Exploring Edward Said's Journalistic Collocations in *Al-Ahram Weekly* Newspaper: A Corpus-Based Approach

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Abstract

This paper explores Edward Said's journalistic collocations as a discursive practice of the social actors that Said frequently referred to in *Al-Ahram Weekly* newspaper. Towards this end, a corpus-based approach has been utilized in a methodological synergy that combines the corpus techniques of extracting keywords and calculating collocations as well as the qualitative method of analysing social-actor representations (Van Leeuwen, 1996, 2008). The data used for analysis comprise a corpus of virtually all the articles written by Said in *Al-Ahram Weekly* from 1998 till 2003. The corpus is 105,031words and has been electronically manipulated by the corpus software tools of Wmatrix (Rayson, 2003) and WordSmith (Scott, 2012). The paper has reached three findings. First, Said's journalistic discourse in *Al-Ahram Weekly* revolves around 38 social-actor keywords that reflect his thematic foci all through the time span he was writing articles for the newspaper. Second, of all these keywords, only twelve node words have been identified to associate with peculiar collocates; the node words were divided into (1) nominations of political personas and (2) genericizations with various discourse functions. Third, Said's peculiar collocations reflected his ideological orientations towards certain political personas and specific topics in his journalistic discourse.

Keywords: Al-Ahram Weekly, collocations, corpus linguistics, Edward Said, social actors, Wmatrix, WordSmith

1. Introduction

The Palestinian-American critic and academic Edward Said (1935–2003) has been celebrated worldwide for his style of writing, be it academic or journalistic. Said was commissioned to write a column in the Egyptian newspaper of *Al-Ahram Weekly*, issued in English, over the time period between 1998 and 2003. One of the stylistic features that can readily be observed in Said's journalistic style is his unique usage of collocations (or at least, lexical associations) that reflect certain political representations and evaluations. Even so, thus far, there has been no systematic research on the discursively subtle meanings underlying such usage of collocations or lexical associations in Said's journalistic discourse (see Section 2).

Arguably, the linguistic phenomenon of collocation was brought to light with John Firth's (1957) famous declaration that "you shall know a word by the company it keeps" (p. 179). Thereupon this declaration, Firth has put forward the technical term "meaning by collocation" (p. 194). Since then, the term has been investigated from various approaches. One of those early approaches has been influenced by the psychological aspect of collocability, with a focus on the "collocative meaning" as comprising the typical associations of lexical items (co-)occurring in their environments (Leech, 1974, p. 20; Halliday & Hasan, 1976, p. 287). Another approach to collocation meaning has been text-linguistically oriented. A pioneering study that presented this approach was initiated by Sinclair (1991), where collocation is defined as "the occurrence of two or more words within a short space of each other in a text" (Sinclair, 1991, p. 170). Indeed, it was Stubbs who began to develop Sinclair's notion of text-linguistic collocation into a fully-fledged corpus-based frame of investigation; this has been empirically feasible by means of Stubbs' (2001) frequency-bound formal node-collocate structure across various

spans in textual corpora: "A 'collocate' is a word-form or lemma which co-occurs with a node in a corpus. Usually it is frequent co-occurrences which are of interest, and corpus linguistics is based on the assumption that events which are frequent are significant" (Stubbs, 2001, p. 29).

Rather than being restricted to investigating the general language of newspapers—topically or thematically—by means of corpus-based methods, the present context of research attempts to reveal the journalistic ideology of a certain professional writer, that is, Edward Said. The current study hypothesizes that using the corpus techniques of extracting keywords, calculating their peculiar collocates, and concordancing as well as the discourse approach of social-actor representations can reflect the ideological stance adopted by Edward Said in his journalistic writings in *Al-Ahram Weekly* newspaper. Towards (dis)proving this hypothesis, the following research questions need to be addressed: (1) What are the social-actor keywords used by Edward Said in his journalistic writings in *Al-Ahram Weekly*? (2) How can the peculiar collocates of these keywords be calculated? (3) To what extent do Said's peculiar collocations reflect his ideological stance in his discourse of *Al-Ahram Weekly*?

The remainder of the present paper is divided into six sections. Section 2 surveys the literature relevant to corpus-based research on the language of newspapers. Section 3 demonstrates how collocability is investigated in corpus linguistics with a focus on the collocation statistics of MI and *t*-score. Section 4 presents the theoretical relationship between the node-word collocation structure and social-actor representations in discourse. Section 5 outlines the methodology adopted in current research in terms of the data used for analysis and the procedure followed in conducting the analysis. Section 6 offers the analysis of collocations in relation to their potential social-actor representations in the journalistic discourse of Said. Section 7 closes the study with a summary of the main research point and the important findings coming therefrom.

2. Review of Literature

Stubbs' (2001) corpus-based approach to collocation has proven practically useful in achieving what Firth refers to as "the test of collocability" (Firth, 1957, p. 194). In other words, Stubbs paid due attention to the statistical definition of collocation: "My definition is therefore a statistical one: 'collocation' is frequent co-occurrence" (Stubbs, 2001, p. 29). With this definition, the different types of collocation statistics have increasingly become a yardstick against which significantly collocating pairs have been tested; and, as such, the analyst's bias has been minimized in such a way that a whole plethora of studies offered empirically tested collocations with typical discourse prosodies—be they negative or positive—associated with certain discursive practices. This type of research has been especially conducted on the language of newspapers.

By way of illustration, Mahlberg (2007) reports Tribble's (2006) significant study as examining Guardian texts by extracting keyword lists with a view to identifying "which personalities dominate the news agenda over a particular period of time" (Mahlberg, 2007, p. 197). Commenting on Tribble's (2006, p. 165) identification of the keywords "*Clinton, Blair, Milosevic, Bush, Clinton's, Gore, Pinochet, Netanyahu, Putin, Hague, Blair's*" in the corpus data, Mahlberg (2007, p. 197) argues that for the period 1996–2001, investigating "the collocates of the key words can then 'sort the good guys from the baddies'," immediately before the 9/11 event. Besides, analysing an environmental news story, Bednarek and Caple (2012) employed frequency lists and concordance analysis of news values; similarly, the same authors proposed corpus techniques towards examining newsworthiness, but with a strict focus on the word frequency and keywords applied to a relatively small corpus of about 70,000 words (Bednarek & Caple, 2014).

