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Analysis of Stylistic Features in British, Swiss, and Spanish News

In this chapter, I present a detailed analysis of stylistic features of online news texts from the UK, French-speaking Switzerland, and Spain. I examine their treatment of the notion of “jihad” and of Muslims; their references to French society, government, and politics; and their use of modality (a grammatical feature which communicates degrees of possibility, certainty, or other such contingencies), alliteration/assonance, and metaphor. I draw conclusions about the tendencies of news from each context, in particular related to the interpretations of events and of French society that seem to be favored or endorsed; how Muslims are portrayed; and how a “discourse of fear” is fueled or, on the contrary, attenuated.

UK

Statistics for the UK corpus are presented in Table 3. This subcorpus is very “balanced” in the sense that articles from each newspaper represent about half of the total subcorpus.

Table 3 Statistics for the UK Corpus

News source	Number of articles	Number of words	Percentage of corpus
The Guardian (TG)	13	13,558	49%
The Telegraph (DT)	14	14,294	51%
Total	27	27,852	

“Jihad”

Table 4 indicates the frequency with which the term “jihad” or derivatives of it appeared in *Guardian* and *Telegraph* articles, occurrences which clearly did not correspond to *Guardian* guidelines, and the articles in which the terms appear. The *Telegraph* articles were examined in terms of the *Guardian* guidelines as well because the *Telegraph* provides no instructions regarding use of the term. Table 4 shows that non-corresponding instances only appeared in the *Guardian*, and frequently across articles from that subcorpus (in eight out of the thirteen articles), despite the detailed definitions and distinctions provided by the self-same news source. Table 5 presents the textual segments containing these occurrences.

Table 4 Occurrences of the Term “Jihad” or Its Derivatives in the UK Corpus

News source	Number of occurrences	Instances clearly not corresponding to guidelines	Where such instances appear
TG	12	9	TG1, 2, 3, 4, 9, 14, 15, 17
DT	15	0	-

Table 5 Textual Segments in the *Guardian* Containing the Term “Jihad” or Its Derivatives

Case	Term	Relevant textual segment	Fits Code
TG1	Jihadi	jihadi strategic thinking, which encourages extremists to use violence to destabilise states or nations to allow their eventual conquest.	No
TG2	Jihadi operation	The use of a vehicle, the target, and the fact that the attack took place on the highly symbolic Bastille Day all suggest a jihadi operation.	No
TG3	Jihadi	Now, even without any link to Isis yet evident, jihadi terrorism has taken on a new face: the wild rampage of a truck on a touristy, festive Mediterranean shoreline.	No
TG4	Jihadis	More than 230 people have been killed in attacks claimed by jihadis in France since the start of 2015 [...]	No
TG9	Jihadi	Initial details suggested a tactic that jihadi propaganda has suggested for several years, with a vehicle ploughing into a crowd.	No

Case	Term	Relevant textual segment	Fits Code
TG14	Jihadi	In recent months France was already seen by its head of internal intelligence as the country most under threat from jihadi terrorism.	No
TG15	Jihadi	Father of truck driver who committed atrocity said he was violent as a boy but showed no jihadi tendencies.	No
TG15	Jihadi	But he insisted the teenager had shown no jihadi tendencies [...]	No
TG17	Jihadis	[...] the Côte d'Azur has earned itself a new, unwelcome reputation: as a breeding ground for jihadis .	No

The term “jihad” and its derivatives are used so frequently in contemporary discourse that they have become “buzzwords.” Employed without definitions in news texts, they are apparently assumed to be “understood.” Yet my results suggest that they are sometimes both misunderstood and misused by journalists. In particular, the press often capitalizes on them in order to feed a discourse of fear. The result is three-fold:

1. “The press has converted ‘jihad’ and related notions “into a synonym of Islamic terrorist” (Piquer Martí 2015: 149).
2. This is one way the press contributes to negative views about Islam, Muslims, and even those believed wrongly to be Muslim.
3. Muslim communities, not only on the receiving end of the prejudice but also witnessing, in the press, aspects of their religion being instrumentalized, conflated with violence or, at the least, over-simplified or otherwise misrepresented, are more likely to distance themselves from what is clearly a hostile environment.

The following section looks in detail at how both Muslims and France, two potential “Others” for the readership, are depicted in the *Guardian*.

Portrayal of France; of Muslims

Multiple *Guardian* articles celebrate various aspects of Nice; not only its glamor, sun, sea (TG17), and “festive ... shoreline” (TG3), but its “cosmopolitan” character, enhanced by the diverse mix of people who visit and live there (TG3), including “40,000 Tunisians” (TG15). In other words, “France’s proud cultural heritage” (TG3) is emphasized. The city’s cultural standing is also underscored

through a number of artistic and literary references, for instance to Chekhov (TG3), F. Scott Fitzgerald (TG3 and 17), Picasso, or Oscar Wilde (TG17). Yet the *Guardian* also recognizes that there is a darker side to “the France of wine and charcuterie, chateaux and cheese” (TG1; note the alliteration). Indeed, the newspaper historicizes the “impact of western colonialism” (TG2) in France, the enduring societal tensions that have resulted, and their consequences for “[d]isaffected youths in the region” (TG17).

At the same time, also considered “representative of French life” are the “concert hall[s], bars and a football stadium” (TG1) that were targeted during the 2015 terror attacks. This does not sound much different from English life and may create a feeling of proximity, and in turn sympathy, with the other culture which has come under attack. These emblems of social and cultural activity are evoked to drive home the idea that what has been targeted is the core of French, and indeed Western, culture and values. This message is meaningfully reinforced through metaphor: Daesh’s target is “the standard bearer of western secular liberalism” (TG1). France is the noble democratic society, victimized by violent and malevolent non-Western forces.

In contrast to the *Guardian*, the *Telegraph* focuses on negative aspects of Nice. For instance, it emphasizes the terrorist threat that the city and the *Côte d’Azur* region represent: in DT25, the sentence “Nice is considered a town under particular terrorist threat” appears twice. DT7 informs us that “Nice has the dubious distinction (note the alliteration) of being the French city that sent the most volunteers to fight in Syria and Iraq.” What has happened there has ramifications for the entire Western world, and to make the point, the right-leaning news source gives credence to Trump: “Images of terrorism in Nice confirm Trump’s narrative that the West has lost its way and new management is needed” (DT27).

In addition, the *Telegraph* rarely historicizes. One telling exception, however, is the assertion that “in the Fifties and Sixties, Portuguese and Spanish immigrants moved into social housing and integrated into French society without complaint” (DT7), unlike Muslim immigrants, who are clearly seen by the journalist as difficult, problematic, incontrovertibly “other.” This aligns with Gianni, Giugni, and Michel’s (2015) observation that even though people living in a democratic society have the right to question the system, to complain, when the Muslim “Other” does so, it is proof that he or she is not integrable. According to the journalist, Muslim immigrants should “blend in” (DT7). In addition, the *Telegraph* focuses on present results rather than past historical dynamics, in particular the “failings” of integration (such failings are emphatically referenced

twice in DT7 and twice in DT26. As we have seen, such evaluations depend upon how the thorny term “integration” is defined. Security services and authorities are also described as “struggling” in DT18 or “overwhelmed” in DT21). The *Guardian* refers to such shortcomings as well, but particularly security failings, and they are more objectively presented and/or contextualized. For instance, TG1 recognizes France’s reliance, in intelligence and counterterrorism matters, on “structures at a European level – which have been repeatedly found wanting.” The *Telegraph*, however, tends to blame the socialist government. A *Telegraph* excerpt—DT21, “Unlike Britain, ... France can do little to prevent the flow of suspected terrorists or weapons into its territory”—also attributes France’s problems with terrorism to open borders; the journalist believes that Britain is better off remaining outside the Schengen Area. Britain and the conservative policies in place there are portrayed as superior.

References to the Muslim countries that are major sources of immigration to France also play into the presence or absence of a historicizing perspective. Algeria is mentioned five times across the *Guardian* articles in relation to colonial history and immigrants. In contrast, it is mentioned just once in one *Telegraph* article, DT7. This article also attenuates the “bitter” nature of the colonial legacy in favor of a discussion of radicalization, which is portrayed as being visited upon France from abroad. References to Tunisia either appear in conjunction with the perpetrator’s profile, or contribute to contextualization: the country is mentioned in relation to the perpetrator eleven times in the *Guardian* and seventeen times in the *Telegraph* (see the excerpt from DT23 about the attack at Sousse, p. 95). It is mentioned for purposes of contextualization four times in the *Guardian* but just once in the *Telegraph*.

In her study of news dispatches, Davier (2015) observed that these texts often introduced “so-called ‘background’ paragraphs” (541) which contextualize the place(s) and event(s) being discussed. The ways in which this material is selected and incorporated “can shed a new light on” (541) the topic and story that precede it. As will be clear from the examples presented above, in my corpus, such paragraphs predominantly appear in the *Guardian* articles; DT7 is a notable exception (see further discussion of that article below).

While criticism of French policies is frequent throughout the corpus, the messages of the *Guardian* and the *Telegraph* are different; this difference, I argue, stems mainly from the newspapers’ diverging treatment of the notions of “integration” and of “Muslim.” The two terms appear most in TG1, DT7, and DT26, with “Muslim” occurring significantly more often in DT7 and DT26 than anywhere else in the corpus. TG1, having stated early in the commentary

on French society that “France has a history of Islamic extremism reaching back decades,” gives more space to “grave problems within France itself,” also referenced in TG4 as “society’s ills ... and what was termed France’s ‘social and ethnic apartheid’” (unattributed quote). Among the internal problems of France, TG1 highlights the marginalization of certain groups which can, it is suggested, make them more prone to becoming involved in terrorism. DT7 and DT26, both of which would qualify as “news analysis” texts but read like editorials, treat the issues very differently than the *Guardian* does. In DT26, while the journalist ostensibly presents two sides by discussing the positions of two “experts,” a strong net message of his text is that religion is behind terrorist attacks. The headline could not put it more clearly: “How religion can drive someone to slaughter his fellow citizens – and believe they deserve it.”

DT7 is written by a French foreign correspondent who emphasizes her French identity in the text through such indexicals as “here,” “we French,” and so on. The text lashes out at the kind of rhetoric employed in TG1. Indeed, while failings in “integration” efforts and the bitterness left by the Algerian war are mentioned, albeit much more briefly than in TG1, blame is laid squarely at the door of (1) Daesh and other extremist groups who work to radicalize Muslims in France, (2) “imams” operating within the country and in particular in “jails,” which are predominantly occupied by “Muslim men” and, more or less indirectly, (3) all Muslim men. Through use of thematization (syntactic positioning of an element that gives it emphasis) and an active construction, the message is that France was overwhelmed, not responsible: “Radicalisation came to France in waves.”

In that statement, a metaphorical reference to water is also used. (For more on metaphor in the UK corpus, see section “Metaphor” below.) The water metaphor is one of two types identified by Piquer Martí (2015) which are employed in the news to qualify Muslims as a threat: “natural disaster” metaphors evoking chaos or the uncontrollable through the use of wave- and water-related imagery. Moreover, the French journalist explicitly links Muslim identity and violence, informing readers that Nice is “the French city that sent the most volunteers to fight in Syria and Iraq: more than 120 young Muslim men.”

The journalist also employs an argument frequently used against specifically Muslim immigrants. First, vehemently criticizing those who intimate that “we [the French] ‘parked’ [their term, not hers] Muslim immigrants into banlieue ‘ghettoes’ and treated them appallingly,” she claims, as we saw with her reference to Portuguese and Spanish immigrants, that the problem must lie with the Muslims themselves. When she does make concessions, it is to emphasize her point all the more: “If many do integrate, Muslim men still disproportionately people

French prisons.” This aligns with Amiraux and Fetiu’s (2017: 71) observation that “Muslim communities – and the young male segment of them in particular – are identified as being *failed citizens*” (emphasis in the original). In DT7, negativity is highlighted through alliteration; the verbal use of “people” also suggests the journalist is writing in L2. In addition, in a move reminiscent of a would-be feminist perspective that criticizes Islam and Muslims on the basis of the belief that they subjugate women, she distinguishes between the successes of *female* Muslims in French society—which she celebrates but also attributes to a desire “to escape the overbearing domination of their fathers and brothers”—and the failures of Muslim men. Furthermore, “overbearing domination” is presupposed by the definite article “the,” insinuating that it is always present in these family relationships and that all Muslim men subjugate women. This is a frequent argument against the faith, employed, for example, in support of the burqa ban in France (the garment had already been mentioned earlier in the article).

Given who is to blame—extremists from elsewhere, imams and Muslims—there is blatant reliance here on the “us/them” dichotomy. In contrast, the TG1 article subtly observes that a (misguided? obsessive?) focus on secularity is perhaps part of France’s problem, and the journalist interrogates the notion of “integration” *à la française*: “the French policy of ‘assimilation’ rather than multicultural integration into the supposedly secular republicue’ [*sic*] has, critics say, created fertile ground for polarization.” (The modal “supposedly” creates critical distance.) In line with a left/center-left political agenda, the British journalist thus positions an approach to “integration” which values multiculturalism¹ as superior to the French insistence on assimilation to a resolutely French identity which, whatever else it might mean, is supposed to be *laïque*. (As we have seen, states that claim this status very often remain steeped in Christian tradition, or at least favor Christianity over most other faiths.)

These findings also raise the important question of the role of journalists’ identity in shaping news content. Therefore, I end this section by highlighting an interesting choice made by another French journalist, this time in the *Guardian* (TG3). She ends her article with a quotation from Albert Camus, not only a renowned French author but one who wrote on the Algerian war and its implications for France. A translation of Camus’s phrase from *Actuelles III: Chroniques algériennes (1939–1958)* (1958) evoking “les noces sanglantes du terrorisme et de la répression” features in the final sentence: “Voices of reason and moderation will be drowned out – *the bloody wedding of repression and terrorism*, as Albert Camus once called it” (my emphasis).² The journalist includes the kind of water metaphor (“drowned out”)

discussed elsewhere in this volume, while Camus's original phrase contains another metaphor whose rhetorical effect is achieved through a surprising juxtaposition. Some British readers might not see the highly relevant link made with Algeria, especially since Camus is not contextualized for them. This could contribute to creating a distance between the reader and the culture in question. On the other hand, the choice could also reflect the confidence the journalist has in her readership's literary and cultural awareness and/or intellectual curiosity.

