

A Corpus-assisted Critical Analysis of the Representation of the Egyptian Army: Evidence from the British and Egyptian Press(*)

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Abstract

One of the significant changes that took place in Egypt in the last decade is the 30th of June Revolution, which brought the country into the spotlight of international media. The protests had a big effect on the Egyptian Army, which played a key role in the events and was represented either positively or negatively in the media outlets for its role in instigating the change. The present study aims at examining the linguistic representation of the Egyptian Military, as one of the main social actors of the June 30 protests, in the British and Egyptian newspapers. A corpus of about a 6 million words of Egyptian newspaper articles and 4 million words of British newspaper articles is collected through the news database, LexisNexis. The analysis is conducted using a synergy of Critical Discourse Analysis and Corpus Linguistics. The corpus linguistic techniques of collocations and concordances are employed using the softwares AntConc and CQP. For the analysis of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation, the study adopts Reisigl and Wodak's (2001) Discourse Historical Approach of critical discourse analysis. The findings revealed that the portrayal of the Egyptian military in the British newspapers underwent a substantial transformation, evolving from a more neutral or positive stance before the outbreak of the protests to a highly negative representation in the postuprisings period. In contrast, the positive portrayal of the military by the Egyptian media remained consistent and did not change across both the pre- and post-uprisings periods.

Keywords: Corpus Linguistics, Critical Discourse Analysis, Egyptian military, Morsi, Media bias

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الملخص

تعتبر ثورة 30 يونيو واحدة من التغييرات الكبيرة التي حدثت في مصر خلال العقد الماضي والتي جعلت البلاد محطاً لأنظار وسائل الإعلام الدولية. كان للمظاهرات تأثير كبير على الجيش المصري، الذي لعب دوراً رئيسياً في الأحداث وتم تصويره إيجابياً أو سلبياً في وسائل الإعلام بسبب دوره في إحداث هذا التغيير. تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى دراسة التصوير اللغوي للجيش المصري، باعتباره أحد الفاعلين الرئيسيين في ثورة 30 يونيو، في الصحف البريطانية والمصرية. تم جمع مدونة من حوالي 6 ملايين كلمة من مقالات الصحف المصرية و 4 ملايين كلمة من مقالات الصحف البريطانية من خلال قاعدة البيانات (LexisNexis). تم إجراء التحليل عن طريق الجمع بين أداة تحليل الخطاب النقدي وتحليل المتن اللغوي. يعتمد الباحث بشكل أساسي على استخدام أدوات تحليل المتن اللغوي مثل المتلازمات اللفظية و التطابق باستخدام برنامجي AntConc و CQP. تعتمد الدراسة في تحليل الخطاب النقدي على مبادئ نظرية منهج الخطاب التاريخي Reisigl and Wodak (2001). كشفت النتائج أن صورة الجيش المصري في الصحف البريطانية خضعت لتحول كبير، حيث تغيرت من صورة حيادية أو إيجابية قبل اندلاع الثورة إلى صورة سلبية للغاية بعد اندلاع المظاهرات. في المقابل، ظلت الصورة الإيجابية للجيش في وسائل الإعلام المصرية ثابتة ولم تتغير خلال فترتي ما قبل الثورة وما بعدها. **الكلمات المفتاحية:** المتن اللغوي، التحليل النقدي للخطاب، الجيش المصري، مرسى، الانحياز الإعلامي

1. Introduction

Given the important role of Egypt as an essential pillar of stability in the Middle East, the Egyptian uprisings in 2013 were subject to extensive Western press coverage. Furthermore, the national media in Egypt played an integral role in the Egyptian Revolution by reporting the events as they unfolded. The coverage of Egypt's June 30 protests in the Western media has been criticized for being biased in favor of the Muslim Brotherhood (MB) and against the Egyptian military, especially in light of the connection between these newspapers and the foreign policies of their respective nations towards Egypt. For instance, Shaalan (2013, as cited in Hamdy, 2017)

argues that both the protesters and the local media in Egypt strongly criticized the Western media of downplaying the significance of the June 30 mass protests, focusing more on military intervention rather than the protests themselves. Similarly, a number of analysts and commentators blamed Egyptian press for polarizing the public in 2013, transforming the Egyptian streets into a “battle ground” by siding with either the MB or the military and its political allies (Al-Najjar, 2016). This reveals the important role of the news media in influencing social movements, demonstrating that the media serves as a tool for expressing political ideologies. As a result, this study critically examines the UK and Egypt media framing of the Egyptian Revolution in 2013 to examine whether the coverage was relatively neutral or had a biased perspective. In addition, it tackles the factors affecting these sources including the agenda interests in international relations and attitudes of countries towards the events taking place in Egypt.

Fairclough and Wodak (1997) stress that understanding the discourse requires taking into account the context and the relationship between the text and its social background. Similarly, Baker et al. (2008) argue that CDA researchers should consider the larger historical, social, and political contexts in order to explain the results of the analysis. Therefore, we need to delve into the socio-political context surrounding the analyzed reports to explain why the revolution and the Egyptian military are represented in a particular manner in the two media outlets. The following section provides a short overview of the historical context related to Egypt and the Egyptian protests of June 30.

1.1 Contextual Background

Inspired by the Tunisian Revolution, Egyptians demonstrated on January 25, 2011, calling for bread, freedom, and social justice. The protests led to former President Hosni Mubarak stepping down from power on February 11, 2011, and handing authority to the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces (SCAF). Egypt went on to

hold its first ever free presidential elections in May 2012. The winner in the second round of the elections was Morsi, who became the first elected president with a civilian background. In June 2012, during his inauguration speech, Morsi promised to serve as the president of all Egyptians. One year later, those promises were entirely violated. Throughout his presidency, Morsi persistently alienated significant segments of Egyptian society in an effort to consolidate power and fulfill the Muslim Brotherhood's goal of establishing an Islamic caliphate (Kirkpatrick, 2012).

On 21 November 2012, Morsi issued a constitutional decree, granting himself extensive powers as Egypt's president. The declaration marked a turning point in the growing anger of public opinion against Morsi and the MB since his decisions aimed to place himself above the law. Liberal political parties referred to the decree as "dictatorial" and pointed out that it even went beyond the powers once held by Mubarak. On December 1, tensions rose to new levels when Morsi announced that a snap referendum would be held two weeks later. On December 5 and 6, street battles broke out in Cairo as hundreds of MB backers and allies marched to the presidential palace and attacked 300 peaceful protesters staging a sit-in. The clashes resulted in seven deaths and over 770 injuries (Trager et al., 2012). The drafting of the constitution and the President's decision to hold a referendum without attempting to reach an agreement with the opposition groups resulted in a political crisis, during which millions of people took to the streets in protests demanding the overthrow of the regime. Amid growing public anger and unrest, the then Minister of Defense and the head of the Egyptian Armed Force Al-Sisi advised Morsi that his government had to be more inclusive and work with different political groups in order to prevent future popular uprisings. Nevertheless, the MB ignored this advice because its leaders were determined to seize control and enforce a full-scale Islamification of the nation. In addition to the government's unwillingness to compromise with the political opposition, Egypt faced a significant

economic crisis, as prices rose significantly, the national debt increased, and the value of the Egyptian pound dropped by 10% since January 2013 (Housdon, 2013).

