', 'terrorist' and 'suicide' are more frequent in media reporting. In addition, there is a small set of terms appearing in EngRhetoric 1 that could be labelled as belonging to a *heroic* theme, namely 'martyr', 'sacrifice', 'resistance' and 'defend'. Finally, the term 'suspect' in EngMedia 1 warrants special attention. At 44:1, this term shows the highest ratio in terms of difference between the two registers for any term.

Two further themes that were touched on earlier in connection with the discussion on metaphors found in EngRhetoric 1 and SwedeRhetoric 1 above are *control* and *shame*. The concern with control could be seen in the BONDAGE and EMPIRE metaphors, while

the element of shame was more of an underlying theme in the LACK OF MANHOOD metaphor. In order to investigate whether these two themes have any bearing on the framing of the registers analysed in this dissertation, an analysis was done using two additional lexical chains: a *CONTROL/FREEDOM* chain and an *HONOUR/DISGRACE* chain. This would also seem a relevant investigation in view of the fact that the Arab world is often portrayed as having an honour-based culture, whereas the West is more concerned with right and wrong.

Tables 18 and 19 show that there are significant differences in the occurrence of these two lexical chains between the two registers, differences that are also mirrored across the two languages.

**Table 18** Lexical Chains: *CONTROL/FREEDOM*

	<b>EngMedia 1</b>	<b>EngRhetoric 1</b>	<b>SwedeMedia 1</b>	<b>SwedeRhetoric 1</b>
control/kontroll	17	21	21	10
tyranny/tyranni	4	12	2	15
freedom/frihet	18	75	11	59
oppression/förtryck	3	11	9	29
dictatorship/diktatur	5	10	14	15
self-determination/ självbestämmande	0	3	1	1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>132</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>129</b>

**Table 19** Lexical Chains: *HONOUR/DISGRACE*

	EngMedia 1	EngRhetoric 1	SwedeMedia 1	SwedeRhetoric 1
honour/heder, ära	2	12	2	9
dignity/värdighet	2	10	2	3
disgrace/vanära	0	4	0	0
humiliation/förnedring	2	14	0	8
shame/skam	2	9	3	6
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>26</b>

The ratio between the two registers vary from 2:1 to 6:1, with the *HONOUR/DISGRACE* chain showing the greatest difference. In both cases, it is in Islamist rhetoric that the higher number of tokens is found. What might be of particular interest is the occurrence of the word 'freedom', which occurs between four and five times as often in Islamist rhetoric. Considering the wide use of President George Bush's catch phrase 'They hate our freedom' (a search on Google [www.google.com](http://www.google.com) produces over 27,000 hits for this phrase) in reference to the motivation behind Islamist terrorist attacks, it is interesting to note that 'freedom' is, in fact, used much more frequently in Islamist rhetoric than in media reporting.

These findings suggest that the concept of the West as an oppressor and a strong concern with freedom are significant elements in Islamist rhetoric, in spite of the fact that a strict implementation of Islamic law is widely seen as both oppressive and resulting in a loss of freedom in the eyes of the vast majority of Westerners. However, when attempting to articulate a frame for Islamist rhetoric, it is important not to be dictated by concepts based on a Western worldview as this is likely to obscure the issues involved.

With this caution in mind, if an assumption is made that the concepts of control and disgrace are linked in Islamist rhetoric – i.e. the sense of outrage against the perceived hegemony of the West over the Muslim world is fuelled by a sense of disgrace – than this would, in all likelihood, have a bearing on how the jihadi warrior is conceptualised by Islamists. In other words, he would not only be seen as a brave and heroic warrior

fighting for freedom and rising up against an oppressor, but a possible agent for the removal of shame and disgrace.

### **3.2.1 The Network: A Key Feature in the Media Reporting Frame**

Looking at all the different elements present in media reporting on political Islam, the primary building blocks are the network, with its secrecy and shapelessness, its expanding and threatening nature, coupled with a strong criminal element. In addition, the conflict, or rather confusion, between the *crime* and *war* themes, seems to fuse elements of the nation state with turf wars or tribal fighting, where covert activity aimed at causing damage is at the centre.

#### **The Mafia Family Frame**

There are a number of well-known entities that would fuse the network with covert crime, an obvious example being the mafia family. However, the self-sacrificial idealism of a suicide bomber jars with the notion of a self-serving underworld looking only to increase its wealth and maintain its position of power.

#### **The Secret Societies Frame**

Another option would be secret societies like the Freemasons and there are many points of contact here. However, with the focus on using resources like wealth and positions of power for secret ends, the element of idealism is, again, lacking. Also, freemasonry is not normally associated with spectacular acts of violence.

#### **The Spy Ring Frame**

There is, however, one entity that seems to contain all the elements mentioned above and that is that of a spy ring operating in a foreign country (perhaps Soviet spies operating in the West during the height of the Cold War might serve as a concrete example). Here the secret network, working for concrete aims superseding those of personal wealth and happiness, is fused with nationhood, access to military resources and a possible future

threat of being taken over by a foreign power. Furthermore, post-September 11, reality has matched or even overtaken some of the more daring plots present in present-day fiction based on spying and international intrigue, including Tom Clancy's novels, to mention one example. In addition, the recent revelation that jihadis are to 'blend in' prior to an attack is reminiscent of the spy trade.

Suitable as it might seem, there are a couple of weaknesses in the Spy Ring frame. First of all, spies, however dedicated, are civil servants, which jars with the religious fervour of many Islamists. Second, the religious element is not acknowledged at all, as it would be, if, for example, the IRA were used as a frame. The safer option here might instead be to *describe* the kind of network that could serve as a frame for media reporting on political Islam. Interestingly, Lakoff touches on the fact that sometimes 'there is no established frame, no fixed idea already out there' (2004: 24), and points out that within cognitive science this is labelled *hypocognition* (2004: 24). In fact, the Bush administration's recent reframing of political Islam and the apparent tension between the WAR and CRIME domains might indicate that reporting on political Islam is an example of hypocognition.

This said, the frame below is an attempt at describing this network and it should be seen as a starting point rather than a complete model in this context.

## **Frame for Media Reporting**

### **Political Islam: The Clandestine Network**

Political Islam is a clandestine, expanding network that presents a clear and present threat to our society. The shapeless and imprecise nature of this network makes it difficult to pinpoint and penetrate, yet it is made concrete and real in the suicide bomber, a confusing crossbreed between a criminal and a soldier. Like a spy ring, the members of this network represent a foreign power whose ultimate aim is political power and control, and the threat should therefore be taken seriously.



The religious motivation of its members is obvious to see, though difficult to grasp, and therefore remains a bit of a mystery – it is interesting to analyse but fundamentally irrelevant in a secular society based on pluralism and tolerance.

### **3.2.2 The Jihadi Warrior: A Frame for Islamist Rhetoric?**

Similarly, looking at all the different elements present in Islamist rhetoric – the sense of oppression from a powerful foreign enemy and the longing for freedom and the removal of disgrace, the hope seen in the heroic, self-sacrificial uprising of the jihadi warrior/brother and the mandate from God – there are a number of precedents that could provide a frame that would include most of these aspects.

#### **The Samson Frame**

First of all, some well-known biblical characters would incorporate these aspects, the most obvious being Samson of the Old Testament (Judges 13-16). Being willing to commit suicide to inflict maximum casualties on the enemy, all to remove the disgrace of oppression, Samson's story might provide an appropriate frame for today's jihadi fighter. In fact, when Samson says, 'Let me die with the Philistines!' (Judges 16:30), the collapse of the temple causes the death of 'about three thousand men and women' (Judges 16:27), an eerie premonition of the September 11 attacks.

