

**CONFLICTS AS CAUSES TO CHANGE NEWS FOCI:
FREQUENCY ANALYSIS FOR ASHARQ AL-AWSAT AND AL-KHALEEJ
NEWSPAPERS BEFORE AND AFTER THE ARAB SPRING**

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ABSTRACT: *The Arab Media, both pan-Arab and national, have helped people in the Arab world to achieve a greater amount of freedom and liberty in the last two decades. This was observed in 2011, when the Arab region witnessed a series of revolutions and protests that not only affected the Middle East and North Africa, but also the whole world. This study uses a new 19.5-million word corpus of newspaper articles published between 2009 and 2013 to examine the main discussed themes in Asharq Al-Awsat (a pan-Arab newspaper) and Al-Khaleej (a UAE national newspaper). Using the corpus linguistic technique of frequency, this study shows that the focus of the two newspapers in 2011, the year when most of the protests began and ended, was similar in spite of the differences in their agendas and policies. This study concludes that the occurrence of an event that affects most of the Arab countries has an impact on the type and style of Arab national newspaper coverage.*

KEYWORDS: Corpus Linguistics, the Arabic language, the Arab Spring, frequency analysis, newspapers

INTRODUCTION

In the last two decades, many regions of the world have witnessed several events which have impacted on national governance and international relations and policies. In the Middle Eastern region and the Arab world, the recent protests and uprisings are considered to be among the most important events the contemporary world has witnessed (Cavatorta, 2012). The Arab people revolted after decades of submission and subservience. Having been disappointed by their leaders and rulers, they collectively rejected the oppressions by revolting against their various governments. The central theme of these protests was change (Bayat, 2013). In other words, protesters across the Arab World felt the need to change the situation under which they lived, where the economic, political and social conditions were extremely difficult and unstable (Ottaway & Hamzawy, 2011).

The power of language appears more at the times of conflict and war where the different involved parties tend to represent themselves positively and represent others negatively.

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Similarly, in any event of massive protest, one of the important instruments is the use of language to influence the actions of protesters (Filali-Ansary, 2012). In the events of the Arab uprisings, language is considered a critical component that played an important role in forming the attitudes and ideologies of most Arab people (Al-Abed Al-Haq & Hussein, 2012). Michel (2013) argues that pro-revolutionary forces used certain kinds of speeches and slogans to encourage and motivate people to protest against their ruling regimes. Similarly, poets, commentators, religious scholars, journalists, and other authors were seen as warriors because their words were used to provoke the revolutionary movements (Michel, 2013). Also, the ruling regimes and their governments realized that language does not act passively and observed its role as an ideological tool, and so increased and tightened their censorship over broadcasting and publishing (Ghadbian, 2012). They also used media as a diplomacy tool in order to send messages for the public both inside and outside. Even the presidents of the main involved Arab Spring countries used the tool of language and delivered different speeches using the discourses of unity, patriotism and change in an attempt to convince the protesters that they are sincere in their promises of reform. Accordingly, it seems that the role of language was remarked in this era of protests where the different involved parties tried to promote their ideologies mainly through language. The uprisings in the Arab world were densely covered by media organisations. However, it seems that there was an inconsistency in their coverage of the different uprisings based on the country where the events happen; for example Alalawi (2015) argues that Al-Jazeera remained mostly silent in terms of the Bahraini revolution broadcasting when compared to some other countries like Egypt. Similarly, Salaita (2012) points out that the NYT densely covered the unrest in Syria, when compared to its coverage of the Saudi and Bahraini uprisings.

This study uses word frequency of three time periods; before the 2011 Arab uprisings (2009/2010), during the uprisings (2011), and after the uprisings (2012/2013) to examine news articles of one pan-Arab newspaper, *Asharq Al-Awsat*, and one UAE national newspaper, *Al-Khaleej*, and investigate their different news foci/themes. This study is an attempt to show how different Arabic newspapers with different types; pan-Arab and national, contributed to urging the Arab people to go out in the streets and protest. It further investigates whether the occurrence of an event that affects most of the Arab countries has an impact on the way that national newspapers cover their news.

This study is organized as follows. Section 2 explores the two investigated newspapers, and the justifications for their selection, and provides some statistics about the size of the collected data. Section 3 defines the theoretical and methodological framework of the study, and how frequency is used to uncover discourses. The corpus is analysed and discussed in section 4. Section 5 concludes the study, summarizes the findings, and makes some recommendations for further studies.

DATA COLLECTION AND SELECTION

As mentioned above, this study uses one pan-Arab newspaper, and one UAE national newspaper (Al-Khaleej). Skovgaard-Petersen (2006) describes the quantum leap that the establishment of some pan-Arab newspapers including *Asharq Al-Awat* (1978) made to the development of the Arab press being generally more outspoken than the local newspapers. According to the Global Investment House's report on Saudi Research & Marketing Group (2009), *Asharq Al-Awsat* had a circulation of 235,000 copies per day. The second investigated

newspaper is *Al-Khaleej* which is one of the most popular newspapers in the United Arab Emirates. It has a circulation of around 114,800 copies per day according to the Press Preference website.

The corpus of this study is built from scratch; the articles are directly retrieved from the websites of *Asharq Al-Awsat* and *Al-Khaleej* using the following query terms **ليبتي* أو القذافي أو* **Libya* OR Qaddafi OR tripoli OR benghazi OR sirt*. Looking for these terms between (1/1/2009) and (31/12/2013) resulted in 23,285 articles with a total count of 19,324,789 (table 1). After that the articles were divided into three main time periods to examine the foci of the two newspapers before, during, and after the outbreak of the 2011 uprisings in the Arab region. Period 1 (before the uprisings) spans from January 2009 to December 2010. Period 2 (during the uprisings and the immediate aftermath of the event) is from January 2011 to December 2011. Period 3 (after the uprisings) covers events from January 2012 to December 2013.

Table 1. The size of the compiled corpus

Asharq Al-Awsat				
Period	Year	Number of Articles	Word count	Total of periods
Before	2009	815	491211	1035058
	2010	874	543847	
During	2011	4957	3251198	3251198
After	2012	2322	1631762	2791117
	2013	1609	1159355	
Total	5 years	10577	7.077.373	7.077.373
Al-Khaleej				
Before	2009	1625	798964	1730931
	2010	1930	931967	
During	2011	4843	5263018	5263018
After	2012	2478	3075157	5253467
	2013	1832	2178310	
Total	5 years	12708	12.247.416	12.247.416
Overall Total	5 years	23285	19324789	19324789

METHODOLOGICAL BACKGROUND

The word “corpus” comes from the Latin word for body, and its plural is *corpora* or *corpuses*. Hunston (2002, p. 2) defined corpus based on both its form and its purpose 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”. Corpus linguistics is “the study of language based on examples of ‘real life’ language use” (McEnery & Wilson, 2001, p. 1). In this study, I approach the corpus by generating frequency lists, lists with all words in the corpus and how many times they occur, for the three time periods in the

two newspapers selected for analysis, and consider the most frequent 35 lexical words including (nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs). The function words were removed from the created lists using Arabic stop lists (lists with function words which are filtered out before processing natural language data). This is because the main interest of this study is to identify the aspects of semantic focus rather than grammatical patterns.

Frequency analysis is important for discourse studies because it helps researchers to avoid observing unusual occurrences more than the typical ones, so potentially helps to make conclusions more objective. Analysing word frequency also provides researchers with the focus of the corpus. Investigating why people sometimes prefer using specific terms rather than others is beneficial for discourse analysts as this may help them uncover evidence of bias in texts, especially when combined with other background information (Stubbs, 2007). For example, examining how the words *man* and *woman* are used in the BNC, Baker (2010) found that former appeared 58,860 times, while the latter appeared 22,008 times. Such lexical preference for the use of *man* over *woman* suggests evidence of sexist discourse. To explain this significant preference for the use of the former over the latter, Baker examined some of the occurrences of the two terms in the BNC, and found that *man* can be used as a generic expression to refer to both men and women, and can be used as a verb, while *woman* is used to refer only to women, and is never used as a verb. Examining the most frequent words in their context may suggest some other aspects to be studied closely, such as the authors' political stance, and the reasons that motivated them to select particular words and repeat them over their texts. Haider (2017) uses a 7 million word corpus of news articles published in the *Guardian* (Britain) and the *New York Times* (the U.S.) from 2009 to 2013, and found that the most frequent words in the two newspapers are different, and strongly related to the political contexts of where they operate. Also, institutions or people can express their political stances or attitudes toward a specific topic if they keep using some words rather than others repetitively and consistently.

DATA ANALYSIS

Using the wordlist tool of the corpus analysis software WordSmith 6 (WS6) (Scott, 2012), I generated frequency lists for the three time periods, namely: pre-, during, and post- uprisings in the two investigated newspapers (tables 2 and 3).