Indeed, the first case study on a prodigious newspaper corpus, with both synchronic and diachronic aspects of analysis, was provided by Potts et al. (2015) with the purpose of evaluating "corpus techniques that were *not* tested previously, in particular tagged lemma frequencies, collocation, key part-of-speech tags (POStags) and key semantic tags" (p. 154). In addition to the evaluation of these corpus-based techniques at the level of newsworthiness, Potts et al. (2015) offered insights into how the specific happening of Hurricane Katrina has been linguistically constructed in chief American newspapers. Additionally, Wasuwong (2017) adopted a multidisciplinary approach of CDA and corpus linguistics to investigate ideological bias through collocations in 300 news stories on the Syrian conflict as reported by CNN and Russia Today News Outlets (RT); Wasuwong (2017) found that the three keywords of SYRIA, AIRSTRIKERS, and KILLED and their collocating pairs revealed ideologically motivated imbalances in representing the Syrian conflict across the two sets of data.

Now, having surveyed the main corpus-based research conducted on newspaper language, it is time we shifted to discussing the burgeoning field of corpus linguistics and its close bearings on the notion of collocability.

3. Corpus Linguistics and Collocability

Corpus linguistics is widely known as "the study of language based on examples of 'real life' language use" (McEnery & Wilson, 1996/2001, p. 1). Yet, at a more concrete level, corpus-based approaches to the study of language have been characterized by four essential features: (i) "it is empirical, analyzing the actual patterns of use in natural texts"; (ii) "it utilizes a large and principled collection of natural texts," or corpus; (iii) "it makes extensive use of computers for analysis"; and (iv) "it depends on both qualitative and quantitative analytical techniques" (Biber et al., 1998, p. 4). The technical term "corpora", as used in modern linguistics, refers to "large bodies of naturally occurring language data stored on computers" (Baker, 2006, p. 1); and therefore, corpora have enabled linguists to "contextualize their analyses of language" and as such they are "very well suited to more functionally based discussions of language" (Meyer, 2002, p. 6).

McEnery and Wilson (2001, p. 17) have aptly used the metaphor of machine-corpus "marriage" in a way that illustrates the computer's ability to "search for a particular word, sequence words, or even … part of speech in a text" as well as to **retrieve** all examples of this word, usually in context," in what is computationally known as "**a concordance**" (McEnery & Wilson, 2001, p. 18, bold in original). These computer-based functions are enabled by what McEnery and Hardie (2012) describe as the "third-generation of concordance software," such as "WordSmith (Scott, 1996), MonoConc (Barlow 2000), AntConc (Anthony 2005) and Xaira" (p. 40). One essential function enabled by such concordance software is the generation of keyword lists, where keywords are viewed as a textual concept, i.e., those lexical items with significance in the text due to "unusual frequency in comparison with a reference corpus of some suitable kind" (Scott & Tribble, 2006, p. 55). A reference corpus is typically larger than the corpus wherein the keywords are used, and is often "representative of a particular language variety" (Baker, 2006, p. 30).

Another function that is enabled by concordance software is collocability testing, i.e., using statistics that tests how a node word is significantly and/or strongly associated with a collocate or a set of collocates in a given corpus or text. Arguably, using corpus-based statistics of collocability is such an improvement over manual analysis (Krishnamurthy, 2000; Hunston, 2002). Evert (2009) classifies "association measures" of collocability into two major groups: "*effect-size measures* (MI, Dice, odds-ratio) and *significance measures* (z-score, t-score, simple-ll, chi-squared, log-likelihood)" (p. 1237). Both mutual information (MI) and *t*-score are argued here to be suitable association measures of relevant "aspects of collocativity" (Salama, 2011, 2012). On the one hand, collocational strength can be measured by the MI score, which can be "taken as evidence that two items are collocates" if it is "3 or higher" (Hunston, 2002, p. 71). On the other hand, "*t*-scores tend to show high-frequency pairs [of collocation]"; and a *t*-score of "2 or higher is normally considered to be statistically significant" (McEnery et al., 2006, pp. 56–57).

Interestingly, lexical associations with "high positive mutual information scores"—albeit producing low-frequency pairs in corpus data—tend to highlight the "more idiosyncratic collocates of a node"; and therefore these reflect instances of collocation that are "peculiar to [one] corpus" (Clear, 1993, p. 281) and further "constitute characteristic collocations" (McEnery & Wilson, 2001, p. 86). Hence the need for the *t*-score as a criterion for measuring "the confidence with which we can claim that there is some association" (Church & Hanks, 1990; cited in McEnery at al., 2006, p. 57).

Notwithstanding this, collocability should be taken one step further beyond the corpus-software statistics of node-collocate association, and be treated as a discursive practice whereby potential ideological meanings of collocation can be empirically identified (Salama, 2011). This can be realized should we view collocation as a recontextualized textual practice consciously made by language users towards producing some ideological effect—hence ideological collocation.

4. Collocation and Social-Actor Representations

At a theoretical level, we follow Sinclair's understanding of collocation as a text-linguistic term that is predicated on the three crucial concepts of "node," "span," and "collocates":

> We may use the term **node** to refer to an item whose collocations we are studying, and we may then define a **span** as the number of lexical items on each side of a node that we consider relevant to that node. Items in the environment set by the span we will call **collocates**. (Sinclair, 1966, p. 415; emphasis in original)

Further, we entertain the conceptualization that on occasion collocation is so inseparable from ideology that there can be textual space for "ideological collocation" (Salama, 2011). One method that may be used in order to detect the ideological representations underlying the collocational relationship between a node and its potential collocates across some given span in text is Van Leeuwen's (1996, 2008) theory of the discursive representation

of social actors; these social actors, being constitutive elements of a discourse, are "semantically involved in a social practice" (Salama, 2014, p. 131). Thus, viewed as a discourse participant, a node may enter into various relationships with those potential collocates in a textual practice in a way that reflects the collocation user's ideology—in our case, Said's ideology in the textual practice of writing articles in *Al-Ahram Weekly* as part of his journalistic discourse. By now, this is already methodologically established as collocation-based representations of social actors (Salama, 2012). Van Leeuwen (2008, pp. 35–51) offers an exhaustive typology of the discursive representations potentially associated with the social actors involved in a textual practice of some sort.

