Tracing the Meaning of Ideologies, A Diachronic Corpus Assisted Discourse Approach on the Study of The Ideology of 'Alibrāliyah' in the Saudi Context.

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Abstract

The aim of this study is to present a framework to trace the meaning of ideologies and the means by which they are constructed over time. In the case of this study, I investigate the ideology of 'alibrāliyah'[1]in the Saudi socio-political context. 'Alibrāliyah', corresponding to liberalism in English, is a loanword to Arabic that started to be contested recently amongst opposing groups who attempt to charge it with their own ideological meaning. This article presents a framework designed for examining the diachronic construction of the ideology of 'alibrāliyah' at macro and micro levels. This combines Corpus Linguistics methods with Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA) and Discourse Theory (DT). The framework is employed by examining the discourse of 'alibrāliyah' in a corpus of Saudi newspaper articles (575 articles) that discuss mainly 'alibrāliyah' over the period (2007-2016). The analysis of the articles has revealed that 'alibrāliyah' is mainly associated with the discourse of religion and the discourse of human rights in which it shifts from being associated with the religious discourse to the discourse of freedom. This shift in meaning represents the success of liberals to establish their identity in the Saudi society.

Keywords: Corpus linguistics, Critical discourse analysis, Discourse theory, ideology, liberalism, Saudi society

Introduction

This article presents a framework developed to investigate the meaning of ideologies and the way they are articulated by opposing groups. This framework is developed as a result of studying the context of the contested ideological key term of 'alibrāliyah' by conflicting groups in the Saudi socio-political field. The clash of ideologies in Saudi Arabia started in the early 1980s during a period when the country's development plans began implementation. This was a clash between religious conservatives and progressives over the discourse of modernism, at the time society was dominated by a religious group. The conflicts over modernisation have occurred in a series of movements namely 'ḥadāthah'/ modernism, 'ilmāniyah' / secularism and 'alibrāliyah'/ liberalism. Alkhedr stated that these conflicts take the form of the clash over ideological keywords in which each group attempts to discuss what it could mean from their own perspective (2012, pp. 633-634). In this sense, the groups in the Saudi socio-political field attempt to position themselves through charging these key terms with meanings, either positively or negatively, in order to obtain or maintain power.

This is most definitely the case with the recent movement of 'alibrāliyah'. In this scenario, the conflict over domination and supremacy have been characterised by the battle between different factions in line with the concept of 'alibrāliyah'. This article, therefore, is derived from this observation and aims to examine the construction of the keyword 'alibrāliyah' and the means by which each group defines it to achieve hegemony.

The study of the discourse of 'alibrāliyah' is conducted by developing a theoretical-methodological framework which traces the meaning of the keyword 'alibrāliyah' at macro and micro levels. It studies diachronically the discourse of liberalism in terms of the way the keyword 'alibrāliyah' is articulated by different groups and weather this articulation shift over time.

This is carried out through conducting a corpus analysis combined with a discourse analysis of newspaper texts written between 2007-2016. It is concluded that this theoretical framework can be used to study comprehensively the ideologically contested key terms by clashing groups in different contexts.

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Theoretical Framework

Since the aim of this study is to investigate the meaning of the ideological key term of 'alibrāliyah' at different contextual layers, the framework developed is based on reviewing and combining a number of approaches related to the contextual analysis of keywords. Several works have been conducted in studying keywords. A central work is conducted by Raymond Williams; *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (1983), which examines cultural keywords in the post-war years in the English society. Williams chose to study English culture through the use of language, and in particular in reference to keywords that were frequently used and contested. Thus, he devised a list of around 130 keywords that he attempted to examine synchronically and diachronically. His analysis relied on the commentaries he wrote over a period of 20 years; for each keyword he chose and considered it as a cultural keyword. These commentaries are supported by etymological data in the Oxford English Dictionary, which has been used as an evidence of historical shifts in meaning, based on his own extensive reading. Although Williams had attempted to provide an approach to studying keywords, his approach has limitations of theory and methodology. Stubbs (2008, p. 4) has referred to the limitation of the lack of theory, stating that Williams' work had not provided a theory of studying vocabulary in a comprehensive way nor had the keywords he identified been organized clearly and related to particular types of context and thus Williams' work can be considered within the field of cultural studies and so "was not intended to be a linguistic analysis" (2008, p. 4).

In addition, Williams admits his method has a theoretical lack in terms of signification (1983, p. 21). This made it problematic for Williams to identify the relationship between a word and its meaning, or in other words between the signifier and the signified; especially relative to what the process of signification might include, as e.g. in relation to Saussure's concept of signification (1960). Williams did not identify any particular type of text or context for the analysis of the meanings of keywords. Instead, he relied on an arbitrary selection of words that he felt to be significant, by looking at their decontextualized etymological variations in Oxford English Dictionary and making his own commentary on the historical and contemporary meanings of these keywords. Describing this theoretical problem, Williams deliberately, limited his analysis to the salient meanings of the keywords, without focusing on a particular process of signification or the context that the keywords occurred in.

These limitations of Williams' approach highlight the necessity to introduce other approaches to keywords analysis. Other approaches offer theories and methods that to some extent can resolve the deficits of Williams' approach. They include approaches that consider the contextual and discursive meanings of keywords and/or the socio-political context beyond that meanings. In this article, I will discuss later how I developed a framework based on these approaches to investigate the meaning of 'alibrāliyah' at different contextual levels.

Corpus Linguistics approach (CL)

The Corpus Linguistics approach to keywords Analysis is based on examining the lexico-semantic relations that surrounds these keywords. This is derived from Firth's contextual theory of meaning which views that the meaning of a word is dependent mainly on its relationship with co-occurring words (1957). Following Firth, Sinclair proposes a model of four types of lexicosemantic relations that can help with analysing keywords in terms of their co-occurring words. On the basis of Sinclair (1991), Stubbs (2001, pp. 64-65) addressed the structure of these types of relations. The first was the collocation relation, which is a lexical relation between a node word and its collocates, i.e. surrounding words. Colligation on the other hand concerns the relationship between a lexical unit and a grammatical one; i.e. how a lexical item frequently co-occurs with a grammatical category. The other two units of meaning are semantic preference and prosody, in which the former concerns the relation between a word and a set of semantically related words while the later deals with the attitude towards a keyword or expression. This model has been employed by many scholars, mainly corpus linguists, to examine the meaning of particular keywords, such as *feminism* by (Jaworska and Krishnamurthy, 2012), *elderly* (Mautner, 2007), *Muslims* (Baker, 2010), *sleaze* (Orpin, 2005). This was specifically conducted by combining statistical corpus linguistics tools to the units of meaning model, with a specific focus on semantic preference and prosody relations.