Table 2. The top 35 lexical words in Al-Khaleej

Al-Khaleej								
Period 1 (2009/2010)			Period 2 (2011)			Period 3 (2013/2013)		
word translation	R. Freq.	N. Freq.	word translation	R. Freq.	N. Freq.	word translation	R. Freq.	N. Freq.
العربية Arab	5976	3452.47731	ليبيا Libya	12575	2389.31351	ليبيا Libya	6490	1235.37466
رئيس president of	3807	2199.39443	القذافي Qaddafi	11626	2208.99872	العام General/Year	5260	1001.24356
وقال And he Said	3766	2175.70775	وقال And he Said	9725	1847.79911	رئيس president of	5178	985.63482

العام general (year)	3376	1950.39548	الليبي Libyan	5622	1068.20839	وقال and he Said	5013	954.22699
محمد Mohammed	3190	1842.93886	العربية Arab	4700	893.023737	العربية Arab	4758	905.687615
العربي Arab	3159	1825.02942	الليبية Libyan	4618	877.443322	الإمارات Emirates	4074	775.487883
ليبيا Libya	2894	1671.93262	المتحدة United	4505	855.972752	المتحدة United	3658	696.30208
الإمارات Emirates	2835	1637.84692	المجلس The council	4200	798.021211	محمد Mohammed	3620	689.068762
الاتحاد Union	2711	1566.20917	وأضاف He added	4194	796.881181	الليبي Libyan	3572	679.931938
الدول countries	2569	1484.17239	رئيس President of	4014	762.680272	العربي Arab	3471	660.706539
العالم The world	2339	1351.29592	الخارجية Foreign	3598	683.638171	الليبية Libyan	3465	659.564436
المتحدة United	2311	1335.11966	طرابلس Tripoli	3522	669.197787	الدولة country	3455	657.660931
الرئيس President	2240	1294.10127	الثوار Rebels	3493	663.687641	دولار Dollar	3124	594.65492
الليبي Libyan	2142	1237.48434	قوات Troop	3418	649.437262	الدول countries	2979	567.0541
الدولة the country	2094	1209.7536	العام General/Year	3359	638.226964	مجلس council	2813	535.455919
مجلس council	2053	1186.06692	النفط Oil	3280	623.216565	مصر Egypt	2749	523.273488
دولار Dollar	1849	1068.21127	الدول countries	3143	597.185873	سوريا Syria	2708	515.469118
الشيخ Sheikh	1762	1017.9493	دولار Dollar	3123	593.385772	الوطني National	2701	514.136664
دولة country	1675	967.687331	الرئيس President	2962	562.794959	دبي Dubai	2684	510.900706
مصر Egypt	1672	965.95416	معمار Muammar	2897	550.444631	الحكومة Government	2655	505.380542
البطولة Championship	1610	930.135286	مجلس council	2864	544.174464	العالم The world	2652	504.809491
دبي Dubai	1610	930.135286	الانتقالي Transition	2861	543.604449	الخارجية Foreign	2579	490.913905
الخارجية Foreign	1578	911.648125	العربي Arab	2778	527.83403	الرئيس President	2483	472.640258
الفريق team	1567	905.293163	المعارضة Opposition	2745	521.563863	الماضي last	2401	457.031518
القذافي Qaddafi	1550	895.471859	النظام Regime	2695	512.063611	المجلس The council	2344	446.181541
الدولية International	1529	883.339659	الوطني National	2626	498.953262	المنطقة region	2334	444.278036
قال He said	1491	861.386156	وزير Minister	2589	491.923075	دولة country	2247	427.717543
العرب Arabs	1486	858.497537	الدولي International	2573	488.882995	الشيخ Sheikh	2198	418.39037
الليبية Libyan	1475	852.142575	الدولية International	2566	487.552959	الأمن security	2178	414.58336
الدولي International	1445	834.810862	الشعب People	2535	481.662803	الأمريكية American	2161	411.347402
مليون Million	1379	796.681092	الأمن security	2525	479.762752	الدولي International	2144	408.111443
النفط oil	1364	788.015236	مصر Egypt	2464	468.172444	وأضاف He added	2132	405.827238
القمة Summit	1353	781.660274	الإمارات Emirates	2335	443.661793	النفط oil	2129	405.256186
وزير Minister	1341	774.727589	محمد Mohammed	2317	440.241702	القذافي Qaddafi	2106	400.878125

واضاف He added	1335	771.261246	الحكومة Government	2275	432.26149	وزير Minister	2073	394.596559
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Table 3. The top 35 lexical words in Asharq Al-Awsat

Asharq Al-Awsat								
Period 1 (2009/2010)			Period 2 (2011)			Period 3 (2012/2013)		
word translation	R. Freq.	N. Freq.	word translation	R. Freq.	N. Freq.	word translation	R. Freq.	N. Freq.
العربية Arab	3820	3690.61444	القذافي Qaddafi	21238	6532.3613	ليبيا Libya	9237	3309.42773
ليبيا Libya	3294	3182.43036	ليبيا Libya	16638	5117.49823	سوريا Syria	6542	2343.86448
القذافي Qaddafi	2797	2702.26403	وقال And he said	8887	2733.45395	وقال And he said	5655	2026.07057
وقال And he said	2784	2689.70435	الليبي Libyan	8807	2708.84763	القذافي Qaddafi	5007	1793.90545
الرئيس The President	2396	2314.84612	الليبية Libyan	6847	2105.99293	الرئيس President	4899	1755.21126
الشرق East	1892	1827.91689	العربية Arab	6608	2032.48157	النظام regime	4828	1729.77342
الليبي Libyan	1871	1807.62817	النظام regime	6160	1894.6862	رئيس president of	4732	1695.37859
الليبية Libyan	1868	1804.72978	الثوار Rebels	5929	1823.63547	الحكومة Government	4651	1666.35795
الأوسط Middle	1842	1779.61042	المجلس The council	5921	1821.17484	المتحدة United	4534	1624.43925
عبد Abdul	1801	1739.99911	الشرق East	5278	1623.40159	العربية Arab	4364	1563.53173
الدول The countries	1761	1701.35393	طرابلس Tripoli	5184	1594.48917	الليبي Libyan	4295	1538.81045
العربي Arab	1698	1640.48778	المتحدة United	5091	1565.88433	السوري Syrian	4283	1534.51109
رئيس president of	1660	1603.77486	الأوسط Middle	4918	1512.67317	الليبية Libyan	4273	1530.9283
الحكومة Government	1588	1534.21354	الرئيس The President	4872	1498.52454	مصر Egypt	3950	1415.20402
القمة Summit	1578	1524.55225	سوريا Syria	4657	1432.39507	العربي Arab	3944	1413.05434
العام General (Year)	1560	1507.16192	عبد Abdul	4654	1431.47234	الشرق East	3922	1405.17219
المتحدة United	1529	1477.21191	قال Said	4480	1377.9536	الأسد Assad	3861	1383.31715
الخارجية Foreign	1386	1339.0554	الشعب People	4355	1339.50624	الأوسط Middle	3782	1355.01306
الله Allah	1343	1297.51183	مصر Egypt	4228	1300.44371	عبد Abdul	3688	1321.33479
قال He said	1338	1292.68118	السوري Syrian	4085	1256.45993	الأمن security	3619	1296.61351
الماضي last	1279	1235.67955	الانتقالي Transitional	4035	1241.08098	الوطني National	3458	1238.93051
السودان Sudan	1229	1187.37307	رئيس President of	4028	1238.92793	الأميركية US	3437	1231.40664
واضاف And he added	1198	1157.42306	الخارجية Foreign	3963	1218.9353	الخارجية Foreign	3402	1218.86686
الاتحاد Union	1150	1111.04885	الثورة Revolution	3943	1212.78372	قال Said	3260	1167.99117
مصر Egypt	1119	1081.09884	قوات Forces	3896	1198.32751	السورية Syrian	3134	1122.84795
مجلس	1099	1061.77625	نظام	3885	1194.94414	المؤتمر	3041	1089.52796

council			regime			Conference		
وزير Minister	1085	1048.25044	الدول countries	3838	1180.48793	الدول countries	3039	1088.8114
العالم The world	1074	1037.62301	الحكومة Government	3749	1153.11341	نظام regime	2882	1032.56152
السلام Peace	1071	1034.72462	الأمن security	3668	1128.19951	الجيش Army	2849	1020.73829
الأمن Security	1013	978.689117	الوطني National	3649	1122.35551	العالم The world	2833	1015.00582
العرب Arabs	988	954.535881	العربي Arab	3596	1106.05383	الثورة Revolution	2769	992.075932
دارفور Darfur	980	946.806846	مجلس council	3548	1091.29004	الدولة The country	2727	977.028193
الدولية International	977	943.908457	العميد Colonel	3431	1055.30331	طرابلس Tripoli	2638	945.141318
طرابلس Tripoli	972	939.07781	العالم The world	3308	1017.4711	مجلس council	2622	939.408846
إسرائيل Israel	961	928.450386	معمار Muammar	3215	988.866258	السابق Former	2595	929.7353

Tables 2 and 3 show the most frequent words in the two newspapers based on the investigated period. The three columns in each period include information about the word, its raw frequency (how many times it occurs in the corpus), and its normalized frequency (its occurrences per million words). Some words (bolded) occurred in each of the three sub-corpora. To understand why these words were among the most frequent in all periods, I found that the common words in most cases referred to the names of the newspapers, the countries where they are located and mainly published, the newspaper's interests, and journalism related words. *Libya* and *Qaddafi* occurred across the three time periods because they were two of the query terms I used to compile the corpus. The words *الوسط* *Al-Awsat* (*Middle*) and *الشرق* *Asharq* (*East*) occurred frequently across the periods in *Asharq Al-Awsat* to highlight its exclusive news; some clusters such as *قال للشرق الأوسط "تold Asharq Al-Awsat"* or *في مقابلة مع "in an interview with Asharq Al-Awsat"* are mentioned frequently. The frequent use of the words *الإمارات العربية المتحدة* *the United Arab Emirates* in *Al-Khaleej* suggests the newspaper's interest in showing how some issues may affect the country and how the UAE deals with the national and international (critical) matters.