“Bringing the Story Home”

In both sources, references to Britain and Britons work to “bring the story home” (recall Cottle ([2011] 2012) and Freedman (2017)) and in ways that are likely to heighten the sense of crisis, although these effects seem even more pronounced in the *Telegraph* articles. Where the *Guardian* includes such references, France often still remains the central focus:

France also suffered in August 2015 when a gunman opened fire on a high-speed train that was carrying more than 500 people, before he was overpowered by three Americans – two of whom were soldiers – and a British passenger. (TG9)

A *Telegraph* article instead talks about “suffering” from a resolutely domestic perspective:

In Britain we suffered our own lone wolf attack when two Islamist extremists hacked to death Fusilier Lee Rigby on a south London street with machetes in 2013. (DT18)

The relevance of the Nice attack for Britons is nonetheless an important aspect of *Guardian* reporting:

The UK Foreign Office called on all Britons in France to exercise caution and follow the instructions of local law enforcement officials. (TG9)

A number of Britons were also caught up in the attack. (TG16)

(The heading of DT25, “Britons caught up in *terror*” (my emphasis), while similar, is more dramatic.)

The extension will see a visible security presence, both in Nice and across France, continued for another three months. This will entail more police and soldiers on the streets, a graphic reminder to Britons, who make 17 million visits to France each year, that the country, according to the Foreign Office, faces a “high threat from terrorism”. (TGObs17)

The *Telegraph* employs the particularly insidious strategy of linking Lahouaiej-Bouhlel to an attack in Tunisia and to threats to Britons because the attack occurred near his home town:

According to Tunisian security sources, he hailed from the Tunisian town of Msaken, which is close to the seaside city of Sousse, where 38 people, including 30 Britons, were gunned down by terrorists in June 2015. (DT23)

Finally, as already alluded to above, the *Telegraph* even suggests that Britain is safer than France:

Unlike Britain – which has always retained its frontier controls and has the natural advantage of being an island – France can do little to prevent the flow of suspected terrorists or weapons into its territory. (DT21)

Even if the plot avoids detection, the terrorists still face the problem of actually executing the attack. Here, everything depends on the quality of their training – and, in Britain at least, this has often been found wanting. (DT20)

In the United Kingdom, the Security Service (MI5) and the police have together disrupted seven terrorist attacks in the last 18 months. (DT22)

The home country is more central than in the *Guardian* and is portrayed as superior.

Modality

Modality (defined in the Introduction) is often carried by verbs but can also be conveyed by other categories of words (e.g., “apparently,” “maybe,” “likelihood,” and “certain”). In Davier’s comparative news study of an English-language and a French-language corpus (2009: 78), which also examined modality, she pointed out that the law governing English media was stricter than that in France, Switzerland, or the United States. This, coupled with recent laws protecting intelligence bodies and a slate of anti-terror laws, suggests that when reporting on terrorist attacks, English journalists “may take more precautions” (Davier 2009: 79) in divulging information and in the language used. Indeed, Davier found that journalists writing for the *Guardian* on the terror-related event in question in her study used considerably more markers of modality than their French counterparts (79). But this does not tell us a lot, given that modality can express aspects as divergent as certainty and doubt. Table 6 presents data on modality from the UK subcorpus.

Table 6 Statistics for Modality in the UK Corpus

Modality	TG	DT
Total	106	129
Percentage of all occurrences in UK corpus	45% of all occurrences	55% of all occurrences

The *Telegraph* employs modality more frequently than the *Guardian*. This is all the more true since it has a greater tendency to employ multiple modal markers within the same phrase. What kinds of modality prevail here?

Both sets of news articles use markers of uncertainty about twice as frequently as markers of certainty. There are two tendencies in particular, however, that are worthy of note. First, with regard to particular examples of uncertainty, “reportedly” and “alleged(ly),” which allow the user to distance her- or himself from the information or avoid asserting it is factual, there are just two instances of “reportedly” and no instances of “alleged(ly)” across all the *Guardian* articles, whereas one or both appear, and often multiple times, in five different *Telegraph* articles, as shown in Table 7. Nevertheless, neither newspaper has numerous occurrences.

Table 7 Occurrences of “Reportedly” and “Alleged(ly)” in the UK Corpus

Modality	TG1	TG17	DT5	DT6	DT7	DT8	DT23
Reportedly	1	1	1	2	0	1	3
Alleged(ly)	0	0	0	1	1	1	0

The second and more interesting tendency is related to the ways in which the news sources combine modal words, including by merging uncertainty with certainty. The following paragraph from the *Guardian* is a particularly telling example of this. By closely aligning “if” constructions and modal elements, such passages come to frame the hypothetical as fact. Let us examine the way this phenomenon plays out in TG2. First, note the words in bold below:

There are various **possibilities**. Lahouaiej-Bouhlel **may** be a genuine loner and suffering serious mental illness. His act **may** have no ideological element at all. This, however[,], **seems unlikely**. A second **possibility** is that, already angry and violent, he was inspired, **if not** directed, to commit his attack by Isis or extremist Islamic militancy more generally. ... this **would** indicate the continuing power of the group's ideology. In this case it is **almost certain** he **will** have some contacts with others involved in hardline Islamic activism in Nice ... This scenario is more alarming, **suggesting the possibility** of more attacks to come. (TG2)

The modal phrase “seems unlikely” discounts the conjectures preceding it. It is doubtful that Bouhlel was mentally ill and it is likely that ideology was behind his actions. The second possibility, on the contrary, is given a patina of factuality through the lasting focus upon it and through an accumulation of journalistic choices largely relying on modality. The phrase “if not directed” insinuates that it is actually very likely the perpetrator was directed by ISIS, although this has not been proven. (The same type of construction occurs in TG1, written by the same journalist.) With “this would indicate,” we are momentarily back in the realm of the hypothetical; however, the text quickly shifts from “this case” to “it is almost certain” as well as “will,” moving us back toward the realm of certainty and fact. Despite the return to the notions of “scenario” and “possibility,” the final message is that more attacks will come.

There are numerous instances of both conjecture in the absence of fact, and this kind of portrayal of the hypothetical as fact, in both sets of articles. That said, the *Telegraph* appears to portray hypothetical as fact within more concise segments, that is, phrases or sentences rather than paragraphs; this does not necessarily make the effects less pervasive, however. One example from DT21 is “**If so** [if Bouhlel acted ‘on the incitement’ of Daesh], this event provides further **proof** of France’s acute vulnerability to Islamist terrorism.”

This “patina of factuality” trend is also present in the *Telegraph* articles in the very early moments of reporting, and it is more insidious. Consider this sentence from DT18 (July 15):

the **fact** that the key suspect in last night’s attack was, **as far as we understand**, a French-Tunisian petty criminal known to the police **indicates** the French authorities **need to** improve their methods of monitoring **potential** Islamist terrorists.

“Fact,” albeit tempered via a non-essential subordinate clause that introduces some doubt, carries the weight; furthermore, what is *also* presented as fact is the idea that (a) the perpetrator was an Islamist terrorist, (b) petty criminals are highly likely to become terrorists, and (c) therefore, petty criminals should be put under surveillance. This reflects support for conservative policies of greater surveillance to enhance security. It also raises the thorny issue of who is to determine who constitutes a “potential Islamist terrorist.” Similarly, the next day in DT6, the phrase “no **known** links to terrorism” is followed by “[t]he **fact** that the killer was known to the authorities **will be** of grave concern to those trying to prevent terrorist attacks in France.” The message: this was a terrorist attack.

Observing instances of modality suggests that the two sources diverge in the way they address the claim by Daesh that Lahouaiej-Bouhlel acted on the terrorist organization's behalf. Both sources observe that the perpetrator had "no **known** links" to Daesh or extremists (the exact phrase appeared in DT6 on July 16; TG2 on July 17; DT23 and DT24 on July 18). Even more important, they do so *after* Daesh claims responsibility on July 16. However, through modal use in discussions of the claim, what is insinuated is that if the links are not (yet) known, they exist nonetheless. TG2, for instance, compares Lahouaiej-Bouhlel to other attackers proven to be terrorists. The argument turns around a "lack of piety among militants" which the perpetrator also demonstrated. "Lahouaiej-Bouhlel **certainly** matches the classic profile of [the] French violent Islamic extremist in many ways," the journalist asserts, adding that the perpetrator's apparent disregard for religious precepts

was **true** of the dozen or so French and Belgian young men involved in bombings and shootings earlier this year, and of Mohammed Merah, who committed the first major attack in France in 2012. (TG2)

By extension, it is insinuated, whereas the role of religion is debatable, Lahouaiej-Bouhlel is clearly an extremist. In addition, "**If true** [if Lahouaiej-Bouhlel is involved with Daesh], this **would indicate** that Isis has continuing capacity for ambitious terrorist operations in Europe despite the pressure the group is under. And that **would be** a highly concerning prospect" (TG2). Here we see a blurring of supposition and fact (another instance of "true"; the indicative "has") which means that even though there is a shift back to supposition ("would be"), the idea that the information is factual—and now, extremely serious—is firmly in place.

What happens earlier on, before Daesh even claims responsibility? TG9 (July 15) evokes a "**possible** affiliation." More interestingly, it maintains that there was more than one perpetrator (never proven), already suggesting a coordinated attack: "**it is difficult to conclude** that *their* assault was not intended to be directed at the heart of France's national identity"; "[i]nitial details **suggested** a tactic that jihadi propaganda has suggested for several years" (my emphasis). TG12 (also July 15) makes a concession but gives credence to an authority figure's (French President Hollande's) early conclusion that this was terrorism, while also quickly turning a possibility into a quasi-certainty:

François Hollande, the French president, has called the killing of 84 people watching a Bastille Day fireworks display a terrorist act, even though there has been no claim of responsibility for the atrocity in Nice and no **confirmed** identification of the attacker.

These **may** come shortly, and are **likely to confirm** suspicions of the involvement – direct or indirect – of either Islamic State or al-Qaida.

Even though the tone changes the next day, paradoxically, in conjunction with the claim by Daesh (TG15 observes that “[i]t is still **unclear** whether he had any involvement in a terrorist organization,” while TG16 refers to the “claim” seven times and uses the phrase “no evidence” twice), the seed has been planted—this was a terrorist attack connected to an extremist group—and at a time when, in reality, there was still much uncertainty.

Like the *Guardian*’s texts, those of the *Telegraph* refer to Daesh’s claim often. However, whereas later in its cycle, the *Guardian* indicates multiple times that the “claim” of responsibility by Daesh has not been substantiated, when the *Telegraph* indicates this, which is only once out of the eight times it refers to the claim, it emphasizes the “failure” of French authorities to establish the link, simultaneously discrediting them and giving credence to the claim: “investigators have failed to establish links between the Bastille Day killer and Isil” “despite the terror group claiming him as a ‘soldier of Islam’” (DT8, July 18). Furthermore, four news analysis articles, either emphatically (DT7, DT18, DT26) or subtly (DT27), blame Muslims or Islam.

Finally, in an interesting departure from the messages we have seen conveyed so far, DT25 gives credence to an alternative hypothesis, that the perpetrator was suicidal, rather than violently—and religiously—motivated:

A police source has told *The Telegraph* that Bouhel **might** have been motivated more by a desire to commit suicide than by an Islamist ideology. (DT25)

This possibility is not given much attention, however, which is discussed in the conclusions to this chapter.

Alliteration

The *Telegraph* articles include significantly more instances of alliteration than the *Guardian* articles. As Table 8 shows, by far the greatest percentage of occurrences of alliterated content is negative. In addition, there are 8 percent more of these in the *Telegraph*, which also has 10 percent fewer positive instances.

How does alliteration contribute to representing France, Muslims, and the events in question? Both sources emphasize the trauma resulting from the Nice attack through the use of alliteration (for instance: “**try to come to terms** with the **terrible events**” (TG11), “**stunned and sickened**” (TG13), or “**shell-shocked**” (DT7)). However, the *Telegraph* uses it more frequently in conjunction with the

Table 8 Alliteration and Connotation in the UK Corpus

Alliteration	<i>Guardian</i>	<i>Telegraph</i>
Negative	61%	69%
Positive	20%	10%
Neutral	19%	21%

violent aspects of the event itself (“ram raid,” twice (DT5), “killing and maiming the maximum number” (TG18), “murder on a massive scale,” “smeared with dried blood while smashed children’s buggies and other debris were strewn across the seaside promenade” (DT19), or “method of murder,” twice (DT20)). Particularly telling are the findings on alliteration related to government or politics, on the one hand, and to religion, on the other. Examples of these are presented in Tables 9 and 10.

TG1 acknowledges, and emphasizes through alliteration, not only the French authorities’ “failings” in response to terrorist attacks (also contextualized as part of a complex set of problems), but also improvements achieved thanks to measures introduced in 2014 but only now (2016) being demonstrated due to the “time” needed to “find and train” the requisite personnel. TG4, 13, and 14 highlight the difficulties President François Hollande is facing due to the attacks that have taken place on his watch. TG4 also reports criticism by the socialist Prime Minister Manuel Valls of the opposition’s proposals, and the journalist opts to include a critical reference by Valls to the right-wing Trump. Conversely, in DT27, devoted to Trump’s chances in the upcoming election, while Trump is not portrayed as perfect (his “proposed ban on Muslim immigration” is probably unconstitutional), he is seen as a viable response to the danger of terrorism (and the journalist claims that Hillary Clinton, Obama, and the Democrats are worse than Trump). The first sentence from DT7 included in Table 9 highlights the tensions in France’s political sphere; in addition, unlike the *Guardian* articles, DT7, 18, 19, and 26 alliteratively underline the authorities’ weakness or ineffectiveness, with DT18 even including a jibe: that officials were surely “quietly congratulating themselves” after France hosted the Euro 2016 football tournament without incident, only to face this attack soon after. The political leanings of the sources come through in these examples, in part because they are reinforced via alliteration. While Richard Barrett (DT22) speaks out against “a dramatic increase in the securitisation of French society” and calls for inclusive dialogue between communities and officials, his

Table 9 Alliterated Content Related to Government and Politics in the UK Corpus

Government/Politics	
News source	Textual segment with alliteration/assonance
TG	
1	“failings of the fragmented bureaucratic and still under-resourced security services”
1	“time taken to find and then train”
3	“play out politically in France”
4	“president is under pressure”
4	“anger and accusations”
4	“pleading for the preservation”
4	“what he deemed divisive Donald Trump-style proposals”
13	“pressure to take more decisive action to defend France”
14	“constitutes a crisis for Hollande’s premiership”
DT	
7	“France finds itself caught in a fatal loop of fear and recrimination, where each side’s grievances fed [<i>sic</i>] from the existence of the other”
7	“mismanagement of security measures”
18	“suggests that the French security authorities are still struggling to come to terms with the sheer scale of the threat”
18	“their methods of monitoring”
18	“quietly congratulating themselves”
19	“unprepared and unable”
20	“success of the security forces. Suicide attacks have become so difficult that the terrorists have been forced to switch tactics.”
22	[no one is] “complacent about continued success”
22	“government policy or public perception”
22	“development of a dialogue”
26	“state of security”
26	“increased police presence”
27	“the race to the Right”
27	“proposed ban on Muslim immigration contradicts that much misread document”
27	“responding to crises in a cool way” [actually criticism of Obama as only “reactive”; Trump is different]

position unfortunately appears to be an anomalous one in the *Telegraph* articles analyzed, despite the fact that he is the “former director of global counter-terrorism operations for MI6.” Finally, while DT20 praises “the success of the security forces,” this refers to any forces facing the new “lone-wolf” truck attack tactic, not French efforts specifically.