Here, we focus on those representations that have strongly featured in the corpus data, used in the current context of research, as node words with peculiar collocates. The first representation is "Genericization and Specification," where some social actors are represented by generic reference as "classes" or by specific reference as "identifiable individuals" (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 35). The second is "Association" (p. 39), with social actors represented as groups, e.g., by means of "circumstances of accompaniment" (with X or Y). The third is "Differentiation," i.e., constructing social actors as being differentiated "from a similar actor or group, creating the difference between the 'self' and the 'other', or between 'us' and 'them'" (p. 40). The fourth is "Nomination," with social actors represented in terms of their "unique identity" (p. 40). The fifth is "Functionalization," where social actors are represented in terms of "an activity," i.e., "something they do, for instance, an occupation or role" (p. 42). The sixth is "Personalization," where social actors can be personalized, i.e., represented as human beings with well-defined characteristics (p. 46).

Now, having covered the theoretical framework utilized for the data analysis, let us discuss the methodology adopted in the present study.

5. Methodology

This section is concerned with two methodological aspects, starting with a description of the research data then followed by a brief account of the procedure that details the steps taken towards analysing the data.

5.1 Research Data

The research data used for analysis is a specialized corpus that consists of virtually all the articles written by Edward Said in *Al-Ahram Weekly* from 1998 till 2003. The corpus counts 105,031 words. *Al-Ahram Weekly* is an Egyptian newspaper that was established in 1991 and produced in English. The newspaper has had a notably wide circulation and mediate both local and global news in various media domains, viz. economics, politics, culture, sports, cuisine, and literature. The secondary set of corpus data is the BNC Sampler Written used as one of the reference corpora utilized by the corpus software of Wmatrix (Rayson, 2003). The reference corpus is 968,267 words. It has been selected as a reference corpus against which Edward Said's corpus can be compared for the sake of generating the keyword list of the specialized corpus.

5.2 Procedure

The methodological procedure adopted in the present study comprises two stages. The first stage runs through two phases: (i) the computational identification of the keywords appearing in Said's specialized corpus as compared against the BNC Sampler Written; these keywords have been determined based on their status as social actors in Said's journalistic discourse; (ii) the calculation of both strong and significant collocates of the relevant keywords, presented as node words, by means of the collocation statistics offered by Wmatrix, viz. MI score of 3 or higher and *t*-score of 2 or higher. It should be noted that those keywords without collocates would not be taken as node words that are amenable to further concordance qualitative analysis. The second stage is a concordance qualitative analysis of the node words and their collocates as used in their relevant contexts; the corpus software of WordSmith (Scott, 2012) has been utilized for generating the node-collocate concordances.

6. Analysis: Edward Said's Journalistic Collocations in *Al-Ahram Weekly*

The overall two-stage analysis is predicated on treating Said's journalistic collocations as a discursive practice of the social actors denoted in his articles in *Al-Ahram Weekly*. The first stage of analysis sets out with identifying the node-collocate structure as potentially realized through extracting the social-actor keywords running in text and calculating the strong and significant collocates associated with these keywords in Said's journalistic discourse. The second stage is focused on the concordance-based analysis of the node-collocate structures in terms of their social-actor representations in the same discourse.

6.1 Identifying Node-Collocate Structure

Wmatrix has identified 166 keywords in the corpus of Said's journalistic writings in *Al-Ahram Weekly*. But only

keywords that stand as potential social actors in Said's journalistic discourse have been selected and exhibited in Table 1. As demonstrated in the table, these keyword social actors totalled 38 and they seem to carry various functions in terms of persons, groups, places, and time frames. Initially, this seems to suggest an ideological diversity of Said's journalistic representation of social actors. However, at this early stage of analysis, we cannot formulate definitive conclusions as to the kind of social-actor representation produced by Said in his journalistic discourse.

Table 1. Keyword social actors in Said's writings in *Al-Ahram Weekly*

No.	Item	01	%1	02	%2	LL	Log Ratio
1	Israel	448	0.45	31	0.00 +	1896.29	7.12
2	Palestinians	219	0.22	31	0.00 +	854.97	6.09
3	Arabs	119	0.12	14	0.00 +	476.34	6.36
4	Iraq	112	0.11	12	0.00 +	453.48	6.49
5	Arafat	87	0.09	0	0.00 +	411.67	10.71
6	Palestine	90	0.09	10	0.00 +	362.82	6.44
7	Israelis	88	0.09	14	0.00 +	337.57	5.92
8	Sharon	71	0.07	1	0.00 +	325.62	9.42
9	US	356	0.35	1132	0.12 +	270.26	1.60
10	Jews	77	0.08	31	0.00 +	240.98	4.58
11	America	90	0.09	62	0.01 +	232.56	3.81
12	Oslo	49	0.05	0	0.00 +	231.86	9.89
13	Ramallah	14	0.01	0	0.00 +	66.25	8.08
14	Netanyahu	14	0.01	0	0.00 +	66.25	0.08
15	Bush	46	0.05	2	0.00 +	201.43	7.79
16	academics	15	0.01	1	0.00 +	63.69	7.18
17	Hamas	13	0.01	0	0.00 +	61.51	7.97
18	West_Bank	41	0.04	1	0.00 +	184.75	8.63
19	Zionism	37	0.04	0	0.00 +	175.08	9.48
20	Gaza	40	0.04	5	0.00 +	158.86	6.27
21	Clinton	33	0.03	5	0.00 +	127.57	5.99
22	Islam	32	0.03	7	0.00 +	116.09	5.46
23	Saddam	24	0.02	0	0.00 +	113.56	8.86
24	Jerusalem	31	0.03	9	0.00 +	105.81	5.06
25	terrorists	26	0.03	9	0.00 +	84.90	4.80
26	Holocaust	19	0.02	1	0.00 +	82.16	7.52
27	Muslims	25	0.02	12	0.00 +	74.04	4.33
28	PLO	28	0.03	31	0.00 +	56.96	3.12
29	Egypt	43	0.04	91	0.01 +	53.23	2.19
30	Zionists	11	0.01	0	0.00 +	52.05	7.73
31	apartheid	16	0.02	6	0.00 +	51.11	4.69
32	anti-semitism	14	0.01	3	0.00 +	50.99	5.49
33	Iraqis	9	0.01	0	0.00 +	42.59	7.44
34	CNN	11	0.01	2	0.00 +	41.28	5.73
35	Hizbullah	6	0.01	0	0.00 +	28.39	6.86
36	9/11	6	0.01	0	0.00 +	28.39	6.86
37	Syria	16	0.02	22	0.00 +	28.32	2.81
38	Al-Qa'eda	4	0.00	0	0.00 +	18.93	6.27

