

Semantic Framing of *JIHAD* in the Holy Qur'an and Selected Web Narratives: A Contrastive Discourse Analytic Study

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Abstract

The present paper aims at framing the concept of *JIHAD* in the light of Barsalou's (1992b) Frame Theory. Originally a religious concept; *JIHAD* has been recently used in a multitude of contexts by a variety of, mostly conflicting, parties. The researcher analyses the corpora under investigation to create contrastive semantic frames of the concept of *JIHAD* as represented in the Holy Qur'an- as a reference corpus- and enTenTen13, as a parallel corpus. As Barsalou points out, "a frame provides the fundamental representation of knowledge in human recognition" (1992, p.21). These frames are to highlight the basic co-occurring attributes and values of the concept of *JIHAD*. The enTenTen13-based frame is further studied in the light of

critical discourse analysis (CDA), and more precisely in the light of Van Dijk's (2006) model of triangulated manipulation. Cognitively, Dijk sees "manipulation as mind control [which] involves the interference with processes of understanding, the formation of biased mental models and social representations such as knowledge and ideologies" (p. 359). The researcher concludes that in the enTenTen13-based *JIHAD* frame, the values of the relevant attributes are differently instantiated from those of the Qur'an-based frame. Considering that the Qur'an provides the prototypical attribute values, these variations in instantiation are proven as ideologically-driven; hence an instance of manipulation.

Keywords: Semantic frame, discourse and manipulation, *JIHAD*, Holy Qur'an, web discourse

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1. Introduction:

The present paper aims at constructing a semantic frame of the concept of *JIHAD* as represented in the Holy Qur'an and selected online media discourse. *JIHAD* as an originally religious concept is defined as "exerting efforts to spread Islam and defend it" ("Mu'gam alfath al qur'an al kareem"). Nevertheless, in recent years, and with the rising waves of terrorism as a world-wide phenomenon, the term 'jihad' has been excessively used in a variety of discourse genres, not quite relevant to its originally religious one. In fact, *JIHAD*, with all its relevant derivatives: jihad, jihadism, jihadi, and jihadist, feature in current media discourse with remarkable frequency. As the researcher's primary analysis has shown that the meaning of *JIHAD* in areligious discourse is considerably different from, if not opposite to, that which constitutes its basic attributes. It is postulated that this deviation is the result of manipulation done by media discourse, which in turn, featured in public discourse.

It is this wide gap between the meaning of the concept in its religious context and that used in web discourse context that triggered the initial interest in this study. Being a concept, rather than a physical entity, an accurate definition of *JIHAD* could be the first step towards bridging the aforementioned gap. Accurately defining concepts, however, has never been an easy task for linguists, in general, or semanticists, in particular. As Barsalou and Wiener-Hastings (2005) have

pointed, specifying the 'content of abstract concepts' poses a problem for any semantic theory of knowledge. Meanwhile, "a word for an abstract concept may trigger highly associated words" (p.131).

Therefore, the present paper frames the concept of *JIHAD* in the light of Barsalou's (1992) Frame theory. A typical frame consisting of a co-occurring set of attributes and values of the concept of *JIHAD* is constructed based on its use in the verses of the Holy Qur'an -as a reference corpus- and a multi-million-word parallel corpus [enTenTen13](#), which is an open-access, compiled and ready-for-use web corpus covering the year 2013. The variations in the [enTenTen13](#)-based frame is further examined in the construct of van Dijk's (2006) approach to manipulative discourse. According to van Dijk, manipulation implies the exercise of a form of illegitimate influence by means of discourse. In his model of triangulated manipulation, van Dijk posits that manipulation is done socially, cognitively, and discursively via discourse. Hence, the analysis of the parallel corpus targets highlighting the ideologically-driven deviations in the meaning of the concept in the selected web discourse.

2. Objectives of the study:

The present study falls under the category of cognitive-based studies, primarily aiming at constructing an attribute-value frame of *JIHAD*. The paper

attempts to answer the following questions:

1. What are the basic attributes and their bound values of the frame of *JIHAD* as represented in the selected verses of Holy Qur'an?
2. What are the basic attributes and their bound values of the frame of *JIHAD* as represented in [enTenTen13](#)?
3. What are the major attribute/value differences between the two investigated corpora?
4. Considering that the Holy Qur'an is the original source of the term, what are the reasons behind any sort of deviation in the representation of the term in web discourse as instantiated by [enTenTen13](#)?
5. How can these deviations be analysed in the light of van Dijk's (2006) approach to manipulative discourse?

3. Theoretical framework:

3.1 Barsalou's Frame Theory:

As Barsalou (1999) suggests "abstract concepts are not really abstract, they are simply complex and temporally extended. Whereas more concrete concepts index well-specified objects, actions and properties in situations, abstract concepts index complex configurations of information distributed over multiple modalities and over time" (p.62).

Drawing upon previous frame theories (Fillmore, 1985; Shank and Abelson, 1977; Hayes, 1979) as well as others, Barsalou (1992) introduced his Frame Theory where he proposes that "frames provide the fundamental representation of knowledge in human cognition" (p.21). In fact, Barsalou (1992) contends that "[h]uman conceptual knowledge appears to be frames all the way down" (p.40). A frame is "a co-occurring set of multivalued attributes that are integrated by structural

invariants" (Barsalou & Hale, 1993, p.126). A frame of a knowledge unit has three fundamental components: attributes and values, structural invariants and constraints. At their core, "frames contain attribute-value sets" (Barsalou, 1992b, p. 43). Indeed, this description of the internal structure of the frame is one of the major contributions of Barsalou to frame semantics.

Barsalou assumes that a set of "co-occurring attributes constitutes the core of the frame [where] an attribute is a concept that describes an aspect of at least some category members" (p. 30). So, for instance, as elaborated by Barsalou, when one comes to think of the frame of CAR, *engine*, *fuel*, and *driver* are three of the basic attributes. So, fuel, in this example, is an *aspect* of the car's category. These are further instantiated in different values such as *4 cylinder*, *gasoline* and *Liz* respectively. A value is "a subordinate concept of an attribute" (p.31). Hence, gasoline is a *type* of fuel, and so on. A concept, in this respect, defines the main cognitive representation of a category; representations including "definitional information, prototypical information, functionally important information" (p. 31). A value can be an attribute for further detailed values, and so on.