The word *مصر* *Egypt* is also mentioned across the three periods as it is considered to be a regional power, and has a leading role in the Arab world and a significant cultural, political, and military influence in the Middle East, North Africa, and the Muslim world. The verb *said* is frequently used in the two newspapers across the three time periods because it is considered as a neutral reporting verb that connects the words to their speakers. Moore (2000) argues that news is much more about people's sayings than deeds being talk about talk. Zelizer (1989) points out that the journalists who use quotes lend authority to the story. Moreover, reported speech, particularly direct speech, is a way of ensuring faithfulness to a previously uttered speech (Bell, 1991).

In the next three sections, I examine the words that occurred in each period separately. The aim behind this is to uncover the different news foci about in the three time periods in the two newspapers.

Period 1

This period (2009/2010) will be taken as a baseline, and its analysis will be taken as a benchmark to measure and assess the newspapers' style and type of coverage in the other two periods. Period 1 represents the pre-uprisings era, and is important for this study because it reflects the newspapers' 'normal' type of coverage before it is affected by the uprisings that spread all over the Arab world. Table 4 shows the most frequent words that only occurred in period one.

Table 4. Unique words in period 1 in Al-Khaleej and Asharq Al-Awsat

Newspaper	Period	Unique words
Al-Khaleej	ONE 2009/2010	الاتحاد، العالم، الدولة، دولة، الشيخ، البطولة، دبي، الفريق، العرب، مليون، القمة
Asharq Al-Awsat		القمة، العام، الله، الماضي، السودان، واطاف، الاتحاد، وزير، السلام، العرب، دارفور، الدولية، طرابلس، اسرائيل
		the union, the world, (the) country, Sheikh, championship, Dubai, the team, Arabs, million, the summit
		the summit, general (year), Allah, last, Sudan, and he added, the union, Minister, peace, Arabs, Darfur, International, Tripoli, Israel

In period 1, the majority of the words in *Al-Khaleej* addressed local and national issues that are related to the United Arab Emirates where the newspaper is published and located. To verify this assumption, I carried out a cluster analysis for the frequent words *الشيخ Shaikh*, *دولة state*, *الدولة the state*, and *مليون million*, and found that they are mentioned in the co-texts of the UAE, its leaders, and government. For example, the title word *الشيخ Shaikh*, which is commonly given in the UAE to a royal male at birth and members of the ruling family, was used in *Al-Khaleej* in different clusters. *Sheikh Khalifa bin Zayed Al Nahyan*, the President of the United Arab Emirates and the Emir of Abu Dhabi, and *Sheikh Mohammed bin Rashid*, the Vice President, and constitutional monarch of Dubai, were the most frequent two mentioned people in the newspaper. The words *دولة state* and *الدولة the state* also referred to the UAE in more than 90% of the cases. For example, *رئيس الدولة* which is translated as *Head of State* referred to Sheikh Khalifa, the president of the UAE, and *سفير الدولة* *the state's Ambassador* referred to one of the UAE's Ambassadors. The same is applicable for the other clusters included in table 5.

Table 5. Cluster analysis of *الدولة the state* in Al-Khaleej

The State (Al-Khaleej)	
Translation	Cluster
Head of the state	رئيس الدولة
The State's Vice president	نائب رئيس الدولة
The state's Ambassador	سفير الدولة
Minister of the State	وزير الدولة
Emirates of the State	إمارات الدولة
Embassy of the State	سفارة الدولة
State budget	ميزانية الدولة
State Security	أمن الدولة

Pan Arab news was also present in *Al-Khaleej's* coverage as the word *القمة* *the summit* shows. The newspaper covered some news about the Arab League summits in Qatar 2009 and Libya 2010, the Arab-African summit in Sirte/Libya 2010, and the Africa-EU summit in Libya 2010.

In *Asharq Al-Awsat*, most of the unique words reflect pan-Arab issues; for example the word *القمة* *the summit* referred mainly to the Arab League summits and the word *وزير* *minister* referred in the majority of cases to Arab ministers. I also analysed the other unique words in *Asharq Al-Awsat* which include *السلام* *peace*, *دارفور* *Darfur*, *السودان* *Sudan*, and *اسرائيل* *Israel*, and found that they are mainly related to pan-Arab issues. Carrying out a collocation analysis for the unique word *peace*, I found that the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, the peace talks in the Middle East, and the conflict in Darfur (a region in south Sudan) dominated the usage of the word in this period. *Israel* was also among the unique words in *Asharq Al-Awsat* as the Arab-Israel case is considered as one of the oldest and most dominant conflicts in the Middle East. Dowty (2008) describes it as “the perfect conflict... a conflict with more self-generating power for continued devastation and destruction” (p. 222) with both parties having a strong sense of victimhood. The Israeli aggression on Gaza, the Israeli settlement, and the Arab peace treaties with Israel were heavily covered in *Asharq Al-Awsat*.

Most of the main covered events in *Asharq Al-Awsat* in this period especially the conflict in Darfur and the Israeli attack on Gaza have some aspects of negativity, drama and importance, and so are considered to be newsworthy. The geographical and cultural proximity (Bednarek, 2016) was also one of the factors that determined the type of news in both newspapers; i.e. for them the priority of presenting domestic and regional events comes before the other news of the world. For example, the Arab summits were densely covered by both Arab newspapers because the Arab League's activities represent events that all Arab countries are involved in, and the decisions taken at these events affect the Arab public and attract their attention.

Period one discussion. The unique words analysis of *Asharq Al-Awsat* and *Al-Khaleej* showed that the former mainly focused on covering pan-Arab issues, while the latter focused on UAE national news although it sometimes included pan-Arab stories. Based on the newspaper's website, *Al-Khaleej* aims to emphasize the idea of unity in the Arab Gulf region that combines national belongings and Arabic roots. Accordingly, some pan Arab issues were covered in *Al-Khaleej* especially if the UAE was involved; for example, the different Arab League summits were referred to frequently in this period. The discussed themes in *Asharq Al-Awsat* shows how it, being a pan-Arab newspaper, tends to address the entire Arab world on Arab issues that draw the attention of most Arab people. According to Yushi (2012), pan-Arab newspapers play a critical and vital role in “keeping their readers in touch with pan-Arab issues” (p. 55). This aspect will be useful at later stages in periods 2 and 3 when comparing how national and pan-Arab newspapers cover the uprisings that have affected most of the Arab countries. Based on the unique words analysis of this period, it can be observed that although the two sub-corpora are built using the same query terms, the main themes discussed in each of them were different, perhaps due to different factors that include the agendas of the newspapers, their sources, and the policies of the countries where they are located and mainly published.

Period 2

Since the Arab uprisings happened in this period, I check whether the focus of the two newspapers is affected by the occurrence of such events that affected the whole world. Table 6 shows the words that only occurred in period 2.

Table 6. Unique words in period 2 in Al-Khaleej and Asharq Al-Awsat

Newspaper	Period	Unique words
Al-Khaleej	TWO 2011	المجلس، طرابلس، الثوار، قوات، معمر، الانتقالي، المعارضة، النظام، الوطني، الشعب، الامن، الحكومة the council, Tripoli, the rebels, forces, Muammar, transitional, the opposition, the regime, national, people, security, the government
Asharq Al-Awsat		النظام، الثوار، المجلس، طرابلس، سوريا، الشعب، السوري، الانتقالي، رئيس، الثورة، قوات، نظام، الوطني، العقيد، معمر the regime, the rebels, the council, Tripoli, Syria, people, Syrian, transitional, president of, the revolution, forces, regime of, the national, Colonel, Muammar

In this period, there was a shift in *Al-Khaleej*'s coverage moving from focusing on national issues related to the UAE to concentrating more on some pan-Arab issues mainly related to the era of uprisings. The focus on pan-Arab issues in *Asharq Al-Awsat* continued in period 2 highlighting the important events that occurred after the outbreak of the Arab uprisings in most Arab countries, and their effect not only on the Middle East and North Africa, but also the whole world. In order to see how the regimes of the Arab Spring countries, and their forces were represented in the two investigated newspapers, I examined the unique words *نظام regime* and *قوات forces*. Beginning with *نظام regime*, I investigated its statistically strongest 50 collocates (with highest dice score; an effect size statistic which is a measure of strength of association between two words), and divided them into different thematic categories as shown in table 7.