On April 28, 2013, a group of revolutionary activists introduced a plan for the anti-Morsi opposition. They called their initiative Tamarod, meaning “Rebellion”, and launched a petition to withdraw confidence from Morsi and call for early presidential elections. Because of the Brotherhood’s authoritarian rule, many Egyptians viewed the Tamarod protests of June 30 as a crucial confrontation with Morsi regime (Trager et al., 2012). Nevertheless, Al Sisi urged Morsi, in their last meeting before the June 30 protests, to ease tensions. Al-Sisi advised Morsi to make a number of concessions, including the formation of a new cabinet, as *the New York Times* later revealed. However, Morsi refused, stating that he had to consult with his Islamist allies (Kirkpatrick & El Sheikh, 2013). On June 30, a large number of Morsi opponents gathered demanding early presidential elections, and the gatherings were concentrated in Tahrir Square, the main squares and in a large number of governorates. On July 3, state television broadcast a statement delivered by Defense Minister Abdel

Fattah al-Sisi, in which he ended Morsi’s presidency, and power was handed over to the head of the Supreme Constitutional Court to manage the country’s affairs until presidential elections are held.

1.2 Research Questions and Objectives

The present study attempts to uncover discourses and identify elements of stance and ideology in the reports of both the British and the Egyptian newspapers towards the Egyptian military. This is done mainly by using corpus-based linguistics tools and Critical Discourse Analysis to analyze the language employed by the online editions of these newspapers. The study attempts to assess how the Egyptian uprisings in 2013 were portrayed: whether the media coverage reflected a particular Western and domestic point of view along with

their ideological stances, or tried to accurately represent the local context of the protests. Specifically, the study investigates the extent to which such newspapers' ideologies have affected the portrayal of the Egyptian Military as one of the key social actors of the June 30 revolution. The aim is to provide linguistic evidence to substantiate or refute the claim relating to a biased representation of the military. Furthermore, the study examines the differences between the British and Egyptian media coverage to determine the extent of prejudice for or against the Egyptian army, considering that the two governments—the UK and Egypt—hold opposite stances towards the Egyptian revolution. Therefore, the analysis of this study will revolve around the following main questions:

1. How does a corpus-based linguistic analysis of the British and Egyptian newspapers reveal their perspectives towards the Egyptian military as one of the main actors of the June 30 protests?
2. To what extent does the collocation analysis of the British and the Egyptian newspapers reflect differences in the representation of the Egyptian military?

2. Theoretical Framework

2.1 Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis developed rapidly in the early nineties as an extension to critical linguistics approach that originated in the 1970s (Barletta Manjarrés, 2007). Hence, it is recognized as a new field in language study which regards discourse as “a form of social practice” (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p. 258). Wodak and Meyer (2009, p. 10) maintain that CDA has been treated as a discourse analytical approach which attempts to critically examine “social inequality as it is expressed, constituted, legitimized and so on, by language use (or in discourse)”. The general objective of CDA is to relate linguistic analysis on one hand, with social, political, cultural, and historical background, on the other hand.

For CDA, all discourses are historical and accordingly can be understood only in relation to context (Meyer, 2001). This explains why CDA analysts focus extensively on the cultural, historical, political, and social contexts in which relations of power are revealed. According to Wodak (2001), CDA examines the way language, power, and society are related and pays a great deal of attention to the important role that context plays in discourse. Luke (2002) argues that CDA bridges the gap between the linguistic and the cultural and social analyses of texts. Luke (2002) adds that the linguistic analysis of texts is not sufficient to carry out critical discourse analysis and it “requires the overlay of a social theoretic discourse for explaining and explicating the social; contexts, concomitants, contingencies and consequences of any given text or discourse” (p. 101). Therefore, discourse must not be understood without taking into consideration the contextual background, and text cannot be totally understood without considering its use in a specific situation and relations with other discourses (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997).

Wodak’s discourse-historical approach (DHA) puts a great deal of emphasis, as its name suggests, on the historical context and the role it plays in the interpretation of texts. Wodak (2001) stresses the importance of considering broader social contexts of discourse, and this comprises the real use of language (text), the link between genres, texts, and discourses, the institutional settings of discourse, and the larger social, historical, and political contexts. It is then the objective of the analyst to identify how power is functioning across these stages. She further explains that investigating the historical context plays a role in understanding and explaining discourses. In the current study, some information was gathered regarding the historical, political, and social background of the investigated texts, as illustrated in section 1.1. This information, as suggested by Wodak (2001), will be integrated in the analysis and interpretation of the investigated Arabic and English newspaper texts.

A number of criticisms have been directed against the different

approaches of CDA regarding their eclectic theoretical epistemology. Widdowson (1995, 1996) argue that CDA practitioners rely on selecting small excerpts rather than large number of texts, and cherry-pick examples which suit the researchers' assumptions. CDA is criticized for its subjective and interpretative analysis, and for being determined by prior theorizing, and thereby discovering previously known findings (Schegloff, 2007). In response to these accusations, Stubbs (1997) recommends the integration of CL methods and CDA, specially by using random sampling, examining large number of texts, and comparing the textual elements under investigation with language norms detected in a corpus in order to form reliable generalizations about language usage. **2.1 Corpus Linguistics**

A corpus is defined as a set of natural examples of language which are selected to reveal the features of a particular language variety (Sinclair, 1991). Hunston (2002, p.2) views corpus linguistics as "a collection of naturally occurring examples of language, consisting of anything from a few sentences to a set of written texts or tape recordings, which have been collected for linguistic study". Corpora may include texts from a variety of communicative modes (e.g. voice, written texts, gestures, computer-mediated communication, and so on.) and genres (i.e. books, e-books, spoken conversations, formal essays, etc.). The various texts included in a corpus, regardless of its modes and genres, must be electronic, that is, in a machine-readable format. This enables researchers to store and analyze corpus data using a computer. Concordance software programs, such as AntConc (Anthony, 2019) and WordSmith Tools (Scott 2012), enable human users to perform wide range of statistical procedures with levels of speed, precision and replicability which would have been impossible without the use of computers.