Barsalou defines *structure invariants* as the kind of relation that exists between "exemplars of a concept, providing relevantly invariant structures between attributes" (1992, p.35). These are a kind of relatively constant relations between the attributes of a frame, such as the relation between the driver who *controls* the engine, the seat which *has* a back, the motive *behind* the murder, etc. It includes a wide variety of relations such as temporal relations, spatial relations, causal relations, instrumental relations, etc.

Finally, Barsalou sees constraints as a kind of relations that “produce systematic variability in attribute values” (1992, p.37). They denote the kind of contingencies between attribute values which differ from one instance to another. As put by Barsalou and Hale (1993), “the value of one frame attribute constrains the values of another.... Whereas structural invariants capture relatively constant relations between attributes across a concept’s instances...constraints capture contingencies between attribute-values that vary widely from instance to instance” (p. 128). It is this feature of the frame which allows variation and flexibility in conceptualizing the frame in different contexts.

Barsalou’s theory has been particularly chosen as the model which the present study adopts, because Barsalou’s frames are “dynamic relational structures whose form is flexible and context dependent” (1992, p.21). That is to say, the variation in the instantiation of the attributes and their bound values can be easily understood, justified, and examined in the light of the respective context. As illustrated by Barsalou, “when new aspects of exemplars become relevant in novel contexts, people may construct new attributes to represent them” (p. 34). This is indeed what takes place in web discourse under investigation where new attributes, and their bound values are constructed by internet users.

One particular feature of the theory is relevant in this respect. Opposite to a number of previous theories, Barsalou’s theory assumes that frames “do not contain rigid sets of attributes.... On one occasion, one subset of a concept’s attributes may be bound to an instance; on another occasion, a different set of attributes might be bound” (1993, p. 126). Being partially context-dependent, attributes are not fixed

across different contexts. Therefore, people -with different cognitive backgrounds- construct varied attributes, with specific features becoming bound to the relevant frame attributes as values. This feature of Barsalou’s theory is of direct relevance to the present paper. In fact, it describes why a standard definition/representation of *JIHAD* is a negotiable issue. As Barsalou points out: “if two people represent a category with different attributes, they encode its exemplars differently. Different aspects of the exemplar are relevant, because the perceivers’ respective frames orient perception to different information” (1992, p.34). Relevant here is Barsalou’s notion of attribute systematicity, which purports that in a particular frame, an attribute most likely co-occurs with other attributes, which in turn form the core of the frame and are rather stable across different contexts. This co-occurrence produces a kind of “associative strength”, hence these attributes become “integrated in memory to form an established structure” (p.35). This salience of the role of ‘memory’ in forming mental models and representations of concepts is a major link between Barsalou’s theory and the second adopted model, i.e. van Dijk’s (2006) approach to manipulation.

3.2 van Dijk’s (2006) manipulative discourse:

In an attempt to complement his critical discourse analysis (CDA) model presented (1998, 2001), and more precisely the notion of manipulation, which constitutes a core notion in this model, van Dijk (2006) offers a ‘triangulated approach to manipulation as a form of social power abuse, cognitive mind control and discursive interaction’ (p.359). In this approach, van Dijk posits that “socially, manipulation is defined as illegitimate domination confirming social

inequality. Cognitively, manipulation as mind control involves the interference with processes of understanding, the formation of biased mental models and social representations such as knowledge and ideologies. Discursively, manipulation generally involves the usual forms and formats of ideological discourse” (p.359).

van Dijk sets off with assigning certain social factors for manipulation; namely the dimension of social relationship between the manipulator and the manipulated. As per van Dijk, this relationship necessitates a particular positioning of the manipulator in relation to the manipulated, as well as having access to particular discourse genres, inaccessible to the manipulator. This is typical of those who have access to web discourse as with the case of the present study. Through influencing their audience, manipulators, or those who have more social power and dominance, carry out this manipulation via their respective institutions; namely media, with the ultimate aim of reproducing their power (van Dijk, 2006, p. 363). van Dijk specifies one particular form of social manipulation which is providing “incomplete or otherwise biased information” to the readers to influence their judgement on a particular communicative event. This is typically the case with selected news corpus under investigation, where not all values of the attributes of the frame are presented. As put by van Dijk, “manipulation, socially speaking, is a discursive form of elite power reproduction that is against the best interests of dominated groups and (re)produces social inequality” (2006, p.364).

As noted earlier, van Dijk sees manipulation, first and foremost, a cognitive process of mind control, which in turn controls their actions. He sees this mental control as a multi-stepped process

starting with: a) manipulating short-term memory (STM) by assigning particular salience to one part, rather than the other, of a discourse text. This directly affects “the management of strategic understanding in STM”, hence understanding would be incomplete or biased. Applying this to the present corpus would reveal that certain lexical choices are recurrently made in association with *JIHAD*, hence being more accessible to STM. Mind control also involves b) episodic manipulation, which involves manipulating the cognitive mental models of recipients, which are basically individual, by relating certain discourse texts with certain mental models in long term (LT) and episodic memory (van Dijk, 2006, p. 367). It is this mental model that is the basis of our future memories, as well as the basis of further learning, such as the acquisition of experience-based knowledge, attitudes and ideologies. Third and most importantly, van Dijk views that mind control involves c) manipulating social cognition, which relates to gearing discourses towards manipulating recipients into more long-term, shared attitudes, beliefs and ideologies. “Manipulation will generally focus on social cognition, and hence on groups of people, rather than on individuals and their unique personal models. It is also in this sense that manipulation is a discursive practice that involves both cognitive and social dimensions” (p.369).

van Dijk reviews a number of the cognitive strategies of manipulation, namely:

- 1) Generalization: by generalizing feelings, impressions or attitudes of individuals, the manipulator turns these into socially shared ideologies, turning them into socially stable representations.
- 2) Using vague expressions, implicitness, euphemism, etc. to make sure that the

- 'biases', 'misguided' or 'partial' knowledge is acquired.
- 3) Changing social representation by forming script-like structures of unfavoured people or groups.
 - 4) Topic selection: emphasizing positive/negative topics about Us/Them.
 - 5) Local meanings: give many/few details, be general/specific, be vague/precise, be explicit/implicit
 - 6) Lexicon: select positive words for Us, negative words for Them.
 - 7) Incomplete or lack of relevant knowledge (van Dijk, 2006, pp. 370-375).