#### **The David and Goliath Frame**

Similarly, the story of David and Goliath (1 Samuel 17) provides a salient sequence of events that incorporate an insignificant individual inflicting considerable military harm on a powerful enemy. The moment of the felling of Goliath through the means of a sling and stone resonates, on several levels, when applied to the collapse of the twin towers on 11 September, as well as to young Palestinians throwing stones at Israeli soldiers.

There are, however, obvious problems in applying Jewish military history to an Islamic context and however suitable these frames might seem, they are clearly imposed from the outside and produce irony on every level.

### **The Kamikaze Frame**

Other, more recent, and perhaps more appropriate precedents of self-sacrificial freedom fighters operating against a powerful oppressor include the kamikaze pilot. Here, the link to the September 11 attacks is obvious on several levels, including the use of aircraft and a powerful US being the enemy. However, the religious element, crucial to the Islamist movement, is absent, making it in some ways less suited than the biblical stories mentioned earlier.

### **The Knights Templar Frame**

The Crusades would, of course, supply a suitable frame for Islamist rhetoric, being firmly grounded in Arab consciousness and incorporating both the religious and the military elements. One problem is that there are no Muslim precedents in terms of suicide operations from this time. In fact, it is frequently claimed that 140 Christian Knights Templar destroyed their own ship in order to kill ten times as many men, sacrificing their own lives in the process (Rosenberg 2005). Also, as jihadi fighters often operate on their own, or in small groups, the Knights Templar 'suicide operation' during the Crusades might not provide the most suitable frame.

Attempting to articulate a frame for Islamist rhetoric, it seems ironic that many salient models taken from the public domain either belongs to a Jewish or Christian tradition, or a non-religious one. At a future date, the September 11 attacks, where 19 men brought down the twin towers in New York by the help of box cutters, might become a frame in its own right. At this stage, however, it might be more appropriate to attempt to *describe* the kind of war the jihadi warrior is involved in.

Below follows an attempt at articulating a frame, using descriptive language. The frame, no doubt, needs further elaboration. However, it hoped it might serve as a useful starting point for anyone, translator or otherwise, reading or analysing Islamist rhetoric.

### **Frame for Islamist Rhetoric**

#### **Political Islam: The Jihadi Resistance Fighter**

Political Islam is a war of resistance against a powerful, oppressive and ungodly enemy, reminiscent of the Crusaders seeking to control the holy city of Jerusalem in the Middle Ages. At the centre of this frame is the jihadi resistance or freedom fighter, a heroic and self sacrificial individual who, like Samson, is willing to die in the fight against a militarily superior power. He carries with him the hope of being able to remove the shame and disgrace presently affecting his brothers and sisters who are members of the Islamic nation.

The purpose of establishing or articulating a frame for a particular text type will vary, depending on the intention of the reader. If the primary aim is one of understanding a text in-depth, including the presuppositions underlying the discourse and the text producer's intentions, identifying a frame may be the key that 'opens up' the text to a reader. If, on the other hand, the purpose is gathering fuel for debate or persuasion, identifying a frame may help sharpening a person's arguments. For a translator, the former purpose is probably nearer the mark, as a thorough understanding of the source text is vital in all translation.

Moving on to the third aim of this study – to look at some issues arising from the translation of metaphor – an attempt will be made at applying a cognitive view of metaphor to the translation of metaphorical expressions in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER 4

In this chapter, two different approaches to the translation of metaphor will be evaluated. The comprehensive translation strategies outlined by Newmark (1980) will serve as a typical example of a traditional approach, while ideas put forward by Mandelblit (1996) and Holm (2002) will represent a translation approach based on the cognitive paradigm. In this chapter, 'metaphor' is used in its traditional sense, as understood by Newmark, and following his taxonomy. Whenever 'metaphor' as understood within a cognitive framework is intended, 'structural metaphor' will be used for clarity. For the sake of relevance to translators, all examples are taken from media reporting.

Although few direct references will be made to the framing of the text examples used in this chapter, it is assumed that awareness of frames will help the translator to deal with translation issues. However, the focus of this chapter is specifically on the translation of metaphor and how this links in with the translator's awareness of cross-domain mappings between the SL and the TL.

### 4.1 Metaphors and Translation Issues: The Traditional Approach

As a starting point, Newmark suggests that original metaphors in expressive texts, where the author's status is 'sacred', should be translated literally, even if they read awkwardly in the TL, while in informative or vocative (operative) texts, where the author's status is 'anonymous', the translator should make an attempt at interpreting the meaning and provide the reader with an expression that conveys that meaning (1988: 106). Below follows a brief outline of Newmark's translation strategies in more detail. The examples illustrating the different metaphor types are all taken from EngMedia 1 and SwedeMedia 1.

#### Dead Metaphors

Example: Some of them have *links* to al-Qaeda. (Ec 18/10/02)

Dead metaphors often defy literal translation. However, there are often corresponding dead metaphors in the target language that may be used (1988: 106-107).

### **Cliché Metaphors**

Example:       the older generations have taken a *head-in-the-sand* approach  
                  for too long. (BBC 31/3/04)

Cliché metaphors should be retained in operative and expressive ('authoritative') texts, but avoided at all costs in informative texts, as these are texts where only facts or theories are 'sacred' (1988: 107).

### **Stock Metaphors**

Example:       If suspicion and Islamophobia drives them into the *embrace* of  
                  the militants, we are lost. (Gd 11/12/04)

For stock metaphors, Newmark suggests that a translator tries to reproduce the same image in the TL provided it 'has comparable frequency and currency' (1988: 108). If this is not possible, an equivalent established TL image should be used. If no natural image exists in TL, the mismatch has to be compensated for elsewhere in the linguistic system. One strategy here is to reduce the metaphor to sense or literal language, or by retaining the metaphor but adding the sense. Newmark also adds that stock metaphors may be omitted in 'anonymous' texts (i.e. informative or operative texts) if they are redundant (1988: 111).

### **Adapted Metaphors**

Example:       the might and wrath of the United States is roused by this  
                  *second Day of Infamy* (DM 14/9/01)

Adapted metaphors should, where possible, be translated by using an equivalent adapted metaphor (1988: 111).

## Recent Metaphors

Example: *Brand USA* is in trouble. (Gd 14/3/05)

If a recent metaphor is exportable, they can be 'through-translated' (1988: 112).

## Original Metaphors

Example: Values are *tapes we play on the Walkman of the mind*. (Gd 6/3/03)

Newmark suggests that original metaphors should be translated literally in expressive and operative texts. In informative texts, the strategy depends on the metaphor and the context, ranging from retaining the metaphor or modifying it, to translating it to sense meaning (1988:112-113).

## 4.2 The Cognitive Approach: Looking at the Domain Inventory of the TL

Mandelblit (1996) and Holm (2002) work on a different set of assumptions in their approach to translating metaphor, the basic assumption being that since metaphors are based in the conceptual system of the speakers of a particular language, the translator needs to compare the cross-domain mappings that exist in the SL and the TL. In her analysis, Holm presents two scenarios:

1. SL and TL use 'the same domain mappings' (2002: 230). Holm terms this *Similar Mapping Conditions* (SMC).
2. SL and TL use 'different metaphoric mappings to express the same meaning' (2002: 230). This is termed *Different Mapping Conditions* (DMC).