Let us now turn to the interplay between alliteration and the treatment of religion by the news sources. Table 10 presents the relevant textual segments.

Table 10 Alliterated Content Related to Religion in the UK Corpus

Religion	
News source	Textual segment with alliteration/assonance
TG	
1	“supposedly secular”
17	“accused of antagonising Muslims”
DT	
7	“Money for mosques followed; then the imams to preach in them”
7	“Muslim men still disproportionately people French prisons”
7	“strive at school” [Muslim women—in part to “escape” the “domination” of Muslim men]
20	“contact with a charismatic preacher”
21	“Muslim minority”
26	“drive someone to slaughter his fellow citizens”
26	“a minority of French Muslims”
26	“the role of religion”
26	“the central role of religion”
26	“while it could be argued follows a flawed reading of the religion”
27	“stop Muslims from migrating to America”

I have discussed DT7 in detail elsewhere (Riggs 2018); among other issues was the question of journalist identity. The above results on alliteration show that while the kinds of positions taken in DT7 are more typical of *Telegraph* “news analysis” articles, the case is not an isolated one. The results also confirm a more general trend: the *Telegraph* emphasizes religion much more than the *Guardian* does. TG1’s reference to the “supposedly secular” France is a criticism of the country’s policy favoring assimilation over multiculturalism, while TG17 observes that Nice’s former mayor has been “accused of antagonising Muslims”

and refers to an aggression against soldiers by “a man,” no religion indicated, “outside a Jewish community center.” Thus, examples of “tensions in Nice” are provided without blaming a specific religious group.

The situation is quite different in the *Telegraph* “news analysis” articles. As clearly seen in the examples of alliteration above, DT26 points the finger at Islam while for DT7, Muslims are a central “problem.” Whereas in DT27, reference to the Nice attack is mainly a pretext to talk about Trump and US politics, the link is clearly made between Muslims and terrorism, and credence is given to the implicit prediction that the American public, having observed international events such as this attack, will elect the man who promises to “stop Muslims from migrating to America.” Interestingly, DT26’s attention-grabbing headline about “slaughtering fellow citizens” contradicts the idea, dear to conservatives including the DT7 journalist, that terrorists are “others” who “flow” in from abroad.³ It would be easy enough for UK readers to recall the London 7/7 attacks, in which the perpetrators were UK citizens. In addition, the multiple attacks that have taken place in the UK *since* the Nice event, that *have* occurred despite border controls, also refute this position. The perpetrator in Nice was not a suspected terrorist and, while originally from Tunisia, had already lived in France for a number of years. It is true that the profile of terrorists in France has often been one of French sons of immigrant parents, as TG2 explicitly states: “the classic profile of [the] French violent Islamic extremist” is that he was “born in the country of immigrant parents.” Yet much debate surrounds the easy equating of such individuals’ violence with being Muslim. Nevertheless, Islam is often a central focus of news coverage and, in this corpus, strongly emphasized through alliteration in the *Telegraph* articles. Indeed, DT26, published on July 15 before much was known about the attack, centers on the debate between France’s “two most recognized experts on Islam in the West.” This kind of reporting choice immediately and unequivocally *makes it about Islam*.

Metaphor

The pervasiveness of the “war on terror” trope in the media ever since 9/11 is attested in the literature; this and my own cursory observation that the kind of texts studied here incorporated violence even when terrorism was not the topic led me to formulate the hypothesis that metaphors would most often be negative, and that a significant number would evoke war and violence specifically. For this reason, I begin the discussion of metaphor in the corpus with a review of the findings related to war/violent metaphor.

War/Violent Metaphor

The present subcorpus confirms that the “war on terror” trope, made a household name by the George W. Bush administration after 9/11, is alive and well. According to Titley (2017: 7), “[t]he attacks in Paris of January and November 2015 positioned France as a key site in an amorphous war that spills across territories and boundaries.” In the aftermath of those attacks and the Nice event, such positioning, performed by the authorities and by the press, prevails: use of the trope in official discourse is reproduced by both the *Guardian* and the *Telegraph* (albeit more frequently by the former). TG4 reminds readers that “Hollande had already declared that France was ‘at war’ following November’s Paris attacks,” while TG14 recalls his “war-like stance” at that time. In relation to the Nice attack, DT6 quotes then interior socialist minister Bernard Cazeneuve as saying “We are at war with terrorists who want to strike us at any cost and who are extremely violent,” while TG13 reproduces far-right *Front National* leader Marine Le Pen’s “call [] for a ‘war on Islamic fundamentalism’” and her accusation that “all that had happened so far was a ‘war on words.’” TG14 and TG16 repeat part of Le Pen’s statement as well; TG15 includes part of the statement by Cazeneuve quoted in DT6 and also cites right-wing former president Nicolas Sarkozy’s use of a war metaphor.

Official discourse and the decision by journalists to quote it thus clearly situate Nice within the “war on terror” event chain. In doing so, they also clearly qualify the violent act as an act of terror. What is more interesting, though, is that war- and violence-related metaphors crop up in these articles in relation to content and themes that are *not* directly related to terrorist violence. Table 11 shows the results of the coding of metaphors in terms of connotation and whether they describe terrorist violence (TV), do not describe terrorist violence (NTV) and, within the latter category, are nonetheless related to violence (V):

Table 11 Quantitative Data on Violence and Connotation of Metaphors in the UK Corpus

Metaphor		Negative			Positive			Neutral			% violent
Source	Total	TV	NV	V	TV	NV	V	TV	NV	V	
TG	51	17	11	6	0	3	0	2	10	2	Violent: 27*
DT	49	15	6	4	3	5	1	10	10	3	Violent: 36

TV=Terrorist violence

NTV=Not terrorist violence

V=Violent nonetheless

*The figures in this column were determined by adding up those from the “TV” and “V” columns.

Two sets of results in particular stand out: one related to negative connotation, the other to violence. Violent metaphors constitute over half of the occurrences of the stylistic feature in both sets of articles. The *Guardian* tends more toward negative metaphors than the *Telegraph*, notably even when the content described is not terrorist violence. In contrast, across connotations, the *Telegraph* includes more violent metaphors than the *Guardian*. However, we have just seen a number of instances in the *Guardian* of violence introduced through direct quoting, which was purposely left out of the quantitative data analysis in order to ensure the focus was on the journalists' own style.

Let us now look at war- and violence-related metaphors in detail. By using the imaged phrase "standard bearer," which carries naval or military associations, twice, TG1 emphasizes its assertion that France is seen, including by Daesh, as the symbol *par excellence* of "western secular liberalism." According to the journalist, this makes the country a target. Moreover, in line with what Lakoff and Johnson (1980) label the "countries as persons" conceptual metaphor, France is often personified in both sets of articles through discussion of the emotions and reactions of the country. TG9 uses violent metaphor to explain why Daesh has targeted France and, in particular, why the organization chose the symbolic Bastille Day: it "represents a significant blow by French people to a tyrannical regime and, as such, the spirit of the French republic itself." Thus, Daesh has struck France when it will hurt most. TG1 continues with the battle-related imagery further on:

And this may be a final reason why Isis has focused on France. The group has been heavily influenced by both millennial thinking, which stresses the imminent final battle between the forces of belief and unbelief...

The *Guardian* article emphasizes the idea that Daesh is on a religious crusade, and the presence of alliteration makes the phrase even more salient. Similar imagery appears elsewhere in the *Guardian* articles, in addition to Hollande's aforementioned "war-like stance" (TG15). France, too, must take a war-like position: "Terrorism has upended politics in France since 2015, and now that is about to get worse. It has put the nation on a war footing." "Sparring" appears twice in TG4 to highlight the political disunity which reigns following the Nice attack:

After last year's attacks there were brief pauses in political sparring, but this time the accusations began sooner. (TG4)

After the attacks last year ... there was a short pause in political sparring. But this time the anger and accusations began even before families could bury their dead. (TG4)

Also note the assonance with "a" in the second example. The same article uses the term "martial" to further emphasize this contrast between political positions after the "Charlie Hebdo" and Bataclan events, on the one hand, and after Nice, on the other:

After the Charlie Hebdo attacks, the tone of the government's approach was to try to understand society's ills and act on what was termed France's "social and ethnic apartheid." After November's attacks, the tone was more martial. ... This time Hollande is pleading for the preservation of national cohesion and unity.

Here as elsewhere there is strong emphasis on national political disarray (again reinforced through alliteration). Coupled with the violent act itself, this may heighten the impression that events are out of control, that there is a crisis situation, an impression which is also encouraged by many other stylistic choices throughout the corpus.

In terms of war-related metaphor and in particular how it is associated with politics, the *Telegraph* corpus shows similar patterns, but it attributes more blame to the socialist government through a combination of metaphor and other choices. As in the *Guardian*, there is concern about how these violent attacks may fuel the cause of France's far-right *Front National*. In DT7, the attacks are associated with Muslims and it is assumed that the electorate will do the same:

Nice, together with the regional capital, Marseille, and countless smaller towns with large Muslim populations in south-east France, is the Front's prime battlefield. (DT7)

Moutet, the French journalist who wrote DT7, goes on to assert that the attack on Bastille Day revellers in Nice was, in fact, "a major coup for Isil"—for her, Daesh is clearly behind it—"because it will exacerbate the racial tensions upon

which it [Daesh] thrives.” It would have been fair to admit that the *Front National* also thrives on racial tensions.

One of Moutet’s metaphors may give the initial impression that she faults all politicians equally:

Meanwhile, France’s politicians, unlike after previous terrorist attacks, have left their shell-shocked constituents bereft. (DT7)

Note the alliteration, emphasizing the striking equation of the ramifications of the attack with the ramifications of political turmoil. Moutet’s use of violent metaphor continues:

With next year’s presidential and general elections in their sights, they have given up on national unity to denounce mismanagement of security measures. (DT7)

(DT24 makes a similar observation using metaphor: “political unity ... has shattered”; see discussion of the full sentence below). In reality, rather than faulting all politicians, both DT7’s and DT24’s authors actually favor a conservative position; DT7, through Moutet’s negative stance on Muslims, reinforced through alliteration (Riggs 2019b) and what she terms the “failings of integration,” and DT24, through incorporation of direct quotations from right-wing figures, not both sides, so that it is criticism of the then socialist government and its “failures” that come to the fore:

Nice has long been a bastion of the Right. Christian Estrosi, a security hardliner and ex-minister under Mr Sarkozy who is now president of the wider Riviera region, accused the government of failing completely in Nice. (DT24)

Furthermore, while both news sources refer to the claim made by Daesh that Bouhlel was a “soldier” of Islam, the *Telegraph* both uses the metaphor more often and tends to take the claim at face value, while the *Guardian* emphasizes the lack of evidence for the claim. Finally, DT7’s author concludes via a violent metaphor that the Nice attack is decisive. She also intimates that France was unified before the spate of attacks of which Nice is the most recent, in line with her blame of Muslims and radicalization which, according to her, came from outside, and with her failure to acknowledge longstanding social problems (contrary to the *Guardian*):

Nice, I am sad to say, may prove the most divisive blow against the France of liberté, égalité and fraternité. (DT7)

Let us now consider metaphor usage related to plants/growth, disease and water.

Plants/Growth

This rubric reveals a key difference between the two news sources. TG1 uses plant- or growth-related metaphor to evoke the underlying, longstanding social and economic causes of the violence France is experiencing: “Other reasons for the violence are rooted in grave problems within France itself.” The article goes on to discuss security problems and failings, recognizing that they are not just down to France, but also the result of shortcomings at the European level; some “grave problems” emphasized by this and other TG articles are social and create “fertile ground for polarization.” TG3 takes a similar position:

Hollande has announced more airstrikes in Iraq and Syria against Islamic State, as well as the calling up of reservists and a three-month extension of France’s state of emergency – none of which is likely to address the roots of the problem.

The instance of “root” found in the *Telegraph* subcorpus plays a very different role, emphasizing instead the presence and threat of Salafism:

Salafism, a form of conservative Islam which rejects liberal French values and provides the theological underpinnings of global jihadism, has taken root. (DT26)

In sum, the two news sources appear to employ plant/growth metaphors in conjunction with distinct phenomena, but all are negative.

Disease/illness

We have seen that certain *Telegraph* articles that actually resemble editorials emphasize the terrorism narrative and the connections between Muslims and terrorism. This happens in part through the journalists’ use of disease-related metaphor. In DT26, on July 15, British journalist Meleagrou-Hitchens asserts that

[t]he person who drove that lorry believed he was part of an altruistic and utopianist global project intended to save humanity, not destroy it. The people he killed were, in his eyes, a cancerous obstacle to this vision, and having chosen to reject it had to be removed from the equation. (DT26)

Despite having zero familiarity with Bouhlel, he unequivocally makes Bouhlel a religious extremist and makes religion, and in particular Islam’s supposed abhorrence of the Western “Us,” the issue. Use of a disease metaphor serves his purpose.

Now, consider Moutet’s choices in the following excerpt from DT7:

Bouhleh's alleged associates have now been arrested and held by the French police, looking for the connections that have escaped them until now. ... Meanwhile, a divided country is once again questioning the motivations of the enemy within. Isil's deadly ideas are airborne, like a virus. ... The more they separate seemingly ordinary Muslims from the national community, the better, they believe – especially if activists and the commentariat's useful idiots reinforce the notion that the perpetrators were “driven to it”. (DT7)

Her strong metaphorical language emphasizes the threat, and the possibility of contagion, represented by Daesh, and denigrates a position more typical of the left—and, indeed, of the *Guardian*.