By utilising corpus linguistics, these studies were able to analyse an extensive body of decontextualized corpus data. In particular, their analysis was dependent on text fragments, collocations and the concordance lines, from a large corpus rather than investigating whole coherent texts. This reliance on largely decontextualized data cannot provide a critical in-depth examination of the preferences or prosodies in the text. This criticism was generally taken into account by Widdowson (1998). He argued:

"This analysis yields many a fascinating fact about frequency of occurrence and patterns of co-occurrence. But what it cannot yield is information about how the texts thus analysed interacted with contextual conditions to realise discourse." (1998, p. 712)

Despite these limitations, one of the chief advantages of Sinclair's corpus-based model is that it provides an objective textual model for keywords analysis. Specifically, based on an analysis of large corpus, the model makes it possible to examine synchronically and diachronically the salient semantic and discursive features of keywords, including changes in their meanings across texts and time. In other words, this model gives a general sense of the textual trends and patterns surrounding the construction of particular lexical items (Baker, 2010). In general, corpus-based analysis offers an objective analysis, in the sense that it allows the user to access a wide range of textual patterns. In this regard, Baker (2010, p. 313) has argued that reliance on corpus data helps to "reduce research bias", as it is based on a large number of texts rather than a choice of just a few articles with a particular stance.

O'Halloran and Coffin (2004), on the other hand, referred to the use of large corpora for the analysis of critical studies. They state that corpus-based analysis plays a crucial role in avoiding the over-interpretation caused by too focused analysis on a low number of texts in critical studies. However, they pointed out that too heavy dependence on corpus analysis could lead to an under-interpretation of the discursive phenomena under critical analysis. Thus, in order to achieve a balanced analysis and avoid the over-interpretation and under-interpretation of a text, they suggest combining Corpus Linguistics methods with critical linguistics methods (2004). Thus, it can be said that Corpus Linguistics techniques provide a general insight into textual trends across a corpus, but still do not offer an in-depth examination of the socio-political implications informing these lexical patterns. Therefore, there is a need for critical approaches to analyse critically what is beyond the text, and the socio-historical and socio-political contexts beyond a particular representation of a keyword.

Discourse Theory (DT)

Discourse theory is a theory developed by Laclau and Mouffe (1985) which is based on the notion that all social practices, including language are meaningful, and that their meaning is obtained through systems of significant differences. These meanings are subjects of ongoing contestation or in Laclau's terms, they are "constantly negotiated and constructed" (1977, p. 254). The articulation of the meaning of these practices, or in other words the formation of discourse is determined by what Laclau and Mouffe (1985) called 'articulatory practice'. Articulatory practice concerns the formation of relationships among elements that formulate discourse, in which these elements fix partially the meaning of this discourse. In Laclau and Mouffe terms (1985, p. 113) articulatory practice is identified as:

"The construction of nodal points which partially fix meaning; and the partial character of this fixation proceeds from the openness of the social, a result, in its turn, of the constant overflowing of every discourse by the infinitude of the field of discursivity."

Laclau and Mouffe refer here to the elements that formulate discourse in the practice of articulation as 'nodal points'. They define it as "privileged signifiers that fix the meaning of a signifying chain" (1985, p. 112). In concrete terms, nodal points are central signifiers around which discourses are organised. For example, the discourse of Thatcherism is constituted and organised through nodal points such as 'free economy', 'monetarism' and 'strong state' (Howarth, 2000). While these nodal points constitute the meaning(s) of particular discourse, these meanings are not fixed but are of partial fixation. In this regard, Laclaue and Mouffe (1985) have argued that full fixation of meaning is impossible to achieve. The fixation of meaning remains partial because of the openness of the social context, which results from the continuous overflow into discourse by the field of discursivity.

Otherwise, the full fixation of meaning would lead social actions to repeat an existing system of meanings, which would make it impossible to construct new nodal points that partially fix meaning (Howarth, 2000, p. 103). In contrast, full openness of meaning would lead to a large number of meanings, in which case the construction of meanings or discourse would be impossible: "a discourse incapable of generating any fixity of meaning is the discourse of the psychotic" (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985, p. 112).

Discourse Theory posits that social systems, which are realised as constructed sets of discourses, are political formations including the constitution of antagonism and of social struggle for power. In concrete terms, the construction of society or discourse is a result of competing hegemonic struggle attempting to impose their projects on society (Howarth, 2000, p. 120). This conception of the political construction of society is what Laclau and Mouffe base their political theory of discourse on through introducing a number of concepts, one of which is the main concept of hegemony.

The concept of hegemony in Discourse Theory, in general, includes combining different identities and political powers under a common project, as well as the construction of new social orders from various scattered elements. In particular, it is formed around the concept of 'empty signifiers' in which Laclau (1996), viewed hegemony as a procedure of filling empty signifiers with meaning. Thus, empty signifiers have been identified as signifiers without a particular signified and charging a concept with a meaning is recognized as a hegemonic practice (Laclau, 1996; 2007). 'Empty signifiers' emerge through dislocations where a discursive exterior attempts to be hegemonic in a particular society (Laclau, 1996; 2007). In particular, the emergence of empty signifiers presupposes the presence of a social structure with unknown entities, in which these entities are both constituted and threatened by a discursive exterior. According to Laclau (1990, p. 44), these indeterminate entities represent a constitutive impossibility in a society in which they can only be obtained and constituted through the production of an empty signifier that can be filled with absent objectives and meanings in society.

In other words, empty signifiers emerge within the existence of antagonism in which they play a crucial role in uniting different groups in the chain of equivalence (the logic of difference) and they function as a threat to the existing groups in the chain of difference (the logic of equivalence). In the case of the chain of equivalence, an empty signifier is produced by different groups, in which each attempt to fill it with their own meaning to unite under one project and gain hegemony and acceptance in society. An example of this is the concept of 'nationalism', which can be used as an empty signifier by different groups to centre their identities on a common project and ensure hegemony (Laclau, 1996, p. 100). On the other hand, within the chain of differences, a particular system of meaning or identity dominates society and excludes the other entities that see it as a negative threat. Due to the openness of society and the contingency of meaning, these dominant entities are vulnerable to the discursive exterior which represent a threat to the system. Thus, in this case, an empty signifier is imposed by excluded entities struggling for power; therefore, this empty signifier constitutes "a signifier of pure threat, of pure negativity and of the simply excluded element" (Laclau, 1996, p. 38). It is through the empty signifier that excluded entities can achieve hegemony and acceptance in society, while at the same time constituting a threat to the dominant group. This latter case of the empty signifier is important in this article, since it concerns the contestation of 'alibrāliyah' as a key signifier between antagonistic groups within the logic of equivalence.

Within the latter case of the concept of an empty signifier, other related concepts have been introduced by Laclau (1996), which are dislocation, myth and social imaginary. These are related, in the sense that they constitute and elaborate upon the process of the contingency of elements from the field of discursivity, to a particular discourse or system of meanings. Thus, dislocation concerns those events that do not exist in the discursive order, and which act to disrupt that order (Laclau, 1996). These dislocations are operated by a discursive exterior that attempts to serve as a contingent element in a particular discourse or society. Myth and social imaginary result from this disruption, as they emerge through the spaces they create. Thus, Myths are "new spaces of representations which attempt to cover over dislocations" (Howarth, 2000, p. 111). In Laclau's terms, the mythical space represents "an alternative to the logical form of the dominant structural discourse" (Laclau, 1990, p. 62). In concrete terms, it represents a disrupting element to the dominant social structure, through attempting to impose absent social demands on the social structure as an alternative. Thus, if a myth succeeds in overcoming dislocations and incorporating a significant set of social interests, it becomes hegemonic and thereby transformed into a social imaginary. Thus, Laclau (1990, p. 64) defines the social imaginary as an "absolute limit which structures a field of intelligibility and is thus the condition of possibility of the emergence of any object" due to the openness of the social space and the contingency of elements.