Again, using Wmatrix, we calculated the peculiar and statistically significant collocates of each of the keywords identified in Table 1, to the exclusion of those keywords which have not attracted any collocates. Wmatrix has demonstrated a list of 18 keywords without significant collocates, namely, *Arabs*, *Ramallah*, *academics*, *Hamas*, *Islam*, *terrorists*, *Holocaust*, *PLO*, *Egypt*, *Zionists*, *apartheid*, *anti-semitism*, *Iraqis*, *CNN*, *Hizbullah*, *9/11*, *Syria*, and *Al-Qa'eda*. Thus, these keywords are not considered for further collocation analysis, and do not appear as node words in Table 2.

Table 2. Node words and their collocates in Said's writings in *Al-Ahram Weekly* (Wmatrix, 2003)

No.	Keyword	Collocate	MI	T score
1	ISRAEL	supporters	5.88	2.20
		challenge	5.73	2.94
		support	4.94	3.06
2	PALESTINIANS	killed	5.61	2.19
		under	4.67	2.35
		against	3.45	2.40
3	ARAFAT	Yasser	9.20	3.99
		people	3.22	2.00
4	ISRAELIS	Palestinians	3.90	2.09
5	SHARON	Ariel	9.20	2.44
6	US	Israel	3.99	3.55
		power	3.48	2.04
7	BUSH	George	8.25	2.23
		administration	8.75	2.44
8	ZIONISM	American	5.26	2.18
9	SADDAM	Hussein	10.41	3.46
10	MUSLIMS	Arabs	7.09	2.63

Now, let us investigate the node-collocate relationships in their concordances with a view to teasing out their social-actor representations in the journalistic discourse of Said. This is tackled in the coming subsection.

6.2 Collocation-Based Representations of Social Actors

At this point, the ten node words identified with strong and significant collocates in Table 2 are recognized at two levels of social-actor representation. One is related to the highly personalized and nominated node-word social actors, specifically, proper nouns with specific references to certain political personas (subsection 6.2.1). The other is devoted to the generic node-word social actors, along with their collocates in the concordances, with certain aspects of representation highlighted, namely, association, differentiation, and functionalization (subsection 6.2.2).

6.2.1 Collocational Personalization, Nomination, and Specification

A number of the node words realized in Table 2 are remarkably personalized since they denote specific personas whose political weight can easily be recognized in Said's journalistic discourse in *Al-Ahram Weekly*; this may be substantiated in view of the premise that such node words are already top keywords in the corpus. These node words are ARAFAT, SHARON, BUSH, and SADDAM. Interesting about all four node words is the fact that their collocates are semantically the same type of noun, i.e., proper nouns. As such, both the node word and its collocate(s) mark a given individual that has a particular role in Said's discourse; and therefore such node-collocate structures are liable to be investigated in their respective concordances.

To begin, as demonstrated in Figure 1, the node ARAFAT collocate with the word *Yasser* in a way that reveals the identity of the ex-President of Palestine Yasser Arafat. Obviously at the time of writing this piece of journalism, Arafat was in office and Said was interested in him as a significant social actor. Crucially, the concordance lines reflect Said's dominant negative representation of the political persona of Arafat; this representation has consisted mainly in attributing pejorative qualities to him; for example, being indifferent to his people (line 7), being "a docile partner" (line 8), being "blind" in vision to some given fact (line 9), and showing "servile acquiescence" (line 12).

N	Concordance
3	by federal law to return $7,000 worth of jewelry given to her by Yasser Arafat; and, according to the same official US government source,
4	political responsibilities with regard to its people's past. When Yasser Arafat gave his ill-fated little speech at the White House ceremony in
5	outlines of the 1982 Israeli invasion; in a memo he wrote to Yasser Arafat and Abu Jihad, he also sadly forecast the quick defeat of PLO
6	in Israel as 'Allon Plus'. This way, even if Palestinian President Yasser Arafat declares a Palestinian state in May 1999, as he is expected to,
7	or the soul to encompass what is at stake. The only recourse for Arafat is to turn to his people, and not just the group of sycophants and
8	, and in 1993 ended up delivering an exiled and sidelined Yasser Arafat as a docile partner with Israel in ending the Intifada, policing the
9	there will be a Palestinian state at the end of the road are, like Yasser Arafat, blind to the fact that in all essential features this "state" has no
10	straight from the US to Gaza, in order, apparently, to assure Yasser Arafat that he would work with the Palestinian Authority in furthering
11	grievances and claims. With his people, and only with his people, can Arafat become not only the conscience but also the vision of the peace
12	the Oslo accords is that, thanks to the senile acquiescence of Yasser Arafat, the damages of 30-plus years of Israeli occupation of the rest of
13	to emerge without equivocation that Sharon was trying to kill Yasser Arafat, by bombing everything around the defiant Palestinian leader.
14	is now 2002 and Clinton is no longer president.) It has been years since Arafat represented his people, their sufferings and cause, and like his
15	. Quite apart from his actual history of mistakes and misrule, Yasser Arafat is now being made to feel like a hunted Jew by the state of the
16	years before (in 1995, well after the Oslo signings) to admit Yasser Arafat to the Philharmonic Hall for a concert to which everyone at the
17	House. I recall many times during the 20 years that I knew Yasser Arafat well, trying to explain to him that this was a complex society
18	or Israeli troops to guard and interdict their free movement. Yasser Arafat and his men, who are at least as responsible for the current