In terms of translation problems linked to metaphor translation, Mandelblit identifies 'functional fixedness' (1996: 487) as a major problem area. This is a concept borrowed from the problem-solving literature of the Gestalt School, where the notion is put forward that we need to 'restructure' the original problem in order to solve it (1996: 488). Mandelblit applies this idea to a conceptual approach to metaphor translation, claiming that problems can arise from the fact that 'the translator is "fixated" on the source language metaphorical system, being temporarily unable to switch into the target language counterpart system' (1996: 483). Similarly, after analysing the translation of a poem by Lorca from Spanish into Danish, Holm concludes that a 'lack of domain identification seems to have been a general cause for difficulty in the translation' (2002: 237). She also adds that, 'a higher degree of consciousness of the metaphoric networks might have helped the translators to translate in a more equivalent way than was actually the case' (2002: 237), and finishes by saying:

I also believe that CL [cognitive linguistics] provides a better possibility for assessing not just whether a given translation of a metaphor can be said to provide the equivalent effect in TL or not, but what this effect consists of and through which criteria equivalence can be achieved (2002: 237).

There are points of similarities between Newmark and Mandelblit/Holm, especially Newmark's strategies for the translation of stock metaphors. However, Mandelblit's and Holm's focus on domain inventories in the SL and TL might offer a simplified approach to metaphor translation while at the same time providing the translator with a more subtle tool when solving translation problems.

In the next section, Newmark's and Mandelblit/Holm's approaches will be compared and contrasted.

### **4.3 Examples of Translation Issues in the Corpora and Possible Solutions**

First, we will consider two examples which Holm would categorise as *Similar Mapping Conditions (SMC)*. First, a line from an article in the Daily Mail:

The Jordanian also has strong *links* with Al-Qaida. (DM 8/10/04)

Here there is a close match of cross-domain mappings between English and Swedish, both using the NETWORK domain. Although the closest literal translation of 'links', i.e. 'länkar', might not be the best choice in this context, there are several other options which match the original very closely, including 'kopplingar', 'kontakter', 'förbindelser' and 'anknytnar' [all four can loosely be translated as 'connections']. In this case, 'kopplingar' would work the best as it collocates with 'starka' [strong] much more readily than the other three terms in this context. As Newmark suggests the translator should look for equivalent dead metaphors in the TL, and in this case his translation strategy coincides with Mandelblit/Holm's, a translation might read:

Jordaniern har också starka *kopplingar* till Al-Qaida. [The Jordanian also has strong *connections* with Al-Qaida.]

Moving to another example, we can consider the following extract from an article in Dagens Nyheter:

Men bin Ladin's *bannbulla* drabbar också Egypten och flertalet andra arabregimer i egenskap av *avfällingar* från, och förrädare av, islam. (DN 7/9/02)

A literal translation would produce:

But bin Ladin's *bull of excommunication* also hits Egypt and a number of other Arab regimes as they are *apostates* and traitors of Islam.

With respect to original metaphors in informative texts, Newmark adapts a flexible approach which takes the metaphor and the context into account. It is therefore possible that someone following a traditional approach would translate 'bannbulla' and 'avfällingar' literally, thus keeping the image intact. From a cognitive viewpoint, the translator would first look at the domain inventory of the TL before making a decision. As there seems to be a very close match in the use of the RELIGION domain in Swedish and English, a straight transfer of the metaphors should work very well. In other



words, while the reasoning might be different between a traditional and a cognitive approach here, we end up with similar or identical translations.

Following these two examples, we will now look at three examples from the corpora which would exemplify Holm's *Different Mapping Conditions (DMC)*.

First, let us look at an extract from a BBC report that states:

The magnified call to prayer, the building of mosques are both symptoms of a relentless *rise* of Islamist politics and general religiosity over the past three decades. (BBC 26/9/03)

This sentence uses a dead metaphor drawing on the SL domain of UPWARD MOVEMENT/EXPANSION, one that does not feature at all in SwedeMedia 1. Newmark suggests that similar dead metaphors are used in the TL in informative texts, and there are metaphorical expressions within the UPWARD MOVEMENT domain in Swedish, such as 'uppgång' and 'uppsving' [both meaning 'a movement upwards' or 'rise']. However, both of these words usually have positive or neutral connotations and do not easily collocate with 'obönhörlig' [relentless]. Furthermore, the idea that politics 'rise' sounds unnatural in Swedish. A neutral expression like 'öka' [increase] would not work very well either, since 'politics' does not normally collocate with 'increase' in Swedish. A possible dead metaphor linked to expansion that would sound natural in the context is 'breda ut sig' [spread out]. However, the image is taken from a structural metaphor with a different focus, namely EXPANSION OVER A SURFACE/HORISONTALLY. We would get a translation that reads well using this metaphor but one where the dynamic of 'rise' is weakened and replaced by the sense of a slow-moving spread over an area. Still, this being the least problematic option following a traditional approach, we get:

Det förstärkta böneutropet och byggandet av moskéer är båda symptom av en obönhörlig *utbredning* av islamistisk politik och en allmän religiositet under de tre senaste decennierna. [The magnified call to prayer and the building of mosques are both symptoms of a relentless *spreading out* of Islamist politics and general religiosity over the past three decades.]

If Mandelblit's and Holm's suggestion of looking at the inventory of TL domains is followed instead, we notice that the domain inventory for SwedeMedia 1 includes 22 tokens drawing on the KRAFTMÄTNING [trial of strength] domain in this corpus. If we, for example, use 'växa sig starkare' [to grow stronger], this would fit the context, producing:

Det förstärkta böneutropet och byggandet av moskéer är båda symptom av att islamistisk politik och en allmän religiositet obönhörligt har *vuxit sig starkare* under de tre senaste decennierna. [The magnified call to prayer and the building of mosques are both symptoms of Islamist politics and general religiosity having relentlessly *grown stronger* over the past three decades.]

Several advantages of using this metaphor immediately become obvious. First, the dynamic of 'rise' is retained and the term also collocates naturally with 'relentless'. Furthermore, the echo in English between a 'magnified' call to prayer' and the 'rise' of 'politics' (you *raise* the volume in English) is carried over into Swedish (sound can be 'starkare', i.e. stronger in Swedish), something that would be completely lost if 'sprida ut sig' [spread out] were used. Finally, using this metaphor has produced the effect that the sentence as a whole has taken on much more natural, colloquial tone.

A second example where there is no immediate correspondence across SL and TL domains can be found in this quote from Svenska Dagbladet:

Deras syn på världen har ytterligare *genomsyrats* av wahhabiternas filosofi de senaste 20 åren. [Their view of the world has been influenced – literally *slowly made sour* (in the way milk is becoming sour when yoghurt bacteria are growing in milk) – even further by the Wahabite philosophy over the past 20 years.] (SvD 30/5/05)

Contrary to expectations, 'genomsyra' does not have negative connotations just because it is associated with acidity. Rather, it is the imperceptible change that takes place as the bacteria grow in the milk that is the focus. The neutral English term 'influenced', replacing 'genomsyra', does not include the meaning that the change is slow, almost imperceptible. However, as the process of making yogurt is not readily used as an image

for slow change in English, we will have to look at the TL inventory of domains for a suitable domain, something that Newmark also advocates for the translation of stock metaphors.

One domain in English that gives rise to metaphorical expressions for slow change is the use of the SOLIDS ABSORBING FLUIDS domain, including words like 'soak' and 'saturate'. For example, 'He allowed her kindness to slowly *soak* his suspicious mind', or 'Over the months, the unusual company culture started to *saturate* his thinking.'

Using this domain would produce a translation of the above quote reading something like this:

Their view of the world has been *saturated* even further by the Wahabite philosophy over the past 20 years.