This is typically the case with the *JIHAD* frame, where one or two attributes only of *JIHAD* are highlighted whereas the others are backgrounded, which discursively assigns readers a passive role or what van Dijk calls "victims of manipulation". Another quite influential manipulation strategy used in the present data, is the tool of foregrounding and backgrounding. Media discourse, which is part of the present corpus, intentionally foregrounds one particular attribute of *JIHAD*, backgrounding all the other equally used notions.

van Dijk sums up his argument on manipulative discourse as

these general strategies of manipulative discourse appear to be largely semantic, i.e. focused on manipulating the 'content' of text and talk. However, as is the case for the implementation of ideologies, these preferred meanings may also be emphasized and de-emphasized in the usual ways, as explained: by (de-)topicalization of meanings, by specific speech acts, more or less precise or specific local meanings, manipulating explicit vs implicit information, lexicalization, metaphors and other rhetorical figures as well as

specific expression and realization (2006, p.376).

4. Methodology:

The present paper adopts a quantitative-qualitative contrastive analysis of the data under scrutiny. First, the researcher starts with the Qur'an as the reference corpus, where the Qur'anic verses (*ayat*) including the root JAHADA /jahada/ and its derivatives are cited and a Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) Transitivity analysis of the main participant roles and circumstances is done. This is meant to highlight the actors (agents) and the goals of the processes involved. Second, a semantic frame of the concept *JIHAD* is constructed. The next step is to carry a corpus-based analysis of *JIHAD* in the English corpus, i.e. [enTenTen13](#). The selected corpus extends over the year 2013. Noteworthy is that a Transitivity analysis is not possible since all derivatives of *JIHAD* are nominalized, rather than used as verb forms. Accordingly, a similar analysis to the one done on the Arabic corpus is not valid. This step is followed by constructing a semantic frame of *JIHAD* as represented via the English corpus.

A contrastive analysis of the two semantic frames is carried out to highlight the major differences between the two frames, putting into consideration that the Qur'an provides the reference corpus. Finally, a critical discourse analysis of these differences is done on the English corpus, to validate the ideologically-driven variations.

5. Source of Data:

The corpus under scrutiny comprises two main sources: first, the Holy Qur'an as translated by Pickthall (1930). The focus is on the verses where *JIHAD* or its derivatives are cited. This represents the reference corpus. The second source is

English web corpus 2013 ([enTenTen13](#)). It is a 19-billion-word open access corpus compiled by Sketch Engine, made up of texts collected from the Internet. As with all other [enTenTen](#) corpora, a complete set of Sketch Engine tools is available to work with the [enTenTen13](#) to generate, as already cited in the introduction, word sketch, thesaurus, word lists, n-grams and concordances. This represents the parallel corpus.

6. Review of Literature:

Defining words and identifying their basic content have been one of the primary tasks of linguists with their varied specialties: lexicography, semantics, psycholinguistics as well as the most recent cognitive semantic approach. With concrete words, the job is straightforward. However, when it comes to abstract concepts, the attempts to define words have become much more challenging. There have been various approaches/models for defining words starting with the feature list, modal versus amodal representation, moving to frame semantics as well as others. Most researches agree that “the word for an abstract concept may trigger highly associated words. Because no situation comes to mind immediately, other associated information becomes active” (Barsalou & Hastings, 2005, p.131). Work on framing concepts is attributed to the pioneering work of Charles Fillmore (1982) on Frame Semantics, where the notion of defining words in terms of frames was first set as a cognitive model.

“By the term ‘frame’ I have in mind any system of concepts related in such a way that to understand any of them you have to understand the whole structure in which it fits; when one of the things in such a structure is introduced into a text, or into a conversation, all of the other things

are automatically made available.” (Fillmore, 1982, p. 111).

According to Fillmore, this model of analysis of words’ meanings aims at “emphasizing the continuities, rather than the discontinuities, between language and experience” (p. 113). Linking the meaning of words to world experience primarily contextualizes it, encoding the knowledge that is grounded in human interaction with others and with the world. In Frame Semantics, a word is defined in relation to its underlying frame, not in relation to other words.

Moving to work on manipulative discourse, research has been done within a variety of disciplines such as media studies, politics, psychology as well as linguistics and particularly CDA studies. Asya (2013) overviews the various types and strategies of manipulation in general and linguistic manipulation in particular, highlighting the theory of speech manipulation, with special emphasis on society-oriented manipulation where “the speaker doesn’t construct the image of a separate listener, but creates generalized image of a group as a whole” (p. 80). Kenzhekanova et al. (2015) focus more precisely on manipulation in political discourse of mass media, highlighting the tools of speech manipulation (TSM) on the phonographic, lexical, grammatical as well as lexical-pragmatic levels. Ali and Omar (2016) investigate the role of manipulative discourse in media representation of Russian military intervention in Syria, with special focus on headlines and lead stories. Results of the study show how the linguistic structures used in the Russia Today (RT) and the CNN reflect the different ideologies presented by both cable networks towards this intervention. Khudhayir (2013) discusses the main linguistic devices used in manipulation of meaning in political discourse, where he

examines the use of ‘essentially contested concepts’, ‘deep and shallow processing’ as well as ‘presupposition’ in political discourse as lexical and semantic strategies of manipulation.

Looking at JIHAD as a lexeme, realized in its various derivatives, it occurs in the Holy Qur’an 34 times. It is one of the most commonly debated terms both linguistically and jurisprudence-wise. The focus of the researcher in the present work is on the linguistic meaning of the word, as presented by different exegetes of the verses of the Holy Qur’an. Most exegetes agree that it is basically a religious, rather than a secular term, and here lies a major difference between *JIHAD* and war. Al-Alosy (2004) defined *JIHAD* as primarily “exerting effort to combat enemies....and it is of three major types: fighting those who disbelieve, fighting devil (ash-aitan) and fighting oneself against desires, which is prioritized over fighting enemies” (2004). *JIHAD* -defined as fighting- is also of two main types: the offensive *JIHAD* (*JIHAD* At-talab), and the defensive *JIHAD* (*JIHAD* ad-daf). As evident from the names, the former type is the one which includes assault on others (disbelievers, hypocrites, atheists, etc.), whereas the latter involves fighting back those who attack believers. Offensive *JIHAD* is the kind of fighting Muslims are ordered to go through in order to defend their religion, newly-acquired Islamic territories, themselves against assaults, etc. This is the type of *JIHAD* that is primarily mentioned as *JIHAD* for the sake of God. This type of *JIHAD* entails the use of either self or money.