Table 7. Thematic categories of the collocates of *النظام the regime* in Al-Khaleej and Asharq Al-Awsat

The collocates of "the regime" in the Arabic corpus		
Thematic Category	Al-Khaleej	Asharq Al-Awsat
Description	الحاكم، القائم، الجديد، السابق، السياسي، القديم، السوري، الفاسد، الموريتاني ruling, current, new, former, political, old, Syrian, corrupt. Mauritanian	القائم، الليبي، رأس، الحاكم، الإيراني، الملكي، الجديد، القديم، المصري، سياسة، الديمقراطي، السابق current, Libyan, the head of, ruling, Iranian, monarchical, new, old, Egyptian, political, democratic, former
Protests	والمعارضة، المتظاهرين، القمع، قتل، شعبه، يريد، المطالبين، الثورة، المطالب opposition, demonstrators, oppression, murder, people, wants, demanding, revolution,	القمع، يمارسه، يرتكبها، المتظاهرين، قمع، قتل، العنف، شعبه repression, practiced, committed, the protesters, suppression, murder, violence, its people

	demands	
Demands and consequences	إسقاط، سقوط، لإسقاط، الضغط، تغيير، ورحيل، انهيار، شرعية، موقف، الحوار، عقوبات، فرض، رموز، فلول، بقايا overthrow, fall, to overthrow, pressure, changing, downfall, collapse, legitimacy, attitude, dialogue, sanctions, imposed, icons, remnants, residue	تغيير، بإسقاط، انهيار، سقط، يريد، تطالب، إسقاط، عقوبات، بتغيير، شرعيته، يسقط، لإسقاط، رموز، فرض، أركان، عناصر change, toppling, collapse, fall, wants, demands, overthrow, penalties, change, legitimacy, fall, to overthrow, icons, imposing, pillars, residues

In *Al-Khaleej*, what first drew my attention is the absence of *النظام الليبي the Libyan regime* from thematic group one. However, as mentioned above, only the most salient collocates were examined, and since the word *الليبي Libyan* was one of the query terms used to compile the corpus, its chances to appear with a lot of words are more than the non-query words. In order to verify this claim, I carried out a cluster analysis for *النظام the regime* and found that *النظام الليبي the Libyan regime* ranked first (table 8).

Table 8. The most frequent clusters with *النظام the regime* in *Al-Khaleej*

Clusters of “the regime” (Al-Khaleej)		
Cluster	Translation	Freq.
النظام الليبي	Libyan regime	344
النظام السابق	former regime	183
النظام السوري	Syrian regime	140
ضد النظام	Against the regime	98
مع النظام	with the regime	85
إسقاط النظام	Toppling the regime	75
تغيير النظام	changing the Regime	68

In *Asharq Al-Awsat*, the collocate *السوري the Syrian* does not appear in the first thematic category in table 7 although two of the main unique words in table 6 (*سوريا Syria* and *السوري Syrian*) refer to it. In order to check whether this is applicable when using other techniques or not, I carried out a cluster analysis for *النظام the regime* as shown in table 9 and found that *النظام السوري the Syrian regime* ranked first.

Table 9. The most frequent clusters with *النظام the regime* in *Asharq Al-Awsat*

Clusters of “the regime” (Asharq Al-Awsat)		
Cluster	Translation	Freq.
النظام السوري	Syrian regime	1,032
النظام الليبي	Libyan regime	537
النظام السابق	former regime	230
إسقاط النظام	overthrowing the regime	194
ضد النظام	Against the regime	185
مع النظام	With the system	167
تغيير النظام	Regime change	151
سقوط النظام	Fall of the regime	137

As shown in table 9, *النظام السوري the Syrian regime* was mentioned almost twice as often as the Libyan regime. This is also odd because the word *ليبي Libyan* was one of the query terms. However, in order to verify this, I carried out a cluster analysis for another unique word mentioned above, namely *نظام regime* without the Arabic definite article ‘al’. The findings of the cluster analysis showed that *Asharq-Al-Awsat* referred to the regime in Libya as *نظام القذافي Qaddafi regime* rather than *النظام الليبي the Libyan regime* as shown in table 10. The cluster analysis also showed similar clusters with the regimes of Assad, Mubarak, and Saleh in Syria, Egypt, and Yemen respectively. This suggests that, in the Arab region, at least in the main Arab Spring countries, a whole country is centralized around one person.

Table 10. The most frequent clusters with *نظام regime* in Asharq Al-Awsat

Clusters of “regime” (Asharq Al-Awsat)		
Cluster	Translation	Freq.
نظام القذافي	Qaddafi Regime	1462
نظام العقيد	Colonel Regime	337
نظام الأسد	Assad Regime	302
نظام الرئيس	President Regime	167
نظام العقيد معمر القذافي	Colonel Muammar Qaddafi Regime	149
نظام بشار	Bashar's regime	90

Some collocates from the different thematic categories with *regime* (table 7) are examined below.

Description. In *Asharq Al-Awsat* and *Al-Khaleej*, the toppled regimes during the era of the uprisings were represented negatively. For example, the regimes in Egypt, Yemen, Syria, and Libya were described as “الديكتاتورية” “dictatorial”, “الاستبدادية” “authoritarian”, and “الفاسدة” “corrupt” regimes that looted the wealth of the country and people, in addition to committing massacres to serve their personal interests. When investigating the use of *السابق former* and *القديم old* with *النظام the regime*, I found that they were used in the majority of cases to describe the residues, remnants, and icons of Mubarak’s and Qaddafi’s regimes referring to people’s demands to completely isolate and exclude them from any political activities in the future in addition to holding trials for some of them. The collocate *رأس head of* was also statistically significant with *النظام the regime*, and this suggests that most, if not all, regimes in the Arab world are centralized around one person. Therefore, the fall of the whole regime is only done if its head was overthrown, and many concordance lines emphasize this idea (lines 1, 2, and 3 in concordance 1).

1	لقد تمكن الليبيون من إسقاط النظام في أربعة أيام وبذلك حققوا ما لم تستطع تحقيقه ثورتا تونس ومصر! لقد أسقطوا النظام وإن بقي رأس النظام حتى الساعة Libyans have been able to bring down the regime in four days and achieved what has not been able to be achieved by revolutions in Tunisia and Egypt! They have brought down the regime, though the head of the regime is still alive.
2	فالنظام العراقي السابق (نظام صدام حسين) يشبه إلى حد كبير جدا نظام العقيد الليبي معمر القذافي؛ حيث إن الدولة كلها مرتبطة برأس النظام وبالتالي فعندما انهار رأس النظام انهارت الدولة برمتها The former Iraqi regime (of Saddam Hussein) is similar to a very large extent with the one of Colonel Muammar Qaddafi's regime; where the whole state is linked with the head of the regime , and when the head of the regime collapses, the whole state collapses
3	بمضي شهر على ثورة الشعب المصري التي نجحت في إسقاط رأس النظام الديكتاتوري في مصر After one month on the revolution of the Egyptian people that has succeeded in overthrowing the dictatorial head of the regime there...

Concordance 1. The collocate *رأس النظام the head of* with *the regime* in Asharq Al-Awsat

Protests. The collocate *المتظاهرين demonstrators* was mentioned in two main contexts. First, calling for the fall of the *regime* and chanting against it, and second, being suppressed and killed by the *regime*'s forces. The collocate *القمع repression* referred, in almost all cases, to the violence that the Syrian *regime* has committed against its own people. Some phrases were frequently used to show this such as *القمع العنيف من قبل النظام البعثي* "severe repression by Baathist regime", *حملة القمع الشرسة ضد الشعب السوري* "fierce repression campaign against the Syrian people", and *القمع الدموي العنيف وغير المسؤول ضد المدنيين السوريين* "bloody, violent and irresponsible repression against the Syrian civilians". Examining the collocate *شعبه its people* in *Al-Khaleej* showed the "inhumane acts" that some regimes in the Arab world committed against their people as concordance 2 shows.

1	ينبغي ألا نسمح لهذا النظام باستخدام القوة العسكرية ضد شعبه We should not allow this regime to use its military force against its own people .
2	الهجمات التي يشنها النظام على شعبه وبنيتها التحتية Attacks by the regime against its people and their infrastructure
3	لم يتخل النظام السوري عن العنف ضد شعبه The Syrian regime has not given up violence against its own people
4	رفضه ما يقوم به النظام السوري ضد شعبه، وأسفه لإراقة دماء السوريين ..His rejection of what the Syrian regime is doing against its own people , and regret on the bloodshed Syrians.
5	النظام الليبي يهاجم شعبه بصورة منهجية Libyan regime attacks its people systematically
6	سوريا/ رفض النظام إجراء أي حوار مع شعبه ومع شركائه في جامعة الدول العربية (Syria) regime rejected any dialogue with its people and with partners in the Arab League
7	لحماية السكان المدنيين من جنون النظام الذي يقتل شعبه في انتهاك للشرعية الدولية To protect the civilian population from the madness of the regime that kills its people in violation of international legitimacy
8	واصل النظام قمع شعبه بكل أسلحة الدمار The regime continued to repress its people with all mass weapons
9	استمرار الحملة الوحشية من جانب النظام السوري ضد شعبه The continuation of the brutal crackdown by the Syrian regime against its own people
10	إنه قتال النظام ضد شعبه... حرب إبادة، وحمامات دم، ومجازر It is a fight of a regime against its people ...a war of annihilation , and pools of blood , and the massacres
11	ليبيا تدخل في القائمة بعد حرب النظام على شعبه Libya was also in the list after the regime's war on its people
12	إذا استمر النظام في قتل شعبه، هناك وسائل كثيرة لردعه مثل حظر الطيران If the regime continues to kill its people , there are many ways to deter it
13	يوقف عمليات القتل والتعذيب والاعتقال التي يمارسها النظام السوري ضد شعبه الأعمى المطالب بالتغيير والإصلاح To stop killing, torture and detention practiced by the Syrian regime against its unarmed people demanding change and reform
14	الجرائم الدموية التي ارتكبتها النظام الليبي ضد شعبه Bloody crimes committed by the Libyan regime against its own people
15	المجازر الوحشية التي يرتكبها النظام الليبي ضد شعبه الأعمى Brutal massacres committed by the Libyan regime against its unarmed people

Concordance 2. The collocate *شعبه its people* with *the regime* in *Al-Khaleej*

Concordancing the verbs *يمارس لمارس (have) committed* in the co-text of *regime* in *Asharq Al-Awsat*, I found that it is only used with the Libyan and Syrian regimes. I divided the generated concordance lines into 4 main parts, namely, the committed crime, the subject, the verb, and

the object (table 11). The analysis showed that the Libyan and Syrian regimes committed جرائم "crimes", مجازر "massacres", اعمال وحشية "atrocities", حصار "siege", انتهاكات "violations", قمع "repression", and جرائم قتل "murder" against their own شعوب "people", مواطنين "citizens", المتظاهرين العزل "unarmed protestors", and المدنيين "civilians".