These main concepts of empty signifier, myth, dislocation and social imaginary will be employed in this study to enable to identify and interpret the case in which 'alibrāliyah' is identified by opposing groups and the mechanism of the political relations between the groups.

Critical Discourse Analysis Approach (CDA)

The Critical Discourse Analysis approach (CDA) primarily concerns how language usage reflects the ideological relations of power and dominance. It considers language as a crucial form of social practice that ideologically affects the power relations among social groups in social institutions, as well as representing those power relations (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997, p. 258). In terms of the study of keywords, Fairclough (1989) considers ideologically contested keywords has no fixed single meaning. They are generated and produced in the course of the struggle for power between two or more groups (Fairclough, 1989, p. 94). Consequently, if these ideologically contested words become fixed this would indicate that its fixed meaning is a result of a social struggle where one power became dominant; a process which Fairclough termed naturalization (1989, p.107).

This notion of CDA in relation to the ideological meaning of words has been reflected in Fairclough's (1995) study of the meaning of 'enterprise' in the British socio-political context. Fairclough argues that notions of 'enterprise' are not fixed as they appear in a dictionary. Instead, they are promoted notionally by an ideological set of tendencies as part of the social struggle to gain a sort of power. These ideologically set of notions affects the order within society, and thus is part of cultural change. This argument by Fairclough drew from his analysis of three speeches given between 1985 and 1988 by Young; the Secretary of State for Trade and Industry at that time. In particular, he examined how notions of the node 'enterprise' had changed over time and the ideological strategies behind such use and change. His analysis of the verbal context and the collocations of the node 'enterprise' revealed varying verbal contexts and changes in the senses associated with the word across the three analysed speeches, which according to Fairclough reflects a change in political strategies rather than only meaning.

In his study, Fairclough argues that the examination of a particular meaning of discourse cannot be located in a single text. Instead, evaluating more than one text is necessary to analyse the transformation of discourse over time, so as to achieve an understanding of the broader strategies behind such use or changes in the level of text production (1995, p. 122). In this argument, Fairclough pointed out to the necessity of investigating the historical dimension of discourse or in other words the development of discourse over time. This historical analytical dimension was provided by Wodak, a CDA scholar, in her model of Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA) to CDA. Thus, in relation to the CDA approach, this study will employ the methodological tools of DHA within a broader theoretical framework of CDA.

In general terms, DHA offers an empirical model for analysing the discursive construction of particular discursive phenomenon through analysing the linguistic features in texts and providing ways to explain how discursive phenomena are nominated and justified. DHA offers an operationalised method for analysing discourse through analysing the context dependent linguistic features in texts. In particular, it identifies several discursive strategies that can be realised through textual analysis (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009). These strategies indicate the practices that are adopted for particular social or political purposes. They present the arguments of a particular group or social phenomena, which are either constructed positively or negatively.

To clarify how these strategies can be analysed in texts, Reisigl and Wodak (2001) undertook a detailed methodological account of the procedure in which these discursive strategies can be examined in their studies of the discourses of racism and nationalism. For example, a nomination strategy which is used for representing social groups is constructed in the text using lexical devices such as tropes, metaphors, metonymies or synecdoches. Predicational strategy, on the other hand, is closely related to referential strategy in which it represents how constructed social groups and phenomena are linguistically provided with predications. In particular, it can be realised as "evaluative attributions of negative and positive traits in the linguistic form of implicit or explicit predicates" (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001, p. 45). Overall, the textual analysis of these strategies would be expected to reveal the discursive construction of ideological expressions; considering how they are nominated, referred to and argued within socio-political and historical contexts. Before moving to explain the methods into analysing the way 'alibrāliyah' is articulated by different groups at the macro and micro levels, I will explain the means by which the different approaches to the discursive construction of keywords are integrated in this study at theoretical level.

The integration of CL, CDA and DT

At the theoretical level, this thesis is grounded on the theories of DT and CDA. In relation to the scope of this study, DT represents an appropriate foundation to ground this study on. This is because it provides a theory of the process by which discourse is generated through antagonism. In particular, it explains the procedure by which concepts such as the empty signifier are articulated and contested by antagonistic forces in the struggle to attain hegemony. This particular situation is closely related to the case of this thesis, as it attempts to investigate how 'alibrāliyah' as a contested signifier is represented by opposing sectors of society, conservatives and progressives, as imposed by progressives in the project to gain hegemony in Saudi society. However, as DT did not present methodological guidelines to explain how discourse can be examined, CDA and its approach DHA are suitable tools for analysing discourse; especially as they are textually-oriented approaches.

Theoretically, CDA and DHA consider discourse or language as the principal site of the social struggle for power. It is within this notion that CDA is similar to DT, as they both consider discourse as a means to achieve hegemony. Additionally, they both agree that discourse as a system of meanings is unfixed, and only becomes fixed when the ideological struggle for power ends and one gains hegemony.

In light of the theoretical concepts of DT and CDA, this study uses empirical methods to assist in analysing textually and discursively the construction and articulation of a particular signifier, 'alibrāliyah', as contested in the chain of difference. In particular, the empirical analysis of this study is based on Corpus Linguistic approaches (CL) and the methodological model of DHA. Within CL analysis, the Sinclair model will be employed, which includes relations of collocation and semantic preferences. The employment of this textual-based analysis model will be useful as a means of analysing the salient linguistic features in the text which would assist with delivering a general idea about the meaning of the keyword 'alibrāliyah' within the immediate co-text in which it occurs. In particular, CL would make it possible to examine quantitatively the collocation and the semantic preferences of these collocates along with their usage over time, which will give a general insight into the main discourses associated with 'alibrāliyah' in the large data set. This macro quantitative analysis will also help in the objective selection of texts for the micro discursive analysis. The analysis of micro discursive construction of the keyword 'alibrāliyah' and its embedded meanings within the historical and socio-political contexts will follow the DHA method of discursive strategies to analyse the texts as whole. In particular, the discursive strategies of nomination, predication and argumentation should allow for analysing how 'alibrāliyah' and the social actors in texts are discursively nominated, attributed to and legitimised. The application of argumentation strategy will be of importance as it makes it possible to examine the discursive practices and rhetoric employed in texts when discussing 'alibrāliyah' concept, which would allow for analysing critically how 'alibrāliyah' is contested in different texts, and intertextualised and as a result of the shifts of meaning and the changes of discourse within the socio-political context.