In Arabic, the word *jihad* is a derivative of the root JAHADA { ج ه د }/jahada/, which is defined as 1) pursued and tried ardently, and 2) exerted utmost effort (al mo’gam alwaseet). The derivatives of this lexeme range from

jahada, jihaad, mujahada, mujahid, mujahad. In Islamic jurisprudence, the concept of *JIHAD* has attracted the attention of men of different interests, namely exegetes, preachers as well as others. Among the most famous exegetes who worked on this concept are At-Tabari. Ibn-Katheer, Aq-Qurtubi as well as Al-Qaradawi, among others. Looking at how these exegetes dealt with the term, it can be said that almost all verses dealt with what might be called defensive *JIHAD* rather than offensive *JIHAD*. In the following section, the analysis of *JIHAD* is done to construct a contrastive semantic frame.

7. Analysis:

a. *JIHAD* in Holy Qur’an:

As previously mentioned, the lexeme *JIHAD* and its different derivatives are cited 34 times across 15 chapters (surah) in the Holy Qur’an. The meaning of two of these citations in (Al-Ankabut (8) and Loqman (15)), is totally irrelevant as they deal with parents striving to divert their offspring from following the instructions of Allah. Hence these two instances would not be accounted for in the following analysis.

As elaborated in the Methodology above, an SFG Transitivity analysis of the verses is done so as to highlight the main participants and circumstances of the process *JIHAD*. For elaboration, a select number of verses have been chosen which represent the most frequently used collocates with *JIHAD*, with its different syntactic-semantic realizations. For example:

تُؤْمِنُونَ بِاللَّهِ وَرَسُولِهِ وَتُجَاهِدُونَ فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ بِأَمْوَالِكُمْ وَأَنْفُسِكُمْ ذَلِكَ خَيْرٌ لَكُمْ إِنْ كُنْتُمْ تَعْلَمُونَ (الصف: ١١) .

Ye should believe in Allah and His messenger, and should strive (*tujahiduna* (do *JIHAD*) for the cause of Allah with your wealth and your lives. That is better for you, if ye did but know. (61.11).

Process	Participant		Circumstance	
	Actor	Goal	Manner-means	Cause- purpose
تجاهدون	واو الجماعة (الذين آمنوا)	-----	بِأَمْوَالِكُمْ وَأَنْفُسِكُمْ	فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ

Table 1

Process	Participant		Circumstance	
	Actor	Goal	Manner-means	Cause- purpose
Do <i>JIHAD</i>	Believers	-----	With wealth and your lives	For the sake of Allah

Table 2

الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا وَهَاجَرُوا وَجَاهَدُوا فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ بِمَوَالِهِمْ وَأَنْفُسِهِمْ أَكْبَرُ دَرَجَةً عِنْدَ اللَّهِ وَأُولَئِكَ هُمُ الْفَائِزُونَ (التوبة: ٢٠). ٢.

Those who believe, and have left their homes and striven (*jahadu*) (did *JIHAD*) with their wealth and their lives in Allah's way are of much greater worth in Allah's sight. These are they who are triumphant. (9.20).

Process	Participant		Circumstance	
	Actor	Goal	Manner- means	Cause- purpose
جاهدوا	الذين آمنوا	-----	بِأَمْوَالِهِمْ وَأَنْفُسِهِمْ	فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ

Table 3

Process	Participant		Circumstance	
	Actor	Goal	Manner- means	Cause- purpose
Did <i>JIHAD</i>	Those who believed	-----	With wealth and your lives	For the sake of Allah

Table 4

وَمَنْ جَاهَدَ فَإِنَّمَا يُجَاهِدُ لِنَفْسِهِ إِنَّ اللَّهَ لَغَنِيٌّ عَنِ الْعَالَمِينَ (العنكبوت: ٦). ٣.

And whosoever striveth (*yujahidu*) (does *JIHAD*), striveth (does *JIHAD*) only for himself, for lo! Allah is altogether Independent of (His) creatures. (29.6).

Process	Participant		Circumstance	
	Actor	Goal	Manner- means	Cause- purpose
يجاهد	من	-----	-----	لِنَفْسِهِ

Table 5

Process	Participant		Circumstance	
	Actor	Goal	Manner- means	Cause- purpose
Does <i>JIHAD</i>	He [who...]	-----	-----	For oneself

Table 6

وَلَنَبْلُوَنَّكُمْ حَتَّى نَعْلَمَ الْمُجَاهِدِينَ مِنْكُمْ وَالصَّابِرِينَ وَنَبْلُوَ أَخْبَارَكُمْ (محمد: ٣١). ٤.

And verily We shall try you till We know those of you who strive hard (*al-mujahidina* (those who do *JIHAD*) for the cause of Allah and the steadfast, and till We test your record. (47.31).

Process	Participant		Circumstance	
	Actor	Goal	Manner- means	Cause- purpose
نعلم	نحن	المجاهدين	-----	-----

Table 7

Process	Participant		Circumstance	
	Actor	Goal	Manner- means	Cause- purpose
Do <i>JIHAD</i>	Those who [<i>al-mujahidina</i>	-----	-----

Table 8

فَلَا تُطِعِ الْكَافِرِينَ وَجَاهِدْهُمْ بِهِ جِهَادًا كَبِيرًا (الفرقان: ٥٢). ٥.

So obey not the disbelievers, but strive against them *jahidhum* (do *JIHAD* against them) herewith with a great endeavor. (25.52)

It is noteworthy that the translation of this verse lacks the prepositional phrase ‘with it’ (*bihi*), which has been interpreted by most interpreters as ‘with the Qur’an’.

Process	Participant		Circumstance	
	Actor	Goal	Manner- means	Cause- purpose
جاهد هم	محمد	الكافرين	به (القرآن)	-----

Table 9

Process	Participant		Circumstance	
	Actor	Goal	Manner- means	Cause- purpose
Do <i>JIHAD</i>	Prophet Muhammad	Disbelievers	Qur’an	-----

Table 10

يَا أَيُّهَا النَّبِيُّ جَاهِدِ الْكُفْرَانَ وَالْمُنَافِقِينَ وَعَاطِظْ عَلَيْهِمْ وَمَا وَاهُمْ جَهَنَّمَ وَيَدْرُسُ الْمَصِيرُ (التحریم ٩). ٦.