This translation retains the slow, imperceptible change while drawing on a similar idea involving a fluid. Furthermore, a natural-sounding translation that carries across the meaning very closely has also been achieved. Interestingly, 'saturate' does not carry across into Swedish either, i.e. 'dränka, göra genomblöt' [saturate] could not replace 'genomsyra' [make sour] in the quote from Svenska Dagbladet.

The third example is taken from a comment in the Guardian, where an extract states:

No, what people who say this really mean is "Islam must have its Enlightenment".  
Or, better still, its post-Darwinian secularisation. Muslims must, in short, *evolve*.  
(Gd 6/3/03)

This metaphor draws on a general conceptual key stating DARWINISM IS DEVELOPMENT, and several metaphorical expressions in EngMedia 1 draw on this idea, using a more specific conceptual metaphor that could be formulated as:

RELIGION IS DARWINISM or  
RELIGION IS THE SURVIVAL OF THE FITTEST

This domain or idea does not appear at all in SwedeMedia 1 and using this metaphor in Swedish would produce an odd-sounding translation, e.g.:

Muslimer måste kort och gott genomgå sin egen *evolution*. [Muslims must, in short, have their own *evolution*.]

As this text is expressive and the metaphor is original, Newmark would argue that the metaphor be translated literally, even if the result sounds slightly odd. However, a cognitive approach would try to tap into the domain inventory in the TL, whatever the text type. In this case, a commonly used domain for development in Swedish is 'TIDEN [TIME]', and a structural metaphor could read:

TIDEN ÄR EN RÖRELSE FRAMÅT/UTVECKLING  
[TIME IS A FORWARD MOTION/DEVELOPMENT]

This domain produces commonly used metaphorical expressions like:

- ⇒ följa med i tiden/följa sin tid/följa med sin tid [to accompany (one's) time/follow (one's) time]
- ⇒ ligga i tiden/ligga rätt i tiden [to be (correctly) positioned in time]

Using this structural metaphor, a translation of the quote from the Guardian might read:

Muslimer måste kort och gott *följa med sin tid*. [Muslims must, in short, accompany/follow their time.]

This translation greatly improves on the previous one, producing a natural-sounding sentence that accurately captures the notion that change and development are inevitable, while making use of a metaphorical expression that adds punch and a hint of humour.

This said, it is important to note that the use of 'evolve' in the ST draws on the Clandestine Network frame that states that religion is 'fundamentally irrelevant' and would never be used in a similar context in Islamist rhetoric. However, the 'följa med sin tid' solution matches the ST metaphor perfectly as it also carries with it the same connotations of someone looking at religion from the outside.

#### **4.4 Findings and Conclusions**

Newmark provides a valuable framework of principles for the translation of metaphors. His strategies are based on text types and the author's role, and provide the translator with valuable and practical guidance. His strategies were a help in several of the examples above, although some problems arose when there was a mismatch between cross-domain mappings in English and Swedish.

However, Mandelblit's and Holm's approach also seems to serve the translator well, providing him or her with a valuable tool when dealing with issues arising from metaphor translation. In fact, the cognitive strategy seems to simplify the whole procedure while making the translator more tuned into the inventory of metaphor domains in the TL, thus helping with the production of a natural-sounding text that strives to retain metaphorical expressions in any text type. It seems a cognitive approach helped in all the translation examples above, but was particularly useful when dealing with mismatches in the domain inventories between English and Swedish.

As metaphor is increasingly recognised as being a vital part of language, including its role in conveying a writer's presuppositions, it would appear that sensitivity to metaphors in the ST is becoming increasingly important. Therefore, it seems logical that a methodology that increases a translator's awareness of inventories of cross-domain mappings in SL and TL should take precedence over a methodology that often advocates that a metaphor be translated into sense meaning. As a consequence, it would seem that Madelblit's and Holm's strategy should be the first port of call for a translator.

## CONCLUSION

Applying a corpus-based approach to metaphor analysis to the two registers and the two languages analysed in this dissertation produced an evenly distributed set of metaphors across the four corpora. The data revealed many similarities between the two languages, although there were enough differences present to warrant a more formal analysis of translation strategies employed when translating metaphorical expressions. The metaphors used in the two registers also showed some significant similarities, the prominence of the WAR and RELIGION metaphors being the main one. However, the data also showed some significant differences between the two registers, differences that provided new insight into the relationship between metaphors and political Islam. The main differences included the prominence of the NETWORK metaphor in media reporting, and the high number of tokens from the LACK OF MANHOOD metaphor in English Islamist rhetoric. Furthermore, the presence of the BONDAGE and EMPIRE metaphors in Islamist rhetoric seems uniquely linked to this register, as well as higher incidence of metaphorical expressions drawing on the HUMAN BEING domain. In contrast, media reporting is generally more impersonal and contains metaphorical language that highlights a sense of expanding threat, drawing on metaphors like WATER and FIRE.

The analysis of metaphors provided plenty of hard data when attempting to identify and articulate the frame used in each of the registers. Furthermore, the analysis of lexical chains supported this analysis significantly and provided additional data that proved very useful to the process.

In addition to data on metaphors, the articulation of the two underlying frames presented at the end of this study – The Jihadi Resistance Fighter and the Clandestine Network frames – will hopefully prove valuable as a spring-board for further discussion and analysis. It is also hoped that they will serve as a useful tool for anyone, including translators, dealing with media reporting on political Islam as well as Islamist rhetoric.

## Possible Future Areas of Research

The scope of this dissertation did not allow for an in-depth analysis of all of the themes that emerged. Further analysis might be particularly useful in terms of the CRUSADER metaphor and how it relates to the EMPIRE and BONDAGE metaphors in Islamist rhetoric. Also, the MIND and HEART metaphors in Islamist rhetoric might warrant some attention. Furthermore, a more detailed analysis of the CRIME chain might offer further insights, perhaps also complemented by a LEGAL chain, especially in relation to how media reporting contrasts with Islamist rhetoric. Following the 7 July attack in London, it also seems that the ILLNESS/VIRUS metaphor is used more widely, and this might warrant specific attention.

The EngMedia 1 corpus only included British sources, and an analysis of American, Canadian, Australian, New Zealand and South African sources in English might provide further insights into media reporting and political Islam. Similarly, the English-language press of the Gulf and the Middle East, e.g. Al Ahram Weekly in Egypt and Arab News in Saudi Arabia, might offer a different perspective, as might English-language web-based Middle Eastern media such as Al Jazeera in Qatar. However, the most important area of further study might be further work on frames, including the analysis and testing of the frames put forward in this study.

## Appendix A: Metaphors in EngMedia 1 and SwedeMedia 1

Below is a complete list of all source domains and all metaphorical expressions found in EngMedia 1 and SwedeMedia 1. The domains that appear in both corpora are listed first, arranged in descending order according to number of tokens in EngMedia 1. Below these domains, the source domains that only appear in one corpus are listed in descending order according to number of tokens, irrespective of which corpus they appear in.