This methodological combination of CL and DHA methods was suggested in a study conducted at Lancaster University by Baker, Wodak and colleagues (2008) who studied how the discourse of refugees can be examined by combining Corpus Linguistics with critical discourse approaches specifically DHA. In combining the two approaches, they discuss the strengths and limitations of each approach, and how those strengths can be exploited while eliminating weaknesses. For instance, they argue that CL is a useful approach for a quantitative descriptive analysis of a large number of texts, which can give a degree of generality and confidence about the study findings. However, while CL concerns the descriptive dimension of the text, it is not sufficient to explain why particular lexical patterns were found, as it does not take into consideration the social, political and historical contexts. Thus, to examine the context in which these lexical patterns are constructed closely, the study found that the DHA approach to CDA in particular is helpful, as it analyses the discursive strategies centred on the use of these patterns. In particular, DHA strength represented how "It builds on a network of referential, predicational and argumentative strategies along with analysis of metaphors, presuppositions, mitigation and hyperboles, etc. in deconstructing a text, all of which require a close analysis of context" (Baker et al., 2008, p. 295). However, DHA has been criticised for its analysis of a small number of texts, which represents a problem in terms of the representativeness of results to the wider social context. Thus, the combination of CL and DHA can benefit both approaches and assist in conducting a descriptive textual based analysis of a large representative number of data, while contextualising these results on the basis of the context-based analysis of DHA.

Thus, since the combination of the discussed approaches can be used to evaluate the textual and the discursive construction of particular social phenomenon, these approaches will be employed to answer the main questions that follow:

• How is 'allibraliah' articulated as an empty signifier by different groups in order to gain or maintain hegemony in the Saudi socio-political field?

This question will be answered by asking the following sub-questions:
1) What are the fields of discourse associated with the discourse of allibraliah and do they change over time?
3) What discursive strategies are used to construct allibraliah and to legitimise the different views towards it?
4) What are the mechanisms through which the strategic discursive constructions of allibraliah shift over time?
To answer these questions a detailed methodological elaboration including the choice of the data of the research will be discussed in the next section.

Data and Methodology

Data sources and the corpus

Four newspapers were selected as the source of data for this study, namely Alriyadh, Aljazirah, Okaz and Alyaum. These newspapers are amongst the leading Saudi daily newspapers (BBC 2006; Rugh, 2004, p. 59). They are privately-owned newspapers but must be licensed by the Ministry of Culture and Information in order to operate. These newspapers were chosen for several reasons, including the accessibility of the archive, the representativeness of region of publication, and their wide readership.

The corpus compiled for this study, which represents this study data set, consists of column articles that discuss 'alibrāliyah' in the four selected Saudi newspapers. The data for this specialized corpus were retrieved from the archives of these newspapers by searching using the lemma 'liberali' (liberal) and saving all the articles in which 'alibrāliyah' was a major topic of discussion. The articles in which the word was only mentioned in passing were excluded. Since this study aims to identify the changes in the construal of 'alibrāliyah', it was decided to diachronically collect articles that were published during a period of 10 years, from late 2007, when 'alibrāliyah' started to be contested in the Saudi context, until late 2016, when the collection of data ended. The process of compiling the corpus ends up with consisting of 575 articles (505,122 words).

The corpus was manually collected and annotated for time. Then, it underwent the processes of lemmatisation and part-of-speech (POS) tagging. These processes were automated using the Madamira tool, which is a morphological analyser tool for Arabic data (Pasha et al., 2014). To conduct the corpus analysis, the tagged corpus was uploaded into SketchEngine, a powerful corpus query tool developed by Kilgarriff et al. (2004). The primary reason for choosing SketchEngine was that, unlike other corpus query tools, SketchEngine fully supports the analysis of Arabic written data. Another special feature in SketchEngine is the trend analysis function in which the present study made particular use of this feature for the diachronic analysis of the corpus.

Methods of analysis

This paper follows a corpus assisted discourse approach, which is a field of research that aims to examine the features of discourse by integrating corpus linguistic analysis methods (Partington 2004). Based on the broad notion of this approach, I developed a methodological framework that follows a special set of methods designed to provide information about the salient and the hidden features of the discourse of 'alibrāliyah' over time. This analysis is based on a large number of specialised corpus texts. These methods include the analysis of the trends of the keywords list, and the collocations using corpus linguistics methods, plus a qualitative discursive analysis of a sample of full texts using DHA approach to CDA.

Corpus methods

The corpus analysis starts with an initial analysis of the frequency of the usage of 'alibrāliyah' in order to gain a general understanding of its usage both diachronically and across the corpus. This had the specific purpose of revealing whether there are any peaks or troughs in the discussion of 'alibrāliyah' between 2007 and 2016. This analysis was carried out in two steps. Firstly, since all of the articles collected for the corpus are mainly on the subject of 'alibrāliyah', a diachronic analysis of the frequency of these articles across the newspapers was carried out. Secondly, an analysis of the frequency of the lemma of the term 'alibrāliyah', i.e. 'librāli' was performed, both across the corpus and over time.

This is followed by the analysis of the wordlist in order to obtain information about the key discourses associated with the discourse of 'alibrāliyah'. It aims specifically to analyse the usage of these keywords over time, in order to discover whether there have been any changes in the discourses associated with 'alibrāliyah'. This analysis is based on the procedure of extracting the 100 statistically most frequent keywords in the corpus and then grouping the words that have similar meaning preferences. The wordlist can be automatically extracted and displayed in frequency order using the software tool SketchEngine. However, because the software extracts the most frequent words, regardless of their form, the focus in the analysis is only on the lexical words, meaning that grammatical words are excluded from the analysis. This notion is stressed by (Hunston, 2002, p. 68) stating that the analysis of the lexical keywords as a starting point helps in identifying the key topics in a specialised corpus. After the lexical words had been extracted, the items with similar meanings were manually grouped together in order to uncover the discourses most frequently associated with the discourse of 'alibrāliyah'; a procedure that follows Sinclair's (1991) approach of semantic preference. The analysis of the meaning preference was followed by an analysis of the usage of these keywords over time. This was conducted using the automatic trends analysis feature provided by SketchEngine, which measures the relative frequency of each keyword per quarter-year.

The collocation analysis around the node 'alibrāliyah' was then conducted to identify the meanings closely associated with the term. This was carried out using SketchEngine, which is able to calculate the collocations of a node word. The procedure followed in this research was divided into two main processes; firstly, the associated semantic preferences were analysed and, secondly, an analysis of the diachronic usage of the top collocates of the top semantic preferences was conducted. The analysis of the semantic preferences was carried out by searching for the top 50 collocates in the corpus using the lemma 'librāli' within a 5-word span either side of the node. These collocates were then categorised manually into thematic groups. This analysis was followed by an analysis of the diachronic usage of the top collocates of top themes.

The purpose of this was to identify whether, over time, there has been any shift in their usage in association with 'alibrāliyah'. In doing so, the frequency of these top collocates over time was first examined, and their collocates were then looked at in order to identify the salient topics associated with these two collocates in association to 'alibrāliyah'. This analysis of the top collocates was also carried out for an essential purpose, namely to narrow down the corpus for the qualitative analysis, as is illustrated in the following section.