O Prophet! Strive *jahid* (do *JIHAD*) against the disbelievers and the hypocrites, and be stern with them. Hell will be their home, a hapless journey's end. (66.9)

Process	Participant		Circumstance	
	Actor	Goal	Manner- means	Cause- purpose

جاهد	النبي	الكفار والمنافقين	-----	-----
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Table 11

Process	Participant		Circumstance	
	Actor	Goal	Manner- means	Cause- purpose
Do <i>JIHAD</i>	Prophet Muhammad	Disbelievers and hypocrites	-----	-----

Table 12

Analysing all 32 instances of occurrence of JIHAD and its derivatives yield the following results:

Transitivity element	Instance	Frequency
Process	Do/does/ did <i>JIHAD</i>	32
Participant		
Actor	Those who believe/d	13
Actor	mujahidin	3
Actor	Muhammed	2
Goal	Disbelievers	2
	Hypocrites	1
Circumstance	Manner-means With wealth and your lives	11
	By Qur'an	1
	Cause- purpose: For the sake of Allah	15
	Cause- purpose: For one's own sake	1

Table 13

The most common collocates with JIHAD are:

Transitivity element	Frequency
Cause- purpose: for the sake of Allah (God)	15
Manner- means: with wealth and lives	11
Actor: those who believe/d	13

Table 14

The following graph represents the data:

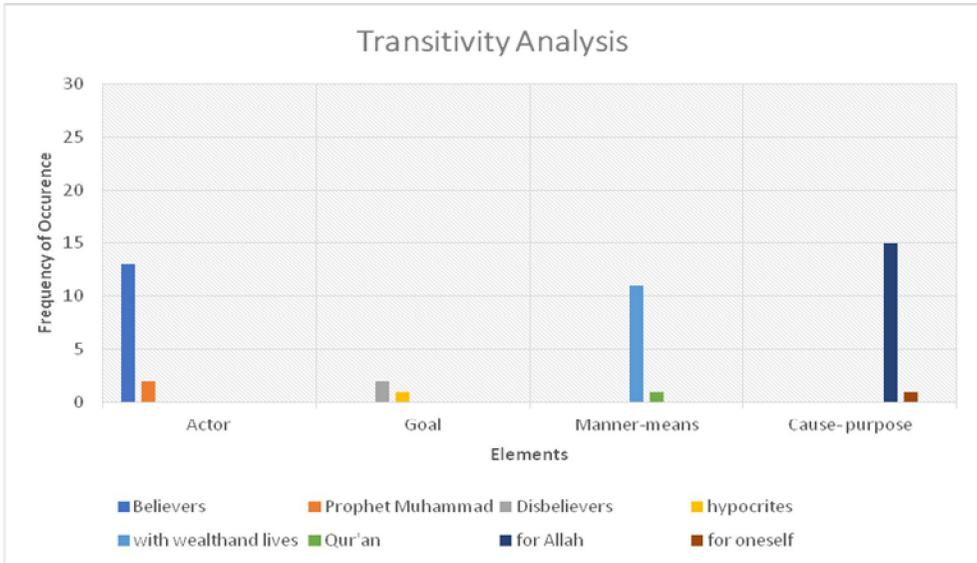


Fig. 1 Transitivity analysis of verses where JIHAD occurs
Based on the above, the following frame of the concept of *JIHAD* can be done:

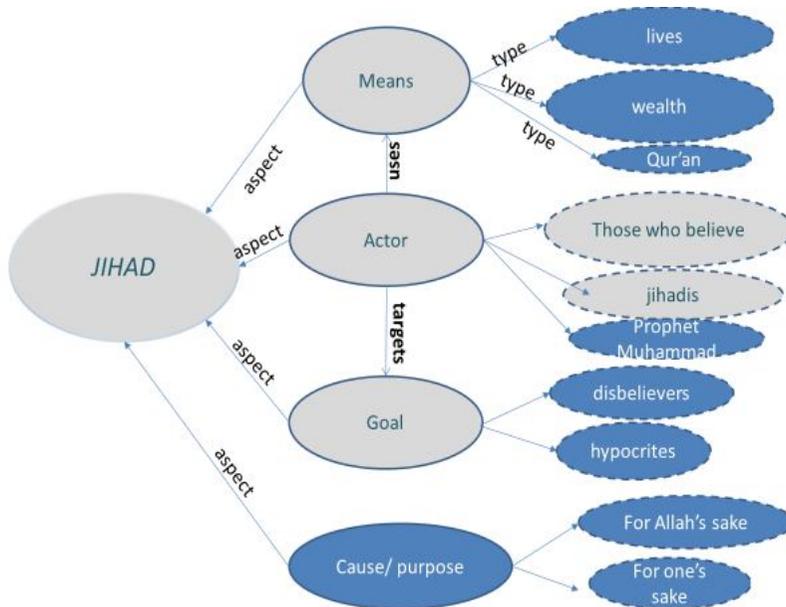


Fig. 2

Looking at the devised frame, the following could be concluded:

1. The main *attributes* of the *JIHAD* frame include *actor*, *means*, *goal* and *cause/purpose*.
2. These attributes adopt the following values respectively: *those who believe/d* (13), *jihadis* (3), and *Prophet Muhammad* (2) in order of frequency of occurrence.
3. The aspects of the attribute *cause* adopt the values: *for the sake of Allah* (15), *for one's sake* (1), *wealth* (11), *lives* (11), and *Qur'an* (1) are values for the aspect *means*. Finally, the *goal* attribute adopts the value *disbelievers* (2) and *hypocrites* (1).
4. The major structural invariants are *instrumental relation* between *actor* and *means*. Also, the *intentional relation* between *actor* and *purpose*.

In the following section, an analysis of *JIHAD* in the parallel corpus – enTenTen13 – is carried out, followed by constructing a contrastive semantic frame of the concept.