Figure 1. The collocates of the node word ARAFAT

The above instances of negative attribution to Arafat specify a certain context wherein the nomination of the ex-President of Palestine seemed to lack the required political efficacy hoped for by the Palestinian people at the time of such representation. Categorizing Arafat as such, Said is so explicit in his ideological stance to Arafat as a seemingly dysfunctional leader of the Palestinian people. This may explain why the second collocate *people* is integral to the current social-actor representation of Arafat, where the collocate has been reiterated three times in the overall concordance, namely, lines 7, 11, and 14.

The second node-collocate of SHARON and *Ariel* is presented in Figure 2, where Said nominates the political persona of Ariel Sharon as a ministerial element in the Israeli government then. In this context, Said is so critical of Sharon as a social actor mainly by means of attributing the semantically denigrating adjective *egregious* to him (line 1) as well as identifying him as having "spurs" (line 4). Indeed, the rest of the concordance lines associated with Ariel Sharon position his persona into an objective line of argument about the ministerial affairs in Israel and the Middle East.

N	Concordance
1	in general and Palestinians in particular. In this the egregious Ariel Sharon is scarcely distinguishable from Barak, Rabin and Ben-Gurion
2	. I suppose it is churlish to mention that Barak is likely to retain Ariel Sharon as his foreign minister, and that the two men are scarcely
3	out its reprehensible demands. No wonder that in such a climate Ariel Sharon is Israel's leader. But in the end these thuggish tactics backfire,
4	the reasons for armed struggle. During the 1950s and 60s Ariel Sharon earned his spurs, so to speak, by heading the infamous Unit
5	country's southern border. Menachem Begin was prime minister, Ariel Sharon his minister of defense. The immediate reason for the invasion
6	. more particularly about what has been going on in the mind of Ariel Sharon. And when, after the recent Gaza bombing by one of his F-16s

Figure 2. The node-collocate structure SHARON & *Ariel*

Another nominal node-collocate structure is BUSH and *George* as exhibited in Figure 3. At a glance, such a nominal structure is couched into a lexical environment that is all too negative. This has been textually enabled by the words *sheepishly* (line 1), *moronic* (line 3), and *irrationally* (line 7); and finally the same negative representation continues with the pragmatic inference of Bush's corruption in the last line (line 8), with Bush having "spent over $200 million to get himself elected two years ago" since the time of Said's journalistic narrative itself. Interestingly, the same negative representation textually proceeds with the other collocate of BUSH, *administration*, yet in a rather dominantly metaphorical expression, e.g., "… like flies on a cake" (line 4) and "… adds fuel to the fire" (line 5). Perhaps, since the collocate *administration* is itself less concrete than the collocate *George*, Said has opted for metaphorical language as a rhetorical device whereby the abstraction inherent in the social actor *Bush administration* becomes demystified.

N	Concordance
1	with absolutely no new surprises or revelations to record. George W Bush (who has made the press conform sheepishly to his ridiculous
2	lobby in Washington. It is worth noting that before he came to the Bush administration Dennis Ross, the State Department consultant
3	, not simply to grovel before the Pope and the moronic George W Bush, even as the Israelis are killing his heroic people with impunity. A
4	(like Richard Perle, Paul Wolfowitz, and Donald Rumsfeld) who dot the Bush administration like flies on a cake. British imperialism, Israel's
5	dogma shared uncritically by the neo-cons who are at the heart of the Bush administration simply adds fuel to the fire. And so we are in for
6	and destructiveness of the whole Iraq and Middle East policy of the Bush administration. So powerful is the United States in comparison
7	with it.) That this evil has been made consciously part of George W Bush's campaign against terrorism, irrationally magnifying American
8	can control elections and national policy at will. Remember that George Bush spent over $200 million to get himself elected two years ago, and

Figure 3. The collocates of the node word BUSH

Figure 4 demonstrates the last nominal node-collocate structure appearing in Said's current journalistic discourse—SADDAM and *Hussein*. Topically, the 2003 American war against Iraq has brought such a collocational pattern in text here. Clearly, the first concordance line makes explicit Said's personal or subjective representation of Saddam Hussein: "I am not going to even bother here add my condemnations of Saddam Hussein as a dreadful person." The second line immediately specifies the social actor of Hussein as an invader of Kuwait; and with this revelation consciously made, Said puts forward some justification for his personal representation of the given nominated social actor. The same aspect of justification continues rather argumentatively in the third line that connects Hussein with "Al-Qa'eda", and then comes the next line with the attribution of criminality expressed assertively by Said's advisedly chosen and intensified attribute *incriminated*: "… he will be so incriminated with having …" (line 4). Still, the last two lines reflect Said's attitude towards Hussein who is constructed both in the lexical vicinity of Osama Bin Laden (line 5) and as a tyrant (line 6).