Narrowing down the corpus for the qualitative analysis

The selection of the sample was aided by the corpus analysis of the texts. In this regard, a number of decisions and steps were followed in order to reduce the corpus of 575 texts to a more manageable sample. The procedure was based on a systematic selection of a sample of 12 articles based on a) the key themes informed by the collocation analysis and b) the factor of time. For the first criterion, it was decided that the chosen texts should contain frequent occurrences of the two most frequent key themes, and that six articles would be selected for each key theme. This selection on the basis of themes takes also into consideration the aspect of time, as the selected articles should be representative of the whole period (2007-2016). Given that time is an important factor, this selection of the articles that contain the most frequent collocates will also be based on time. As the selection process intended to choose six articles for each key theme, these six articles will have been published in six different years. One article will be chosen for every second year during the relevant time period, including the first and last years of that period. Once the sub-corpus had been selected according to these criteria, it was subjected to a detailed qualitative analysis that both allowed for a richer understanding of 'alibrāliyah' and its collocates as they are used in real time, and also enabled an analysis of the different discourse strategies used to validate different construals of 'alibrāliyah' in individual texts and across time.

Discourse-Historical Approach

In order to analyse the argumentation strategies used in discussing 'alibrāliyah', I adopted DHA as a tool for CDA, as developed by Reisigl and Wodak (2001, 2009). DHA offers an empirical model for an in-depth discursive and linguistic analysis of texts. This is represented in the developed model of discursive strategies that can be realised through a variety of linguistic devices. Thus, these methods are used to identify the discursive strategies used to construct 'alibrāliyah' over time.

These Discursive strategies are defined as the practices that are adopted for particular social or political purposes (Reisigl and Wodak 2009). These strategies are located at different levels of linguistic organisation and complexity and, thus, can be realised through a close linguistic analysis of texts. According to DHA, five principal discourse strategies are used to construe key concepts, which are: nomination, predication, argumentation, perspectivisation, and mitigation/ intensification. Nomination strategies can be recognised in a text by asking the question: How are persons, objects, phenomena, processes, and actions named and referred to linguistically?

In this study, the analysis of the nomination strategies aims to identify the way in which 'alibrāliyah' and the relevant social actors and phenomena are discursively labelled in the texts. Predication strategies, on the other hand, can be recognised in texts by asking the question: What characteristics, qualities and features are attributed to social actors, objects, phenomena, events and processes? It represents the way in which the constructed social groups and phenomena are linguistically provided with predications that aim to label social actors or phenomena more or less positively or negatively, deprecatorily or appreciatively. In the current study, the focus will be on the way 'alibrāliyah' and the related social actors and phenomena are predicated and attributed to in the texts.

Argumentation strategies, which is the central for this study, can be realised by asking what argumentation schemes are used in relation to the discourse of 'alibrāliyah' in order to legitimise and justify the different views towards it. They can be analysed by first analysing the principal claims in the text and then the premises that justify these claims. These premises are content-related warrants that connect the arguments with the concluding claim in a text. These argumentation schemes can be reasonable, and can thus be labelled as 'topoi', or they can be fallacious, and thus labelled as 'fallacies'. The identification of these topoi and fallacies is to some extent dependent on the type of discourse or the context in which they occur, although some are identified in a list by (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001). This will be clarified throughout the analysis of the texts.

Along with the analysis of the nomination, predication and argumentation strategies, this study will also analyse the perspectivisation, mitigation and intensification strategies. These strategies can be realised by asking the question: from what point of view are nominations, attributions and arguments expressed and whether these views are intensified or mitigated? The analysis of these strategies in this study aims to provide information about the ways in which 'alibrāliyah' is represented by different views and the means by which these views contribute to the discursive construction of 'alibrāliyah'.

Main Findings

Key discourses in the corpus of alibrāliyah

The analysis of the wordlist reveals that the word 'ليبرالي', which is the lemma of the term under investigation, 'alibrāliyah', is the most frequent keyword in the corpus (5,406 occurrences). The second top word is 'مجتمع' (society), which suggests that the discussion of alibrāliyah is closely connected to the social context. The word 'حرية' (freedom) is also very frequent, which would indicate that alibrāliyah is frequently discussed in association with freedom. The wordlist analysis also yielded interesting results in regard to the word 'إسلامي'/ Islamic, which occurs frequently in the corpus, suggesting that the discourse of religion is also significant in the discussion of alibrāliyah. For a complete account of the analysis of the keywords list, these keywords were categorised into thematic groups following an abductive approach, in order to identify the salient discourses associated with alibrāliyah. The most frequent keyword, 'ليبرالي'/(liberal), was excluded and not included under any thematic categorisation, since its meaning is the one under investigation.

The thematic groups reveal the salient discourses in the alibrāliyah corpus (see appendix B). The discourse of religion is particularly prominent in the corpus, as words equivalent to the terms 'Islamic', 'religion', 'religious', 'Islam', 'Allah', and 'Muslim' are amongst the most frequent lexical items. Also, lexical items that indicate social discourse also feature in the wordlist, such as 'اجتماعي'/ (social), 'ثقافي'/(cultural), and 'قيمة'/(value). The discourse of humanitarianism and human rights is also found amongst the salient discourses, indicated by lexical items such as 'حرية'/(freedom), 'إنسان'/ (human), 'حق'/(right), and 'إنساني'/ (humanitarian) appearing frequently in the corpus. The words referring to national and regional entities, which are equivalent to the terms 'Saudi', 'Arab', and 'Western', are frequently used in the corpus, which suggest that the discussion of 'alibrāliyah' make reference to both the local Saudi and Arab contexts and the foreign/global Western context, although the corpus data primarily discusses 'alibrāliyah' in the local context.

The collocation analysis of the top 50 most frequent lexical collocates around the lemma of 'alibrāliyah', 'librālī', was conducted in a span of 5 words to the left and right to identify the meaning preferences of 'alibrāliyah'. The analysis shows relatively similar results to the keywords analysis, in that the top five collocates are 'ليبرالي'/'liberal', 'حرية'/(freedom), 'سعودي'/(Saudi), 'مجتمع'/(society), and 'إسلامي'/(Islamic), which were all amongst the top 10 collocates in the keyword analysis (see appendix C). However, the collocate 'علماني'/(secular), for example, is found amongst the top 10 in the collocation analysis, but came low down in the ranking of the keywords list (90th), which suggests that 'alibrāliyah' is closely associated with the meaning preference of secularism, as revealed by its lower frequency in the overall corpus and by its high frequency in collocation with alibrāliyah. It is also notable that the lemma 'ليبرالي'/'liberal' is the most frequent collocate, which suggests that a number of derivatives of alibrāliyah are used in collocation with each other recurrently across the corpus. Another interesting result is that the word 'حرية'/(freedom) is the second top collocate, which indicates that the meaning of alibrāliyah is closely associated with freedom. The top collocates, 'سعودي'/(Saudi), 'مجتمع'/(society), and 'إسلامي'/(Islamic) indicate that alibrāliyah is linked to the cultural context and is discussed in relation to Saudi society and to Islam. To enable an overall examination of the meaning preferences of alibrāliyah, the collocates were categorised into thematic groups (see appendix C). This excludes the lemma 'ليبرالي'/'liberal', as this is the lemma of the keyword being analysed.