Table 11. The verbs مارس يمارس "commit/committed" as collocates of النظام "the regime" in Asharq Al-Awsat

The verbs مارس يمارس/commit/committed as collocates of النظام the regime in Asharq Al-Awsat					
Committed Crime	Translation	Subject	Verb	Object	Translation
القمع والقتل	Repression and murder	النظام السوري	Committed مارس commits has committed يمارس	ضحايا	victims
المجازر	Massacres			المتظاهرين	demonstrators
المجازر	Massacres			شعبه	Its People
الاعمال الوحشية	Atrocities			ابناء الشعب السوري	Sons of the Syrian people
جرائم	Crimes			الشعب السوري	Syrian people
تضييق والحصار ومجازر	Tightening, siege and massacres			المدينة ومواطنيها	The city and its citizens
مجازر	Massacres			المتظاهرين السلميين	Peaceful protesters
الاعمال الوحشية	Atrocities			شعبه	Its People
انتهاكات مروعة	Horrific violations			الشعب السوري	Syrian people
المجازر	Massacres			المدنيين العزل	Unarmed civilians
الاعمال الوحشية	Atrocities			المدنيين العزل	Unarmed civilians
مجازر	Massacres			المتظاهرين العزل	Unarmed demonstrators
مجازر	Massacres			شعبه	Its People
جرائم	Crimes			الشعب الليبي	Libyan people
مجازر	massacres	المواطنين	Citizens		
العنف	Violence	الشعب الليبي العزل	Unarmed Libyan people		
جرائم	crimes	الشعب الليبي	Libyan people		
		(the residues of) the Libyan regime (بقايا النظام الليبي)			

Demands and consequences. The strongest collocate with *regime* in *Al-Khaleej* was اسقاط *to bring down* in reference to the most popular political slogan connected with the Arab Spring, namely "the people want to bring down the regime" (Al Masaeed, 2013). Although the slogan first emerged in Tunisia, it was used frequently in almost all minor and main protests in the Arab world. This slogan implies that the demonstrators left no space for talking about political and economic reforms or reconciliation before the toppling of the regime. They wanted to eradicate the regime from its roots, although what happened in almost all cases was removing the head of the regimes, and neglecting their residues. To examine how the collocate تطالب *demand* was used in *Asharq Al-Awsat*, I carried out a concordance analysis and found that people in about 90% of cases called for the toppling of regimes in the first place. Other demands include achieving democracy, freedom, and reforms. Some collocates in this

category such as *رموز icons*, *اركان pillars*, and *بقايا residues* refer to the components of the former regimes and the “clear” desire by some demonstrators to take revenge on them.

Accordingly, and based on the analysis of the unique word *النظام the regime*, it appears that both *Asharq Al-Awsat* and *Al-Khaleej* are no longer taking the sides of the regimes, especially the ones that were overthrown. On the contrary, they took the sides of people, sympathized with them, and portrayed them as the oppressed and innocent who revolted against the repression and cruelty of their regimes.

The words *قوات forces* and *الثوار the rebels* were unique in this period in *Al-Khaleej* and *Asharq Al-Awsat*. In order to see how both newspapers described different forces and referred to the rebel groups, I created a cluster analysis for *forces* and *rebels* (table 12).

Table 12. The most frequent clusters with *قوات forces* and *الثوار the rebels* in *Al-Khaleej* and *Asharq Al-Awsat*

Al-Khaleej			Asharq Al-Awsat		
Cluster	Translation	Freq.	Cluster	Translation	Freq.
Forces (القوات)					
قوات القذافي	Qaddafi forces	1369	قوات القذافي	Qaddafi forces	1434
قوات العقيد	Colonel forces	277	قوات الأمن	security forces	331
قوات العقيد معمر القذافي	Colonel Muammar Qaddafi's forces	253	قوات التحالف	Coalition forces	203
قوات الأمن	Security forces	250	قوات الثوار	Rebel forces	181
قوات الثوار	Rebel forces	152	قوات المعارضة	Opposition forces	140
قوات المعارضة	Opposition forces	141	قوات العقيد	Colonel forces	139
قوات التحالف	Coalition forces	121	قوات حلف	NATO forces	112
قوات المجلس	Council forces	90	قوات الناتو	NATO forces	99
قوات حلف	NATO forces	61	قوات الجيش	Army troops	77
قوات الناتو	NATO forces	58	قوات حلف شمال الأطلسي	NATO forces	70
قوات الجيش	Army troops	54	قوات المجلس الوطني	National Council forces	57
قوات موالية	Forces loyal to (x)	51	قوات العقيد معمر القذافي	Colonel Muammar Qaddafi's forces	50
قوات النظام	regime's forces	50	قوات درع الجزيرة	Peninsula Shield forces	46
قوات حلف شمال الأطلسي	NATO forces	38	قوات المجلس الانتقالي	Transitional Council forces	44
Rebels (الثوار)					
الثوار الليبيين	Libyan rebels (accusative)	352	الثوار الليبيين	Libyan rebels (accusative)	342
الثوار الليبيون	Libyan rebels (nominative)	184	الثوار الليبيون	Libyan rebels (nominative)	151

Most of the clusters in table 12 are related to the Libyan case. In *Asharq Al-Awsat*, the cluster *قوات درع الجزيرة Peninsula Shield Force* was mentioned 46 times due to its intervention in Bahrain during the period of the uprisings there. These forces represent the military side of the Cooperation Council for the Arab States of the Gulf (GCC) which includes Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Kuwait, Bahrain, Oman, and the United Arab Emirates. The cluster *قوات درع الجزيرة Peninsula Shield forces* was mainly used in four contexts. First, describing the event of intervention as the most important decision taken by the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) as

it contributes “under the sovereignty of the Bahraini forces” in keeping “vital interests” there. This was after the expansion of the protest movement and the state of “civil disobedience” in this “small” Gulf country (line 1). Second, emphasizing that the Gulf troops entered Bahrain at “the request of the Bahraini Government” and “at the invitation of Manama (Bahrain’s capital)” (line 1). This was also said to be in accordance with a formal agreement between the Gulf countries to participate in “maintaining the security” in the wake of the renewed clashes with protesters. Third, highlighting that the *Peninsula Shield forces* “did not participate in killing anyone”, but maintained the state’s institutions and protected “civilians” without “interfering in Bahrain’s internal affairs”. The fourth context is related to the interventions of the Iranian regime in Bahrain, claiming that the *Peninsula Shield forces* blew up Iran’s road map there (line 2). In order to justify the intervention there, it is mentioned that the governments and peoples of the Arab countries should support the *Peninsula Shield forces*, which is a “shield for all Arab nations” in facing Iran’s plans in the Arab region, and “its terror” everywhere (concordance 3).

1	السعودية والإمارات وعدد من دول الخليج الأخرى بعد إرسال قوات درع الجزيرة إلى البحرين لإعادة الأمن والاستقرار إليها بطلب من السلطات البحرينية بعد المواجهات التي اندلعت بين المتظاهرين ورجال الأمن Saudi Arabia, the UAE and a number of other Gulf States sent the Peninsula Shield forces to Bahrain , at the request of the Bahraini authorities , to restore security and stability after the clashes that broke out between protesters and security forces.
2	وكانت العلاقات قد تدهورت بين إيران وبلدان الخليج بعد توجه قوات «درع الجزيرة» إلى البحرين في منتصف مارس Relations have deteriorated between Iran and the Gulf countries after the «Peninsula Shield» forces went to Bahrain in mid-March.

Concordance 3. The cluster *قوات درع الجزيرة Peninsula Shield forces* in Asharq Al-Awsat

The analysis above suggests that *Asharq Al-Awsat* reports events from the Saudi regime’s points of view on the one hand and covers more pan-Arab news than *Al-Khaleej* on the other hand. *Asharq Al-Awsat*, in its coverage of the intervention of the *Peninsula Shield forces* in Bahrain, portrayed the Arab countries in general, and the Arabian Gulf countries in particular as one body against any foreign attacks and conspiracies, represented here by the Iranian regime. Given the newspaper’s pan-Arab agenda, representing this issue using the strategies of positive representation of a group (Arab Gulf countries), and negative representation of another (Iran) is a way of promoting the notion that the Arab countries should be united, and protect pan-Arab security by facing any domestic or foreign threat.

I divided some of the clusters in table 12 into three main categories; the first category includes *قوات القذافي Qaddafi forces* and *قوات العقيد Colonel forces*, the second category *قوات الثوار rebel forces*, and *الثوار الليبيون Libyan rebels*, while the third category comprises *قوات التحالف coalition forces*, and *قوات الناتو NATO forces*. I then carried out patterns analysis for the clusters in each group, and only examined the verbs in L1 and R1 as shown in tables 13 and 15 (translation 14 and 16 respectively). One verb to the left and another to the right because the Arabic language has two types of sentences, namely verbal and nominal, where the verb precedes the subject in the former, and follows it in the latter.