N	Concordance
1	. I am not going to even bother here to add my condemnations of Saddam Hussein as a dreadful person: I shall take it for granted that he
2	taken and pay for the abuses that are his responsibility to bear, just as Saddam Hussein should and did pay for his occupation of Kuwait. We
3	by Al-Qa'eda or the spurious threat supposedly embodied by Saddam Hussein, who is a terrible man of course, but is scarcely able
4	to get a resolution so stiff and so punitive that no matter whether or not Saddam Hussein complies he will be so incriminated with having
5	, for example, the facts that the US once had armed and encouraged Saddam Hussein and Osama Bin Laden, or that Vietnam (when it is
6	as sophisticated material appeared everywhere equating the tyranny of Saddam Hussein not only with evil, but with every known crime: much

Figure 4. The node-collocate structure of SADDAM & *Hussein*

Now, in the coming subsection, let us move to the second aspect of collocation-based representation of social actors in Said's discourse, with a focus on other aspects of journalistic representation.

6.2.2 Collocational Genericization, Association, Differentiation, and Functionalization

Again, turning back to Table 2, one can recognize a total of six node words which can initially be categorized as genericized social actors, compared to the previous section where only nominated and highly specific actors hold sway. The former social-actor node words are ISRAEL, PALESTINIANS, IRAQ, ISRAELIS, US, ZIONISM, and MUSLIMS. In what follows, we take each aside for concordance-based analysis.

The first node word ISRAEL appears in collocation with the items *supporters*, *challenge*, and *support* in Figure 5. The social-actor representation of Israel here looks as though there were two forces pulling apart its existence; one is related to the US supporters/support and the other to some aspect of challenge; and both forces have already been established as facts by Said, who of course reiterates their uses as collocates in his discourse. This brings in classifications of some sort: Israel as being supported by the US and Israel as being politically challenged. Perhaps the latter classification comes in close relation to the Arab countries. This assumption has already been insinuated in line 3 wherein Said precisely defines the political nature of the challenge: "The challenge of Israel is the challenge of our own societies." What is interesting and crucial in such representation is Said's highly affirmative tone about the US or American support of Israel (e.g., lines 8 and 9). Thus, the social actor of Israel is presented in association with another social actor, that is, the US. This should take us to the node word US as a social actor.

N	Concordance
1	. There is a wider and wider gap in fact between US supporters of Israel and Israeli citizens, a sizeable majority of whom know that in the
2	stranglehold on US media perspectives maintained by the supporters of Israel has produced an astonishingly reductive view of reality. Consider
3	the battle against our own failures and incompetence. The challenge of Israel is the challenge of our own societies. We are now unequal to the
4	in the country as well. To expect the US to lessen support of Israel, or even to become critical of it -- these are real possibilities in
5	. Looked at the from this perspective the fundamental challenge that Israel poses is to ourselves -- our inability to organize, our inability to
6	in the country as well. To expect the US to lessen support of Israel, or even to become critical of it -- these are real possibilities in
7	planted as idea and as reality since 1897. By posing the challenge of Israel in this manner a number of irreconcileable facts leap out at us.
8	to the president that stress, underline, re- iterate American support for Israel. There was such a resolution in May, just at the time when Israeli
9	East. Obviously he had total and unquestioning American support for Israel in mind, but his politely stated proposition seemed also to cover
10	their view of the region the dominant one among US supporters of Israel. A comment by Uzi Landau, Israeli internal security minister (and
11	world or what mischief the US dealt the Arabs through its support for Israel and the collective Arab dictatorships. In and of himself, Makiya is
12	be so for most but by no means all American Jewish supporters of Israel is something worth looking into. It goes back to the knowledge
13	anti-semitism. It simply does not occur to most American supporters of Israel to see Israel as the actual author of specific actions done in the

Figure 5. The collocates of the node word ISRAEL

The node word US is displayed in Figure 6 as strongly collocating with *Israel*. The lexical pattern is dominantly realized by the conjunctive element of "and" (lines 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8). This should cast light on the participant relation of association where one social actor seems to be textually inseparable from the other. The other collocate of US, *power*, effects the element of abstraction in representing the social actor US since the lexical item *power* is too general in reference, probably including all different aspects of power, e.g., economic, political, military, and otherwise. It is through this kind of power that the social actor of Israel has been supported and thus accorded political advantages over the Palestinian side in the Middle-East conflict. At this point, we may shift to the node word PALESTINIANS.

N	Concordance
1	this supposed to accomplish, and what does it say to the world about US power? This is a frightening message bearing no relationship to
2	the leader. Anyone who knows anything about either Israel or the US will tell you that such tricks are absolutely useless; they may gain
3	plainly evident in the calamitous recent history of our dealings with the US and Israel during the period since the Oslo accords were signed.
4	sectors, who roundly proclaim their enmity towards Israel and the US while in fact either collaborating with them politically and
5	like a supplicant in trying to re-open negotiations with Israel and the US. The same things can be said about the Arab regimes and even
6	peace with injustice rankling in every Palestinian breast. Israel and the US are too strong for him to take on alone and, since he has
7	about the past, spending his time instead thanking Israel and the US -- his most determined persecutors -- for their kindness. It was a
8	of turning Palestinians into Red Indians being prepared for us by the US and Israel and to a great extent also by our uncomprehending and
9	of them are generally in favor of somehow harming either Israel or the US. On the other hand, Israel and the US are widely perceived in the
10	of, and what besides Saddam it contains) destined for the exercise of US power unleashed illegally as a way of cowing the entire world in its
11	the world where the main problem is, to put it as plainly as possible, US power. But at what cost, and to what end? The daily hemorrhage
12	spreads, more unrest is almost certain: far from closing things down, US power is likely to stir them up in ways that may not be containable.

Figure 6. The collocates of the node word US

As shown in Figure 7, the node word PALESTINIANS lends itself perfectly to the social-actor representation of identification, where the word *Palestinians* reflects the identity of certain people as belonging to Palestine. Here comes the role of the collocating words *killed*, *under*, and *against*. In all three instances of collocation, the social actor *Palestinians* is constructed as being a victim in the same Middle-East conflict. For example, it is consistently represented as an object of killing (lines 2, 4, 9, 10, 11, and 13); further, the self-same social actor is lexically featured in the pattern "under occupation" (lines 6, 7, and 14); and finally, it is used as an object of the attitudinal preposition "against" (lines 1, 8, and 12). Of course, here, Said's ideology of empathy towards the Palestinian party to the conflict is so textually explicit as to reflect some antipathy towards the Israeli and American parties in the same conflict. This may be expected should we consider the fact that Said himself is half-Palestinian in nationality.