6.2. *JIHAD* in enTenTen13:

In this section, *JIHAD* is examined in the context of the parallel corpus enTenTen13. The main four derivatives of the lexeme are investigated; namely: *jihad*, *jihadism*, *jihadist(s)* and *jihadi(s)*. Sketch Engine offers three particularly relevant analytic tools which are used by the researcher in the analysis: Concordance, Word sketch and Thesaurus. The Concordancer shows the concordances between the selected word form and the 5+ (to the right and to the left) words. The word sketch lists the frequency of occurrence of the selected word as a subject, object, its modifiers, collocating verbs, etc. Finally, the Thesaurus offers the frequency of occurrence of semantically related words.

The researcher starts by investigating *jihad*, then *jihadism*, then *jihadist(s)* and finally *jihadi(s)*. The most salient features

of each result are reviewed, this is followed by a comprehensive account of the most salient features. Finally, and based on the statistics, a semantic frame of the concept *JIHAD* is constructed.

6.2.1 *Jihad*:

Looking at the Word Sketch of 'jihad', the word occurs 34,511 times in a variety of documents. As per the results related to modifying *JIHAD*, modifying *JIHAD* with 'violent' is the second most frequent modifier (947 hits), and comes next only to the modifier 'Islamic'. Examples of the use of 'violent jihad' includes:

7. And that very much includes the funding of violent jihad against non-Muslims. (doc#514463).
8. The Quran calls for Muslims to kill non-Muslims, to terrorize non-Muslims and to fulfil their duty to wage war: violent jihad (doc#927759).
9. They hold international conferences demanding the overthrow of the West, the death of infidels and encouraging violent jihad (doc#5282074)

As per the frequencies related to nouns modified by *JIHAD*, 'Jihad terrorists' and 'Jihad terrorism' hit the highest frequencies. For example:

10. In 1982 when the IDF had Arafat and his terrorist buddies surrounded in Lebanon, the Reagan Administrations view should have been,--"What can we do to help you wipe out these jihad terrorists (doc# 94578)
11. Again and again we see that Islamic jihad terrorists are devout Muslims (doc#173213)
12. Pakistan for example, produce more than 10000 Jihad terrorists per year and send them around the world for terrorism (doc#324830).

The frequencies of verbs used with JIHAD as an object feature as follows: wage (1,236), declare (605) and fight (441) come with highest frequencies. On the other hand, positive verbs such as glorify (33 hits) or even neutral verbs 'misunderstand' (17 hits) feature in the corpus. For example:

13. That November, Lashkar-e-Taiba, a terrorist organization that has reportedly received backing from the I.S.I. to wage jihad in Kashmir, carried out attacks on tourists in Mumbai (doc#4376389).

14. After the Americans left, the elders met to consider Ostlund's plea. They decided to reject it and declared a jihad against every American in the valley (doc#381218).

15. Fighting a political party that has terrorism wing is a lot easier than fighting a global jihad that has not intention of taking anything, only creating wave of hysteria and fear, often using tactics contrary to the very religion they espouse (doc#308328).

Looking at the Thesaurus of the enTenTen13, the highest frequency hits of similar words show 'violence', 'terror', 'terrorism', 'terrorist', 'warfare', 'genocide', 'aggression', 'bombing', 'fighting', 'hatred', 'killing' and 'hate'.

6.2.2. "Jihadism":

Looking at the Word Sketch of 'jihadism', the word occurs 1,111 times. The most relevant features of the word are reflected in the frequency of occurrence of collocating modifiers such as Islamic (50 hits), violent (36), radical (29), and militant (220). For example:

16. Thus did then-Maj. Gen. David Petraeus in 2003 neatly frame the issue that still today haunts the U.S.-led effort to defeat violent anti-Western jihadism (doc#117256)

17. Jihadism - violent, radical, fundamental Jihadism - is this century's nightmare (doc#18296578).

18. Rep. Peter Hoekstra (R-Mich.), together with many other Republican war hawks, attempted to shift the debate from Bush's disastrous war policy to fear-mongering that the nation is menaced by "militant Islamic jihadism" in a "clash of civilizations" (doc#3763178)

'Jihadism and terrorism' occurs 28 times with examples such as:

19. I've been wondering for some time how effectively democracy will eradicate terrorism and Islamic jihadism (doc#9907880)

Looking at the Thesaurus tool, the most frequent similarly used words to 'jihadism' include: 'extremism', 'fundamentalism', 'radicalism', 'militancy', and 'xenophobia'.

6.2.3. 'Jihadi':

Examining the word form 'jihadi(s)', the Sketch Engine corpus tool yields the following main features of the use of the word form 'jihadi(s)':

Among the quite frequent modifiers of the word form 'Jihadi(s)' comes adjectives such as: 'terrorist', 'bloodthirsty', 'militant', and 'fanatical'. For example:

20. November 2009: Obama reaches out to bloodthirsty jihadis in the Philippines (doc#2489698).

21. He's using them on armed rebels, terrorists, jihadis and foreign mercenaries who decided to invade Aleppo without any concern for the civilians who lived in Aleppo (doc#10855475).

As for the nouns modified by 'jihadi', these include 'terror', 'fundamentalist',

'extremist', 'terrorists', 'terrorism', and 'fighters' among others. For example:

22. It is all caste vote banks People no longer see north Indians as a threat Rather aggressive conversions and jihadi terrorism is the main cause for worry (doc#46863).
23. Just as in Iraq after 2003, Syria has become a magnet for jihadi fighters across the Muslim world. Washington is showing ever-decreasing enthusiasm for an outright rebel military victory that would strengthen jihadi militants and dissolve the governing machinery of the Syrian state (doc# 12523123).

The results pertaining to the use of the word 'jihadi(s)' could be regarded as the most revealing, and the most representative of all word forms of the lexeme JIHAD. According to the results given by then Word Sketch where 'jihadi(s)' is used as a subject, the following list of verbs are sketched in order of frequency of use: 'fight' (43 hits), 'attack' (25), 'kill' (25), 'cross' (11), 'recruit' (10), 'infiltrate' (8), 'murder' (8), 'train' (8), 'hate' (7), 'target' (7), 'slaughter' (6), 'wage'(5), 'steal'(5), and 'stream' (5).

The word 'jihadi(s)' is connected to words that include 'terrorist', 'criminal' and 'bomber'. For example:

24. And naturally, enforcement would not be a problem because very few would be kept out—and those few would be criminals and jihadis (doc#6160859).
25. Another contact I made who was extremely helpful at the time was the Ambassador for the Yemen. He was interested in the Aden bombers and other British jihadis who had been sent by Abu Hamza to bomb and

kidnap in his country (doc#34244431).