Many scholars have supported the idea of combining the two approaches of CDA and CL and the potential effect of CL on CDA studies has already been revealed in the literature (Baker, 2006, 2010; Baker, et al., 2008; Baker & Levon, 2015; Mautner, 2009). One of the

most important contributions that CL adds to CDA is that it enables analysts to examine a large collection of texts, which improves the objectivity of CDA research and reduces the possibility of researchers' bias (Baker, 2006; Baker, et al., 2008; Baker, et al., 2013; Baker & Levon, 2015; Mautner, 2009). Since CDA studies rely entirely on qualitative methodology, the researcher is often forced to choose a small number of texts. This selection process, as Koller and Mautner (2004) argues, can be problematic because of the inherent subjectivity of deciding what is representative. Another relevant but possibly less justified accusation of CDA is that the researcher examines the data "looking only for textual confirmation of a bias he has attributed to the source of his text in advance" (Widdowson, 1998, p. 144). CL methodology can deal with the common accusations of

CDA regarding "cherry picking" through deferring the selection process of the data to statistical techniques such as collocations and key words (Gabrielatos & Baker, 2008).

In this study, the multidisciplinary approach to the portrayal of the army and the Egyptian Revolution in British and Egyptian newspapers is expected to be enhanced by the combination of CL and CDA to carry out the analysis.

3. Methodology

The corpus of the present study is compiled from two sets of electronic newspapers: the British newspapers and the Egyptian newspapers. The online interface of newspapers Nexis UK has been used in the present study to gain access to a large number of the British and Egyptian newspapers. In order to build a corpus that comprise news articles relevant to the Egyptian Revolution, the following core query terms were used, namely, *Egypt*, *Mubarak*, *Morsi*, *Muslim*, and *brotherhood*. The English corpus consists of 3,883,165 million words of British news articles extracted from: *The Sun* and *Sunday Sun*, *The Mirror* and *The Sunday Mirror*, *Daily Mail* and *Mail on Sunday*, *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Sunday Telegraph*,

The Times and *The Sunday Times*, *The Guardian* and *The Observer*, *The Independent* and *The Independent on Sunday*, *The Express* and *The Sunday Express*, and *The Star*. The Arabic corpus, on the other hand, consists of 5,937,356 million words of Egyptian news articles generated from: *Al-Ahram AlAraby*, *Al-Ahram AlMessai*, *Al-Ahram* and *Al-Ahram Weekly*, *AlAkhbar*, *AlGomhoriya*, *Almasry Alyoum*, *AlMessa*, and *Watani*. The selected articles were released between June 2012, and October 2013, reporting all the major events of the uprisings. The two sets of corpora were further subdivided into two periods in accordance with the political situation in Egypt: pre-uprisings (Morsi's Regime - 30 June 2012 to 29th June 2013), and during and post uprisings (After Morsi's removal and the immediate aftermath of the protests – 30th June 2013 to 25 October 2013) as shown in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1-Word number of English and Arabic corpora in the two investigated periods

Period	English Corpus	No. of words
Pre-uprisings	2,874,146	3,967,901
Post-uprisings	1,009,019	1,969,455
Total	3,883,165	5,937,356

The analysis is divided into two sections. The first section includes CL analysis which involves extracting the statistically significant collocations of the node word *military* in both the pre- and postuprisings period. Different significant tests are used to calculate collocations such as MI, Z-score, T-score, Dice Coefficient, and loglikelihood. I have selected the MI score which is one of the most applied tests in studies of Corpus Linguistics. This test was selected because it mainly measures the strength of association between the node term and its collocates - with a score of 0 in case there is a total independence between the words, and a higher value suggesting a stronger correlation (Evert, 2005). A span of ± 5 words is determined,

that is, five words on the right side and the left side of the search term. The minimum frequency is set as 5 because the words which only come once or twice are less likely to be informative. The analysis considers the first top 50 collocational patterns with the selected node word *military*. The analysis of the British newspapers will be mainly carried out using AntConc, a software program developed by Anthony (2019). The Arabic corpus of the Egyptian newspapers, on the other hand, is examined using CQP, a web-based graphical user interface developed by Andrew Hardie in 2012.

Having determined the starting point of the data analysis, the concordance lines of each collocate are then examined. Thus, the next step involves the corpus analysis using the CDA methodological framework to examine the linguistic choices and analyze the connection between the language of the newspapers and the representation of the Egyptian Revolution. The main methodological framework employed in this study is Reisigl and Wolak's (2001) Discourse Historical Approach, which proposes a set of discursive strategies involved in the positive self- and negative otherpresentation. This study focuses on two strategies for textual analysis: referential and predication strategies. Moreover, syntactic analysis is conducted using Halliday's (2014) transitivity model, which includes processes, participants, and circumstances in addition to the presentation of such processes in active, passive, or nominalized forms.

4. Findings and Discussion

4.1 Corpus-based Linguistic Analysis of the British newspapers

In investigating how the Egyptian military has been constructed linguistically in the British newspapers, the two keywords *army* and *military* are targeted for collocation analysis as the two terms are used interchangeably to refer to the Egyptian military establishment. The statistically strongest 50 collocates are classified according to their part of speech (POS). These include adjectives, verbs, singular nouns,

proper nouns and plural nouns.

Table 4.1 POS categories for the collocates of *army/military* in the British Press

POS categories for the collocates of <i>military</i>		
POS	Period	Collocates
Singular nouns	Preuprisings	academy, intervention, command, commander, intelligence, activity, research, wing, advice, assassination, action, presence, dissolution, rule, council, dictatorship, chief, head, leadership, coup, arrest, confrontation, hospital, base, operation, center, staff, report, statement, General, defense, ground, police, regime, security, power, opposition, brotherhood, government
	Postuprisings	ultimatum, brutality, chief, deadline, takeover, choice, removal, map, base, intervention, move, police, footage, general, head, spokesman, turmoil, fire, massacre, bloodshed, hardware, junta, intelligence, assistance, dictatorship, aid, coup, billion, star, rule, crackdown
Proper nouns	Preuprisings	Jaabari, Sissi, Qassam, Jabari, Ahmed, Tantawi, Damascus, Iranian, Morsi
	Post-	Fattah, abdufhattah, Sisi, Bright
	uprisings	
Adjectives & adverbs	Preuprisings	Interim, transitional, direct, powerful, senior, free, behind, Syrian, forces, Israeli, Egyptian, Muslim
	Postuprisings	Backed (army backed government), Egyptian, civilian, dead, democratically, joint, annual
Plural nouns	Preuprisings	Trials, sources, civilians, rulers, analysts, courts, officers, vehicles, powers, protests