Water-Related Metaphor

Both Baker et al. (2013) and Piquer Marti (2015) have highlighted the role of water-related metaphor in negative discourse about Muslim immigrants and refugees. The results of my study suggest that their use is more nuanced. In TG1, the wave metaphor is fairly standard and uses 9/11 as a benchmark, and the cause of the violence is interrogated:

There will also be the question: why is France suffering a wave of extremist violence that is more intense – certainly more lethal – than any other seen in the west since the 9/11 attacks almost 15 years ago? (TG1)

However, such metaphor contributes to contextualizing and historicizing the events as well:

France has a history of Islamic extremism reaching back decades. The 1990s saw two waves of attacks. One was linked to the bloody civil war between authorities and extremist groups in the former colony of Algeria. A second involved homegrown militants in the north of France who evolved a particular brand of terrorism mixing armed robbery and jihadism. (TG1)

While the article does bring up terrorism early on (July 15), it in various ways refutes the narrative that recent terrorist attacks constitute a “crisis.” This is also supported by the *Guardian*'s greater general focus on underlying and longstanding social causes of extremism, which we see here with “history ... reaching back decades,” reference to the civil war with Algeria, and the “homegrown” (another growth metaphor) nature of certain violent activists. The metaphorical “brand” also suggests that there are various types of extremism, with different types of actors, motivations, and *modi operandi*.

Next, we find a very different kind of criticism through metaphor (“drowned out”) from that which we saw in the *Telegraph* articles just discussed, and the water-related metaphor of “pouring” is used to describe compassion, rather than immigration (recall Baker et al. 2013):

Beyond the terrible loss of families for ever [sic] torn apart and traumatized just because they wanted to watch fireworks on a warm summer evening, the wider result [note the alliterative effects with “t” and “w”] of this tragedy is that extremes, political and religious, will continue to feed off each other. Voices of reason and moderation will be drowned out (TG3).

[C]ondolences poured in [for those families and the deceased]. (TG13)

Moreover, TG16, which was written by a journalist who visited M’saken, Tunisia, actually uses water imagery and a related reference to a natural phenomenon to depict the history of Bouhlel’s psychological state. He had a “stormy adolescence”; “[i]n France his violent temperament resurfaced.” These and other images also contextualize by helping the reader to picture the setting, which is portrayed in a neutral-to-positive light aided by use of metaphor (as is Nice, in the *Guardian* but not in the *Telegraph* (Riggs 2019b)):

Once a small town, M’saken has in recent years been swallowed up by the expanding Sousse coastal conurbation, its wealth fuelled by miles of hotels along glittering beaches. The town has handsome cafes and wide boulevards, its prosperity underlined by a shiny Renault dealership on the main street. (TG15)

In contrast, as already mentioned, according to Moutet in DT7, “Radicalisation came to France ... in waves”; that is, external forces, not France, are responsible for it (also see Riggs 2018). Similarly, DT21’s water-related metaphor is a dig at what are, to a conservative observer, the downsides of being in the European Union and the Schengen zone:

France can do little to prevent the flow of suspected weapons or terrorists into its territory. (DT21)

Terrorists and their tools come from outside.

Finally, the phrase “in the wake of,” used a total of three times in DT18, emphasizes both political turmoil and the terror event chain:

Political unity that stood firm in the wake of the Charlie Hebdo and Paris November terror attacks has shattered in the wake of this latest massacre.

To summarize, the findings on metaphor point to its ubiquity in language, demonstrate that the “war on terror” trope is still widely used by both politicians and the media, and suggest that the *Guardian* and the *Telegraph* use certain types of metaphor in divergent ways. For example, while both news sources use war and battle metaphors to emphasize political disarray in France, the *Telegraph*, in line with its political leanings, more roundly blames the then socialist government. In the *Guardian*, plant- and growth-related metaphors point to longstanding societal problems that underlie radicalization and terrorism, while in the *Telegraph*, these and disease-oriented metaphors tend to emphasize the threat that Islam and Muslims represent. Finally, violent and negative metaphors abound in both news sources, even in textual segments where terrorist violence is not the topic, which may contribute to fomenting fear and a sense of threat.

French-Speaking Switzerland (the *Suisse romande*)

Table 12 recapitulates the data for the subcorpus from French-speaking Switzerland.

Table 12 Statistics for the Swiss Corpus

News source	Number of articles	Number of words	Percentage of corpus
<i>Le Temps</i> (LT)	12	9,342	29%
<i>La Tribune de Genève</i> (TDG)	26	16,730	52%
<i>Le Courrier</i> (LC)	10	5,992	19%
Total	48	32,064	

Few relevant *Courrier* articles came up in my search. Those that did are remarkably short, and most come from the *Agence Télégraphique Suisse* (ATS). All but one of the articles in the *Temps* subcorpus either come from *Agence France Presse* (AFP) or were written by Richard Werly, a correspondent working in Paris. The remaining article was written by Etienne Dubuis. The *Tribune de Genève* subcorpus is by far the largest, and the majority of the articles taken from that newspaper come from the AFP or ATS in combination with “npx” (Newsexpress, a section of Tamedia that prepares press releases for the Web).

“Jihad”

The morphology of the French language means there is just one word for “jihadist” (with two possible spellings: *jihadiste*, *djihadiste*) and therefore there is no such issue as that we saw with the term “jihadi” in the *Guardian*. Nevertheless, occurrences of the French equivalents of “jihad” and its derivatives are relatively common, particularly in *La Tribune de Genève* (TDG): it has thirty-three occurrences, while *Le Temps* (LT) has eleven and *Le Courrier* (LC), ten. TDG1 uses “jihad” or related terms in presenting a timeline of violent attacks that had occurred in France since January 2015. TDG2 mentions two previous attacks abroad, in Canada, and in London—the killing of British soldier Lee Rigby—while TDG6 reminds us that in March 2004, Madrid had experienced “the most deadly jihadist attacks ever to hit Europe.” These and other articles from all three Swiss sources place the Nice attack squarely in an event chain of “jihadist” attacks in France and abroad, and the move is often accompanied by quotes from various “specialists.” TDG12 indicates that there is no link between this attack and Switzerland but warns that “the jihadist threat remains high,” while TDG23 is mainly about then Head of the Department of Justice and Police Pierre Maudet’s call for Swiss police to be trained to deal with jihadist violence. Domestic considerations in the wake of the attack are thus also a key focus of the *Suisse romande* news texts. TDG26 explains that Nice is a “breeding ground for jihadists” and TDG7 discusses a “jihadist recruiter” who has lived—and, we are to assume, recruited—there for a number of years.

Various segments in *Le Temps* that use the term evoke the perpetrators of the “jihadist attacks” of 2015 and the shift in the behavior of French political leaders since: namely, that the unity they showed in that period is already absent immediately after the Nice attack. Political disunity was also highlighted in the UK subcorpus. In *Le Temps*, certain positive measures taken by Hollande’s government are pointed out (LT3), and the “fractures” in society that divide the population and make some young people more vulnerable to jihadist propaganda (LT7, LT12), discussed. According to LT12, the “jihadist threat” is admittedly higher since January 2015 (LT12). In the “Related Links” section accompanying the same article, *djihadistes* appears three times.

Thus, the two sources discussed, while they use “jihad” in different ways, make the concept fairly central and position the Nice attack in an event chain of “jihadist” violence. *Le Courrier* shows a similar pattern. LC2 also evokes

the killing of Lee Rigby in London and the attack in Canada, but this time to link the Nice attack with other attacks with *vehicles* in the past, perpetrated “for the jihadist cause.” LC2 and LC4 inform us that Nice is the city that has seen the most “jihadists go to Syria and Iraq,” despite the fact that in LC4, the paragraph containing this information begins with the phrase “No proven link with radical Islam.” The same paragraph also talks about the infamous recruiter. LC4 observes that Lahouaiej-Bouhlel “has not traveled to the countries of jihad.” The same article also asks whether the claim by the “jihadist group” Daesh is an attempt at distortion, but this element comes very late in the text (last phrase of paragraph eight). The lead of LT6, too, observes that Daesh’s claim was “perhaps opportunistic.” All three newspapers nevertheless consider that information about jihadists and their violence is highly relevant when reporting on the attack in Nice.

Portrayal of France; of Muslims

In segments related to French society, the *Tribune de Genève* strongly emphasizes Nice’s history; architecture; and, along with the other two Swiss newspapers, the city’s world renown, beauty, and popularity with tourists from all over the world. This allows the *Tribune* to reinforce what it maintains in multiple articles, that the attributes of the city make it a “symbolic,” “emblematic” target for terrorist violence. The *Tribune* also devotes one article to the French fund used to provide compensation to victims of terrorism, which is not seen in any other news source studied here. The newspaper briefly highlights the above-average unemployment rate of the city, whereas *Le Temps* emphasizes the problem of unemployment in disadvantaged neighborhoods across France as one of the significant “problems” or “fractures” plaguing the country. Like all of the newspapers in the corpus, the Swiss sources indicate that Nice is a hub of Islamist radicalization. The *Tribune* also explicitly connects France and Geneva: “in Geneva, where many French people live and work” (TDG12). In addition, the *Tribune* is the Swiss news source that focuses most on the ramifications of the attack for Switzerland (tourism; the Swiss casualties of the attack; calls for more police training). That said, it also devotes an article to the decision by Spain to reinforce security in tourist areas in the wake of the attack. It is at such moments, or when reporting on the details of the event and of Bouhlel’s background, rather than on the topic of French society, that TDG contextualizes; this distinguishes it from the other two Swiss newspapers.

The term “Muslim” (*musulman*) appears just twice in the *Courrier* corpus, nine times in that of *Le Temps*, and six times in the *Tribune de Genève*, but in the latter, all six instances are within direct quotes. The most marked expressions of attitudes toward Muslims all come from LT6, written by Richard Werly, and all encourage negative interpretations (although the third excerpt is slightly more nuanced):

the other hypothesis: that a man who had never been registered as radicalized by the intelligence services simply managed to remain “off their radar screen,” which explains the concern of many neighborhoods in France that have a significant Muslim population.

A latent civil war: in a country with a population of between five and six million Muslims, how can acts of violence by disturbed people who want to take action “like soldiers of ISIS” be avoided?

If, however, the connection between the man and Daesh proves to be a lot less clear, the debate will be above all a societal one, and risks reviving concerns about a latent civil war on the part of numerous police officials and experts: in a country with a population of between five and six million Muslims—a dozen victims of the Nice attack were Muslim—how can acts of violence by disturbed people who want to take action “like soldiers of ISIS” be avoided?

The first two excerpts, a segment of text and a heading, equate being Muslim with becoming radicalized or with being more susceptible to becoming unbalanced and, in turn, radicalized. Moreover, the first excerpt is an example of conjecture in the absence of information, also seen in the UK corpus, while the last excerpt, in addition to building upon the preceding heading, is introduced by an “if” construction which, as we saw in TG2 (UK subcorpus) above, builds from the hypothetical to a strong likelihood or even inevitability (“comment éviter”: how can it be avoided). In an article published the following day (July 18), however, Werly recognizes the vulnerability of Muslim youth as an underlying factor in the fracturing of society by “Daesh”:

The first fracture is the effective abandonment of many neighborhoods where a section of the Muslim youth is preyed upon by Islamist recruiters. This is not to say that Daesh rules the roost in these peripheral areas afflicted by unemployment and drug trafficking. On the contrary: many residents, Muslim or not, successfully overcome the challenges and avoid the worst. But six months of exceptional measures are not enough to resolve problems that have built up over years. (LT7)

Here we find a historicizing tendency also seen in the center-left *Guardian*. Furthermore, it is similar in tone to the attitudes expressed toward Muslims in

Le Courier: these two sources (but not *La Tribune*) emphasize the efforts of “Daesh” to create division between Muslims and non-Muslims in French society and the terrorist organization’s hope that some Muslims will feel so marginalized and persecuted that they will turn to violence. Indeed, *Le Courier* criticizes the way right-wing rhetoric plays into the hands of ISIS, aiding the organization to deepen divisions in European countries in order to weaken them and intensify the cycle of violence. After demonstrating that the French right wing is adopting the extreme and anti-Muslim discourse of the far-right, LC5 observes:

These declarations will only delight ISIS, whose goal is to provoke conflicts around questions of identity in Western societies in order to push a certain number of Muslims who have been discriminated against to adopt the rhetoric of persecution and to encourage terrorist activities. (LC5)

This recognition of the complexity and danger of the responses to such discourse is not present across the entire corpus. Finally, the occurrences of “Muslim” and the related content reveal a lesser focus on religion in these Swiss newspapers than, for example, in the UK *Telegraph*.

Modality

Table 13 presents the data on modality in the subcorpus from French-speaking Switzerland. *Le Temps* shows remarkably frequent use of *peut-être* (perhaps, maybe) and *risquer/risque* ((to) risk). It also vacillates between questioning the validity of the terrorism label and suggesting this was the evident conclusion to draw, in part using modality. For instance:

The **perhaps** opportunistic claim by Daesh (LT6, July 17)

A man ... who **perhaps** simply succeeded in staying “off the radar” (LT6)

It took less than two hours for police to confirm what **seemed self-evident**, after having first evoked a “criminal attack”. The characteristics of this massacre are indeed those of a terrorist attack, **perhaps** not directly commissioned by Daesh, but **probably** inspired by the extremist Islamist organization. (LT8, July 18)

According to the same source, among the hundreds of witnesses already interviewed by investigators, several have alluded to the religiosity of the killer.⁴ The perpetrator of the attack, claimed by Daesh, **seemed** up to now to have more of a profile of a disturbed person and was unknown to French intelligence services. (LT5)

Table 13 Statistics for Modality in the Swiss Corpus

Modality	LT	TDG	LC
Total	66	70	25
Percentage of all occurrences in Swiss corpus	41% of all occurrences	43.5% of all occurrences	15.5% of all occurrences

At the same time, *Le Temps* relays the opinions of experts who believe Daesh's claim of responsibility is vague and that nothing proves the organization was behind the attack. The newspaper places the issue elsewhere: "the possibility that a disturbed person can be radicalised rapidly speaks volumes" (LT7). Indeed, it concerns itself more with political maneuvering and with the "inevitable social consequences" (LT12) of the attack. Moreover, it highlights France's weakness:

By claiming responsibility, and given the personality of the *Promenade des Anglais* killer, ISIS is showing more than ever just how helpless France is when faced with one of the greatest evils of this century: the nebulous but bloody scourge of terrorism. (LT6)

According to the journalist, Nice belongs in the terror event chain.