Looking at the Thesaurus corpus tool, again the results are quite informative where the most frequent similar word to 'jihadi' is 'terrorist' hitting 244 times. Other 'similar words' include: 'militant', 'extremist', fundamentalist', etc.

6.2.4. Jihadist:

Investigating the word form 'jihadist' consolidates the results pertaining to the previously investigated three word forms. As with the different forms of JIHAD examined, the following results are the most relevant:

- Modifiers of 'jihadist' include 'al-Qaeda-linked', 'fundamentalist', 'stealth', fanatic', and 'anti-american'.
- Again, nouns modified by 'jihadist' include 'fighters', 'terror', 'militias', 'terrorists', 'hacktivist', and 'terrorism'. For example,

26. Even the Libyan jihadist militia that attacked the U.S. Consulate in Benghazi uses the same name (doc#1723167)
27. Many of these potential targets, however, can mitigate the impact of cyber-terrorists—whether they are jihadist hacktivists or hackers from a collective like Anonymous—by taking additional steps to safeguard the integrity of their data and their customers' information (doc# 13624110).

'Jihadist' features as the subject of a variety of verbs that include 'fight', 'behead', 'murder', 'attack', as well as other crime-related verbs. For example,

28. François Murad, 49, was beheaded by jihadists after being accused of collaborating with President Bashar Assad's regime (doc# 21333338).

29. Fernandez said the raid in which he was arrested was not linked to the case in Toulouse, France, in which a self-proclaimed jihadist killed seven people before being killed last week after a long standoff with French police (doc# 2372589).

6.2.5 Semantic Frame of JIHAD

In this section, and based on all the above results of collocations, word sketch and thesaurus tools, a Semantic Frame of the concept JIHAD in enTenTen13 can be constructed.

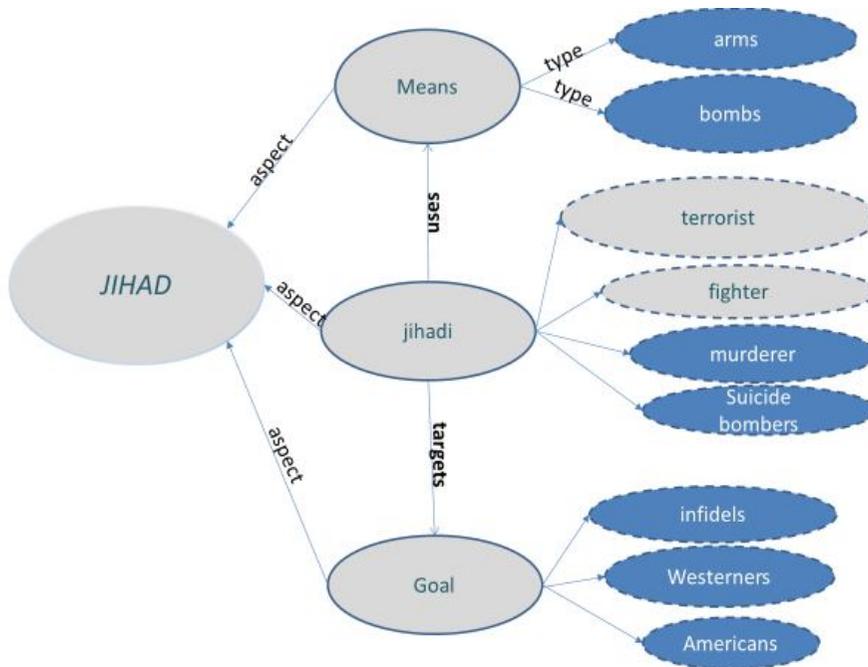


Fig. 3

Working around the whole corpus, with the help of the corpus tools aforementioned, the researcher has concluded that the parallel corpus under investigation offers similar *attributes* to the Qur'an-based Semantic Frame of JIHAD already devised:

1. The main *attributes* that constitute the enTenTen13-based Frame are: *actor*, *means*, and *goal*.
2. Working with Word Sketch, the major *values* of the *actor* are collected by looking at the different word forms of JIHAD as subject. This has yielded the

following major *values* for *actor*: *fighter*, *murderer*, *terrorist*, and *suicide bomber* among other less frequent *values* such as *slaughterer* and *hijacker*.

3. As for the *means*, working with the selected word forms followed by the preposition 'by' has yielded the following *values*: *sword*, *weapon*, *arms*, and *bomb*. Finally, working on the corpus to sketch the word form followed by the preposition 'against', the *values* assigned to the attribute *goal* include: *Americans*, *infidels*, *non-believers*, *West*, *American troops*,

Israel, among other much less frequent values.

As originally hypothesized, the deviation in use features in the *values* assigned for these attributes. The major structural invariants are *instrumental relation* between *actor* and *means*.

7. Results and Discussion:

Looking at the frequency and collocation results of the examined data, followed by contrasting the constructed semantic frames of *JIHAD* in the selected corpora, it can be concluded that there are semantic differences between the use of the concept in the reference corpus -Holy Qur'an- and [enTenTen13](#). These differences can be summarized in the following points:

- (i) Both corpora instantiate the *actor*, *means*, *goal* attributes. The reference corpus, however, further instantiates the *purpose/cause* attribute, which could not be easily extracted from [enTenTen13](#).
- (ii) The structural variants in both data are similar; where the *actor* 'uses' *the means*, and the *actor* 'targets' the *goal*.
- (iii) The significant difference lies in the values that instantiate the attributes; namely the *actor* and the *means*. In the reference corpus, the actor is instantiated as a 'jihadi/jihadist' which is further instantiated as 'fighter', 'believer', and 'prophet Muhammed'. In [enTenTen13](#), the 'jihadi/jihadist' *actor* is given the following values: 'fighter', 'terrorist', 'murderer', 'suicide bomber', attacker, among other less frequent values such as 'beheader', 'slaughterer' and 'hijacker'.
- (iv) The *means* attribute similarly features a big gap between the two corpora. In the Holy Qur'an, the

values are: 'self' and 'property' (with equal frequency), and the 'Qur'an'. In [enTenTen13](#), no mention of 'property' or 'Qur'an' is present; but 'bombs', 'weapons', 'swords' and 'arms' are the basic *values* of the attribute *means*.