	Postuprisings	Helicopters, officers, massacres, exercises, coups, rulers, barracks, jets
Verbs	Preuprisings	Ramping, intervene, ordered, followed, met, warned, hope, take, force, said,
	Postuprisings	ousts, intervene, takes, overthrew, overthrown, suspended, seized, sent, step in, issued, calls, opened (fire), ousted, deposed, denied, warned, pressure, forced, punish, cancelling, flew, suspend, installed, scheduled, cancelled, remove, removed, toppled, flying

In the pre-uprising period, the analysis revealed that the majority of the collocates associated with the node words *military* and *army* had either neutral or positive connotations. For example, the singular nouns *head* and *chief* demonstrates that El Sisi was referred to mostly as the *former head of military intelligence* and *Egypt's army chief*. Semantically speaking, the lexical collocates used to refer to El Sisi were primarily related to the military domain. Moreover, the military is consistently portrayed as the entity being affected in verb-object collocations. As events unfolded between Morsi's supporters and the opposition after the constitutional declaration, the military leadership gradually withdrew from the political arena, and the British press constructed the military as involved in nonviolent actions. For example, *The Times*, in one of its articles highlighted that the "the army and police have taken a relatively passive role in the protests". In reporting on deaths and victims resulting from the protests, deagentialised actions were commonly used. This approach avoided assigning responsibility to either side and allowed the newspapers to maintain their objective and unprejudiced stance. By presenting information in this manner, the newspapers were able to avoid appearing biased towards either side of the conflict. However, as political unrest escalated, the army generals gradually shifted their

position and conveyed an inclination towards exploring alternatives to the Islamist president, Morsi. Examining the concordances of the material process *intervene* underscores that the military contemplated intervention only when protests against the president escalated into violence and threatened the stability of the Egyptian state. The following examples shed light on the evolving role of the Egyptian military in response to political upheaval:

1. Egypt's army chief **warned** yesterday that the military would **intervene** if violence broke out at mass protests planned against President Mohammed Morsi this weekend.

The Daily Telegraph, 29th of June 2013

2. The Egyptian military has **warned** that it is prepared to **step in** should the nationwide demonstrations expected this week descend into chaos.

The Independent, June 24, 2013

In the above examples, the military is constructed as an agent of intransitive material process *intervene* and *step in*, which discursively represent its actions as not affecting other participants. El Sisi exercises some sort of authority, and his statements are represented in the context of a warning act. The use of conditional structures serves to justify this warning act and legitimize the military intervention, that is, the military would intervene only if the protests led to chaos and the collapse of the country. This framing portrays the military as a protector of order and stability, potentially legitimizing their intervention in the eyes of the readers. It also enhances the speaker's character (trustworthiness) as being a patriotic leader, who has a mission and responsibility to step in to protect his people and his country.

After the outbreak of the protests on June 30, the collocation analysis revealed how the British media moved from describing the Egyptian military neutrally and sometimes positively in period 1 to severe negativity in the post-uprisings period. The coverage of the

British press has persistently constructed the political developments in Egypt as a “full-scale military coup”, a “military takeover”, and a “ruinous intervention”. The call for Morsi's removal was made by millions of Egyptian protesters who took to the streets for four days in a row in an attempt to force Morsi out of office. Nevertheless, the British newspapers focused on the military intervention rather than the mass protests. The corpus analysis reveals that the most frequently used subject-verb collocates with the node words *military* and *army* are the material process types. Table 4.1 above displays a set of material processes denoting a coup against Morsi such as *ousted*, *overthrew*, *overthrown*, *deposed*, *forced*, *remove*, *removed*, and *toppled*. The following concordances are indicative of this framing:

1	212 July 4, 2013 Thursday	Army ousts Egyptian President Richard Spencer NEWS; FRONT
2	h (London) July 4, 2013 Thursday Page	Army ousts Egyptian president The Daily Telegraph (London)
3	and television HQ seized Egypt in turmoil as	army ousts Morsi July 4, 2013 Thursday Page
4	July 4, 2013 Thursday Egypt in turmoil as	army ousts President; Constitution suspended before new
5	to demand his rule continued; once Morsi was	overthrown by the army on 3 July, after days of
6	emocratically elected President Mohamed Morsi was	overthrown by the army . It was a coup, and
7	democratically elected President of Egypt who was	overthrown by the army three weeks ago. The tens
8	, COLUMN; Pg. 15 LENGTH: 169 words THE Egyptian	army have overthrown Morsi. Only one letter away from

Concordance 4.1 Co-occurrence of *army* with the verbs *ousts* and *overthrown*

The British newspapers gave the Egyptian military explicitly the role of the actor and constructed it as being exclusively responsible for the toppling of Morsi through using the material processes *ousts* and *overthrown* in both the active and passive voice. The representation of the military intervention forms a frame for most of the news stories as a whole because it is used in the most prominent positions in the broadcast, namely the headline (lines 1,2,3, and 4) and the lead paragraph (line 8). In contrast, there was not any mention of the huge protests which has led the army to take such action. In other articles, the number of protesters who have participated in the event occurs in a backgrounded position in the middle of the report with a considerable small space. These examples among others in the coverage revealed how the protests were marginalized by the British press. According to Fowler (1991), the process of marginalizing an event is not neutral; he argued that ideas and events are processed by the press and other media outlets using fully saturated news values that implicitly reveal their stance.

The construction of the events as a coup is further foregrounded through using nominalized material processes such as *removal*, *intervention*, *takeover*, and *overthrow*, as shown in Table 4.1 above. In most cases of this representation, the military is constructed as the underlying agent of the nominalized verbs (e.g., *the army's removal of Morsi*, *army's intervention*, *military overthrow*, *military takeover*). One of the ideological purposes of nominalizations is producing existential presuppositions (Jeffries, 2010). A noun that refers to a thing, as Jeffries argues, is viewed as having existed in the real world and is therefore considered an unchangeable truth which is less likely to be discussed or questioned. Accordingly, the representation of the June 30 Revolution as a military overthrow is existentially and logically presupposed in the UK press as a given fact, which in turn avoids any potential objections.