Table 13. Verbs used with the three types of forces mentioned above in Al-Khaleej

Verbs with different types of forces (Al-Khaleej)						
NATO		Rebels		Qaddafi		No.
L1	R1	L1	R1	L1	R1	
قصفت	شنتها	يتقدمون	أعلن	قصفت	قصفت	1
شنت	شنت	يسيطرون	تسليح	تقصف	وقصفت	2
وقال	بدأت	دخلت	واصل	أطلقت	تحاصرها	3
نجحت	قصف	وأصيب	يمثل	تسيطر	شنته	4
قوضت	تشنها	يحتجزون	أكد	شنت	تقاتل	5
أسقطت	لمنع	يمهلون	تقدم	هاجمت	تشنها	6
تمكنت	لقصف	تطهير	حقق	تستخدم	تتهم	7
تمارس		سيطر	وكان	استخدمت	وواصلت	8
بمنع		تحاصر	وأكد	تحاول	دفع	9
		تعزز	انسحب	قتلت	زرعتها	10
		تعاني	تمكن	انسحبت	واصلت	11
		لشن	استعاد	تواصل	وطردوا	12
		قتلوا	لمساعدة	دخلت	أطلقت	13
			لدعم	استعادت	تطلقها	14
			تواجه	أوقفت	وهاجمت	15
			ترجع	تحاصر	يحاربون	16
			اضطر	سيطر	استعادتها	17
			وبدأت	قتلوا	هاجمت	18
			وجهت	زرعت	تقصف	19
			وتدريب	تهاجم	واستعادت	20
			تحاول	احتجزت	دخلت	21
			وأعلن	تستعيد	واتهم	22
			تدعو	تريد	وحاصرتها	23
			ودعا	تراجعت	وتركت	24
			يحققه	أجبرت	هزموا	25
			يواجه	استهدفت	ودحروا	26
			يبدون	ارتكبت	وشنت	27
			وسيطر	أعدتهم	لطرد	28
			دخل	وغطت	وصلت	29
			سيطر	تقصفنا	تستهدف	30
			ضرب	تقرب	تضرب	31
			منح	تقتل	تحاول	32
			نجح	توقفت	ترجع	33
			عزز	تمكنوا	تستخدمها	34
			نجحت	تتقدم	أعدتهم	35
				تحتجز	أرغمت	36
				تتعمد	اتهمت	37
				تسعى	ارتكبتها	38
				تضرب	حاولت	39
				قتلهم	قصفته	40
				دمرت	قطعت	41

				تالقت	42
				تمارسه	43
				تقرضه	44
				تقهقر	45
				توقف	46
				تملك	47
				تنتظر	48
				تهاجم	49
				تتعرض	50

Table 14: English Translation of table 13

Verbs with different types of forces (Al-Khaleej)						
No.	NATO		Rebels		Qaddafi	
	Group 3		Group 2		Group 1	
	L1	R1	L1	R1	L1	R1
1	bombed	launched	advanced	announced	bombed	bombed
2	launched	launched	controlled	arming	bombing	bombed
3	said	started	entered	continued	fired	surrounded
4	succeeded	bombing	wounded	represents	controlled	launched
5	sapped	waged	holding	confirmed	waged	fight
6	overthrow	to prevent	gave notice	come forward	attacked	waged
7	were able to	to shell	to sanitize	achieved	use	accuses
8	exercise		seized	were	used	continued
9	prevent		besieging	stressed	trying	obliged
10			plans	withdrew	killed	planted
11			suffer	were able to	withdrew	continued
12			launch	recover	continue	and expelled
13			killed	to help	entered	launched
14				to support	recovered	fired
15				face	stopped	and attacked
16				fall back	besieging	fighting
17				were obliged	controlled	restored
118				began	killed	attacked
19				directed	planted	bombing
20				training	attack	and regained
21				trying	detained	entered
22				announced	recover	he accused
23				call	want	and besieged
24				called	retreated	and left
25				achieve	forced	defeated
26				face	targeted	and defeated
27				supply	committed	launched
28				controlled	executed	to expel
29				entered	covered	reached
30				control	bomb us	target

31				hit	approaching	hit
32				to grant	kill	trying
33				succeeded	stopped	fall back
34				boost	managed to	used
35				succeeded	progressing	executed
36					holding	forced
37					deliberately do	accused
38					seeking	committed
39					hit	tried
40					killed	bombed
41					destroyed	cut
42						received
43						practiced
44						imposed
45						retreat
46						stop
47						have
48						wait
49						attack
50						expose to

In *Al-Khaleej*, and as can be noticed from the verbs collocates in table 13 (translation 14), almost all verbs are logically related to fighting as their subjects or objects are either forces or rebels. The first category which refers to *Qaddafi forces* had the largest number of verbs as its clusters were mentioned 1623 times, followed by *Libyan rebels' forces* (688 times), and then *NATO forces* (288 times). Unlike the other two groups, group two (*rebel forces*) contained some reporting verbs such as *أعلنت* *announced*, *أكد* *confirmed*, *يدعو* *call*, and *دعا* *called*, and this suggests that the rebels represented a reliable source for newspapers at the time of the uprisings. This also suggests that the power formula changed in this period; for example unlike period 1, the Libyan people/oppositions are given more space than the Libyan officials represented here by pro-Qaddafi loyalists. Some verbs with positive connotations were used in group two and group three rather than group one. For example, the collocates *نجحت* *succeeded* and *حققته* *achieved* were mentioned in G2, while *نجحت* *succeeded* was mentioned in G3. Conversely, some verbs such as *دمرت* *destroyed* and *أعدمت* *executed* were only used in G1.

The verb *قتل* *kill* was mentioned in G1 and G2. To investigate how it was used, I carried out a concordance analysis and found that it refers in about 85% of the times to *Qaddafi forces* that *killed* not only civilians and rebels, but also cattle. The events were sometimes described in an emotional way maybe to show the cruelty of *Qaddafi forces* that *killed* children and shelled residential areas. 10 % of the incidents were used with *Qaddafi forces* being killed in the *NATO* strikes, while less than 5% refers to some officers in *Qaddafi forces* being killed in clashes with the rebels. The verb *kill* was mainly used with *NATO* in the co-text of *Qaddafi forces* being *killed* by *NATO's* strikes. However, despite less frequently, it referred to rebels being killed by *NATO* air strikes

Some verbs such as *قصف bomb* were only mentioned in G1 and G3, and this suggests that the arming abilities of *قوات الثوار the rebel forces* are not comparable with the ones owned by *قوات القذافي Qaddafi forces* or *قوات الناتو NATO forces*. I investigated the object of the verb to see who/what were affected by the *NATO* airstrikes. The findings showed that the most frequent objects in this context were some Libyan cities without indicating any information whether *Qaddafi forces* were affected or not. In some incidents, the objects were *مواقع من المرجح ان تكون عسكرية sites likely to be military*, and *مواقع مدنية وعسكرية military and civilian sites*, and this shows that *NATO* not only targeted military sites but also civilian ones. However, investigating the co-text, I found that the negative effect of *NATO* bombing is mainly reported by pro-*Qaddafi* sources. This also suggests pluralism and diversity in the content of *Al-Khaleej* regarding this issue; covering the two competing truth claims and the different perspectives on the topic. Stroud and Reese (2008, p. 6) argue that “balance is easier to achieve on the surface by putting two voices against each other, and, therefore, the more tempting path to objectivity”. However, the voices that are more preferred by the newspapers might be given more spaces and final word (Phillips, 2015). The verb *قصف bomb* was also used to show the destructive mentality of *Qaddafi forces* where people are killed and places are ruined. The bombing was described in many occasions to be on buildings used in the treatment of the wounded, besieged cities, residential areas, and oil installations and fuel tanks. The types of the military equipment used by pro-*Qaddafi* forces and the role of the Western coalition airstrikes in reducing the abilities of *Qaddafi forces* to bomb the cities were also highlighted.

I then did the same in *Asharq Al-Awsat*, i.e. carried out patterns analysis for the clusters in the three investigated groups, and only looked at the verbs in L1 and R1 positions as shown in tables 15 (translation 16).