Examining these findings in the light of van Dijk's (2006) model of manipulation, the researcher highlights how the semantic difference can be seen as an instance of manipulative discourse. First and foremost, with respect to the social axis of triangulated manipulation, [enTenTen13](#) represents a type of discourse that typically van Dijk defines as an instance of 'social manipulation' where "domination...requires special access to, or control over, scarce social resources. One of these resources is preferential access to the mass media and public discourse, a resource shared by members of 'symbolic' elites, such as politicians, journalists, scholars, writers, teachers, and so on" (p. 362). [enTenTen13](#) is a compiled corpus of varied discourse genres on the web; hence it involves some sort of access to rare sources; namely the web. Using van Dijk's terms, social conditions of manipulative control are present: writers of blogs, reporters and commentators assume the position of 'social domination' and 'reproduce' such form of power via public discourse. As is elaborated on with the manipulative strategies below, providing "insufficient or otherwise biased information" is considered an instance of manipulation of the 'clients' of web discourse, *viz a vis*, the readers.

The second axis of manipulative discourse as per van Dijk's model involves cognitive manipulation. This purports manipulating both short-term and long-term memory. As pointed by

van Dijk, “[I]n episodic memory, the understanding of situated text and talk is thus related to more complete models of experiences. Understanding is not merely associating meanings to words, sentences or discourses, but constructing mental models in episodic memory” (2006, p.367). This is basically done via using particular discourse strategies that ‘gear’ the recipients’ mental representations of concepts, events, and people towards those of their ‘manipulators’. Here is where the ‘manipulation’ of the *attributes* and their co-occurring *values* of *JIHAD* feature as an instance of cognitive manipulation.

Finally, the third axis involves discursive manipulation which targets “the control of the shared social representations of groups of people because these social beliefs in turn control what people do and say in many situations and over a relatively long period” (van Dijk, 2006, p.396). This is the final stage of manipulation via discourse, where the ideologies of the manipulator discursively combine ‘cognitive and social dimensions’. This is realized via the stress on the criminal-like aspects of jihadists, which in turn manipulates the social cognition of readers, and hence their attitudes.

Following is an analysis of the main discourse strategies of manipulation that correspond to the semantic difference of *JIHAD* in the Holy Qur’an and enTenTen13:

1. Generalization: van Dijk sees this strategy as a means by which “a concrete specific example that has made an impact on people’s mental models, is generalized to more general knowledge or attitudes, or even fundamental ideologies” (2006, p.370). This is the case with all instances of enTenTen13 where a jihad-related event is covered. These blogs and reports mostly relate to specific incidents/attacks. However, the way the web discourse deals with these incidents changes the reaction of the concerned parties into general knowledge and attitudes.
2. Incomplete or lack of relevant knowledge: this is particularly of importance, as per Van Dijk’s model, “so that no counter-arguments can be formulated against false, incomplete or biased assertions” where the representation of the jihadist as per the reference corpus, Holy Qur’an, is filtered and zoomed in to focus on particular features, particularly ‘fighting’ and ‘warring’, rather than the other positive attributes. This is typical of manipulative discourse which intends “drawing attention to information A rather than B, the resulting understanding may be partial or biased” (van Dijk, 2006, p. 366). This could be taken as an instance of STM manipulation.
3. Changing social representation by forming script-like structures of unfavoured people or groups: van Dijk himself cites attitudes about terrorists, their ‘prototypical attributes’ and ‘violent means’ as an instance of this strategy. He adds that “[s]uch attitudes are gradually acquired by generalization and abstraction from mental models formed by specific news stories” (p.371). A clear instance of episodic (or LTM manipulation) is typically realized in enTenTen13 and validated by examining the collocating adjectives, verbs and nouns with all derivatives of *JIHAD* and represented in the semantic frame of the concept in the values of the *attributes* of

'means'. A negative representation of jihadists is done throughout web discourse, backgrounding any possible positive attributes that the term has in religious discourse. *jihadist*

4. Topic selection: where van Dijk highlights the importance of "(de) emphasizing negative/positive topics about Us/Them" (p.372), all jihad-related stories involve killing, suicide bombing and terrorist attacks, which could be taken as an instance of STM manipulation. No blogs or even news reports care to introduce the other 'de-emphasized' meaning of *JIHAD* even as a sort of informative discourse.

On a micro-level, the following discourse strategies are used:

5. Lexicon: where 'negative' words for 'Them' are used. In the enTenTen13-based semantic frame of *JIHAD*, the *values* emphasized for the *attribute* jihadi are 'terrorist', 'murderer', 'suicide bomber' among other criminal-like images, rather than a 'worshipper' or 'believer'. Similarly, the emphasized *values* for the *attribute* means are: 'weapon', 'gun', 'bomb', rather than 'money' or 'Qur'an'. This manipulative discourse strategy is directly relevant to the following one; namely 'incomplete or lack of relevant knowledge'.
6. Using vague expressions, implicitness, euphemism, etc. to make sure that the 'biases', 'misguided' or 'partial' knowledge is acquired. This is instantiated via examining the collocating words with *JIHAD* and its

four derivatives. 'Radicalism', 'extremism', as well as 'terrorism' are very frequent collocates which imply a semantic equivalence with *JIHAD*. This also features prominently in the Thesaurus findings.

Conclusion:

This paper investigates *JIHAD* in both the Holy Qur'an (as a reference corpus) and enTenTen13 (as a parallel corpus). This concept is considered to be one of the most negotiable terms, that pose much controversy to any attempt of defining it. In the light of Barsalou's (1992) Frame Theory, the researcher constructs a semantic frame of the concept, drawing on the main attributes and values extracted from the relevant verses and documents. This is followed by examining the enTenTen13-based frame in the light of van Dijk's (2006) triangulated manipulation model to highlight the main variation between *JIHAD* as prototypically represented through the Holy Qur'an and as realized in the web discourse. Results have shown considerable variation in the instantiation of the *attribute-value* in the parallel corpus. Considering the magnitude of the examined enTenTen13 as a multi-billion-word corpus, and examining the frequency results of *JIHAD* in the light of van Dijk's model of manipulation, it can be concluded that the deviation in the use of the concept in enTenTen13 in comparison to the reference corpus is seen as an instance of ideologically-driven manipulation on the part of web discourse. Further research on other discourse types would add up to the whole picture of how *JIHAD* and other religious concepts are misrepresented in media.

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