One of the main themes that emerged from a detailed analysis of the concordance lines of the above collocates focused on representing the military's violence and criminal acts towards Morsi and his supporters. The collocation analysis reveals that the news writers frequently used nominal collocates such as *brutality*, *bloodshed*, and *crackdown* in association with the Egyptian military (table 4.1). These terms carry negative connotations and are used to construct the military as a violator of human rights. Additionally, the negative depiction is clearly evident in the concordance lines of the keyword *massacre*, which was one of the most frequent words linked to the army's violence with a total occurrence of 160 times. It was used to refer to the dispersal of the Rabaa al-Adawiya and Al-Nahda sit-ins, which took place on August 14, 2013, as evident in the lines below:

1	, so the scene was set for yesterday's	massacre and creation of martyrs and the pictorial symbols
2	in what appears to have been an army	massacre , it is surely hard even for Blair to
3	mist protesters. Many of them perished during the	massacre carried out by Egypt's security forces last
4	building a democratic framework." Yet the army's	massacre last Monday of <u>at least 51 Morsi supporters</u> - and
5	strates the widening divisions exacerbated by the	massacre of <u>55 pro-Morsi civilian protesters</u> in Cairo on
6	Supreme Council of the Armed Forces (Scaf). The	massacre of <u>hundreds of Egyptians</u> by the army is
7	bloodbath at the hands of police - the second	massacre of <u>Morsi supporters</u> in three days and the
8	However, the growing international outrage at the	massacre of <u>Morsi supporters</u> by security forces has fuelled
9	from Cairo's main mortuary after the police	massacre of <u>pro-Morsi supporters</u> Patrick Kingsley 1 74
10	drastically changed. On 14 August, following the	massacre of <u>several hundred Islamists</u> by armed police in

Concordance 4.2 The keyword *massacre* in the British newspapers

In the above instances, the responsibility for the high death counts is explicitly attributed to the Egyptian army and the police through various syntactic structures, including passivization (lines 3,6 and 8), prepositional phrases (line 7), and by packaging up the words *army* and *police* inside the noun phrases. This can be seen in phrases like *an army massacre* (line 2), *the army's massacre* (line 4), and *police massacre* (line 9). There is a clear identification of the dead people who are referred to collectively as *Morsi supporters*, *pro-Morsi supporters*, *pro-Morsi civilian protesters* and *Islamists*. Referring to the victims as *civilians* serves to elicit the readers' sympathy towards Morsi supporters. It also highlights the brutal nature of the situation and implicitly represents the military as a violator of human rights by killing innocent people. The affected participants are also quantified by high numbers (*hundreds of Egyptians*, *55 pro-Morsi civilian protesters*, *several hundred Islamists*, *at least 51 Morsi supporters*), which emphasizes the criminality of the action and elicit a negative reaction from the readers towards the Egyptian army.

One of the most important topics covered in the British newspapers during and after the protests is the cautious reaction of the USA and other foreign countries towards the event and its consequences. One of the salient collocates that has reflected the US stance towards the Egyptian military is the singular noun *aid*. Analyzing the concordance lines for this word, it was found that it is employed in all cases to refer to the threat of cutting off the US military aid provided to Egypt. For example, one of *The Guardian* articles entitled *Egypt's interim president sworn in - Thursday 4 July* asserted that "while it has yet to call Morsi's ousting a coup, the Obama administration has threatened to leverage \$1.3bn in foreign aid to encourage Egypt to return to civilian rule". This implies that the American Government attempted to practice pressure on Egypt's

military and reflect their support to Morsi and his followers. The American response to the crisis in Egypt became clearer after the dispersal of Rabaa al-Adawiya and Al-Nahda sit-ins. This was reflected in analyzing the set of collocates *punish, pressure, exercises, cancelling, annual, hardware, joint* and *bright*. The discourse prosodies of these collocates rotate around two main topics: First, cancelling the annual joint military exercises between the USA and Egypt, and second, Washington's suspension of all military hardware deliveries to Egypt, including tanks and helicopters. This representation is exemplified by the following example:

3. President Obama yesterday broke his silence on the **violence** in Egypt, cancelling Joint US-Egyptian military exercises to **punish the Army-backed Government** for its part in **the deadliest day of domestic political suppression** since the Tiananmen Square **massacre** in 1989.

Examples 3 shows an instance of transformed indirect quotation reflecting the US president's views concerning the sanctions imposed against Egypt in response to Rabaa al-Adawiya events. Instead of presenting the violent actions of the military in the form of a clause, the act is constructed as a given fact by using the abstract noun *violence*. Obama is discursively constructed as an active agent who has the capacity and power to punish Egypt, whereas the government is represented as the passive participant undergoing the effect of punishment. The lexical choices used in the example such as *violence, bloody, crackdown, deadliest, suppression* and *massacre*, reflect the UK negative stance towards Egypt's government. These lexical choices support each other to foreground the discourse prosody of brutality and aggression. The dispersal of Rabaa al-Adawiya sit-in is referred to as the *deadliest day of domestic political suppression since the Tiananmen Square massacre*; the selection of such referential strategy gives a clear implication of the criminality and brutality practiced by the army and the security forces. The example as a whole suggests a firm negative position against Egypt and reflects a

direct accusation against the army and the interim government.

Thus far, the findings of the collocation analysis of the opposition side of the conflict have been presented. In summary, the army and the opposition social actors were negatively depicted as responsible for brutal and negative activities, while MB supporters were positively introduced as victims of the military crackdown and defenders of Morsi's legitimacy. In the following section, I will proceed with presenting the findings of the linguistic analysis of the Egyptian newspapers.

4.2 Corpus-based Linguistic Analysis of the Egyptian newspapers

The collocates of the node word الجيش *military* are analyzed in the post-revolutionary era. Table 4.2 reveals the statistically strongest 50 collocates with the keyword الجيش *military* divided according to their POS.

Table 4.2: POS categories for the collocates of الجيش *military* in the Egyptian newspapers

OS categories for the collocates of <i>military</i>			
POS	Period	Collocates	Translation
Singular nouns	Preuprisings	حماية، والشرطة، مخابرات، استخبارات، لقائد و قائد، إيد، العماد، نزل، قائد، هيكله، لعوده، والرئاسة، مسئوليه،	Intelligence, protection, and the police, and intelligence, intelligence, for the
		بعودة، قياده، والأمن، جر	commander, and the commander, hand, General, deployment, commander, restructuring, for the return, and presidency, responsibility, leadership, security, dragging into
	Postuprisings	إيد، والشرطة، قائد ، عقيدة، تفويض، تحرك ، و الداخليه، تدخل، قيادة، مُحاربه، إطاحه، و القضاء، رواية، بتأمين، تواجدها	hand, and the police, Commander, the doctrine, mandate/ authorization, movement, and interior (forces), intervention, leadership, fight