We saw that in LT6, Werly uses the term "hypothesis" and an "if" construction in ways which equate a large Muslim population with an accrued risk of radicalization, violence, and even "civil war." The journalist also evokes growing doubts (the notion abounds) about "the effectiveness of the state of emergency" (LT3) and implicitly echoes the sentiment in LT7: France is, "after six months with a state of emergency in place, also to blame for its own divisions and blindness." The conclusion is drawn that France's own internal issues and shortcomings have made it vulnerable to such attacks. In addition, the notion of risk is predominant in the Swiss subcorpus and in particular in *Le Temps*; it appears in the multiple instances in which the possibility of a civil war is evoked, and it is linked to a lack of confidence in the government's anti-terrorist strategy. In addition, *Le Temps* reports rumors involving torture and hostage-taking that were never corroborated or were proven to be false, as well as rumors claiming that the police hid information about the mass attacks that took place in 2015. This is despite newspaper guidelines typically stipulating that unverified information should not be reported. It also discusses the risk of denial and the risk that the truth will be sacrificed or doctored by the government. Put otherwise, through modality and related notions, *Le Temps* highlights the potential for opportunistic

dishonesty on the part of the government, since Hollande is planning to run for re-election in 2017.

On the question of whether or not Bouhlel was a terrorist, *Le Courrier* vacillates in even more pronounced ways than *Le Temps*, and this vacillation is marked by modality. In LC4 (July 18; headline: “A Terrorist Who Came Out of Nowhere”), one paragraph begins with the presupposed “the terrorist” while the following paragraph opens with the sentence fragment “No proven link with radical Islamism.” Two paragraphs later, the journalist states,

Nothing makes it **possible** to confirm that the perpetrator of the massacre acted in the name of ISIS. The terrorist organisation claimed responsibility for the attack on Saturday [July 16]. (LC4)

On the previous day (July 17), LC5 had observed,

The late claim of responsibility for this attack by ISIS at this stage, **should** be taken with caution, as **should** the last-minute “radicalisation” of the killer.

However, while an agency (ATS) text observed on July 15 that “the driver of the lorry showed no apparent religiosity” (LC1), another article by Thierry Jacolet from the same day makes the link with terrorism: the attack “has just plunged France into terrorist horror again” (LC2). Moreover, Jacolet, unlike the other two Swiss news sources, makes the following strong assertion which raises the question of what definition of terror he is basing himself upon (see section “History/Experience of Terrorism” of Chapter 3):

Premeditation, which makes this attack a terrorist act. (LC2)

And yet, as we have seen, Switzerland does not have a law specific to terrorism; and under the French penal code, premeditation is what makes it possible to define a murder as assassination. LC4 clearly labels Bouhlel a terrorist while also using a modal construction particularly common in this news source, a verb in the conditional tense (*aurait*, a French equivalent of “allegedly”):

The terrorist **allegedly** even cut ties with his family in Tunisia.

The same modal marker is used quite frequently in this small corpus, and to avoid unequivocally confirming various kinds of information: Bouhlel “was allegedly radicalized rapidly,” is “allegedly in the process of getting divorced,” “allegedly never set foot in a prayer hall,” “nevertheless allegedly had links with the recruiter of jihadists based in Nice”; or the “alleged” details about one of the Swiss victims of the attack.

The shifting positions of the news source do not mean it refrains from criticizing Bouhleh, who is guilty of domestic violence, including through use of modality:

Body building and MMA (Mixed Martial Arts), a combat sport in which virtually all forms of attack are allowed, **apparently** didn't suffice for him to get his aggression out. (LC4)

In part through modality, *Le Courrier*, like *Le Temps*, also criticizes Hollande and the state of emergency, which it considers ineffective. Having just questioned the supposed rapid radicalization of the killer, LC5 is particularly scathing about the media and politicians and, first and foremost, about Hollande:

Many of the political and media reactions that immediately followed this ignoble act in France now **prove** to have been particularly opportunistic and irresponsible. Starting with the reaction of French President François Hollande who, just a few hours after the tragedy and without any solid evidence, labeled it Islamist terrorism. (LC5)

Finally, in relation to the prevalence of the theme of war, *Le Courrier* combines it with modality in a strong statement: “a *certainly*: France has definitively entered a state of war” (LC2; my emphasis).

The *Tribune de Genève* employs modality in various ways, including to make the story relevant for Switzerland (“there is no apparent link between Switzerland and the attack in Nice”) and in reporting on authorities’ calls for better training of police and a “national reflection on terrorism.” Interestingly, however, the *Tribune* also reflects on the ramifications of the attack for Spain, and resulting policy there. Thus, we find consideration of what the attack means for France’s neighbors (and not just Switzerland). The *Tribune* is also the Swiss news source that speaks most often of *revendiquer/revendication* (to claim (responsibility)/a claim (of responsibility)) on the part of Daesh. In addition, when the *Tribune* evokes the claim of “rapid radicalization” made by the authorities, it typically does so with the conditional tense, and the claim is in quotation marks in six out of the seven occurrences of the phrase, which is another way of establishing distance from the statement. Bouhleh’s visit to the *Promenade* before the attack (which would prove premeditation) is also reported using a verb in the conditional tense. However, later on in the news cycle, the *Tribune* observes multiple times that the opinions of experts, some of whom are quoted, tend toward Islamist involvement. That said, in other statements accompanied by modals, the *Tribune* indicates that Bouhleh

showed no signs of religiosity or links with terrorist groups and observes that he instead seems to fit the profile of a disturbed person. It nevertheless also reports a statement by a police official criticizing the media for putting forward this hypothesis.

In sum, there are similarities and differences in the ways the three Swiss newspapers use modality. *Le Temps* emphasizes risk and doubt, especially related to the possibility of more violence and civil war, and to the government's competence and honesty. Both *Le Temps* and *Le Courrier* employ it to criticize the government, and they vacillate on whether or not the attack was a terrorist act, whereas *La Tribune de Genève* more often uses modality to keep a critical distance from that possibility.

Alliteration

Table 14 shows the percentages of instances of alliteration accompanying negative, positive, or neutral content in the three Swiss news sources. It is noteworthy that there are almost exactly as many neutral occurrences as negative ones in *La Tribune*. This is partly explained by the numerous instances of alliteration in texts addressing travel-related issues, very relevant for *Suisse romande* readers, as a number of them would have been traveling to Nice or contemplating doing so during the summer, given the city's relative proximity and the plethora of cheap flights from Geneva.

All three Swiss sources use the phrase describing Bouhlel's attack with the truck "foncé sur la foule" (plowed into the crowd), and the *Tribune* (TDG) combines it on eight occasions with various other terms starting with "f." For example:

Quelques minutes après la fin du feu d'artifices, le camion blanc a foncé dans la foule sur la Promenade des Anglais fermée à la circulation [A few minutes after the fireworks ended, the white truck plowed into the crowd on the Promenade des Anglais, which was closed to traffic]. (TDG3)

La Promenade des Anglais, où un camion a foncé dans une foule venue admirer un feu d'artifice, est une destination phare [The Promenade des Anglais, where a truck plowed into the crowd that had come to enjoy the fireworks, is a leading [tourist] destination]. (TDG22)

un Tunisien a fauché la foule après les feux [A Tunisian plowed into/mowed down the crowd after the fireworks]. (TDG14)

Table 14 Alliteration and Connotation in the Swiss Corpus

Alliteration	<i>Le Temps</i>	<i>La Tribune</i>	<i>Le Courrier</i>
Negative	64%	50%	60%
Positive	9%	2%	7%
Neutral	27%	48%	33%

These choices have the effect of emphasizing the violence and deadliness of the attack.

In relation to violence, both *La Tribune* and *Le Temps* use the alliterated phrase “tués par un Tunisien” [killed by a Tunisian], thereby highlighting the killer’s nationality; *Le Courrier* does not. Another point at which the *Tribune* combines violence and alliteration is in a list of the violent attacks that had taken place in France since the beginning of 2015, thereby drawing attention to the event chain to which the Nice attack is portrayed as belonging. There are six instances of alliteration in the list alone, of which two examples are “des **m**ilitaires **a**méricains **m**aitrisent un **h**omme **l**ourdement **a**rmé” (American soldiers overpower a heavily armed man) and “avec **p**our la **p**remière fois dans ce **p**ays des actions kamikazes” (with, for the first time in the country, kamikaze actions) (TDG1). Here are examples from the other two newspapers:

produire un **m**aximum d’effets avec un **m**inimum de **m**oyens [three occurrences of this phrase]. **M**inimum de **m**oyens **m**atériels: un camion frigorifique loué deux jours avant le massacre dans une commune voisine. **M**inimum de **m**oyens **h**umains [produce maximal effects with minimal means. Minimal material means: a refrigeration truck rented two days before the massacre in a neighboring town. Minimal human means]. (LT2)

Comme pour mieux frapper la France en son **c**œur, lacérer ce **q**u’elle incarne: la démocratie, **l**es **l**ibertés, **l**a **l**aïcité, l’esprit épicurien. Autant de **v**aleurs **v**omies par le terrorisme islamiste. [As if to better strike France in its heart, to lacerate what France embodies: democracy, freedom, secularism, the epicurean lifestyle. The kinds of values vomited by Islamist terrorism.] (LC2)

What is more, the second excerpt sets up a strong contrast featuring a simplistic, idealized image of France.

Like the Spanish *El País* (see below), both *Le Temps* and *Le Courrier* also use alliteration to accompany their discussion of societal and political issues, thereby emphasizing topics that they also address more frequently than *La Tribune* does. For example,

le débat sera surtout **sociétal** [the debate will be above all a societal one]. (LT6)

les **inévitables séquences sociales** [the inevitable social consequences] [including the risk of civil war, attacks on mosques, etc., following the government's failures]. (LT12)

En janvier 2015, une première série d'attaques sur trois jours (17 morts au total) avait suscité une certaine unité de la classe politique, sidérée comme le reste de la société par ces attentats [In January 2015, a first series of attacks over three days (17 deaths in all) had created a certain unity on the part of political leaders, who were shocked, like the rest of society, by the attacks]. (LT3)

Le Temps highlights the fact that on this occasion unity is nowhere to be found. In addition, current government policy is not convincing:

derrière cette **démonstration** de force, le **doute** est énorme [behind/despite this demonstration of force [the French government's counterterrorist measures], the doubt is enormous]. (LT6)

Le Courrier's treatment of political and societal issues is in fact even more linked to measures taken by the government. In LC3, Thierry Jacolet underscores through alliteration their ineffectiveness and their failure to reassure the public. For instance:

L'attentat a révélé **les limites de la lutte** antiterroriste en France. François Hollande a renforcé des mesures qui peinent à convaincre. [The attack revealed the limits of the fight against terrorism in France. François Hollande has reinforced measures that are struggling to convince [the country]]. (LC3)

Having just discussed the abundance of security cameras in Nice, the journalist asks:

Comment un **poids lourd** peut-il **pénétrer** un 14 juillet sur un axe bondé, fermé à la circulation et **ceinturé par** la **police** en **plein** état d'urgence? [How can a heavy truck get onto a crowded road, closed to traffic and surrounded by police, on Bastille Day, in the midst of a state of emergency?]. (LC3)

The alliteration highlights further evidence that the measures in place are insufficient.

In *La Tribune*, the idea that Bouhlel's act was premeditated is accompanied by alliteration and modality:

la **piste** d'un acte **prémédité** semble [modality] se **préciser** trois jours après l'attentat **perpétré** par Mohamed Lahouaiej-Bouhlel, dont le **profil** suscite

toujours des interrogations [The theory of a premeditated act seems to be confirmed, three days after the attack perpetrated by Mohamed Lahouaiej-Bouhlel, whose profile is still provoking questions] [there is also a second, briefer occurrence]. (TDG26)

In *Le Courrier*, acknowledgment of Bouhlel's mental issues is accompanied by alliteration, which makes it more salient. For example:

a permis de dessiner le **p**ortrait d'un homme instable, **plus préoccupé p**ar son corps que **p**ar la religion [made it possible to establish the portrait of an unstable man, more preoccupied by his body than by religion]. (LC4)

Mohamed Lahouaiej-Bouhlel **p**réseⁿte un **p**rofil de **p**ersonnage instable, **p**erturbé, inédit pour les **p**oliciers chargés de la lutte antiterroriste [The profile of Mohamed Lahouaiej-Bouhlel is that of an unstable and disturbed individual, a new situation for the police in charge of counter-terrorism]. (LC4)

Finally, the strong tendency in the *Telegraph* to use alliteration with content about religion is absent from the Swiss corpus, which gives religion much less attention generally.

Metaphor

As with metaphor in the UK corpus, a table is used to indicate connotation and the presence/absence of violence in the metaphors found in each of the three Swiss newspapers. However, because there is such a difference in the number of articles in each of the three news sources, it is more informative to express violent metaphors as a percentage of the total number of metaphors in each set of articles. The corresponding percentages are presented in Table 15. It is important to keep in mind that the LC corpus is very small.

War/Violent Metaphor

As Table 15 shows, this type of metaphor is prevalent in the Swiss subcorpus. Moreover, when such metaphors are not related to terrorist violence itself, they are most often connected to criticism of the French government or of the country's upcoming presidential campaign. For instance:

Political leaders on the left and on the right have been **tearing each other apart** via the media since the deadly attack in Nice. (TDG24)

The numerous presidential hopefuls [on the right] have been **launching verbal attacks** on each other, each one more **violent** than the last. (TDG25)

On Sunday, former Prime Minister Alain Juppé, who is also a candidate in the conservative party's presidential primary, again lambasted [literally: **shot red bullets at**] the government. (TDG26; the same metaphor is used in TDG16)

Exploitation of fear is sure to be an **arm of mass electoral conquest** in May 2017. (LT10)

Table 15 Quantitative Data on Violence and Connotation of Metaphors in the Swiss Corpus

Metaphor	Negative			Positive			Neutral			
Source	Total	TV	NV	V	TV	NV	V	TV	NV	V
LT	98	13	30	40	0	0	0	0	12	3
TDG	83	22	15	9	0	4	1	0	29	3
LC	40	17	6	8	0	1	0	1	6	1

TV=Terrorist violence

NV=Not violence

V=Other violence

In addition, *Le Temps*'s previously mentioned focus on the possibility of a civil war is sometimes accompanied by the metaphorical term *larvée* (not violent in itself; it is related to "larva" and is the equivalent of "latent"). In a heading we saw in the previous section, *larvée* is used in a way which also conveys a negative message about France's significant Muslim population:

A latent [literally: at **larva** stage] civil war: in a country with a population of between five and six million Muslims, how can acts of violence by disturbed people who want to take action "like soldiers of ISIS" be avoided? (LT6)

Discussion of war is particularly prevalent in *Le Temps*, for example, in the metaphorical "the internal 'war' demonstrated by the attack in Nice is now **the first front** ... A war, but on which **front?**" (LT10) or the air-/fire-related one (also see below), "a 'risk of civil war' increasing due to [literally: whose **flames are being fanned by**] the terrorist threat" (LT6).