Overview: EngMedia 1 and SwedeMedia 1	
Number of source domains in EngMedia 1:	31
Number of source domains in SwedeMedia 1:	31
Number of source domains in common:	24
Number of source domains unique to EngMedia 1:	7
Number of source domains unique to SwedeMedia 1:	7

Metaphors in Media Reporting					
EngMedia 1			SwedeMedia 1		
Source Domain	Metaphorical expression		Source Domain	Metaphorical expression	
<b>NETWORK</b>	links	50	<b>NÄTVERK</b> [network]	nätverk [network]	51
	network	28		kopplingar [connections]	18
	connected	6		kontakter [contacts]	10
	contacts	2		band [bonds]	8
	web	1		förbindelser [connections]	4
	tight-knit group	1		förgreningar [offshoots]	2
	axis of evil	1		ondskans axel [axis of evil]	2
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>89</b>		anknuten [attached]	1
				<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>96</b>
<b>WAR</b>	threat	27	<b>KRIG</b> [war]	hot [threat]	28
	clash	8		krig mot terrorism [war on terrorism]	11
	attack	7		kamp mot terrorism [fight against terrorism]	10
	camps	5		fäste [stronghold]	8



	combat	4		fiender [enemies]	8
	conquer	4		krigare [warriors]	5
	war on terror	4		försvara sig [defend oneself]	3
	campaign	4		krig [war]	3
	enemy	4		attack [attack]	2
	siege	2		hotbild [perception of threat]	2
	third-in-command	2		strid [battle]	2
	operations chief	2		kamp [fight]	2
	strongholds	2		ta över [take over]	1
	war on terrorism	2		fiendebild [preception of the enemy]	1
	fight against terrorism	2		<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>86</b>
	top general	1			
	rallying cry	1			
	second day of Infamy	1			
	hit squad	1			
	adversary	1			
	tenth most senior figure	1			
	destruction	1			
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>86</b>			
<b>BUSINESS</b>	recruit	11	<b>FÖRETAG [businesses]</b>	rekrytera [recruit]	15
	brand	7		medarbetare [fellow workers]	2
	agenda	7		dagordning [agenda]	2
	compete	3		jobb [job]	2
	invest	2		importera [import]	1
	import	2		exportera [export]	1
	marketers	1		arbetsvilliga [willing to work]	1
	rebranding	1		presumptiva [potential, i.e. potential customers]	1
	brand manager	1		hantlangare [manual labourers]	1
	branding campaign	1		<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>26</b>
	business	1			
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>37</b>			
<b>RELIGION</b>	crusade	8	<b>RELIGION [religion]</b>	heligt krig [holy war]	11
	holy war	6		kättare [heretics]	5
	enemies of Islam	2		fanatisk [fanatical]	5
	holy struggle	2		korståg [crusade]	4

				offra sig [sacrifice oneself]	2
	blessing	2		apokalyptisk konfrontation [apocalyptic confrontation]	2
	Islamic flag flying	1		väckelse [revival]	2
	disciples	1		missionerande grupper [evangelising groups]	1
	c-word (crusade)	1		religiöst färgad [with a religious tint]	1
	missionary incursion	1		bannbulla [bull of excommunication]	1
	secular preaching	1		falla i frestelse [yield to temptation]	1
	preaching to the converted	1		gudsstridare [warriors of God]	1
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>26</b>		islamiststridare [warriors of Islam]	1
				villfarelse [heresy]	1
				andlig fiende [spiritual enemy]	1
				kristen fiende [Christian enemy]	1
				avfallingar [apostate]	1
				kampen mot det onda [the fight against evil]	1
				<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>42</b>
<b>LANDSCAPE/ SURFACE</b>	ground	10	<b>LANDSKAP/ YTA [landscape/ surface]</b>	ram [frame]	5
	landscape	4		marginaliserad [marginalised]	2
	fringe	3		landskap [landscape]	1
	cornered	1		kartlägga [map out]	1
	give an inch	1		klyfta [chasm]	1
	foothold	1		<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>10</b>
	environment	1			
	underground	1			
	marginalised	1			
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>23</b>			
<b>PLANTS</b>	root	8	<b>VÄXTER [plants]</b>	rötter [roots]	6
	ground	6		blomma [to blossom]	2
	fertile	3		bära frukt [bear fruit]	2
	cultivate	2		växa fram [grow out]	1
	mushroom	2		mogna [ripen]	1

	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>21</b>		plantera [to plant]	1
				fruktbar [fruitful]	1
				<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>14</b>
<b>JOURNEY</b>	road	2	<b>RESA [journey]</b>	vägvisare [guide]	1
	mainstream	10		vägval [choice of road]	1
	course	1		biljett [ticket]	1
	footsteps	1		väg [road]	2
	follow	5		<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>5</b>
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>19</b>			
<b>HUMAN BEING/ HUMAN BODY</b>	embrace	3	<b>MÄNNISKA/ MÄNNISKO- KROPPEN [human being/ human body]</b>	kasta ut någon [throw someone out]	1
	soul	2		inblandning [involvement]	1
	back	3		vänner [friends]	6
	wrath	2		vackla [totter]	1
	voice	6		omhulda [cherish]	1
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>16</b>		böjelser [tendencies]	1
				vifta [wave]	3
				<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>14</b>
<b>HEAT/FIRE</b>	firebrand	4	<b>HETTA/ELD [heat/fire]</b>	glöd [ember]	2
	eruption	3		<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>2</b>
	hotbed	1			
	erupt	1			
	boiling	1			
	simmering	1			
	witches' cauldron	1			
	tinder	1			
	fire	1			
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>14</b>			
<b>BUILDING/ STRUCTURE</b>	undermine	2	<b>BYGGNAD/ STRUKTUR [building/ structure]</b>	grund [foundation]	18
	bridge	2		grundstenen [foundation stone]	1
	doorstep	1		grundare [founder]	3
	collapse	7		grundlös [unfounded]	1
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>12</b>		grundläggande [fundamental]	1
				välgrundad [well founded]	1
				<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>25</b>

<b>ILLNESS</b>	inflammatory	2	<b>SJUKDOM [illness]</b>	sårbarhet [vulnerable]	5
	immune	2		sår [wound]	3
	affliction	1		läka [heal]	2
	acute	1		immun [immune]	2
	blindness	1		<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>12</b>
	schizoid	1			
	contaminate	1			
	contagious	1			
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>10</b>			
<b>WATER</b>	wave	5	<b>VATTEN [water]</b>	våg [wave]	7
	tide	2		kanal [canal]	1
	current	1		kanalisera [to channel]	1
	undercurrent	1		kölvatten [wake]	1
	flow	1		sippa över [trickle over]	1
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>10</b>		<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>11</b>
<b>LABELS</b>	labelled	5	<b>ETIKETT [label]</b>	terrorstämplad [carrying a stamp saying terror]	2
	define themselves	1		<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>2</b>
	carve out identity	1			
	sense of self	1			
	hallmark	1			
	branding	1			
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>10</b>			
<b>FAMILY</b>	nurture	2	<b>FAMILJ [family]</b>	bröder [brothers]	4
	foster	1		<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>4</b>
	brother	6			
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>9</b>			
<b>ACTING</b>	dominate the scene	1	<b>SKÅDESPEL [acting]</b>	det våras för [lit. 'Springtime for...'] First used in the Swedish title for the film Young Frankenstein, i.e. 'Springtime for Frankenstein' but now widely used in Swedish film titles.]	3
	burst on the scene	1		iscensatt [to stage]	2
	set the scene	1		visa upp sig [make an appearance]	2
	setting the stage	1		introducera [introduce]	1