The collocation analysis has also revealed that 'alibrāliyah' is mostly associated with the meaning preferences of human rights and religion. Thus, for the purpose of down-sampling the analysis of the large corpus, these top two themes were selected for an in-depth analysis. To this end, the top collocates for each theme, namely 'إسلامي'/(Islamic) and 'حرية'/(freedom), were selected to down-sample the corpus data into a number of individual articles to allow for a micro investigation of the meaning of 'alibrāliyah' in relation to the meaning preferences of Islam and freedom over the whole period (2007-2016). The process of selecting the articles was based on the frequency of the top collocates over time, whereby the articles that most frequently include these collocates with 'alibrāliyah' were selected for the micro analysis. Before conducting the micro analysis of 'alibrāliyah', a statistical analysis of the usage of the two top collocates - 'إسلامي'/(Islamic) and 'حرية'/(freedom) - over time was conducted to determine whether there have been any diachronic changes in their usage in collocation with 'alibrāliyah'.

The trend line below shows a general decrease in the usage of the collocate 'إسلامي'/(Islamic) over the defined period. By contrast, it shows a general increase in the usage of 'حرية'/(freedom) in association with 'alibrāliyah' over time. As seen in the graph, both collocates show a steady increase in usage from the beginning of the defined period until 2009. This is followed by a fluctuation in use of the two collocates from 2010 to 2013, in which the collocate 'Islamic', for example, shows a sharp increase in 2013. However, towards the end of the period, specifically from 2014 to 2016, the usage of the collocate 'freedom' increased dramatically, while there was a sharp decrease in usage of 'Islamic'. This suggests that, over the time period in question, there was a general shift away from discussions of 'alibrāliyah' within the discourse of religion and towards discussions with the discourse of freedom and rights.
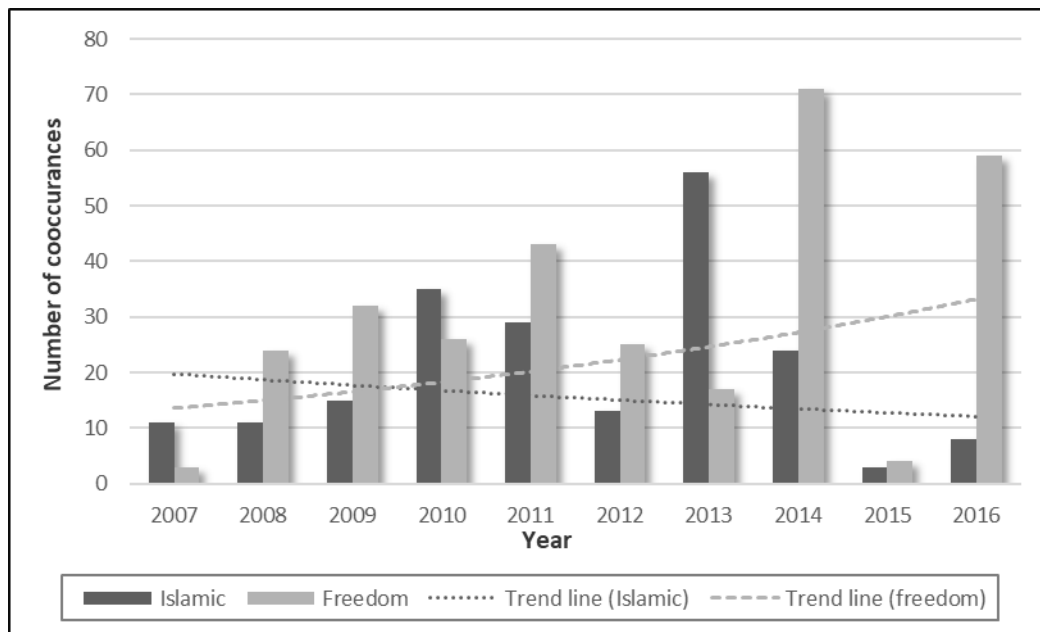

Figure 1: The usage of the top collocates over time

Having analysing the salient features of the discourse of 'alibrāliyah' using corpus linguistics methods, the next section will show the results of the discursive analysis of the sample of whole articles using the concepts of critical discourse analysis and discourse theory to investigate the means by which 'alibrāliyah' is constructed and changed over the specified period. Since the selection of the articles is based on two themes, the religious and the rights theme, the analysis will focus on these two themes before drawing on the main results of the whole analysis (see appendix A for the complete list of articles).

Discourse Analysis of the Texts of the Religious Theme

The analysis of the articles associated to the theme of religion and written in the time span of 2007 to 2016 shows a shift in terms of the way the term Islam is articulated in relation to 'alibrāliyah'. At the beginning of the period, 'alibrāliyah' is seen as antagonistic to Islam, shifting into being an antagonist of Islam in its fundamental form and then as equivalent to non-fundamental Islam towards the end of the period. This shift in the articulation of 'alibrāliyah' is carried out through filling the signifier of 'alibrāliyah' with meanings to create an identity for progressives in the Saudi socio-political field. These meanings form the features of the discourse of liberalism in relation to religious discourse in Saudi Arabia, which can be illustrated and summed up by the following themes identified within the articles[4].

 Relativity

In terms of the notion of relativity, 'alibrāliyah' has shifted from being non-flexible with Islam at the beginning of the period into being a flexible concept that can be relatively employed within the religious culture of Saudi Arabia. For instance, in the article entitled *'The Islamisation of alibrāliyah'* (2007), the author argues using the fallacy of the cultural flexibility that 'alibrāliyah' is not a relative concept that can be integrated with the system of Islam. This argument is made from the perspective that 'alibrāliyah' represents a different value system to Islam in which the system of 'alibrāliyah' stems from a human source whereas the source of Islam is prophecy. However, in the middle of the period, specifically in the text *'Who is the Islamist's Liberal?'*(2013), 'alibrāliyah' is viewed as a flexible concept that can be integrated with Islam to construct a concept called 'alibrāliyah alislamiah'.

Using the topos of relativity and modernity, this argument suggests that 'alibrāliyah' conforms with Islam as both systems have shared values; thus, 'alibrāliyah' can offer modern interpretations of Islamic texts that suit modern societies. The relativity of the concept of 'alibrāliyah' is discussed in detail towards the end of the period, in which it is viewed as an originally Western universal concept that is not absolute in application but relative based on cultural circumstances. In the text entitled *Human Rights': between Man and Political Employment*(2015), the author argues using the topos of relativity plus the fallacy of absoluteness that the universal concept of 'alibrāliyah' can be adjusted to the cultural conditions of Saudi society so it does not contradict the essential values of Saudi culture. However, in contrast to text written in 2013, which presents the religion of Islam as the essential system, this text considers Saudi culture the essential system through which 'alibrāliyah' should be adopted. This suggests that the discourse of 'alibrāliyah' is less linked to Islam as a religion towards the end of the period and more linked to the broader concept of culture at the national level.