Finally, in *Le Courrier*, in contrast to most of the examples in this section, violent metaphor mainly relates to terrorism itself.

Plants/Animals/Growth

The key metaphor in the Swiss subcorpus that fits under this heading is the same one that we encounter across the corpus: the image of a "breeding ground"

or an almost identical phenomenon (i.e., “fishing ground”). It appears three times in *La Tribune* and once in *Le Temps* but is absent from *Le Courrier*. Every occurrence describes Nice as a “breeding ground” for jihadists. In addition, the verb *semer*—“to spread” or, literally, “to sow the seeds of”—is used in negative ways in all three sources: “to spread death” (twice in TDG, once in LT and LC), to spread terror (once in LC), and to spread horror (once in LT). That said, this type of metaphor is not prevalent in the Swiss news articles examined.

Disease/Illness

Disease/illness metaphors, on the other hand, are relatively common in the Swiss subcorpus. In relation to this type of metaphor, let us first return to an excerpt from *Le Courrier*, which includes both metaphor and alliteration, the sole instance of this kind of metaphor in *Le Courrier*. The excerpt maintains that Bouhlel attacked France during the highly symbolic Bastille Day celebrations, as if to

lacerate what France embodies: democracy, freedom, secularism, the epicurean lifestyle. The kinds of values **vomited** by Islamist terrorism. (LC2)

The excerpt employs both violent- (ripping, slashing, tearing apart) and sickness-related metaphors. As discussed above, they contribute to emphasizing the great and acrimonious divide between a monolithic “them” and an also-monolithic “us” (and as we are talking of terrorism in conjunction with this particular event, we are meant to associate Bouhlel with terrorism), while painting French—and by extension, Western—values as uniformly positive. The alliteration in “values vomited” [*valeurs vomies*] gives even greater force to the negative image.

Le Temps includes a whole host of disease/illness metaphors; what is most interesting is *how* they are used, which certainly contrasts with *Le Courrier* above.

How do you counter the **epidemic** of deadly ripostes by petty criminals who are violent and lost, and who have been **intoxicated** by radical Islamic propaganda or are simply fascinated by the death instinct that it disseminates? (LT6)

The hypothesis of a disturbed “**lone wolf**”, overcome by a deadly madness fed by the anti-Western hate that is disseminated by radical Islamic propaganda, represents the worst kind of challenge in a country where the high unemployment rate **plagues** neighborhoods [literally: is turning them **gangrenous**] and where the justice system lacks the resources needed to lock up many of the offenders detained by the security forces. (LT6)

The first **fracture** ... is the de facto abandoning [by the state] of many neighbourhoods [...] suburbs **plagued** [literally: **eaten away at**] by unemployment and drug trafficking. (LT7)

While the journalist takes into account the influence of Islamist propaganda, those who act violently are not qualified as terrorists (one might say they come closer to sounding like victims), and unemployment, and the poverty and exclusion that result, are identified as underlying causes of the kind of violence described. These are not simply cases of “us” versus “them,” but rather of societal and political problems that France as a whole is facing. Nevertheless, we saw above that LT6 did also link the Muslim population, and problems with violence.

The following excerpt also employs “gangrene,” this time highlighting through metaphor what we have seen emphasized via other stylistic choices, namely, the criticism and distrust of Hollande’s government that abounds in this source:

At this stage, and to avoid the **gangrening** effect of generalized suspicion, the government absolutely must prove itself to be irreproachably transparent. (LT7)

Let us now briefly turn to instances of metaphor connected with water.

Water-Related Metaphor

These are common but represent a heterogeneous mix of phenomena, sometimes related to violence and sometimes not, covering anything from plunging to distilling to the raining down of tears. In addition, the metaphor of the wave is particularly common, but is never used in the way that Piquer Martí (2015) observed and criticized, that is, to describe a mass arrival of migrants. Where its use is most consistent is in *La Tribune*, where it appears four times, to describe a wave of attacks, terrorist actions, preventive arrests, and departures to Syria. Thus, in this source, this type of metaphor is more closely associated with terrorist violence than in the other two Swiss newspapers.

Fire- or Heat-Related Metaphor

Finally, it is logical that news in one language might show a greater preponderance of, or affinity for, a given instance of figurative language than news in another language. This is the case of fire-related metaphors in the Swiss subcorpus, although their use, as with water-related metaphor above, is heterogeneous. For example, an excerpt from *Le Courrier* that contains a fire metaphor is characteristically critical of Hollande and his government:

François Hollande who, just a few hours after the attack, qualified the killing, without any clear evidence, as Islamist terrorism. And announced immediately afterwards that he would intensify bombing in Iraq and Syria which, unfortunately, will only **add fuel to the fire** (LC5).

Another fire-related metaphor from the same source portrays something very different:

These soldiers who are exhausted [literally: **burnt to a cinder**] after months of surveillance (LC3).

In contrast, fire-related metaphors in LT are quite consistent: out of nine, six depict political turmoil, in the form of criticisms of Hollande’s administration and/or lack of unity among politicians. The one metaphorical phrase related to fire/heat in TDG (TDG20; it is repeated twice), literally “to fizzle out” but also related to the misfiring of a gun, also describes the prevailing lack of political unity following the attack. As with other stylistic features, political issues seem to be what are most consistently highlighted by various kinds of metaphor in the Swiss corpus.

Spain

As the statistics in Table 16 indicate, articles from *El Mundo* tend to be longer than those published in *El País*, whereas the articles from each newspaper account for about half of the total subcorpus. Therefore, like the UK subcorpus, this one is fairly balanced.

I do not include a separate section on “jihad” here because use of the term follows the pattern we have seen: it is omnipresent. Interestingly, “jihadism” features as one of the “related themes” listed in eleven of the articles in *El País* (EP), and just three in *El Mundo* (EM). “Terrorism” is a “related theme” in

Table 16 Statistics for the Spanish Corpus

News source	Number of articles	Number of words	Percentage of corpus
<i>El País</i> (EP)	36	27,342	51%
<i>El Mundo</i> (EM)	31	26,343	49%
Total	67	53,685	

twenty-eight EP articles and in six from EM; “Islamist,” in eleven EP articles and in zero EM articles. That said, in the texts themselves, *El País* gives less space than *El Mundo* to Nice’s “jihadism problem,” although it does acknowledge it; one blatant example is the headline “Niza, el caladero yihadista de Francia” (EP34) (literally, Nice: France’s jihadist fishing ground). All things considered, regardless of the nuances brought by stylistic features and other choices discussed below, the Nice attack is placed squarely in an event chain of jihadist activities at the earliest stages of reporting, just like in the other subcorpora.

Portrayal of France; of Muslims

Like most of the sources, the Spanish newspapers paint Nice in a positive light. In *El Mundo*, it is described as a beautiful, glamorous, and historic city, associated with luxury and the *Belle Époque* and highly popular with tourists, who are extremely important for the city’s economy. *El País* celebrates these attributes in a similar fashion while also highlighting the importance and popularity of the *Tour de France*, which takes place in July and is the main topic of EP2.

That said, *El País* also highlights the “dangerous tension” (EP21) between Muslim and non-Muslim communities in Nice as well as the distrust and suspicion of Muslims (EP12, EP21) that was already widespread there before the attack. While both *El País* and *El Mundo* discuss the difficulties and prejudices that Muslims in France face, *El Mundo* also emphasizes Muslims’ problems integrating in the country, treating the group as a monolith and the problem as a generalized one. In contrast, *El País* is particularly critical of “French populists and extremists” using the attack for political gain, and quotes then Prime Minister Valls’ position that such groups are “irresponsible” for calling for harsher measures against immigrants and Muslims in the wake of the attack (EP26), while *El Mundo* gives less attention to this aspect. Finally, the two newspapers are the only ones in the full corpus that explicitly cite condemnation of the attack by Muslim authorities in Nice. For instance:

the Imam and his secretary general are saddened by Friday’s attack. The discourse is the same as always: Islam preaches peace and solidarity. (EP34)

However, the phrase “the same as always” conveys some doubt about their position, especially in the light of information presented immediately afterwards: that the “alleged terrorist” Bouhlel lived in the same neighborhood as the mosque and that the “jihadist” recruiter also mentioned in the other subcorpora operated there.

El Mundo tends less toward criticizing politicians and populists and more toward highlighting problems and shortcomings related to integration and security. The very first line of EM15 emphasizes France's security issues and its supposed difficulties integrating Muslims, themes which are often preoccupations of the right. Furthermore, according to the same article, it is because of these problems that massive attacks have continued to occur in France and not in Spain or the UK (even though all three, it notes, are part of the international coalition fighting Daesh). Indirectly, then, the "home" country is depicted as more effective than France in the areas of security and integration. Moreover, a metaphor is used which indirectly highlights the supposed danger Muslims represent (see section "Metaphor" below).

The *El País* article EP27 actually provides a response to such criticisms of security, with concrete figures and other details demonstrating the plethora of security measures put in place in Nice, described as a "security laboratory," from its 1,260 security cameras (1+ for every 300 inhabitants) to its "400 municipal police officers, almost one per thousand residents." The problem, it is subtly suggested in *El País*, lies elsewhere: in divisive politics, a complex and polarized population, economic problems such as "an unemployment rate of 15%, higher than the national average" (EP12), or even the fact that proper mosques are forbidden in Nice. It is noteworthy that *El País* is the only newspaper in the corpus that informs readers about this rule:

a poor neighbourhood where there are various prayer halls and a mosque (officially, it is only an association, as Nice has not allowed any official mosques) (EP34)

this association—which is how Muslim places of worship must establish themselves in Nice. (EP36)

In conjunction with its focus on security and integration, EM15 does take a very novel, reflective, and balanced approach at one point, by adopting a Muslim perspective to explain how certain Muslims could come to find "Western values" perverse:

For a Baghdadi who, after 13 years of war, with some 170,000 civilians killed in violent attacks according to Iraq Body Count, just saw, on July 3rd, more than 250 people die in a shopping center in the district of Karrada when a van full of explosives blew up—an attack claimed by Daesh which virtually nobody in the West even heard about—the logic of democratic Western values will appear as perverse and hypocritical to him as that of Daesh seems to most Westerners. (EM15)

EM19 also takes Muslims' perspective into account, this time by acknowledging the suffering that Muslim communities in France must be experiencing, not only because of the attacks—the journalist reminds us that a Muslim mother of seven was killed by Bouhlef—but because of “painful accusations” against them. The same text also highlights the statement condemning the attack, at the earliest hour, by the Conference of Imams of France: at five o'clock on the Friday morning, just hours after the attack, the organization expressed its pain and qualified the attack as “cowardly and odious.” The article goes on to cite a line from the Qur'an that coincides with the claim that Islam is a religion of peace and solidarity (EP34) and was to be included in the forthcoming Friday prayers, but without the doubt potentially conveyed by the *El País* article (see above).

In addition, EM23 works in a similar vein to EP26 but more explicitly, by highlighting “the rise in Islamophobia in Europe, particularly in France” and the widespread tendency to reject Muslim refugees and immigrants who arrive on European shores after fleeing zones of conflict. Finally, however, one must also note a very different message, which is reminiscent of the article by Méléagrou-Hitchens (DT26) in the *Telegraph*: that despite emphasis by some on the lack of in-depth religious knowledge of many perpetrators of these kinds of attacks, the influence of religion on their violent actions, the role of Islam, is “evident” (EM21):

The superficiality of the theological knowledge of some extremists and their limited religious practice are used to deny the evident role of religion. Also ignored thus is the Islamization of the fanaticism and extremism that induces people to assassinate human beings in cold blood and which is developed according to/relies on a particular interpretation of Islam.

Given that the religion is rarely reported upon except in conjunction with extreme violence, it is easy to see how public opinion comes to equate Islam with terrorist violence.

That said, *El Mundo* (EM17, EM18)—unlike the *Telegraph*, for example—does situate terrorism in France historically; this means that while it puts a lot of emphasis on the presence of jihadists/jihadism in Nice, it also recognizes that terrorist violence is far from being simply a current “crisis.” At the same time, with regard to the current situation, it attributes blame to problems with integration in France, and gives particular attention to both France's and the EU's shortcomings in responding to “jihadism.” In addition, EM14 subtly but insidiously—in part through a misleading use of statistics—associates the

presence of jihadists in Nice with the city's large Tunisian population, the city where Bouhlef was born, and foreigners (recall that the *Guardian* instead used figures about the Tunisian population to celebrate Nice's cultural diversity):

In addition to being one of the French cities most affected by the jihadist phenomenon, given that more than a hundred of its residents have allegedly gone to Syria, Nice is also known among Tunisians as "M'saken 2". Almost 40% of Tunisians from this town of about 80,000 inhabitants go to the French Riviera city to find work and send money to their families. (EM14)

The article that includes the excerpt below also discusses the foreign population of Nice (including via a graph) and immediately goes on to provide the history of the terrorist attacks that have happened there:

Of the inhabitants of Nice, almost 60,000 are foreigners. 37.6% are European, mainly Italian (11.2%) and Portuguese (4.9%), and 50.9% are from African countries, especially Tunisia (17.7%) and Morocco (11.4%). (EM18)

I would point out that at the beginning of 2016, Nice had a population of 346,000 people, meaning that *all* foreigners represented just 17 percent of the population, and Tunisians—as far as I understand it; the breakdown of the percentages is not clear—just 3 percent. As Bugnot (2012: 983–4) observes, numbers which “themselves become facts can reflect an intentional angle of approach,” while “an accumulation of numbers” can create a kind of “crescendo that is vaguely menacing in its demonstration of difference.” The sequencing of information in the articles clearly links Tunisians and terrorism.