	public platform	1		i alla skepnader [in all guises]	1
	parody	1		biljett till paradiset [ticket to paradise]	1
	puppets	1		strålkastarljuset [the spotlight]	1
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>7</b>		dramaturgi [dramaturgy]	1
				<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>12</b>
<b>BODY POSTURE</b>	stand	6	<b>KROPPS-STÄLLNING</b> [body posture]	stå [stand]	18
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>6</b>		<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>18</b>
<b>GAMES</b>	rules of the game	2	<b>SPEL [games]</b>	spelregler [rules of the game]	2
	playground	1		gäcka [baffle, mock]	2
	playing a card	1		motdrag [counter move in chess etc.]	1
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>4</b>		slagträ [bat]	1
				boomerangeffekt [boomerang effect]	1
				måltavla [target]	1
				<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>SLEEP/EYES CLOSED</b>	awakening	2	<b>SÖMN/STÄNGDA ÖGON</b> [sleep/eyes closed]	väckarklocka [alarm clock]	1
	head-in-the-sand	1		blundar [eyes closed]	2
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>3</b>		vakna [wake up]	1
				<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>SOUND</b>	vocal minority	3	<b>LJUD [sound]</b>	klinga av [fade away]	2
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>3</b>		tona ned [to tone down]	4
				<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>ANIMALS</b>	hunt	2	<b>DJUR [animals]</b>	flock [flock]	1
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>2</b>		fälla [fold]	1
				kacklande [cackle]	1
				jaga [hunt]	13
				<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>16</b>
<b>MATTER</b>	vacuum	2	<b>MATERIA [matter]</b>	konsolidera [consolidate]	1
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>2</b>		vacuum [vacuum]	2
				<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>DEVICES/PCs</b>	hardwired faith	1	<b>APPARATER [devices]</b>	driva in en kil [to put in a wedge, e.g. so a	1

				device does not work any longer]	
	walkman of the mind	1		apparat [device]	4
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>2</b>		<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>POLITICS</b>	march	1	<b>POLITIK [politics]</b>	prosteströrelse [protest movement]	2
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1</b>		frammarsh [a march moving forward]	1
				<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>CHEMISTRY</b>	litmus test	1	<b>KEMI [chemistry]</b>	neutralisera [neutralise]	1
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1</b>		<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1</b>
			<b>KRAFT-MÄTNING [trial of strength]</b>	kraft [power]	14
				växa sig starkare [grow stronger]	2
				växa sig starkt [grow strong]	1
				försvagning [weakening]	1
				stärks [strengthened]	1
				försvagad [weakened]	1
				krossad [crushed]	1
				politiska biceps [political biceps]	1
				<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>22</b>
<b>UPWARD MOVEMENT/ EXPANSION</b>	rise	7			
	under control	3			
	rising tide	2			
	crack down	1			
	step up	1			
	tight lid	2			
	contain	1			
	replicate	1			
	curb	1			
	out of control	1			
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>20</b>			
<b>DEVELOPMENT</b>	backward	5			
	progressive	4			
	primitive	3			
	regressive	2			
	evolve	1			

	archaic	1			
	enemies of civilisation	1			
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>17</b>			
<b>STORIES</b>	telling stories	5			
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>5</b>			
			<b>SYRA [acidity]</b>	genomsyra [to make sour, e.g. when making yoghurt]	3
				surdeg [leaven]	1
				<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>FOOD</b>	fed me by the state	1			
	ingredients	1			
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>2</b>			
			<b>MUSIK [music]</b>	tio-i-topp [top of the pops]	1
				med på noterna [lit. follow the notes, meaning 'to catch on']	1
				<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>2</b>
			<b>FARTYG [ships]</b>	skeppsbrott [shipwreck]	1
				gå under [capsize]	1
				<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>2</b>
			<b>KRIMINALITET [crime]</b>	kriminell [criminal]	1
				lakej [lackey]	1
				<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>2</b>
			<b>ELEKTRICITET [electricity]</b>	laddningar [electrical charges]	1
				blixt [flash]	1
				<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>2</b>
			<b>EXPLOSION [explosion]</b>	krutdurk [powder keg]	2
<b>KIDS' STORIES</b>	bogeyman	1		<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>2</b>
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1</b>			
<b>WEATHER</b>	lull before the second desert storm	1			
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1</b>			

<b>STUDY</b>	schooled the suicide bombers	1			
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1</b>			
<b>OVERALL TOTAL</b>		<b>460</b>	<b>OVERALL TOTAL</b>		<b>461</b>



## Appendix B: Metaphors in EngRhetoric 1 and SwedeRhetoric

### 1

Below is a complete list of all source domains and all metaphorical expressions found in EngRhetoric 1 and SwedeRhetoric 1. The domains that appear in both corpora are listed first, arranged in descending order according to the number of tokens in EngRhetoric 1. Below these domains, the source domains that only appear in one corpus are listed in descending order according to the number of tokens, irrespective of which corpus they appear in.

Overview: EngRhetoric 1 and SwedeRhetoric 1	
Number of source domains in EngRhetoric 1:	34
Number of source domains in SwedeRhetoric 1:	34
Number of source domains in common:	28
Number of source domains unique to EngRhetoric 1:	6
Number of source domains unique to SwedeRhetoric 1:	6

Metaphors in Islamist Rhetoric					
EngRhetoric 1			SwedeRhetoric 1		
Source Domain	Metaphorical expression		Source Domain	Metaphorical expression	
RELIGION	high priest	3	RELIGION [religion]	martyrskap [martyrdom]	3
	crusade/crusader	26		Allahs fiender [enemies of Allah]	3
	martyr/martyrdom (i.e. any Muslims killed by the US/ West/ Israel)	15		skenhelig [sancti- monious]	1
	Armageddon	3		hycklare [hypocrite]	4
	missionary zeal	1		sälja sin själ till djävulen [sell one's soul to the devil]	1
	revival	3		falska profeter [false prophets]	1
	evil	3		förmögen- hetsreligion	1

				[religion of wealth]	
	sinful crime	3		paradis [paradise]	1
	demonise	2		islamsk fana [Islamic flag]	1
	cross worshippers	10		offra sitt liv [offer one's life]	2
	hypocrite	1		<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>18</b>
	plunder	3			
	loot	1			
	apostate	8			
	blessed	11			
	advent	1			
	sacrifice	11			
	infidel	4			
	magic	1			
	banner of Jihad	1			
	inquisition	3			
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>114</b>			
<b>WAR</b>	attack	18	<b>KRIG [war]</b>	kämpa [fight]	23
	warrior	2		fiender [enemies]	22
	battle/battling	3		krig [war]	17
	front	2		bekämpa [fight against]	4
	war	14		terrorisera [terrorise]	3
	target	11		mål [target]	5
	contain	1		attack [attack]	3
	defeat	6		förklara krig [declare war]	1
	conquer	12		vapen [weapons]	5
	onslaught	2		förkämpe [fighter]	2
	fall	2		strid [fight]	10
	loss	2		ammunition [ammunition]	1
	taskforce	1		militära operationer [military operations]	1
	clash	7		kampen [the fight/struggle]	10
	defend	8		besegra [defeat]	2
	New York military expedition	1		högborg [stronghold]	1
	downfall	2		<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>110</b>
	concentration camp	2			
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>96</b>			
<b>LACK OF MANHOOD</b>	backside	5	<b>INTE RIKRIGA MÄN [not real men]</b>	har ingen ryggrad [no backbone]	1

	tongue	12		<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1</b>
	rear end	4			
	service (rear end)	2			
	rent-boy	1			
	castration	1			
	cut off testicles	1			
	impotence	1			
	eunuch	1			
	losing manhood	1			
	requisite hormones	1			
	bulges (where it matters)	1			
	manliness	1			
	no guts	2			
	whimper	2			
	spineless	2			
	armchair jihad	1			
	moderate tendencies (used ironically)	6			
	'moderate' (used with quotation marks)	7			
	call him spokeswoman	1			
	boyhood	1			
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>54</b>			
<b>FAMILY</b>	sons	1	<b>FAMILJ [family]</b>	bror broder [brother]	35
	brother	32		syster [sister]	27
	sister	17		släktskap [family relationships]	1
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>50</b>		familj [family]	1
				<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>64</b>
<b>HUMAN BEING/ BODY</b>	embrace	4	<b>MÄNNISKA/ MÄNNISKO- KROPPEN [human being/ human body]</b>	fria hander [free hands]	1
	baby steps	1		blint [blindly]	1
	footsteps	3		rumpor [buttocks]	1
	lifeblood	1		blod [blood]	15
	muscular	1		fötter [feet]	3
	clung to	1		strypas [strangled]	1
	feet firmly on the ground	7		omättliga hunger [insatiable hunger]	1
	hat in hand	1		blind [blind]	2
	you have suffered (Fallujah)	2		döv [deaf]	1
	eyes	4		nicka instämmande [nod approvingly]	1