Table 15. Verbs used with the three types of forces mentioned above in *Asharq Al-Awsat*

Asharq Al-Awsat						
NATO		Rebels		Qaddafi		No.
L1	R1	L1	R1	L1	R1	
قصف	تدخل	وقال	لتسليح	قصف	كانت	1
تشن	تشنها	يسيطرون	لمساعدة	أطلقت	شدت	2
عطلت	تقودها	يتقدمون	سيطر	تستخدم	تحاصرها	3
القبض	قصف	تمكنت	يمثل	كانت	قصف	4
تمنع	وأوضحت	وأعلن	تقدم	زرعت	استعادت	5
	تستمر	وأصيب	لدعم	استعادت	وأطلقت	6
	هاجم	يناضلون	قال	تحاصر	يقاتلون	7
	تستطيع	يستعيدون	تمكن	تقصف	تحاول	8
	ألق	يقهقرون	واصل	استخدمت	تراجعت	9
	ضربت	يخوضون	أعلن	بدأت	تقاتل	10
	قذف	يعلنون	تزويد	تواصل	وضعتها	11
	دمرت	يفتحون	رفض	قتلت	قتلت	12
	شدت	تحاصر	ويعتزم	شدت	هاجمت	13
		اقتحمت	يقول	تتقدم	استخدمت	14
		أساءوا	وانسحبت	تراجعت	تستهدف	15
		تعمل	نجح	تسيطر	وتسيطر	16

		يقاتلون	تعاطف	هاجمت	واصلت	17
			أشاد	تهاجم	ومنعت	18
			اقتحمت	حاولت	يرى	19
			زودت	تستعيد	تقصف	20
			تمكنت	تسعى	تتمركز	21
			تمثل	تطلق	استمرت	22
			دخل	تعتقل	استهدفت	23
				تقاتل	بدأت	24
				تدك	انسحبت	25
				تخرج	قتلتهم	26
				تحارب	صعدت	27
				دمرت		28
				شاركت		29
				تنسحب		30
				اعتقلت		31
				تمكنت		32
				دخلت		33

Table 16. English translation of table 15

Asharq Al-Awsat						
No.	NATO		Rebels		Qaddafi	
	Group 3		Group 2		Group 1	
	L1	R1	L1	R1	L1	R1
1	bombed	intervene	and said	to arm	bombed	were
2	lunched	waged	control	to help	launched	launched
3	disrupted	led by	advance	controlled	used	besiege
4	arrested	bombed	managed to	represent	were	bombed
5	prevented	explained	announced	come forward	planted	restored
6		continue	wounded	to support	restored	fired
7		attack	struggle	said	besiege	fighting
8		are able to	reclaimed	were able to	bomb	try
9		threw	retreating	continued	used	retreat
10		hit	fighting	declared	started	fight
11		hurled	declared	to supply	continue	put by
12		destroyed	conquer	refused	killed	killed
13		launched	besiege	planned	waged	attacked
14			stormed	say	advanced	used
15			abused	withdrew	fell back	target
16			work	succeeded	controlled	controlled
17			fight	sympathized	attacked	continued
18				praised	attack	prevented
19				stormed	tried	believe
20				provided	recover	bomb
21				managed to	seek	stationed
22				represent	launches	continued

23				entered	arrest	targeted
24					fight	started
25					tamp	withdrew
26					went out	killed
27					fight	stepped up
28					destroyed	
29					participated	
30					withdraw	
31					arrested	
32					managed to	
33					entered	

Most of the verbs mentioned in G1 were used in a negative way to show the cruelty of the Qaddafi forces. For example, the verb *قصفت* *bomb* was used to highlight that *Qaddafi forces* do not only target the opposition forces, but also civilians, health centres, drugs stores, ports, and other infrastructure sites. They were also reported to choose times when people are usually combined in one place such as Friday's prayers. Most of the verbs mentioned in the second group were used in a positive way highlighting the importance of arming and helping the *rebel forces*. As discussed in *Al-Khaleej*, not all verbs in this group are related to fighting and military actions. This shows the negotiation aspect that the non-military oppositions were involved in. Investigating how the verb *تعاطف* *sympathized* was used; I found that it refers to the sympathy of the *Libyan rebel forces* with their Syrian siblings as the situations in both countries were very similar. For example, they started with peaceful protests that were then turned into confrontations with the pro-regime's forces. The third category includes verbs that are purely related to fighting, and military purposes. Investigating how the verb *دمرت* *destroyed* was mentioned, I found that it is used to show that NATO forces destroyed a long-range missile sites in some Libyan cities. The use of the verb *قصف* *bomb* in this group varied based on the source of information. For example, those who supported the foreign intervention said that the Libyan fighters began to advance and found themselves in a better position after they were supported by the *coalition forces* that bombed some cities. However, if the source was the Libyan government, the verb *قصف* *bomb* would associate with NATO's targeting civilian sites and causing some deaths and injuries.

Based on the corpus analysis of the three types of forces in the two newspapers, it appears that the *Qaddafi forces* were represented with 'severe' negativity due to their violence against the 'innocent' Libyan people, the *Libyan rebel forces* were represented neutrally and sometimes positively due to their rejection of oppression, while the *coalition/NATO forces* were represented both positively and negatively based on the source of information and due to their bombing to both military and civil sites.

Period two discussion. The unique words analysis in *Asharq Al-Awsat* and *Al-Khaleej* showed that both newspapers densely covered the outbreak of the Arab uprisings, and how the regimes of the Arab spring countries responded violently to the 'peaceful' demonstrations. In this period, *Al-Khaleej* shifted from focusing on national issues related to the UAE to concentrating more on some pan-Arab issues mainly related to the era of the uprisings. *Asharq Al-Awsat* continued its focus on pan-Arab issues, and highlighted the importance of the Arab uprisings to the whole region. Unlike period 1, there was a 90% similarity in the

unique words in this period. This suggests that both Pan-Arab and national newspapers tend to have a similar focus at the time of conflicts especially when most of the Arab countries are affected. During the latest uprisings in the Arab world, both pan-Arab and national media have played an invaluable role in reaching out to the Arab public and delivering the information to them. Lynch (2013) highlights the vital role that media played in the 2011 uprisings in the Arab world pointing out that the protests were driven by the different forms of media. In the same vein, pan-Arab and national newspapers played a key role in spreading the protests from one country to another. Lynch (2015, p. 93) notes that “the diffusion of protest from Tunisia to Egypt and then to virtually the entire region is difficult to imagine without this unifying media environment”. Unlike period 1 (2009/2010), some Arab regimes, especially the overthrown ones, were represented negatively, and described as “corrupt”. Accordingly, it seems that the intense international attention to the Arab region at the time of the Arab Spring and the widespread use of the internet in the period of protests contributed to encouraging the Arab media to scrutinize their coverage of the events; where any systematic biases in coverage might be easily observed. Such findings do not necessarily mean that the two newspapers became independent from government influence after the outbreak of the Arab uprisings. On the contrary, it might be aligned with the agendas and policies of the countries where they are mainly published. In addition, newsworthiness elements that emphasize drama and conflict might have also contributed to taking the anti-regimes perspectives at the time of civil war (Baum & Zhukov, 2015).

Period 3

Period 3 covers the aftermath of the Arab Spring not only in the main countries that were affected by the uprisings, but also the whole world. Table 17 shows the words that only occurred in period 3.

Table 17. Unique words in period 3 in Al-Khaleej and Asharq Al-Awsat

Newspaper	Period	Unique words
Al-Khaleej	THREE 2012/2013	الدولة، سوريا، الوطني، دبي، الحكومة، العالم، الماضي، المجلس، المنطقة، دولة، الشيخ، الامن، الامريكية the country, Syria, national, Dubai, government, the world, last, the council, the region, country, Sheikh, Security, American
Asharq Al-Awsat		سوريا، النظام، السوري، الاسد، الوطني، الامريكية، السورية، المؤتمر، نظام، الجيش، الثورة، الدولة، طرابلس، السابق Syria, the regime, Syrian, Assad, national, American, Syrian, the conference, regime of, the army, the revolution, the country, Tripoli, former

In this period, it appears that *Al-Khaleej*, to some extent, returned to its style in period 1, i.e. concentrating more on national issues rather than pan-Arab or international ones although there was a relatively good space for that as well. *Asharq Al-Awsat* continued its concentration on pan-Arab issues, mainly the uprisings that spread all over the Arab world in 2011 and their consequences. Examining the most frequent unique words in period 3, I found that the words *الامريكية* American, *سوريا* Syria, *الدولة* the country, and *الوطني* national were

mentioned in the two newspapers. The unique word *الوطني national* was mainly used as a part of the clusters *المجلس الوطني السوري "The National Syrian Council"* and *المجلس الوطني الانتقالي الليبي "The National Transitional Council of Libya"*.

The frequent word *سوريا Syria* was mentioned in the unique word list in *Al-Khaleej*, and *سوريا Syria*, *السورية / السوري Syrian* (feminine/masculine adjective), and *الاسد Assad* were among the unique words in *Asharq Al-Awsat*. It appears that the civil war in Syria, the cruelty of the regime there, the dispute of the opposition forces, and the calls for an international military intervention contributed to giving more coverage and focus to the Syrian case. Examining how the Syrian president *الاسد Assad* was represented in the two newspapers, I found that the negativity around him continued in this period being described as a "miserable tyrant". That was not mainly because of his "cruelty" and "violence" against his people, but because of his "striving" and "insistence" to stay in power in spite of the demands of his own people and the international community for his departure. Although some words such as *نظام "regime"*, *قوات "troops"*, *اسقاط "toppling"*, *جرائم "crimes"*, *ارتكب "committed"*, and *اطاح "throw down"* were present in period 2 (2011), some other words such as *مستقبل "future"*, *مصير "fate"*, *يعطي "give"*, *الاسلحة الكيماوية "chemical weapons"*, and most importantly *تنحي "step down"* began to appear in this period. When consulting the Arabic/Arabic dictionary *Al-Mo'gam Al-Waseet*, and arTenTen, a web-crawled corpus of Arabic to compare the meanings of *تنحي "step down"*, *اسقاط "fall"*, and *اطاحة "overthrow"*, I found that *تنحي "step down"* means to withdraw or resign from an important position or office, *اسقاط "fall"* indicates moving from a higher to a lower level, typically rapidly and without control, while *اطاحة "overthrow"* suggests a forcible removal from power. I created a collocation analysis for *Assad* in *Al-Khaleej* in this period and found that *استقال "resign"* was used 2 times, *اطاحة "overthrow"* 8 times, *اسقاط "fall"* 15 times, and *تنحي "step down"* 39 times. This implies that it is no more the rebels who are responsible for overthrowing Assad's regimes, but the calls of the international community for him to resign or step down voluntarily.