Compare the above with EP, in which an inflammatory statement by the then president of the *Provence Alpes Côte d'Azur* (PACA) region and current mayor of Nice, Christian Estrosi, is criticized:

Estrosi is not satisfied with any response [by the socialist government] and, in a country with a population of between five and six million Muslims, he is feeding the dangerous tensions between communities. (EP21)

In addition, EP provides an explanation of Nice's “cosmopolitan population” (EP12) and complex cultural make-up, including the history surrounding *pieds noirs*, French-on-French prejudice, and immigration, and how all of these, coupled with high unemployment, have fed into support for the far-right *Front National* in the region. Indeed, EP emphasizes societal tensions, the suspicion and distrust of Muslims that have taken root (the metaphor is used in the Spanish) in the region of Nice, the rampant xenophobia and Islamophobia in France, in particular on the part of the political right, who also use it for political

gain, and then Prime Minister Valls' criticism of this strategy as "irresponsible." *El País* criticizes the far-right and in particular the way that Jean-Marie Le Pen capitalized upon the prejudice that *pieds noirs* experienced, as well as the fact that his successors continue to apply this strategy today:

The *Front National* is the second municipal force in Nice and disseminates in the southeast of France a multifaceted identitarian discourse. It attracts not only conservative voters suspicious of the explosion in migration, but old French-labor-movement communists, frustrated at the changes wrought with the arrival of North African laborers and the unexpected competition they represented. (EP12)

In contrast, in an *El Mundo* article whose opening image is of the emblematic Marianne⁵ brandishing the French flag in one raised hand and cradling a cubist (are we to think of Picasso?), childlike, dead or dying figure in the other, the "Us"/"Them," "Islam"/"West" binary is evoked, specifically Islam versus Western philosophy, along with characteristics—or clichés—of France:

Many commentators were drawing connections yesterday between this philosophy [Western philosophy, epitomized by France] and each target of the principal attacks in France in the last year and a half: freedom of expression in "Charlie Hebdo," national unity in a soccer stadium, love of life, leisure and music in the Bataclan, bars and restaurants, and two days ago, Nice, one of the top tourist destinations in France, celebrating its national holiday with fireworks and music by the sea. (EM15)

While EP6 also has recourse to such characteristics/clichés, it is not to set up the same opposition but instead to acknowledge the risk of terrorist attacks at Bastille Day events in Europe, and the resulting need for security measures:

Along with the signs of national identity (Francophone music, champagne and French wine, and even a large placard criticizing the trade agreement that the EU is negotiating with the United States), the inevitable security measures accompanied the celebrations. (EP6)

Let us now turn to the discussion of results on modality from the Spanish subcorpus.

Modality

Table 17 presents the statistics for modality in the *El País* and *El Mundo* articles.

Table 17 Statistics for Modality in the Spanish Corpus

Modality	EP	EM
Total	75	81
Percentage of all occurrences in Spanish corpus	48% of all occurrences	52% of all occurrences

Both Spanish online newspapers often attribute opinions about whether Bouhlef was or was not affiliated with terrorism to other sources in ways that are accompanied by modality, and in particular “alleged(ly),” “supposed,” or “suspected.” Both sources also give a fair amount of space to Bouhlef’s personal/mental problems. However, this does not stop them from referring to him as “the terrorist” at other points, nor from focusing on Daesh and jihadism. EP also states that the risk of an attack on July 14, Bastille Day, was known to European security forces and speaks of their “apparent inaction” (EP6), while EM emphasizes the European Union’s loss of credibility in France. In addition, EP states that the French police

know that the massive police and military deployment across the country—more than 100,000 during the month of the World Cup alone—is of little use; the same is true of the government’s bombing of Syria and Iraq, which it is again planning to intensify. (EP25)

EM instead speaks positively (albeit not often) of the state of emergency, of which such wide deployment is a part. Here, it is *necessary*:

The enemy is not only external, but also internal, as among the terrorists there are French nationals. This dual dimension has reinforced the **belief that it is necessary** to act both internally – hence the extension of the state of emergency – and externally, where close collaboration with another power such as the United States is considered essential. (EM21)

The newspaper does also acknowledge “alleged problems with security measures [in Nice],” however. EP instead highlights France’s difficulties in the face of constantly evolving terrorist tactics and either remains neutral on the state of emergency, or criticizes it, as in EP3 and EP25.

In terms of “bringing the story home” (Cottle [2011] 2012; Freedman 2017), *El País* discusses the risk of attacks in Spain, security measures taken in the home country, including by the Interior Ministry, which “sees signs of Islamist involvement,” and official meetings about both security and counterterrorism

issues and decisions. A lot of space is given by both sources to possible Spanish victims in Nice. Moreover, in a formulation almost identical to a statement we saw in the *Tribune de Genève*, *El País* observes:

the **alleged** perpetrator of the attack, identified as Mohamed Lahouaiej Bouhlel, does not **appear** to have links with Spain. (EP18)

Again, we see a focus on the home country and the possible ramifications of the attack for Spain, not surprising since it is France's neighbor. That said, the risk of a terrorist attack at the Olympic Games in Brazil, which were three weeks away at the time of the attack, is the subject of early articles in both newspapers as well. (EP's message is that a terrorist act there is unlikely, while EM focuses on the extreme lack of resources available to police in Rio and the resulting concern about a possible attack.) Home country and proximity are not the only determiners of newsworthiness.

Finally, in terms of the labeling of the event as terrorism, on 18 July, well after a number of other sources have accepted the thesis that the attack constituted an act of terrorism, EP emphasizes the lack of clear proof. For example:

There is still a lot of **doubt** [both metaphor and alliteration are used] after Friday's attack about whether he [Bouhlel] **truly** had connections with ISIS and religious extremism, especially given the scarcity of evidence found during the investigation. (EP34)

And yet, as we have seen, the article's headline is "Nice: France's Jihadist Fishing Ground"; it gives a lot of space to Nice's links with terrorism; and the above excerpt comes in the very last paragraph. That said, on the same day, EP also published "Sufría un principio de psicosis y alteración de la realidad" (He was experiencing the beginnings of psychosis and an altered sense of reality), which in itself gives some credence to the idea that he was mentally ill and disturbed. The article also includes the following:

Bernard Cazeneuve, although he still hasn't provided any clear **proof** that confirms this line of thinking and although the intelligence services didn't have any evidence to make them **suspect** that [Bouhlel] had links with Islamism, indicated yesterday that the attacker had **apparently** been "radicalized very rapidly". (EP36)

Despite the final emphasis in the sentence, this excerpt places the former interior minister's position in doubt, in large part through use of modality.

Table 18 Alliteration and Connotation in the Spanish Corpus

Alliteration	<i>El País</i>	<i>El Mundo</i>
Negative	44%	57%
Positive	10%	13%
Neutral	46%	30%

Alliteration

As Table 18 shows, alliteration accompanies negative content much less frequently and neutral content much more frequently in the Spanish subcorpus than it did in the English one (see p. 100). In relation to the Swiss subcorpus, the percentage for *El País* is on a par with *La Tribune*; of *El Mundo*, with *Le Courrier*.

El País also has significantly fewer instances of alliteration than *El Mundo*: 41 versus 61. In *El País*, neutral alliterated content often involves procedural information about the Spanish government's response to the attack, such as efforts to establish whether Spanish citizens were affected; more general administrative procedures (e.g., a budget meeting); information about the attacker; or facts about the attack and the police investigation. Interestingly, in strong contrast to the English corpus, alliterated content related to government and policy is also often neutral in *El País* (recall that alliteration stood out in the English corpus in relation to the government, and to religion). Take, for instance, an article highlighting the political divisions in the aftermath of the attack, whose headline begins "Unity among Political Parties Is Cracking" (EP7). It begins by highlighting the "inhabitual criticisms" of the government by politicians of other persuasions, including former president and conservative Nicolas Sarkozy, but ends by informing the reader that Sarkozy had previously supported the government in its aim to extend the state of emergency. This information is accompanied by alliteration:

Sarkozy había dicho anteriormente que **a**poya al Gobierno en la **p**rimera y **p**rin cipal medida adoptada: **p**rorrogar el **e**stado de **e**xcepción tres **m**eses **m**ás, hasta el 26 de octubre. [Sarkozy had said previously that he supported the government in its adoption of the first and principal measure: extending the state of emergency three more months, until October 26.] (EP7)

This and various other texts do nevertheless focus on political divisions in France.

Interestingly, where *Spanish* government is concerned, on the other hand, various alliterated segments instead emphasize its unity, effectiveness, empathy, and engagement (positive connotation):

Las instituciones **m**adrileñas **m**ostraron esta **m**añana su apoyo a Francia.
[The institutions in Madrid showed their support for France this morning.]
(EP9)

Rajoy destacó el **c**ompromiso y la **c**ooperación leal de España frente a la
“amenaza global del terrorismo, que requiere una respuesta global e integral”.
[Rajoy emphasized the commitment and loyal cooperation of Spain in the face
of “the global threat of terrorism, which requires a global and comprehensive
response”.] (EP13)

Non-alliterated segments reinforce this tendency:

All of the representatives of the rest of the political parties lamented the brutal attack and expressed their condolences to the victims and their families. At the same time, they joined in praising the utility of the antiterrorism pact, projecting an image of political unity. (EP5)

In a series of messages in the early hours of this Friday morning, Mariano Rajoy, Pedro Sánchez, Albert Rivera and Pablo Iglesias expressed their shock at the attack in Nice and condemned the terrorist act. The leaders of the PP, PSOE, Podemos and Ciudadanos referred to the attack (EP14).

El Mundo also celebrates the unity of the Spanish political parties, but in particular where security and the “fight against jihadism” are concerned:

Los partidos que han asistido a esta reunión salieron con un **m**ismo **m**ensaje: aunque la situación política sea inestable y España continúe con un Gobierno en funciones, no afecta a la seguridad del Estado. [The parties that attended this meeting came out with the same message: although the political situation is unstable and Spain is being led by a caretaker government, this does not affect the security of the country.] (EM7)

All of the parties gave their support to the Ministry of the Interior, the government and the State Security Forces in their fight against jihadist terrorism. (EM7)

Both sources subtly portray Spain as superior where unity and security are concerned. One small distinction, however, is that this article highlights the refusal of the political party Podemos to sign the *Pacto Antiyahadista*. This may be because the party is far-left and therefore not in line with the political leanings of the newspaper. *El País*, on the other hand, simply notes the observer status of Podemos without making the reason explicit:

On behalf of Podemos, Rafa Mayoral attended [the meeting]. As on other occasions, he attended as an observer. (EP5)

Recall that the *Guardian* and the *Telegraph* differed in how much they combined content about religion with alliteration. The *El País* articles rarely focus on religion, and therefore there is little alliterated content related to religion. Nevertheless, an instance related to religion that was already mentioned in the section “Portrayal of France; of Muslims” (p. 127) does carry alliteration:

El discurso es el de siempre: el Islam **p**reconiza la **p**az y la solidaridad. (EP34)

As we saw previously, the tone of the sentence (“the discourse is the same as always”) as well as the surrounding content can be read as questioning Muslim officials’ claim that “Islam is a religion of peace and solidarity”; in any case, the text does not simply take the claim at face value. At the same time, several instances of alliteration in *El País*, coupled with modality, also highlight the lack of clarity about whether Bouhlel really had any connections with terrorist groups or religion:

Estaba fichado **p**or delitos comunes y violencia doméstica **p**ero no **p**or **p**osibles vínculos con el terrorismo. [[Bouhlel] had a record for petty crimes and domestic violence but not for possible links with terrorism.] (EP19)

El episodio del viernes todavía **d**esperta **d**udas sobre su vinculación real con el Estado Islámico y el fanatismo religioso [Friday’s episode is still raising doubts about his actual connection to the Islamic State and religious fanaticism]. (EP34)

The second excerpt also comes from July 18th, by which time a number of the sources analyzed here had basically accepted the idea that Daesh was directly or indirectly behind the attack. Yet the text goes on to cite a woman who has experience working with radicalized youth who *does* believe Bouhlel was radicalized. There is a balancing of positions; opposing opinions are presented.

In a pattern we also saw in the UK subcorpus, there are more alliterated elements related to religion in the center-right *El Mundo* than in the left-leaning *El País*. One such instance is related to the threat of Salafism:

De Ceuta, una ciudad en la que se ha sido permisiva con el salafismo, en la que hay barrios en los que domina una especie de neomachismo **m**usulmán y en la que se ha detectado un **i**ncremento alarmante de **i**ntentos de **c**aptación en los **c**olegios han salido, según las estadísticas, la mayor parte de islamistas nacidos en España. [Ceuta—a city that has been permissive with Salafism, with neighborhoods where a kind of Muslim neo-machismo dominates and where an

alarming increase in recruiting attempts in high schools has been detected—has been, according to the statistics, the point of departure for most of the Spanish-born Islamists [going to Syria and Iraq]]. (EM10)

The only cause mentioned is extreme religion; there is no reference to other specificities of Ceuta's context that we saw in Chapter 2. Nevertheless, the same text, headlined "Analfabetos del Corán" ("Illiterates" of the Qur'an), emphasizes the fact that the typical jihadist really has little or no knowledge of Islam, including via very large and visible graphs and a paragraph about women who have gone to Iraq and Syria. Together, these visual and textual elements challenge some common stereotypes about who becomes radicalized and how. Furthermore, in EM20, author Jesús Ferrero refers to "Arabist and novelist" Felipe Maíllo Salgado's demonstration of how terrorist groups subvert the messages of the Qur'an for their violent ends, and illegitimately so since the sacred book is not intrinsically violent. The reference is accompanied by alliteration and metaphor (on the latter, see section "Metaphor" below):

el arabista y novelista Felipe Maíllo Salgado explica que está muy lejos de ser lícito citar de forma fraudulenta y oportunista fragmentos del Corán que pueden parecer violentos, sin tener en cuenta otros fragmentos del libro que complementan y relativizan esa violencia, amansándola y ubicándola dentro de un contexto más general y fundamentalmente pacificador. Algo que nunca van a hacer las voces que guiaban al asesino de Niza porque su intención es descomponer y deshilar el mensaje del Corán de forma maniquea y populista, a fin de instaurar una gramática tan simplista como brutal, presidida por la dialéctica de las víctimas y los verdugos. [The Arabist and novelist Felipe Maíllo Salgado explains that it is very far from being licit to cite, in fraudulent and opportunistic ways, fragments of the Qur'an that can seem violent, without taking into account other fragments of the book which complement and downplay that violence, softening it and situating it within a context that is both more general and fundamentally pacifying. This is something that the voices that were guiding the assassin of Nice will never do because their aim is to unstitch and break down the message of the Qur'an in a Manichean and populist manner in order to establish a system [literally: a grammar] as simplistic as it is brutal, based on the dialectic of the victims *versus* the tormentors.] (EM20)

The message: the Qur'an has been manipulated by extremists. Still, the role of Daesh in the Nice attack is not in doubt. Finally, despite the nuanced view presented in that article, we must not forget that *El Mundo's* EM21 insists

vociferously on “the evident importance of religion” (see p. 129) in radicalism and terrorist actions. Clearly, religion is more of a preoccupation for *El Mundo* than for *El País*, and its importance is in part emphasized through alliteration. Alliteration also accompanies other content related to radicalization:

Niza es conocida como una de las cunas del yihadismo [Nice is known as one of the cradles of jihadism]. (EM17)

que se radicalizó muy rápidamente y sin dejar rastro. [who was radicalized very rapidly and without leaving a trace.] (EM25)

An interesting instance of alliteration in *El País*, ostensibly neutral, focuses on facts and numbers related to immigrants in Europe in order to refute the popular perception that they constitute a threat and to question the heavy-handed measures being considered to control them which have just been discussed in the article:

Porque, más allá de las percepciones personales, el peso de la población extranjera en Europa es muy limitado: representa un 4% sobre el total. [Because, beyond personal perceptions, Europe’s foreign population is actually very small (literally: of limited weight): 4% of the total population.] (EP8)

Importantly, given the previous discussion of integration and texts’ differing approaches to it, this article emphasizes that improving integration efforts is the only viable means of stopping this kind of attack:

The second type of measure is the only lasting one, but it offers only small returns in the short-term. It involves prevention: taking measures to integrate not only foreigners but also citizens who, despite holding a European passport, feel connected to another culture. (EP6)

However, there is nothing to suggest that the journalist supports the model of integration based upon reciprocity that was put forward in Chapter 2 above as the most viable one.