Secularity vs. Fundamentalism

Throughout the articles, the articulation of 'alibrāliyah' shifts from the meaning of secularism to the meaning of non-fundamental Islam. For example, in the text *'The Islamisation of alibrāliyah'* (2007), 'alibrāliyah' is equated with the concept of secularism. Using the topos of the threat, 'alibrāliyah' is presented as a non-religious concept that is derived from a secular origin which constitutes a threat to Saudi society, that is nominated with the religious identity 'Ummah'. However, in the text *Human Rights': between Man and Political Employment* (2015), 'alibrāliyah' is considered a non-secular concept in the sense that it conforms with the essential values of Islam. It is also presented as against fundamentalism and old fundamental interpretations of religious texts. At the end of the period, 'alibrāliyah' is constructed in opposition to fundamentalism and fundamental Islam. In this sense, the text' *'alibrāliyah' or Post-Ideologies'*(2016) uses the topos of advantage to equate 'alibrāliyah' with non-fundamental Islam that seeks the freedom of individuals against fundamental totalitarian ideologies.

Individuality vs. Collectivity

With regard to the sense of individuality and the freedom of individuals, the first five articles written between 2007 to 2015 associate 'alibrāliyah' in general with the value of freedom without discussing it specifically in relation to the concept of individuality. The author of the text *"alibrāliyah' or Post-Ideologies'* (2016) discusses this in detail, by linking 'alibrāliyah' to the notion of individuality in opposition to the sense of collectivity. 'alibrāliyah' is presented in the text as an alternative to collective ideologies, including fundamental Islamic ideologies. Using topos of positive consequences, 'alibrāliyah' is articulated as a non-ideology that seeks to liberate individuals from dogmatic totalitarian ideologies. In this sense, it is associated with the notion of transcendentalism that believes in the independence of individuals to achieve success and progress for the world they live in.

Discourse Analysis of the Texts on the Theme of Human Rights

The analysis of the articles linked to the theme of freedom and rights which are written in the period 2007-2016 shows that the discourse of 'alibrāliyah' shifts from simply meaning freedom without explicitly clarifying what this freedom might include, to being associated with the meaning of unrestricted freedom, and then, by the end of the period, to meaning a relative freedom that is restricted by cultural conditions. This link between 'alibrāliyah' and freedom is found in relation to Islam, in which it is discussed mainly in association to the necessity of having the freedom of 'alibrāliyah' at the time freedom exists as a value in Islam. At the beginning of the period, this discussion in relation to Islam primarily constructs freedom in 'alibrāliyah' as antagonistic to Islam in general, which then shifts to become equivalent to progressive Islam and antagonistic to fundamental Islam at the end of the period. The construction of the relation between 'alibrāliyah' and freedom in relation to Islam is found to be relevant to the following main themes, which are found across the articles.

Relativity vs. Absoluteness

In terms of the notion of relativity, 'alibrāliyah' has shifted from being an independent concept that cannot be integrated with other systems to being a relative concept that can be adopted according to the values of the culture, i.e. Islam. The text *Is alibrāliyah Suitable for all Societies?* (2009) refers to the notion that the concept of 'alibrāliyah' that is seen as meaning freedom and human rights is not a universal concept and cannot be adopted relatively in different states. Using the fallacy of relativity, the author argues that 'alibrāliyah' is suitable only for the Western states that created it. This idea is further developed in text *'alibrāliyah, is it Freedom or Chaos?* (2011), in which the author views the concept of freedom in alibrāliyah as a Western, unrestricted, chaotic system that cannot be employed universally, and especially not in Islamic religious states. This is illustrated through the use of topos of culture stating that Islamic societies have their own Islamic system that includes the value of freedom, which is restricted and absolute in contrast to the unrestricted freedom in the alibrāliyah system.

However, the text *Freedom of 'alibrāliyah' and the Conventional Misunderstanding'*(2016) explains using topos of relativity that alibrāliyah, with its main value of freedom, is a relative concept that can be adopted within Islamic cultures to provide liberal resolutions to Islamic issues that are under constant debate.

Modernity

The notion of modernity is discussed later in the period in which alibrāliyah is constructed in relation to the meanings of modernity and progress. For example, the text *'alibrāliyah with Saudi Character'* (2013) indicates using topos of modernity that 'alibrāliyah' means modernity and development. This is illustrated through the notion of liberation from the past and old traditions, toward working for the present and the future. This notion is constructed to imply that Saudi liberalism should be concerned with discussing the means for achieving modernity instead of arguing over its relation to Islam and social norms. While this article focuses on the total separation of alibrāliyah from cultural norms, the text *Freedom of 'alibrāliyah' and the Conventional Misunderstanding'* (2016) shows a shift in the notion of modernity, in which it is constructed in relation to the progressive Islamic culture. It equates 'alibrāliyah' with the meaning of modern Islam, according to which 'alibrāliyah' can be adopted in Saudi religious society by means of providing more flexible and liberal choices for practising Islam. In this sense, 'alibrāliyah' is not separate from Saudi religious identity, but rather conforms with the cultural norms of the society, including its religion.

Individuality vs. Collectivity

In terms of the notion of freedom of the individual in opposition to the freedom of the collective, the concept of 'alibrāliyah' has shifted over time from the meaning of collective freedom to the meaning of individual freedom. The freedom of the collective meaning is noted in the text *'Is alibrāliyah Suitable for all Societies?* (2009) and text *'alibrāliyah, is it Freedom or Chaos?*(2011), which state using topos of culture that freedom of the group exists within the system of Islam, which is superior to the freedom of the individual meaning in 'alibrāliyah', and therefore it is not necessary to substitute Islam with 'alibrāliyah'. However, in text *'alibrāliyah with Saudi Character'* (2013) this notion shifts, and the meaning of freedom of individuals in order to achieve social progress is put forth. The text *Freedom of 'alibrāliyah' and the Conventional Misunderstanding'* (2016) that is published at the end of the period specifically defines the meaning of individuality in relation to Saudi cultural conditions. Using topos of relativity, it refers to the point of the freedom of the individual to conform to the existing cultural norms, including religion, by following the liberal progressive choices that suit them. This notion of individuality represents the meaning of transcendentalism, whereby individuals are independent and free to practise their religion to achieve progress for the world they live in.

Conclusion

By means of tracing the meaning of the ideology of 'alibrāliyah' at the macro and micro levels, the study has yielded interesting results. At the macro level, the corpus analysis reveals the key meaning preferences associated with 'alibrāliyah' across the period (2007-2016). Corpus analysis has revealed that 'alibrāliyah' is mainly associated with the discourse of religion and human rights, in which the salient construction of 'alibrāliyah' has changed over time from being associated with the religious discourse to being associated with the discourse of freedom and human rights. It has been found that this remarkable salient finding requires a micro qualitive analysis in order to test whether these results represent the discourse of 'alibrāliyah' at the micro level, and to investigate the mechanism of the shift of meanings in detail. Therefore, with the assistance of the corpus, the study reveals the means by which the articulation of 'alibrāliyah' change over time.

The micro analysis of the articles presenting both themes, religion and rights, has revealed a shift in the discursive construction of 'alibrāliyah' and the liberal group. This is revealed through examining the meanings the different groups attempt to charge 'alibrāliyah' with to obtain or maintain power. In particular, the empty signifier of 'alibrāliyah' has been filled with meanings related to the notions of relativity and individuality, in which 'alibrāliyah' changes from being a non-relative, nonflexible concept to the religious conservative Saudi culture into being a relative concept that can be adopted to the norms of the Saudi culture. 'Alibrāliyah' is also associated with notion of individuality against collectivity at the end of the period through referring to the need for 'alibrāliyah' in guaranteeing the freedom of individuals to achieve progress. The articulation of 'alibrāliyah' has also shown a shift in relation to the concept of secularity in which it shifts from being a secular concept that contradicts the religion of Islam into being a non-secular concept that is compatible to non-fundamental Islam. 'Alibrāliyah' is also articulated in terms of the concept of modernity later in the period, constructing it as a modern progressive concept that conforms to the progressive Islam.