	look	2		vänner [friends]	1
	face	1		tungan [tongue]	1
	blush	2		handen [hand]	2
	dismember- ment	2		släcka sin törst [quench one's thirst]	1
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>31</b>		slicka USA:s fötter [lick the feet of the US]	1
				smygande [stealthy]	3
				<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>36</b>
<b>ANIMALS</b>	slug	2	<b>DJUR [animals]</b>	slakta [slaughter]	1
	weasel	2		gris [pig]	2
	red herring	1		djungelns lag [the law of the jungle]	1
	cockroach	2		ömsa skin [shed its skin]	1
	predatory	2		tama fördömanden [tame condemnations]	1
	bloodhound	1		helvetets hundar [hounds of hell]	1
	wag tail	1		stryk medhårs [stroke with the fur; opposite of rubbing someone the wrong way]	1
	hatch	2		<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>8</b>
	lion	5			
	catch	1			
	hunting	1			
	asses	1			
	jungle	3			
	carve into pieces	2			
	slaughter	4			
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>30</b>			
<b>EMPIRE</b>	colonise/ colonisation (by US/West in the present, as below)	3	<b>IMPERIUM [empire]</b>	stormakts-fasoner [behaving like a big power]	1
	imperialism	12		leka världspolis [play world police]	1
	colonialist	10		imperialismen [imperialism]	7
	colony	1		västvärldens herravälde [the hegemony of the West]	2
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>26</b>		herre över Sverige [lord over Sweden]	1
				totala dominans [total domination]	9

				kolonialisterna [colonial powers]	8
				<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>29</b>
<b>BUSINESS</b>	agenda	6	<b>FÖRETAG [businesses]</b>	affären [the deal]	1
	business as usual	1		köpta drängar [paid henchmen]	1
	peddle	2		monopol [monopoly]	1
	gas station	2		ensamrätt [exclusive rights]	1
	export	3		köpa hela paketet [buy the whole package]	1
	slogan	4		arbeta [work]	6
	monopolised	3		<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>11</b>
	bankruptcy	3			
	bargaining chip	1			
	boss	1			
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>26</b>			
<b>ENGINEERING/ DEVICES</b>	install (democracy)	5	<b>INJENGÖRS- KONST/ APPARATER [engineering/ devices]</b>	motpoler [opposite poles]	1
	mechanism	5		maksin/maskineri [machine/ machinery]	2
	lynch-pin	1		plundrings- mekanismer [mechanisms of plunder]	2
	propaganda machine	4		tål att testas [endure testing]	1
	apparatus	7		instrument [instrument]	2
	life is video taped	1		göra parkerings plats [turn into a car park]	1
	assembly-line	1		<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>9</b>
	remote control	1			
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>25</b>			
<b>BUILDING/ STRUCTURE</b>	undermine	5	<b>BYGGNAD/ STRUKTUR [building/ structure]</b>	grund/grunda [foundation/found]	24
	foundation	8		förfallet [collapse]	1
	crumbled	1		uppbyggnad [being built]	5
	sand castle	1		<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>30</b>

	door	3			
	collapse	3			
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>21</b>			
<b>ACTING</b>	charade	1	<b>SKÅDESPEL [acting]</b>	clowner [clowns]	2
	puppet	13		showbiz [shwobiz]	1
	garbs	1		Hollywood	2
	parade	1		skådespelar-talanger [talents for acting]	3
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>16</b>		stoltsera med [to swagger about]	1
				släppa en storfilm [release a major film]	1
				ge sken av [give the impression of]	2
				<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>12</b>
<b>CRIME</b>	rip open	1	<b>KRIMINA- LITET [crime]</b>	stjåla åsikter [steal opinions]	1
	rape	1		<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1</b>
	thugs	1			
	terrorist (Sharon & Israel)	9			
	gangster (Chechen enemies)	1			
	miscreant	1			
	rabble	1			
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>15</b>			
<b>BONDAGE</b>	shackles	2	<b>FÅNGENSKAP [bondage]</b>	bojor [shackles]	2
	manacles	1		tyranner/ tyranniet [tyrants/ tyranny]	7
	tyranny/tyrant	11		fötter och händer fastlåsta [feet and hands locked]	1
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>14</b>		träldom [servitude]	1
				onsynligt nät av stål [invisible net of steel]	1
				ledband [lead, like a dog's leash]	1
				<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>13</b>
<b>ILLNESS</b>	infected	1	<b>SJUKDOM [illness]</b>	sjukt [sick]	2
	virus	1		sjukdomar [illnesses]	1
	plague	2		<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>3</b>

	pestilent	1			
	crutch	1			
	nostrum	2			
	analgesic	2			
	immune	2			
	dose	1			
	sickly	1			
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>14</b>			
<b>MIND/BRAIN</b>	eradicate mind	1	<b>HJÄRNA [brain]</b>	fula saker i hjärnan [ugly things in your brain]	1
	colonise minds	1		släng tankar till höger och vänster [throw thoughts left and right]	1
	intellectual warrior/war	3		hjärntvättad [brainwashed]	5
				indoktrinerad [indoctrinated]	2
	mental control/ control minds	3		forma till västerländska hjärnor [to form into Western brains]	1
	slave-minded	1		intellektuell terrorism [intellectual terrorism]	3
	brainwash	2		huvud fyllt till bristnings-gränsen [head filled to breaking-point]	1
	infuse minds	1		<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>14</b>
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>12</b>			
<b>BODY POSTURE</b>	stand	10	<b>KROPPS- STÄLLNING [body posture]</b>	står på x:s sida [standing on x's side]	30
		<b>10</b>		lägga sig i [to interfere, lit. 'to lie down in']	1
				stödja någon [support someone]	2
				översitteri [bullying, lit. sit above]	1
				resa sig från stolen [leave the chair]	1
				lagt sig [stopped, lit. 'laid down']	1
				legat tung [laid heavily]	1
				<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>37</b>