Another instance of alliteration in *El País*, while coded as negative, accompanies content which contextualizes, as it conveys the idea that poverty is a factor in radicalization. It also includes a metaphor that we have seen before:

[La pobreza,] aunque no es causa directa del terrorismo, sí crea el caldo de cultivo para el reclutamiento de los yihadistas [[Poverty,] although it is not a direct cause of terrorism, does create a breeding ground for the recruitment of jihadists]. (EP17)

Similarly to what we saw in the *Guardian*’s coverage, the purpose of the paragraph that includes this excerpt is to emphasize underlying socioeconomic problems

that can lead vulnerable populations to become radicalized, and the alliteration reinforces that emphasis further. Finally, in an article whose headline holds the far-right responsible for deepening France's political divisions, another instance of alliteration with "c" sounds also uses metaphor to discuss the opportunistic way "the most radical leaders" are benefiting from "public indignation" in the wake of recent terror attacks:

cabalgan [ride] sobre la creciente corriente de indignación popular [they are riding the rising tide of popular indignation]. (EP21)

Otherwise, alliteration in EP accompanies quite administrative/procedural content.

As we have already seen, there is a greater focus on security concerns in *El Mundo* than in *El País*; this is reminiscent of the UK *Telegraph* to some degree, and the emphasis is reinforced by instances of alliteration. Nevertheless, such instances appear more balanced than alliteration accompanying content about security in the UK newspaper. Interestingly, *El Mundo* manages to incorporate a focus on security while also emphasizing the role of the then socialist government in it, simultaneously also giving credence to then Prime Minister Valls (whose name even features in two headlines). The second such article (EM29) evokes a link between the government's success in apparently thwarting a terrorist attack before the World Cup, and the state of emergency that was in place and that the government sought to extend after the Nice attack. Valls' insistence on the efficacy of the state of emergency and other occurrences of the term "state of emergency" are accompanied by both alliteration and assonance. This position distinguishes *El Mundo* from the *Telegraph*, which tended to find fault with the socialist government that was in power in summer 2016. That said, whereas texts in *El País* questioned former Nice mayor Estrosi's emphasis on security, *El Mundo* compliments the man for his sincerity when he angrily demanded how such an attack could happen within a security perimeter:

Christian Estrosi, se desmarcó ayer del discurso oficial ... con una sinceridad rara vez vista por nuestros lares. [Christian Estrosi distanced himself from the official discourse/rhetoric ... with a sincerity rarely seen on our shores.] (EM15)

Moreover, EM21 criticizes European shortcomings in the counterterrorism response, and the criticisms are accompanied by alliteration. *El País*'s EP6, on the other hand, blames the unpredictable and constantly changing nature of attacks, rather than European states themselves, for these shortcomings. Security on the *home* front, in contrast, is portrayed by both news sources as functioning

well when they highlight meetings that took place in the aftermath of the attack to strategize Spain's protection and response within the framework of the *Pacto Antiterrorista* (Anti-Terrorist Agreement) and the *Plan de Prevención y Protección Antiterrorista*.

Metaphor

Table 19 presents the statistics regarding metaphor, connotation, and violence in the Spanish subcorpus. Compared to *El Mundo*, *El País* uses more metaphors, a higher percentage of metaphors related to violence (inferior only to the *Telegraph*; on a par with *Le Courier*, but that is a much smaller subcorpus), and more metaphors related to terrorist violence specifically. Metaphor usage in the Spanish subcorpus is discussed below. There are no sections for plants/growth metaphor or disease metaphor because these types were extremely rare in the Spanish corpus. Two exceptions are:

1. "to spread/sow the seeds of terror" (EM19), identical to a phrase seen in the Swiss corpus;
2. the city where distrust/suspicion of Muslims is most deeply rooted (EP12).

War/Violent Metaphor

Two categories of imagery related to war and violence are particularly salient in this subcorpus: the proverbial war/war on terror vocabulary, including bullets/targets, and heart metaphors combined with violence. *El Mundo* uses the precise phrase "war on terror," along with a metaphorical reference to an arsenal:

Valls points out ... that since 2012, the French government has been working on building an arsenal [of measures] for the war on terror (EM27)

El País also evokes war, and uses "arsenal" twice. With the Nice attack,

[t]he war has changed this time, and the government was not expecting it (EP25)

In addition, the perspective is quite different from the EM excerpt above:

The third jihadist massacre in 18 months in France is the one that has triggered the fewest measures, [as] the counterterrorist arsenal was already empty (EP26)

The government is calling for unity and has also gone on the defensive, highlighting the arsenal of counterterrorism measures already put in place, and their successful outcomes (EP38)

El País also observes that France, although it has been “practically bulletproofed” (EP3), is fighting a war “against jihadism on three fronts” but is “unable to cover all flanks” (EP6) and is also “losing the virtual battle [of ideology]” (EP33).

The above violent metaphors do not directly describe terrorist violence itself. Target or bullet metaphors sometimes (but not always) do:

Terror has France in its sights/line of fire (EP30)

[for jihadists,] France thus loomed as a gigantic target of hate (EP3)

there is no “magic bullet” that makes it possible to eradicate the jihadist threat completely (EM21)

El País also combines a target and a heart metaphor:

assassinating more than 80 defenseless people in the heart of a large country that has been living with the threat of jihadism since the Armed Islamist Group (GIA), which included Algerian Salafists, made France its bullseye in the 1980s. (EP33)

Regarding heart metaphors, all except one of the occurrences in the Spanish corpus are violent and negative. They make the vulnerability, fear, and suffering of France powerfully tangible:

the first jihadist strike in the heart of the country (EP3)

The massacre [literally: butchery] of July 14 on its pavements thus also struck, symbolically, the heart of the Tour de France (EP2)

The fear of terrorism, which since the attack on *Charlie Hebdo* had demonstrated its ability to reach the heart of France (EP3)

It would be impossible to choose a more apt day to strike [literally: wound] the French in the very depths of their hearts (EM20)

[Reporting] from the heart of the suffering in Nice (EM25).

It is important to notice how very frequently “jihad” and terrorism are the topic of all of the content cited so far.

Finally, as we have seen across the corpus, French politics is often described via war/violent metaphor, albeit somewhat less pervasively. It is interesting that both Spanish newspapers focus a lot on the *Front National*. For example, EP12 does so in conjunction with the newspaper’s efforts to historicize and contextualize, and uses war/defense metaphors:

The touristic city is a stronghold of the *Front National* and also characterized by problems of coexistence, both historically and more recently (EP12).

It is noteworthy/surprising that the Le Pen family built the fortress of the *Front National* in the least French city in France. (EP12)

The right and far-right are also portrayed as playing a key—and opportunistic—role in political upheaval:

After the attacks by the far right and with nine months until the election, the French right is keeping its swords raised against the Government. (EP38)

The *Front National* shrewdly waited until Daesh claimed responsibility before joining the fray (EM24).

Similar types of metaphor are used to convey the fact that the population is losing faith in the government and feeling generally fed up with the political infighting:

The political skirmish is provoking a very different reaction [than after the 2015 attacks, when Hollande's popularity soared]. (EP38)

Others take the opportunity to criticize the government and the opposition for “continuing the internal battles” while the country bleeds out (EM19)

The fact that there is a greater proportion of EP articles among all of the above excerpts aligns with the statistics in Table 19 on violence and negativity.

Water-Related Metaphor

The first excerpt from *El País* below fits the type of metaphor usage that Piquer Martí (2015) highlighted, but its purpose in this particular instance is to highlight the responsibility of European countries to solve geopolitical conflicts that cause the mass movement of people:

the need to put an end to the conflicts that are creating a wave of refugees not seen since World War II. (EP17)

Perhaps surprisingly, *El País* also uses the “flow” metaphor to describe a tactic supposedly used by Daesh to get jihadists into European countries: their

opportunistic use of migratory flows (EP30),

a phenomenon which is typically invoked by the right wing (recall Fernández-Díaz in Spain) as an anti-immigration argument but has been proven to occur only extremely rarely. Less surprisingly, a wave metaphor is used to describe the violent events of 2015 and 2016:

after the wave of attacks that the country has been through (EM24)

a wave of attacks in different leisure establishments in Paris (EP4)

We have already seen that across the corpus, stylistic features shape descriptions of political conflict and disunity. In EP21, commentary on the *Front National* and on politics is accompanied by water-related metaphor:

Marine Le Pen brought her vehemence to bear in the first wave of disagreements among the parties (EP21)

On Saturday, Le Pen launched a destructive/divisive message that falls on sympathetic ears [literally: seeps into fertile ground]. (EP21)

El Mundo also uses multiple water metaphors, but instead to describe criticism of the socialist government in power:

Following the wave [literally: rain] of criticism received (EM28)

The criticisms of the French government that rained down [literally: poured in] after the attack in Nice on July 14 (EM27).

Use of water metaphor is heterogeneous and not particularly pervasive in this corpus, but it is employed differently in each Spanish newspaper in relation to politics.

Animal-Related Metaphor

Use of animal-related metaphor is more salient in the Spanish subcorpus than in the others, in particular because it involves extended metaphor. As discussed above, EM15 attributes to security failures the fact that France has had massive attacks in the recent past while its partners in the international coalition fighting Daesh have not; *El País* instead gives more space to societal factors. As we saw above, *El País* emphasizes the connection between poverty and mass violence with the “breeding ground” metaphor, which is ubiquitous across the full corpus: in order to address terrorism, it is necessary to

attack poverty, as even though it is not a direct cause of terrorism, it does create breeding grounds for the recruitment of jihadists. (EP17)

All of the other animal-related metaphors in *El País* and most in *El Mundo* refer to “lone wolves.” The metaphor is ubiquitous across the languages in question here, which is why I have not given it much attention before now; but interestingly, both Spanish newspapers develop an extended metaphor around the trope, with the “most extended” one appearing in EP33, whose headline is “Nice and Mustafa’s Wolves.” Mustafa was an Al-Qaeda leader, and, significantly, the opening image of the article is a photograph of the man sitting with Osama bin Laden. The article discusses the so-called “frustrated jihadists”

who have not been able to travel to Syria or Iraq, describing them as “vermin” who “deliberate in their lairs about where and how to do the most harm to their potential victims”; one terrorist is described as having “died cornered in the bathroom of his house.” Moreover, rhyme is used in the text to underscore the ideologies and influences of terrorist groups that turn these individuals into “lone wolves.” The Spanish also carries rhythm and alliteration, making the content particularly salient:

Los lobos de la yihad no nacen, casi siempre se hacen. [The wolves of jihad are not born jihadists, they are almost always made jihadists.]

This particular statement aligns with *El País*’s position that jihadists become so in part due to their (adverse) life experiences. *El Mundo*, on the other hand, connects jihadism to Muslims: France has

a much larger breeding ground of potential terrorists among the five million French Muslims who have problems integrating. (EM15)

This claim is not only reminiscent of LT6 and journalist Richard Werly’s insistence on the size of the population; it also makes the shocking claim, through the presupposition carried by the definite article *the* five million, that the entirety—or almost the entirety—of France’s Muslim population is not well-integrated (without, of course, defining what integration means).

In addition, in a shorter extended metaphor, EM12 instead asserts that Spanish Islamists—a predominant focus of the newspaper’s discussion of terrorism and a way of “bringing the story home”—are *not* “lone wolves,” but “travel in a pack” (the phrase appears twice). Moreover, in a combination that is similar to that of EP33, EM30 explains that Daesh’s official spokesman Abu Mohamed al Adnani recorded a video exhorting his “cubs” in the West to perpetrate “ram raids” during the holy month of Ramadan; the article includes three different still shots, presumably from the video in question, of young, intense-looking men carrying rifles and wearing combat gear and headscarves or balaclavas. Given the association between the content and accompanying images in the articles just discussed, both newspapers place Nice in an event chain whose protagonists are archetypal jihadists of a similar ilk to the most notorious one, Osama bin Laden. Finally, we also see *El Mundo*’s characteristic defense of security and intelligence measures bolstered by an animal-related metaphor, as it warns against “the error of making intelligence services the scapegoat when terrorism strikes” (EM21).

Other Metaphor

In this section, I would like to return briefly to the interesting metaphorical use of *hilo* [thread] and *deshilvanar* [to unstitch, untack] in this corpus. It is another stylistic element which reflects a certain balancing of perspectives in *El Mundo*:

In relation to the effects that this crime could have, it is noteworthy that there has been an increase in Islamophobia in Europe and particularly in France, as well as more and more rejection of Muslim refugees and immigrants who come to Europe from conflict zones. Both effects can have disastrous ramifications for coexistence by polarizing societies, thereby playing even further into the hands of those who are holding the reins [literally: maneuvering the threads] of such terrorism, and who are pursuing precisely this aim: the division and breakdown of the countries they attack (EM23).

their intention is to unstitch and break down the message of the Qur'an in a Manichean and populist manner in order to establish a system [literally: a grammar] based on the dialectic of the victims *versus* the tormentors. (EM20)

The excerpts are a useful reminder that different languages often favor different metaphors when dealing with a given theme, but also of how one metaphor may be—and sometimes must be—translated with another in the target language. This would be an interesting area for further research on stylistic characteristics of news texts.