N	Concordance
1	final session admitted that a grave injustice was committed against the Palestinians, and that the essence of Zionism was that it was a
2	systematically have been stealing their land and an army that has killed Palestinians by the thousands. Thousands more have been imprisoned,
3	. I do not want to press the analogy too far, but it is true to say that Palestinians under Israeli occupation today are as powerless as Jews
4	Israeli settlements. During the past two weeks Israel has killed 75 Palestinians, many of them children, it has demolished houses,
5	for their rulers to do what they want in the name of security. Even the Palestinians under Oslo had a regime imposed on them that existed
6	, by peaceful means and with genuine national intent. In this effort Palestinians under occupation and those in the shatat or diaspora have
7	epithets as thieves, snakes, cockroaches and grasshoppers, Palestinians under occupation have now been reduced to 60 per cent
8	never used to bomb South African homelands. They are used against Palestinians towns and villages. All entrances and exits to the
9	Palestinians curtail their violence and acts of terrorism. Today five more Palestinians were killed, all of them civilian, victims of helicopter
10	destroying trees and orchards on Palestinian land. Although five or six Palestinians have been killed in the last few months for every one Israeli,
11	Israeli booby-trap in Gaza – to say nothing of the houses destroyed, the Palestinians killed throughout Gaza and the West Bank, the constant
12	the Jewish state during frequent periods of Israeli repression against the Palestinians. How could one possibly oppose analysing and learning
13	have predicted, the anti-colonial rebellion broke out, with eight killed Palestinians its first victims. Sharon was swept to power essentially to
14	occupation in the US, but have finally come to the conclusion that for Palestinians under this dreadful, Kafkaesque Israeli occupation, the

Figure 7. The collocates of the node word PALESTINIANS

Indeed, Said's political vision to the conflict between Israelis and Palestinians can be traced at the textual level of representing the social actor ISRAELIS, taken as a node word that collocates with the item *Palestinians* itself in Figure 8 in a way that yields the lexically dominant patterns *Israelis and Palestinians* and *Palestinians and Israelis*. As obviously demonstrated in the concordance lines, in either collocation pattern the relationship is that of association. Both social actors are not only strongly collocating but they form a conjoined unit that is semantically understood to be a single entity. This meaning of social-actor association is even expressed when Said uses the disjunctive—rather than conjunctive—form "nor": "… neither Israelis nor Palestinians have any alternative to sharing a land …" (line 8). Here, Said emphasizes his long-standing resolution to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, that is, sharing the same land. As such, "nor" has the discursive function of sustaining the association between the two social actors of Israelis and Palestinians.

N	Concordance
1	phrase, were radical but wrong. Whether it was the conflict between Israelis and Palestinians, or India and Pakistan, he was a force
2	of negotiations among Jews rather than between Palestinians and Israelis. But equality can only be based on the principle of equal identity
3	year 2000. Mercifully there are changes among both Palestinians and Israelis today (the re-emergence of the binational idea, the positive role
4	, found the actual business of talking to Palestinians and a few Israelis very rewarding and, given his conventional Zionist upbringing (he
5	, Egypt and Israel are still at peace. What would people think if a few Israelis and Palestinians got together and issued ringing proclamations
6	, religion or nationality. But a large majority of Palestinians and, I think, Israelis, know these things. And fortunately a political alternative
7	here -- takes a principled line, whether he addresses Palestinians, Israelis, or the foreign media. He has the respect of his people because
8	as the one I have described here augments my conviction that neither Israelis nor Palestinians have any alternative to sharing a land that both
9	an opportunity to do what no one else could, that is, really bring both Israelis and Palestinians (but especially Israelis) to a genuine
10	, something like a Truth and Reconciliation Commission made up of Israelis and Palestinians who have substantial moral status in their

Figure 8. The node-collocate structure of ISRAELIS & *Palestinians*

There is yet another type of social-actor association that can be observed between the node MUSLIMS and its collocate *Arabs* in Figure 9. Likewise, this aspect of association has been textually enacted by the conjunction marker "and"; the pattern is realized in one of two lexical formulas, either *Muslims and Arabs* or *Arabs and Muslims*. One significant aspect here is the ideological affinity holding between the social actors *Palestinians* on the one hand and the associated actors of *Muslims* and *Arabs* on the other (lines 1 & 3). Another significant aspect is the ideological opposition reflected by the differentiation established between the associated social actors *America* and *Israel* on the one hand and the associated actors *Arabs*, *Muslims*, and *Palestinians* on the other (line 3); the same aspect of differentiation can be recognized between *Arabs* and *Muslims* on the one hand and *Americans* on the other.

N	Concordance
1	on the probable causes of what took place, which many Palestinians, Muslims and Arabs have condemned, has been turned into a huge
2	journalism is a more unabashed hater and despiser of Arabs and Muslims, none more insulting, none more intransigent, none more
3	discourse is good for America and Israel, and certainly for the Arabs, Muslims and Palestinians, who seem to be little more than a collection
4	of ignorance. They are unalterably opposed to everything the Arabs, Muslims and, most especially, Palestinians stand for and would sooner
5	Arabs and Muslims, but rather with the way they would like Arabs and Muslims to be. For a great and enormously wealthy country to be
6	and their reservations a great deal more than in America, where Muslims and Arabs are already considered to be on the "other side",
7	Arab/Islamic world from imposing its perspectives not just on Arabs and Muslims but on Americans, whose sources of information about the
8	and ideological; they provide Americans not with ideas about Arabs and Muslims, but rather with the way they would like Arabs and Muslims to
9	focus for Palestinian politics, in which millions of other Arabs and Muslims have a very large stake. Arafat has always tolerated, indeed
10	in matters like globalisation or producing electricity and jobs. Arabs and Muslims might well turn against their own rulers were Arafat seen to be
11	Palestinian cavalry, been a source of continuing sorrow for Arabs and Muslims alike -- all this is literally never mentioned. Its vast oil reserves,