In order to uncover how the unique word *الأميركية American* was used in both newspapers, I examined the most salient 20 collocates with it (table 18). It is worth mentioning here that the unique word *الأميركية (American)* is the feminine adjective for the word *أمريكا America* in Arabic, and this is why male characters and masculine nouns are absent from the list.

Table 18. The strongest 20 collocates with *الأميركية American* in *Al-Khaleej* and *Asharq Al-Awsat*

The strongest 20 collocates with "American" in the two newspapers							
Al-Khaleej				Asharq Al-Awsat			
Word	Translation	Relation	Total	Word	Translation	Relation	Total
الإدارة	administration	0.016	103	الإدارة	Administration	0.011	269
المركزية	Central	0.015	51	المركزية	Central	0.010	96
وزيرة	Minister	0.015	68	الاستخبارات	Intelligence	0.010	173
السياسة	Politics	0.014	48	السفارة	Embassy	0.010	205
القنصلية	Consulate	0.014	164	القوات	Forces	0.010	179
وزارة	Ministry	0.014	105	وكالة	Agency	0.010	87
الاستخبارات	Intelligence	0.013	52	السياسة	Politics	0.009	99
هيلاري	Hillary	0.013	50	وزارة	Ministry	0.009	147
السفارة	Embassy	0.013	131	السفيرة	Ambassador	0.009	42

كلينتون	Clinton	0.013	56	الدبلوماسية	Diplomacy	0.009	79
الولايات	States	0.013	152	وزيرة	Minister	0.009	159
السفيرة	Ambassador	0.013	20	والولايات	States	0.009	19
القوات	Forces	0.012	73	هيلاري	Hillary	0.009	121
تقرير	report	0.012	26	المتحدثة	Spokeswoman	0.009	32
مخزونات	supplies	0.012	48	القنصلية	Consulate	0.008	332
الدفاع	Defence	0.012	40	العلاقات	Relations	0.008	48
معلومات	Information	0.011	33	البحرية	Navy	0.008	35
صحيفة	newspaper	0.011	23	واشنطن	Washington	0.008	36
العسكرية	Military	0.011	54	كلينتون	Clinton	0.008	139
وكالة	Agency	0.011	35	المخابرات	Intelligence	0.008	44

I examined the most frequent collocates in table 18, namely, *القنصلية consulate* (164), *الولايات States* (152), and *السفارة embassy* (131) in *Al-Khaleej*, and *القنصلية consulate* (332), *الادارة administration* (269), and *السفارة embassy* (205) in *Asharq Al-Awsat*. *الولايات States* collocated with *الأميركية American* as they refer to the name of the country *الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية "United States of America"*, and *الادارة administration* to show how the American officials, being prominent and ideal sources of news, respond to different national and international events. To check whether the other two most frequent collocates were used similarly or not, I carried out a concordance analysis, and found that the word *القنصلية consulate* was used only in the co-text of the 2012 attack on the US diplomatic compound in Benghazi. The collocate *السفارة embassy* in most cases referred to the embassies of the U.S. around the word, especially in the Arab countries, and the focus was mainly on two aspects. First, protesters from around the Arab world attacking the American embassies or protesting in front of them in the post-uprisings period because of a film attacking and offending the Islam's prophet calling for expelling the ambassadors and closing the embassies. Second, the US demands to the Arab government to increase security measures around its embassies, especially after the case of chaos and turmoil that spread the region since the fall of some long-standing regimes.

Examining how the collocate *القنصلية consulate* was used in *Al-Khaleej*, and how the attack on the US ambassador in Benghazi was covered, I found that *الهجوم/الاعتداء the attack/assault* was described as *ارهابي "terrorist"*, *دموي "bloody"*, *وحشي "brutal"*, and *جبان "cowardly"*. The people or groups responsible for the attack were unknown although they are sometimes linked with *متشددون اسلاميون "Islamist militants"* and *تنظيم القاعدة في بلاد المغرب الإسلامي "Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb"*. The event was also linked to the increased influence of extremists in Libya after the toppling of the Qaddafi's regime. What was frequent in *Al-Khaleej's* coverage is linking the attack with the film that offended the prophet of Islam. *Al-Khaleej* in its coverage of the event tended to quote others, especially the US officials, some Libyan officials, and some Arab and international officials who described the event as *هجوم دموي جبان "cowardly and bloody attack"*.

Investigating how the event was represented in *Asharq Al-Awsat*, I found that the place where the event happened was focused on, and so the Libyan city of Benghazi was mentioned in almost all the cases. The main event was referred to as *هجوم "attack"* (226 times), *اعتداء "assault"* (8 times), *تفجير "bombing"* (11 times), and *حادثة "accident"* (10 times). The word *السفير ambassador* was mentioned for relatively few times with no reference to who killed him although the agent is sometime described as extremist groups (concordance 4).

1	بعد الهجوم على القنصلية الأميركية في بنغازي الذي قتل السفير الأميركي في ليبيا وتلاتة من مرافقيه After the attack on the US consulate in Benghazi which caused the murder of the US ambassador to Libya three of his companions
2	الهجوم على القنصلية الأميركية في بنغازي و اغتياك السفير الأميركي لدى ليبيا The attack on the US consulate in Benghazi and the assassination of the US ambassador to Libya
3	افتحام متشددين إسلاميين القنصلية الأميركية في المدينة وقتل السفير وتلاتة أميركيين آخرين Islamist militants storm the US consulate in the city, and the murder of the ambassador and three other Americans.
4	حدث الهجوم على القنصلية الأميركية ومقتل السفير الأميركي The attack on the US consulate and the killing of the US ambassador accident
5	تحرق مجموعة من طرفه القنصلية الأميركية في بنغازي، وتقتل السفير وبعض الموظفين Extremist group burn the American consulate in Benghazi, and kill the ambassador and some staff

Concordance 4. The word *السفير* Ambassador as a collocate of *الأميركية* American in Asharq Al-Awsat

The use of the word *ارهابي* "terrorist" to describe the event or *ارهابيين* "terrorists" to describe the agent was rare being mentioned 13 times. Both words were used in most cases in the context of the American reaction to the event, i.e. by American officials rather than the newspaper itself. The reason that motivated the attacker to commit the bombing was uniquely referred to although it is mentioned sometimes in the co-text of the protests against the offending US film to the prophet of Islam.

Period three discussion. The unique words analysis in the Arabic corpus showed that *Asharq Al-Awsat* continued its focus on pan-Arab issues, mainly the consequences of the uprisings, and the influence of Iran in the region, while *Al-Khaleej*, to a great extent, returned to its style in period 1, and concentrated more on national issues rather than pan-Arab or international ones. Both newspapers gave much space to the Syrian case, in addition to referring to the fate of the former regimes' residues. The two newspapers also discussed the post-uprisings era in the main Arab Spring countries highlighting two main themes, namely the fate of the residues of the former regimes, and instability and growth of terrorism. The attack on the US ambassador in Benghazi was densely covered in *Asharq Al-Awsat* and *Al-Khaleej*. The event was described as terrorist, bloody, brutal, and cowardly showing similar attitudes towards terrorism in the investigated newspapers.

CONCLUSION

In this study, a corpus of about 19.5 million words is used to examine how a frequency analysis can direct the analyst toward news foci/themes in two Arabic newspapers; *Asharq Al-Awsat* and *Al-Khaleej*. Frequency analysis enabled the researcher to recognize the most frequent words in a particular corpus, and then compare and contrast them with other frequent words in another corpus. It further helped the analyst to avoid observing unusual occurrences more than the typical ones depending on his intuition, and so contributed to making the outcomes and conclusions of this study more reliable. The analysis suggests that media are strongly linked with the political sphere, and should not be viewed in isolation from the underlying political challenges. Before the uprisings, *Al-Khaleej*, in the majority of cases, addressed local and national issues that are related to the United Arab Emirates where it is located and mainly published, while in *Asharq Al-Awsat*, most of the unique words reflected pan-Arab issues. After the outbreak of some protests in most Arab countries, the two newspapers had a similar focus showing how the security forces in most of the involved countries responded 'severely' to the

demonstrations against the regimes. This shows that the occurrence of an event that affects most of the Arab countries has an impact on the Arab newspapers' coverage and their foci.

As this study only looked at two newspapers, it is recommended for future research to increase the number of newspapers. This may be accompanied by selecting some countries other than the ones investigated in this study. For example, looking at some Libyan or Egyptian newspapers can provide a broader view about the investigated phenomenon and how language can be affected by governmental policies. Since this study only looked at newspapers' texts, future studies may examine other media outlets such as radio or TV news channels. Another interesting way to broaden the analysis would be including some media outlets published in English, and located in one of the Arab countries. This would give the researchers the opportunity to check the influence of not only the political context of where the media organisation operates on the type of coverage, but also combine it with the influence of language and audience on that bearing in mind that the audience for English-language media outlets based in Arab countries is different to the audience for Arabic media outlets in these countries as they are more likely to be read/watched by the educated elite.

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