		مساندة، خط ، لتأييد	(fighting), overthrow, and the judiciary, account, their presence, with securing, support, a line, to support
Proper nouns	Preuprisings	عسكر، قهوجى، وصفى ، جان ،	Askar, Kahwaji, Wasfi, Jean
	Postuprisings	وصفى، عسكر	Wasfi, Askar
Adverbs/adjectives	Preuprisings	النظامى، الميدانى ، الحر ، الجزائرى ، اللبناني المجهول ، السوري ، المنتظر ، الاسرائيلى ، اليمنى، الثالث	Regular, Field, The Free, the Algerian, the Lebanese, the unknown, the Syrian, the expected, the Israeli, the Yemeni, The third
	Postuprisings	المدعومة، دامية ، الميدانى، اللبناني ، المصري، العراقى ، الثالث، السوري مرديدين	backed, bloody, Field, the Lebanese, the Egyptian, the Iraqi, The Third, the Syrian, chanting
Plural nouns	Pre-	طلائع، تشكيلات ،	Vanguard, formations,
	uprisings	وحدات، لشهداء، و قوات ، وقوى، والشعب ، عناصر، ظباط	units, for the martyrs, and forces, and people, elements, officers
	Postuprisings	و الشعب، و قوات ، معارك، جنود، لقوات ، قوات، و أجهزة، ظباط ، شعبه، مدرعات، هتافات،	And people, and forces, battles, soldiers, of forces, forces, and agencies (intelligence), officers, its people, armored vehicles, chants
verbs	Preuprisings	نفذتها، يحمى، يرافقه ، يتدخل، سيظل، تبني ،	Carried out, protect, accompanied by, intervene, will remain, adopt
	Postuprisings	إنحاز، عاش، استجاب ، يتدخل، أطاح، اغلقت ، وضعها يحمى،	Sided with, long live (the Egyptian army), responded to, intervene, overthrow, closed, protect, draw up/develop

The Egyptian media was determined from the beginning to foreground the army's positive attributes and lean towards its leaders as well as the opposition groups. The collocation analysis of الجيش *military/army* in period 1, which represents the year in which Morsi took office in 2012, revealed how the Egyptian newspapers

represented the army in most cases positively and occurred in contexts that portrayed the military establishment as an active constituent of the Egyptian political situation during the MB's year in power. The set of collocates *يحمي* *protect*, *يتدخل* *intervene*, *سيظل* *will remain*, and *حماية* *protection* are indicative examples of such representation:

٤. الجيش **يحمي** التراب والأرض والأزهر **يحمي** العقل من الشطط والوجدان من المغالاة. الأهرام، 19 أبريل 2013

٥. وقال السيسي إن محاولة التأثير علي استقرار مؤسسات الدولة هو أمر خطير يضر بالأمن القومي المصري إلا أن الجيش المصري **سيظل** هو الكتلة الصلبة المتماسكة والعمود القوي الذي تركز عليه أركان الدولة المصرية. الجمهورية، 29 يناير 2013

4. The army **protects** the soil and the land, and Al-Azhar protects the mind from expansiveness and the conscience from exaggeration.

Al-Ahram, 19 April 2013

5. Al-Sisi said that the attempt to influence the stability of state institutions is a serious matter which negatively affects the Egyptian national security; however, the Egyptian army **will remain** the solid cohesive block and the strong pillar on which the constituents of the Egyptian state rely.

AlGomhoriya, 29 January 2013

Contrary to the British newspapers' representation of the army as the affected participant in the pre-uprisings period, the above concordance lines reflect a virtually full consensus about the army being the main actor responsible for maintaining security and protecting the Egyptian people. In the first example, the military and Al-Azhar both function as the actors of the same material process *protects*, suggesting an implied equivalence between the two entities and how their positions are equally important and trustworthy in the Egyptian society. The second example is an indirect formal speech

made by Al-Sisi regarding the MB's attempts to destabilize state institutions in Egypt. The use of the phrases *serious matter* and the mention of *national security* reflect the gravity of the subject matter being discussed and indicate a strong concern for the stability and security of the Egyptian state. Moreover, using the phrase *attempt to influence* presupposes that Al-Sisi sees the actions of the MB as problematic, but not yet successful. The metaphors used to describe the Egyptian Army *solid cohesive block* and *strong pillar* emphasizes its strength, unity, and support to the Egyptian people. Overall, the indirect quotation implicitly conveys a reassuring message of determination and resilience in the face of perceived threats to the state.

One of the salient collocates that exemplify the approach of the Egyptian newspapers towards venerating the military is the singular noun *إيد hand*. It refers to the catchphrase *الجيش والشعب إيد واحدة* *Army and People One Hand*, a slogan that was chanted by the demonstrators who participated in the Revolution of January 25. The phrase is a metaphor, comparing the relationship between the army and the people to that of a single hand, suggesting a strong unity and cooperation between the two groups against Morsi and his backers. The majority of the incidents of this collocate were employed in the context of the protests organized by the opposition and revolutionary forces who were dissatisfied with Morsi's decisions and the direction in which he was taking the country. Consider the following example:

6. تزايدت أعداد من المتظاهرين أمام مكتب النائب العام بدار القضاء العالي للمشاركة في التظاهرة التي دعا إليها عدد من الأحزاب والقوى الثورية للمطالبة بإقالة النائب العام , وإعلان رفضهم لخطاب الرئيس محمد مرسي الذي هدد فيه المعارضة. وقد رفع المتظاهرون عدة لافتات تطالب برحيل النظام والقصاص للشهداء ورددوا بعض الهتافات منها " الجيش والشعب إيد واحدة. " الأهرام ، 29 مارس 2013

6. The number of protesters increased in front of the Office of the Public Prosecutor in the High Court of Justice to participate in the demonstration called by a number of parties and revolutionary forces to demand the dismissal of the Public

Prosecutor, and to declare their rejection of President Mohamed Morsi's speech in which he threatened the opposition. The demonstrators raised several banners calling for the departure of the regime and retribution for the martyrs and chanted some chants including "The army and the people are one hand."

Al-Ahram, 29 March, 2013

In the context of this protest against Morsi, the use of this slogan *the army and the people are one hand* suggests that the protesters believe that the military should be aligned with their goals and actions. The phrase may also reflect a desire for a military intervention in the current political situation, as the protesters are demanding the dismissal of the Public Prosecutor and rejecting President Morsi's speech. This slogan could be seen as a need for the military to support the protesters' demands, and possibly even take action to remove the regime. Thus, one could infer that Egyptian media outlets believed that the military was more capable of addressing the political and economic crises Egypt was facing at that time.