Figure 9. The node-collocate structure of MUSLIMS & *Arabs*

The last node-collocate structure of ZIONISM and *American* appears in Figure 10 in a way that establishes the social-actor representation of functionalization; this can readily be observed in the concordance lines wherein American Zionism is linked to some sort of activities: (a) having achieved some coincidence (line 1), (b) being doomed to some results (line 2), (c) being taken on and made to change (line 3), (d) being organized in some way (line 4), and (e) having reached some level of performance (line 5). All in all, then, the representation of the social actor *American Zionism* is bound to certain acts that are being done or performed in Said's current journalistic discourse.

N	Concordance
1	become the official American line. This is the coincidence American Zionism has achieved in the years since 1967, and which it has
2	circumstances, where US policy is totally dominated by American Zionism, is doomed to roughly the same results for Arabs generally
3	, and Israeli systemic injustice will be prolonged. Unless American Zionism is taken on and made to change -- not a very difficult task, as I
4	the worst sort of Stalinist bullying, but is typical of organised American Zionism at its worst and most zealous. Similarly for the past few
5	East. Most sensible Israelis regard them with distaste. American Zionism has now reached the level of almost pure fantasy in which

Figure 10. The node-collocate structure of ZIONISM & *American*

Crucially, even though such functionalization seems to be abstract in nature—mainly by using generic terms such as *coincidence*, *results*, and *level*—this type of representation is significant in that it reflects Said's ideology towards America itself: being led by the Zionist Lobby. This meaning is already made explicit in the second line: "… where US policy is totally dominated by American Zionism" (line 2).

7. Conclusion: Summary and Findings

The present study proposed a corpus-based approach towards exploring Edward Said's journalistic collocations in *Al-Ahram Weekly* newspaper. The approach synergizes the corpus methods of extracting keywords and calculating collocations as well as the qualitative method of social-actor discourse analysis. Towards operationalizing the approach, two sets of corpus data have been used: (1) a specialized corpus (105,031 words) of all the articles written by Said in the newspaper from 1998 till 2003; (2) the BNC Sampler Written (968,267 words) as a reference corpus against which the specialized corpus is compared for generating the keywords in the latter.

The corpus-based analysis has methodologically proceeded at two stages. The first stage is purely quantitative in nature, and is confined to (a) the identification of the social-actor keywords frequently referred to by Said in his journalistic discourse and (b) the calculation of the strong and significant collocates of some of these keywords. Towards the fulfilment of such two-phase stage, the corpus software of Wmatrix (Rayson, 2003) has been utilized; crucially, the two collocation statistics of MI (3 or higher) and *t*-score (2 or higher) have been drawn upon in the process of calculating what has been termed *peculiar* collocates of social-actor keywords. The second stage is strictly qualitative, and follows Van Leeuwen's (1996, 2008) theory of social-actor representations. At this stage, using WordSmith (Scott, 2012), the concordance-based analysis of the collocations has been conducted in a way that reveals how each node word has been represented in Said's discourse in its collocational environment.

The study has reached three findings, with each finding addressing one of the research questions posed in the introduction (Section 1). Addressing the first research question of what the social-actor keywords used by Edward Said in his journalistic writings in *Al-Ahram Weekly* are, Wmatrix identified 38 keywords; these minutely reflected the main themes topically handled by Said in his writings in *Al-Ahram Weekly* across the time span between 1998 and 2003 (see Subsection 6.1). Tackling the second research question of how the peculiar collocates of these

keywords can be calculated, the same corpus tool of Wmatrix has generated the items collocating with some of the keywords identified earlier. Only ten keywords have proven to be node words with peculiar collocates in Said's discourse, namely, ISRAEL, PALESTINIANS, ARAFAT, ISRAELIS, SHARON, US, BUSH, ZIONISM, SADDAM, and MUSLIMS.

In order to address the third question of how Said's peculiar collocations reflect his ideological stance in his discourse of *Al-Ahram Weekly*, the above node words, alongside their peculiar collocates, have been analysed in their concordances in terms of their social-actor representations. The nominal references to ARAFAT, SHARON, BUSH, and SADDAM have all revealed Said's negative representations of such political personas. Said's ideology towards each of these personas has been made explicit in text by means of the two social-actor representations of specification and personalization: Said made specific references to these social actors in well-defined contexts, and has been personally involved in expressing his own evaluations of the personas. Regarding the second set of node words—ISRAEL, PALESTINIANS, ISRAELIS, US, ZIONISM, and MUSLIMS—Said's ideological stance has been more complex and subtler. The collocational environments of such node words have unclosed certain social-actor representations: first, the association between the social actors *Israel* and *US/America* on the one hand and the social actors *Palestinians*, *Israelis*, and *Arabs* on the other; second, as a continuation of first, the differentiation holding between the two groups, with an ideological divide delineated and highlighted by Said; third, the association between *Palestinians* and *Israelis* as an indication of Said's long-standing vision of a two-state solution to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict; fourth, the functionalization pertinent to the social actor *American Zionism* as highly active participant in running the political affairs inside the US.

Besides the above social-actor representations of the node-collocate structures in Said's journalistic discourse, there appeared the collocational profiles of both *Palestinians* and *Israelis*: the former as victims being *killed*, *under* occupation and the object of attitudinal "*against*"; the latter as being empowered by US/American *support* and *supporters*. Thus, we are now in a position to assume that Said's collocations—which are journalistic in the current context of research—have revealed his ideology as a writer in *Al-Ahram Weekly*: Said has been simply and mainly concerned with the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and the role of the US actively played therein. Not surprisingly so if one carefully considers Said's early publication of *The Question of Palestine* (1979).

Acknowledgements

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