As a result of the shift in the articulation of 'alibrāliyah', it is found that in both set of articles there is a shift in the relation between the groups; the liberals and the Islamists. From the perspective of Discourse Theory, it can be argued that the first half of the period has revealed a complete antagonism between Islamists and liberals created within the logic of equivalence in which both groups represent two antagonist poles. This antagonism is then started to disperse and redefined in higher articulation in a difference across equivalence in which liberals are constructed as antagonists to fundamental Islamists and as equivalent to non-fundamental Islamists. It is suggested that this shift in the articulation of the discourse and the groups indicates the success of liberals to establish their own identity and to gain hegemony in the Saudi socio-political field.

Having presented the shift in the construction of 'alibrāliyah' at the macro and micro levels, it can be argued that both approaches, the corpus analysis and the discourse analysis, are complementary to each other and are necessary together in investigating the shift of a discourse in a comprehensive way. While the corpus analysis in the current study shows the salient meanings of 'alibrāliyah' over time, the discourse analysis represented in discourse-historical approach and Discourse Theory, have uncovered the diachronic discursive construction of 'alibrāliyah' and the hegemonic conflict over defining it. It is a comprehensive framework for the phenomena under study that has allowed for investigating diachronically the ideological word of 'alibrāliyah' and the way its construction shifts over time by different groups. It has also enabled the researcher to look at the mechanism of the articulation of the relation between the groups at the micro level and the way the shift of the relations has changed the hegemonic positions of the groups.

Notes

1. The Arabic utterances throughout this article are transliterated using Latin scripts. The transliteration system follows The Library of Congress Transliteration system; http://www.loc.gov/catdir/cpso/romanization/arabic.pdf.
2. See appendix (A) for the titles of the articles.

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Appendix (A): List of the newspapers' articles

Al-Habib, A. (2013). Who is the Islamist's liberal? / من هو الليبرالي الإسلامي؟ . *Aljazirah*.

Al-Mahmood, M. (2015). Human Right: between Man and Political Employment/ حقوق الإنسان بين الإنسان و التوظيف السياسي. *Alriyadh*.

Al-Mahmood, M. (2016)a. Allibraliah or Post-Ideologies / الليبراليةواومابعدالايدلوجيا . *Alriyadh*.

Al-Mahmood, M. (2016)b. Freedom of 'Allibraliah' and the Conventional Misunderstanding الحرية الليبرالية و سوء الفهم / التقليدي*Alriyadh*.

Alhabib, A. (2009). Is 'allibraliah' Suitable to All Societies? / هل الليبرالية مناسبة لكل المجتمعات؟ . *Aljazirah*.

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Hizam, F. (2009). The Extremists... The Smartest at Adversity/ المتشددون..الأذكى عند الشدائد . *Alriyadh*.

Appendix (B): Thematic categories of the top frequent keywords

Thematic categories	Keywords
Religion	اسلامي/'Islamic', دين/'religion', ديني/'religious', إسلام/'Islam', الله/'Allah', مسلم/'Muslim',
Social and cultural notions	نظام/'system', قيمة/'value', ثقافة/'culture', ثقافي/'cultural', إجتماعي/social', مجتمع/'Society', ناس/'people'
Humanitarianism	حرية/'Freedom', إنسان/'human', حق/'right', فرد/'individual', إنسان/'humanitarian'
Political movements	سياسي/'Political', ديموقراطي/'democratic', علماني/'secular', حركة/'movement', تيار/'trend'
Ethnic/national and regional entities	سعودي/'Saudi', عربي/'Arab', غربي/'Western'
Social groups (sex/occupation)	مرأة/'Woman', رجل/'man', كتاب/'authors', مثقف/'intellectual', دكتور/'doctor'
Conflict and engagement	صراع/'Conflict', علاقة/'relationship', ضد/'against', اختلاف/'difference'
Science	علم/'Science', علمي/'scientific', أصل/'origin'
Mental objects	عقل/'mind', أمر/'matter', مفهوم/'concept', رأي/'opinion', فكري/'intellectual', مفهوم/'Concept', وعي/'awareness', سؤال/'question', قضية/'issue', رأي/'opinion', سبب/'reason', مبدأ/'principle', حكم/'judgment', رؤية/'vision', موقف/'position', مسألة/'issue', فكرة/'idea', صورة/'image'
Communication	نص/'text', حوار/'discussion', قول/'saying', مصطلح/'term', معنى/'meaning', خطاب/'Discourse', قال/'say'
Mental processes	يرى/'see', عرف/'know', أراد/'want', عنى/'mean', وجد/'Find'
Action processes	عمل/'work', جعل/'make', تم/'complete', فعل/'do', حقق/'achieve', أصبح/'become', وجود/'Existence', استطاع/'can', دعا/'call'
Areas and places	دولة/'Country', عالم/'world'
Time	يوم/'Day', وقت/'time', تاريخ/'history'
Evaluative	تقليدي/'traditional', حديث/'modern', جديد/'new', حقيقة/'fact', واقع/'reality', عام/'General', مختلف/'different', كبير/'large', خاص/'special'
Others	حال/'status', نقد/'criticism', شكل/'form', مستوى/'level', مقال/'article', حالة/'case', حد/'limit', حياة/'Life'

Appendix (c): The 50 most frequent collocates categorised into thematic groups

Theme	Collocates	Overall frequency
Religion	إسلامي /'Islamic', إسلام /'Islam', دين /'religion', ديني /'religious'	520
Human rights	إنسان / 'human", حرية /'Freedom', حق /'right', فرد / individual"	531
Social discourse	نظام /'cultural', ثقافي /'social', إجتماعي /value', قيمة /'Society', مجتمع / 'system'	519
National, ethnic, and regional groups	عربي / 'Arab(ic)', غربي /'Western', سعودي /'Saudi'	506
Political movements	محافظ /'democratic', ديموقراطي /'political', سياسي / 'Secular', علماني / 'conservative', علمانية /'secularism'	472
Thoughts and beliefs	فكرة /'idea'. فلسفة /'intellectual', فكري / 'Intellect', فكر /'philosophy'	444
Communication	معنى /'discourse', خطاب /'term', مصطلح /'Concept', مفهوم /'meaning'	445
Communicative processes	قال / عنى /'means', 'Say'	385
Mental objects and processes	مبدأ /'trend', تيار /'principle', أراد /'know', عرف / See, يرى /'want'	510
Action processes	أصبح /'call', دعى /'existence', وجود /'Happen', وجد /'become'	392
Evaluative	تقليدي /'new', جديد /'fact', حقيقة /'real', حقيقي / 'Reality', واقع /'traditional', حديث /'modern'	458
Areas and places	دولة /'Country', عالم / 'world'	146
Time	يوم /'Day'	60