<b>GAMES</b>	supreme game	4	<b>SPEL [games]</b>	spel [games]	2
	body bag award	1		leka [play]	1
	lucky winner	2		vinna [win]	2
	<b>TOTAL</b>	7		schackdrag [chess move]	4
				<b>TOTAL</b>	9
<b>SLEEP</b>	wake up/awaken	5	<b>SÖMN [sleep]</b>	trötta muslimer [tired Muslims]	1
	stirring	2		dvala [hibernation, torpor]	1
	<b>TOTAL</b>	7		vakna till [suddenly wake up]	2
				<b>TOTAL</b>	4
<b>JOURNEY</b>	road	3	<b>RESA [journey]</b>	följa exempel [follow an example]	5
	course	3		efterfölja [follow after]	3
	<b>TOTAL</b>	6		steg [steps]	11
				väg [road]	16
				gå i hans fotspår [walk in his footsteps]	1
				vägledning [guidance]	5
				vilseledning [being led in the wrong direction]	1
				köra över [run over]	1
				framfart [advance]	1
				<b>TOTAL</b>	44
<b>POLITICS</b>	rubberstamp	1	<b>POLITIK [politics]</b>	inre revolution [inner revolution]	1
	march	5		inre revolt [inner revolt]	1
	<b>TOTAL</b>	6		<b>TOTAL</b>	2
<b>SPORTS</b>	hurdle	2	<b>SPORT [sports]</b>	arena [arena]	1
	two-horse race	2		<b>TOTAL</b>	1
	cheerleader	1			
	<b>TOTAL</b>	5			
<b>PLANTS</b>	roots	5	<b>VÄXTER [plants]</b>	plantera bomber [plant bombs]	2
	<b>TOTAL</b>	5		organiskt [organically]	1
				mogen [ripe]	1
				ryckas upp med rötterna [pulled up]	2



				by the roots]	
				fruktbar [fruitful]	4
				djupt rotad [deeply rooted]	1
				så [to sow]	1
				frön [seeds]	1
				skörda frukt [gather fruit]	1
				<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>14</b>
<b>SURFACE/ LANDSCAPE</b>	marginalise	1	<b>YTA/ LANDSKAP [surface/ landskap]</b>	milstolpe [mile stone]	1
	encompassing	1		inrymma [contain]	1
	realm	2		klyfta [chasm]	1
	heartland	1		<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>3</b>
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>5</b>			
<b>NETWORK</b>	bond	1	<b>NÄTVERK [network]</b>	kontakt [contact]	6
	network	1		relationsnät [relational network]	1
	link	4		förbindelser [connections]	5
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>5</b>		förgreningar [offshoots]	1
				nätverk [network]	2
				band [bonds]	6
				<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>21</b>
<b>PURITY</b>	filth	1	<b>RENHET [purity]</b>	smutsigt [dirty]	3
	defile	1		förorenade [impure]	1
	black hands	1		förgiftad idé [poisoned idea]	2
	pure	1		att rena avsikten [to purify the intent]	2
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>4</b>		<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>FIRE</b>	flame	1	<b>ELD/LJUS [fire/light]</b>	leda någon till ljuset [lead someone to the light]	2
	ignite	1		eld [fire]	2
	afire	1		ledstjärna [guiding star]	1
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>3</b>		brinnande [burning]	1
				skymundan [away from the lime light]	1
				dunkla [obscure, dark]	1
				gnista [spark]	1

				mörka djup [dark depths]	1
				mörker [darkness]	1
				<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>11</b>
<b>NATURE</b>	winds of change	1	<b>NATUREN [nature]</b>	blåst [wind]	1
	shockwaves	1		mänsklighetens skog har skövplats [the forest of humanity has been ravaged]	1
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>2</b>		dimman [the mist]	1
				stormvind i öknen [storm wind in the desert]	1
				<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>WATER</b>	ebbs and flows	1	<b>VATTEN [water]</b>	strömningar [currents]	3
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1</b>		oas [oasis]	1
				<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>4</b>
			<b>KRAFT-MÄTNING [trail of strength]</b>	kraftsamling [gathering of strength]	1
				stärka [strengthen]	4
				kraft [power]	11
				<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>16</b>
			<b>HJÄRTA [heart]</b>	tömma hjärtat [empty the heart]	1
				tynga hjärtat [weigh the heart down]	1
				rensa hjärtat [weed out the heart]	1
				härskar i hjärtat [reigns in the heart]	1
				förvridet [distorted heart] hjärta	1
				brustet hjärta [broken heart]	1
				göra motstånd med hjärtat [resist with the heart]	1
				<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>LABELS</b>	label	6			
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>6</b>			
<b>DRINKING VESSEL</b>	cup	4			

	beaker of humiliation	1			
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>5</b>			
<b>BREAKING WIND</b>	flatulent	1			
	fart	2			
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>3</b>			
			<b>FÄRG [paint]</b>	svartmåla [paint black]	3
				<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>OVERWEIGHT</b>	overstuffed	1			
	lard-bag	1			
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>2</b>			
			<b>VERTIKAL POSITION [vertical position]</b>	högsta nivå [highest level]	1
				högan sky [high up in the sky]	1
				<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>2</b>
			<b>KLÄDER [clothes]</b>	ikläder [puts on clothes]	1
				skepnad [guise]	1
				<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>HOLIDAY</b>	hunting excursions	1			
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1</b>			
<b>SHIP</b>	set adrift	1			
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1</b>			
			<b>VÅG [set of scales]</b>	vägs in [to be weighed]	1
				<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>TOTAL OVERALL</b>		<b>628</b>	<b>TOTAL OVERALL</b>		<b>552</b>

## ***Appendix C: Top Eight Source Domains Overall***

The total number of tokens for the top eight source domains in EngMedia 1, SwedeMedia 1, EngRhetoric 1 and SwedeRhetoric 1 taken together are listed below.

### **Top Eight Source Domains Overall**

1. WAR	378 tokens
2. NETWORK	211 tokens
3. RELIGION	200 tokens
4. FAMILY	127 tokens
5. BUSINESS	100 tokens
6. HUMAN BEING/HUMAN BODY	97 tokens
7. BUILDINGS/STRUCTURES	83 tokens
8. TRAVEL	74 tokens

## **Appendix D: Frequency Data**

The compilation and/or calculations for the frequency readings for the terms 'links'/'kopplingar' and 'network'/'nätverk' have been made in the following way.

### **British National Corpus**

Website: <http://view.byu.edu/> Accessed: 16 August 2005.

Search on 'links' using the sub-register NEWS produces 'PER MIL = 47.94'

Search on 'network' using the sub-register NEWS produces 'PER MIL = 49.63'

Corpus size for NEWS = 10,638,034 words

### **Språkbanken**

Website: <http://spraakbanken.gu.se/lb/konk/> Accessed: 16 September 2005.

Search on 'kopplingar' [links] using the sub-register SVD00 produces 83 tokens

Search on 'nätverk' [network] using the sub-register SVD00 produces 685 tokens

Corpus size for SVD00 = 13,131,043 words

Calculation for 'per million word frequency'

$$83 / 13.131 = 6.32$$

$$685 / 13.131 = 52.17$$

### **EngMedia 1**

'links' = 50 tokens (see page 24)

'network' = 28 tokens (see page 24)

Corpus size = 50,940 words

Calculations for 'per million word frequency'

'links':  $50 / 0.05094 = 981.55$

'network':  $28 / 0.05094 = 549.67$

**SwedeMedia 1**

'kopplingar' [links] = 18 tokens (see page 24)

'nätverk' [network] = 51 tokens (see page 24)

Corpus size = 50,741 words

Calculations for 'per million word frequency'

'kopplingar' [links]:  $18 / 0.05074 = 354.75$

'nätverk' [network]:  $51 / 0.05074 = 1,005.12$

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## **Corpora**

EngMedia 1 (See Table 1, p. 20)

SwedeMedia 1 (See Table 2, p. 20)

EngRhetoric 1 (See Table 3, p. 20)

SwedeRhetoric 1 (See Table 4, p. 21)

A CD with these four corpora is attached to the inside of the cover of this dissertation.

N.B. This CD is for PRIVATE STUDY ONLY.

## **Online Corpora**

British National Corpus: <http://view.byu.edu/> Accessed: 16 August 2005.

Språkbanken: <http://spraakbanken.gu.se/lb/konk/> Accessed: 16 September 2005.

## **Islamist Websites**

Internet Hagana's Database of Jihad websites: <http://haganah.org.il/jihadi/>