Similar to the coverage of the pre-uprisings period, the media coverage of the 30th of June events in Egypt was predominantly characterized by the choice of lexical items that carry positive connotations in association with the Egyptian army and its leaders. One of the noticeable discursive themes which emerged from the collocation analysis of the node word الجيش *military* focused on portraying the military as fulfilling the people's demand to remove Morsi and his Islamist supporters from power. This ideological representation is signaled in the Egyptian newspapers through the choices made in transitivity patterns, as demonstrated in the following concordance lines:

١ إنتخابات رئاسية ومع مبكرة، رفض وتعن ت الدكتور مرسي وجماعته انحاز	الجيش المصري للمطالب الشعبية في ظل مخاطر ح فريقية جلبها ه ذا النظام
٢ لكي نوضح للمفوضية أن ما حدث في مصر هو ثورة شعبية استجاب لها	الجيش المصري . ونحن علي ي ق ين أن المفوضية ستتقدم سريعا المعني الحقيقي لثورة

٣	الأزمة المصرية الحالية ما بين مؤيدي الجيش المعزول الرئيس وأنصار المصري. ه ذه أن خارطة الطريق ء التي وضعها	في الدلالات ه ذه أول وتكن
٤	أن ضج الشعب بالشكوي وغلاء الأسعار . الجيش المصري لأنه لا يصح أن يظل بينما متفرجا، كان لابد أن يتدخل	يري الناس ت شكو

Concordance 4.3 Army as actor in material processes of legitimate intervention

1	early presidential elections, and with the refusal and intransigence of Dr. Morsi and his group, the Egyptian army sided with the popular demands in light of real dangers brought by this regime
2	to make it clear to the Commission that what happened in Egypt is a popular revolution to which the Egyptian army responded . We are sure that the African Union Commission will quickly understand the true meaning of the June 30 revolution.
3	the current Egyptian crisis between the supporters of the road map developed by the Egyptian army and the supporters of the ousted president.
4	and after the people were clamored with complaints and high prices, the Egyptian army had to intervene because it is not right to remain spectators, while it sees people complain and suffer from the crises that blocked all outlets for them.

The Egyptian military is portrayed as a necessary interventionist force that had to step in to address the failures of the previous political system. This portrayal is achieved through the use of material processes *إنحاز sided with*, *استجاب responded to*, *يتدخل intervene*, and *وضعها developed* (bold words above), which represent the military as a proactive and responsible actor that cannot remain passive in the face of the suffering of the Egyptian people. Such processes suggest that the army's involvement was a response to popular demands for democratic conduct and early presidential elections, rather than being the initiator of the events. Despite the representation of the military as the leading participant in managing the country's affairs, there is no mention of any violent actions or violations committed by its soldiers against Morsi's supporters and allies. Rather, their actions (as illustrated above), either do not appear

to affect others (line 4), or do not have any intended human goals (line 1,2, and 3).

Alongside the representation of the military as a powerful legitimate actor that is in full control of the situation, the news articles praised its efforts in restoring law and order and bringing stability to the country following Morsi's removal. For example, the dispersal of the Brotherhood members and their supporters from Rabaa al-Adawiya and Al-Nahda sit-ins was framed as a necessary action to restore law and order in the country. Some news articles in *Al-Ahram* referred to the sit-ins as *تجمعات غير شرعية* *illegal gatherings*, *عرقلة للحياة العامة* *obstructions to public life*, *معسكرات إرهابية* *terrorist camps* and *تهديد للأمن القومي* *a threat to national security*. They also emphasized the violence that had occurred in the area prior to the evacuation. Additionally, the newspapers highlighted the government's efforts to provide safe passage for the protesters to leave the area peacefully. For example, *Al-Masry Al-Youm* reported that the government had set up *safe corridors* for protesters to leave the area, especially for women and children. However, the newspapers condemned the MB's rejection of these efforts and their use of violence against the military and security forces. The following example is indicative of this representation:

7. الأهرام كان شاهداً على العملية منذ بدايتها حيث وصلت القوات المشاركة الي مقر الاعتصام في السادسة والنصف من صباح أمس وقامت بإطلاق 10 طلقات صوت تحذيرية وناشدوا المعتصمين عبر مكبرات الصوت بالخروج الفوري من منفذ شارع النصر في اتجاه المنصة دون ملاحقة وطالبهم بإبعاد النساء والأطفال وكبار السن , الا أن الإخوان بادروا بإطلاق الأعيرة النارية والخرطوش علي قوات الأمن , فبدأت العملية علي الفور ليشعل أنصار المعزول الإطارات والزيت علي الأرض ولتغطي الأدخنة السوداء سماء المنطقة وتمنع الرؤية عن القوات بالمداخل.

الأهرام، 15 أغسطس 2013

7. Al-Ahram **witnessed** the operation since its inception, as the participating forces arrived at the sit-in headquarters at half past six in the morning yesterday and fired **10 warning shots**. They **appealed to** the protesters through loudspeakers to

immediately leave **the exit of Al-Nasr Street** in the direction of the platform **without being prosecuted**, and demanded that they remove **women, children, and the elderly**. However, the MB **took the initiative to fire live bullets and birdshots** at the security forces, so the operation began immediately. The supporters of the ousted president **ignited tires and oils on the ground**, and **black smoke** covered the sky of the area and prevented the forces from seeing at the entrances.

Al-Ahram, August 15, 2013

The framing of the operation as witnessed by *Al-Ahram* positions the newspaper as an authority on the events, suggesting that the information presented is credible and trustworthy. The security forces are presented as acting in a measured and reasonable way, firing warning shots, which implies that the protesters were given sufficient warning before the operation began. The language used in the excerpt highlights the MB's role in escalating the situation. The newspaper reports that the security forces appealed to the protesters to leave peacefully, emphasizing the Brotherhood's agency in deciding whether to comply or not. By emphasizing the Brotherhood's decision to fire live bullets and birdshot, the author portrays them as initiators of violence and justifies the subsequent operation. That is, they deliberately chose to engage in violent actions against the security forces, without any external coercion. The demands made by the security forces for women, children, and the elderly to be removed from the sit-in site suggests that they were concerned for their safety. The use of the word *initiative* to describe the Brotherhood's response to these demands implies that they had been acting aggressively and without provocation. The use of visual imagery was effective in creating a vivid representation of the chaotic and dangerous atmosphere surrounding the sit-ins. By describing the black smoke covering the sky and preventing the forces from seeing at the entrances, the author created a sense of urgency and danger to the readers. The readers were able to visualize the situation and

understand the severity of the events. This description was also successful in justifying the use of force by security forces. The readers could see that the situation was out of control, and force was necessary to maintain order.

The casualties and injuries resulting from the dispersal operation were reported by the Egyptian press in a manner that largely supported the official government narrative. The government's official death toll initially put the number of casualties at around 600, including both protesters and security forces. The press largely echoed this figure, portraying it as the result of clashes between armed protesters and security forces. The press placed significant emphasis on the deaths and injuries suffered by the security forces, presenting them as *martyrs* who sacrificed their lives to protect the nation. Upon examining the concordance lines of the collocates *والشرطة* and *police*, *والداخلية* and *interior* and *قوات* *forces*, it became clear that the number of casualties from the interior forces was significant, as evident in the following examples:

8. ارتفاع ضحايا الشرطة منذ فض اعتصامات الإخوان إلى 106 شهداء و 915 مصابا: أكد مصدر أمني مسئول بوزارة الداخلية , أن عدد شهداء رجال الشرطة منذ فض اعتصام ميداني رابعة العدوية والنهضة 14 أغسطس حتي 26 أغسطس , ارتفع الي 106 شهداء , وهم 72 ضابطا و 30 فردا عسكريا وموظف مدني واحد و 48 مجندا. الأهرام ، 27 أغسطس 2013

8. The number of police casualties since the dispersal of the Brotherhood sit-ins has risen to 106 **martyrs** and 915 injured: An official security source at the Ministry of Interior confirmed that the number of policemen killed since the dispersal of the Rabaa alAdawiya and al-Nahda square sit-ins, from August 14 to August 26, has risen to **106**, and they are **72 officers** and **30 military personnel**, **one civilian employee** and **48 recruits**.

This example frames the casualties from the perspective of the Egyptian security forces. The use of the term *martyrs* to describe the police casualties conveys a sense of heroism and sacrifice and contributes to a discursive strategy that positions the security forces

as victims rather than victimizers. Such representation appeals to nationalist sentiments by placing a strong emphasis on the sacrifices made by these people for the sake of the nation. The article attempts to portray the scope and significance of the incident, highlighting the severity of the losses incurred by the security forces by presenting a full breakdown of the casualties, including the number of officers, military personnel, civilian employees, and conscripts. By attributing the information to an official source from the Ministry of Interior, the report presents the information as authentic and authoritative. This tactic aims to legitimize the casualty figures and establish trust in the narrative being presented.

The media coverage of the dispersal operation has raised concerns about the selective representation of social actors in news articles. To put it more simply, no space was given to report the casualties from the other side of the event. Based on Herman and Chomsky's (1988) propaganda model, certain news coverage of conflicts may tend to create binary choices regarding victims. Specifically, the coverage may highlight deserving, personalized victims who receive extensive attention in order to generate reader interest and empathy. Conversely, undeserving, anonymous, and invisible victims may receive minimal detail and context in the construction of the news story. Considering this perspective, the Egyptian newspapers gave detailed information about the police victims as worthy victims, whereas the Muslim Brotherhood's victims were totally excluded or given slight detail and context in the stories' construction. By focusing solely on the victims who were part of the security forces, there is a potential bias in favor of portraying them as innocent victims and downplaying any violence or resistance they may have engaged in during the dispersal. Such selective representation can be influenced by various factors, including political and social considerations. As previously highlighted, the MB was designated as a terrorist organization in Egypt. Consequently, the government may have sought to control the narrative or suppress

information that could be seen as sympathetic to the group. This bias may have reinforced the binary narrative of deserving versus undeserving victims.

Based on the recurrent collocational patterns analyzed in the preceding sections, it can be inferred that the coverage of Egyptian newspapers relied heavily on a language that emphasized a dichotomy of good versus bad. This was evident in the way the media highlighted the positive characteristics of both the military and government while downplaying their negative attributes. Conversely, the negative features of the pro-Morsi camp, including the Muslim Brotherhood and its supporters, were demonized, or brought to the forefront, with their positive aspects being ignored. Furthermore, the Egyptian media employed a language that classified victims into two categories: worthy and unworthy. Additionally, they refrained from exposing the falsehoods propagated by all parties involved in the problem or conflict.

5. Conclusion

The findings obtained from the corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis revealed the existence of a biased representation of the Egyptian military in the UK press. In the pre-uprisings period, most of the language used to describe the military had either neutral or positive connotations. The military leadership was largely depicted as withdrawing from the political scene, and their actions were often framed as nonviolent. When the military was depicted as taking action, it was usually in response to escalating violence and threats to the stability of the Egyptian state. The use of verbs such as *intervene* and *step in* suggested that the military would only get involved if the protests led to chaos and the potential collapse of the country. Conversely, there was a significant shift in the portrayal of the Egyptian military from neutral representations in period 1 to a strongly negative construction after the protests. The British newspapers consistently framed the political developments in Egypt as a *full-scale military coup* and emphasized the military's role in

toppling the Islamist president, Morsi. The media explicitly assigned the Egyptian military the role of the actor and represents it as being exclusively responsible for removing Morsi through using the material processes *ousts* and *overthrown*. The military intervention became central frame for most in the news articles with headlines and the lead paragraphs frequently featuring it. At the same time, attempts were made to downplay the significance of large-scale protests by the opposition by backgrounding them to wrap-up sections or satellite paragraphs. The representation of the military's violence was constructed using active voice structures, attributing responsibility for violent actions primarily to the army, while framing any violence by Morsi supporters as responses to attacks initiated by the military. Lexical choices, particularly the keyword *massacre* further reinforced the negative image of the army, as evidenced by different noun phrases such as *the army's massacre* and *police massacre*. Overall, the British press portrayed the military and opposition as responsible for brutal and violent activities, while presenting MB supporters as victims of the military crackdown and defenders of Morsi's legitimacy.

On the other hand, the portrayal of the Egyptian military by the Egyptian media did not change significantly across both the pre- and post-uprisings periods. The Egyptian newspapers represented the army in most cases positively and occurred in contexts that portrayed the military establishment as being the main actor responsible for maintaining security and protecting the Egyptian people. The recurring use of the catchphrase *Army and People One Hand* exemplifies the media's inclination to venerate the military, suggesting a belief among the protesters that the military should be aligned with their goals and actions and potentially intervene in the political situation. In the post-uprisings period, the collocation analysis revealed that the media within Egypt was strongly biased in favor of the protests. The Egyptian newspapers positively portrayed the army as a proactive and necessary force that responded to the

people's demand to remove Morsi from power. Additionally, there was no reference to any aggressive or violent actions carried out by its soldiers against MB protesters. Instead, their actions seem to either have no impact on others or do not have any intended human goals. The dispersal of Rabaa al-Adawiya and Al-Nahda sit-ins was framed as necessary for restoring law and order, with the protesters depicted as threats to national security. The news articles also emphasized the violence that had occurred in the area prior to the evacuation and highlighted the government's efforts to provide safe passage for the protesters to leave the area peacefully. The Egyptian newspapers also provided extensive information about the police victims as worthy victims, while the MB's victims were completely disregarded or only briefly mentioned in the stories' construction. By focusing solely on the victims who were part of the security forces, there is a potential bias in favor of portraying them as innocent victims and downplaying any violence or resistance they may have engaged in during the dispersal.

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