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Contrastive Analysis of Keywords in Discourses

Intégration and *Integration* in French and German discourses about migration

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This article suggests a theoretical and methodological framework for a systematic contrastive discourse analysis across languages and discourse communities through keywords. This constitutes a lexical approach to discourse analysis which is considered to be particularly fruitful for comparative analysis. We use a corpus-assisted methodology, presuming meaning to be constituted, revealed, and constrained by collocation environment. We compare the use of the keywords *intégration/Integration* in French and German public discourses about migration on the basis of newspaper corpora built from two French and German newspapers from 1998 to 2011. We look at the frequency of these keywords over the given time span, group collocates into thematic categories, and discuss indicators of discursive salience by comparing the development of collocation profiles over time in both corpora as well as the occurrence of neologisms and compounds based on *intégration/Integration*.

Keywords: discourse keywords; contrastive discourse analysis; Corpus Assisted Discourse Analysis; newspaper discourse; French migration discourse; German migration discourse

1. Introduction

Comparing discourses across languages and discourse communities is a complicated undertaking. First, discursive phenomena extend over a variety of different genres, semiotic codes, and pragmatic strategies realized through a number of linguistic features. Particularly for comparisons, the linguistic phenomena in question need to be specified and their formal, functional, and semantic equivalence needs to be critically evaluated. Secondly, the broader social and historical contexts that determine discourses need to be taken into account.

In light of these two predicaments, for a meaningful and systematic discourse comparison we consider the study of discourse keywords (DKWs) to be a good solution. DKWs are salient lexical items that occur frequently in certain discourse contexts, for example, *global warming* in the context of the discourse about climate and climate change, or *austerity* in the context of the financial crises since 2008. Our view on DKWs is informed by two broader research strands. Firstly, it is informed by research in the area of cultural keywords (Williams 1976; Wierzbicka 1997, 2006, 2010) and conceptual history (Brunner et

al. 1972-1997). This tradition is characterized by a methodologically qualitative-hermeneutic approach that investigates keywords as formal linguistic representatives of key cultural concepts--for example, *freedom* (Wierzbicka 1997), *class* (Williams 1976), and *justice* (Bennett et al. 2005). Such conceptualizations, as they become tangible through lexis, are investigated in some historical depth. Most interesting for us in this respect is Wierzbicka's (1997) comparative work on keywords across languages. She details the semantic differences of what may look like lexical equivalents across languages through close semantic analysis of examples of usage. However, these more historically orientated accounts tend to focus on evidence of usage and methodology for analysis in key texts from intellectual or literary discourse, and the rationales for selecting the textual data are not always clear or transparent.

Secondly, our approach to studying keywords is informed by corpus-assisted studies of lexis and discourse (see Baker 2006; Mautner 2009; Partington et al. 2013). Here we find explication of methodology and empirical validation, but more often than not there is a lack of historical depth and of contrastive analysis. While Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies (CADS) are mostly based on an analysis of lexis in the relevant corpora, the notion of 'keyword' in corpus-based studies is slightly different from ours. Keywords are determined with the aid of statistical calculation in corpus linguistic approaches, both by frequency and comparison; they are words that occur significantly more (positive keywords) or less (negative keywords) often in one text corpus than in another reference or comparison corpus. We are leaning more towards the notion of 'cultural keywords' and, as Wierzbicka remarks:

There is no finite set of such words in a language, and there is no 'objective discovery procedure' for identifying them. To show that a particular word is of special importance in a given culture (or discourse, MV/MS), one has to make a case for it. (Wierzbicka 1997: 16)

However, we realize the potential of corpus-based approaches to establish patterns of usage across a large amount of textual data for the sake of empirical validity.

More generally, we agree with Teubert (2010) that meaning is not a stack of cognitive concepts neatly stored in speakers' minds to be accessed when triggered by language use. Teubert posits that our conceptualizations can be constituted and also changed only in and through language use. Meaning needs to be understood as a *fait social*, and it is constituted in and determined by language use within speech communities. As any attempt to disambiguate polysemy easily shows, context is crucial for making sense. Hence, in order to study the

meaning of words, empirical studies of their occurrence in real texts is crucial. This can best be achieved with a corpus linguistic approach that considers patterns of usage, lexical co-occurrence, and recurring structural embedding of lexical items in large text corpora.

In a plea for deeper analysis of the syntagmatic dimension of language and especially phraseology, Sinclair advocates a lexical grammar where meaning can be associated with single words, “but corpus study suggests that the influence of the verbal environment (the cotext) on the occurrence of a word is so strong that many lexical items typically consist of more than one word, and often several” (Sinclair 2007: 182). Thus, the realization of meaning is shared through units of varying sizes, which are, for Sinclair, collocations, colligations (co-occurrence within a grammatical structure), semantic preference, and discourse (or semantic) prosody (Sinclair 2004). We draw on the stance that “meaning and co-text are inter-related in such a way that involves at least partial co-selection” of elements that co-occur on the pragmatic axis, so much so that “the knock-on effect of a paradigmatic choice will be felt on the syntagmatic axis” (Sinclair 2004: 170). If this is true in a lexical-semantic perspective, it is even truer in a discursive perspective (Baker 2006; Née & Veniard 2012). Methodologically, we will establish a comprehensive *lexical profile* (Stubbs 2001: 84) or *collocation profile* (Wierzbicka 2010: 395), which will summarize the characteristic uses of the keywords and facilitate comparisons.

2. A corpus-assisted, lexical approach to contrastive discourse analysis

On the one hand, corpus-based approaches usually impose limitations regarding the historical development of keywords due to the limited availability of comparable digitized historical sources. On the other hand, they offer the opportunity to work with large text corpora and to empirically validate current usage--and differences in usage--of DKWs. We understand DKWs as semantic nodes in thematic discourses, and we are dealing primarily with the lexico-semantic side of discourse. Mautner (2009: 124) suggests that:

At the current state of play, and considering the limitations of those tools that are sufficiently widely available, there is a very strong bias in favour of the individual lexical item and clusters thereof. Put simply, ‘the word’ is the peg that everything else is hung on.

Mautner writes from a corpus linguistic perspective on discourse analysis and, if she is right, there is a need for a pragmatic understanding of lexical semantics and in particular for conceptualization of salient lexical items in discourses. It has indeed been acknowledged from a more lexicological than discourse analytical view that “the meaning of a word is (some kind of summation of) the conceptual content made accessible by the use of that word (as opposed to any other) in particular contexts” (Cruse 2000: 30), i.e., “there is no such thing as ‘the meaning of a word’ in isolation from particular contexts: decontextualization of meaning is variable, and in principle, always incomplete” (Cruse 2000: 51). Similarly, Teubert (2007: 70) maintains that “[w]hat [...] lexical words [...] mean, is what we learn about them in the discourse” and that “[a]ll that has been said about a discourse object contributes towards its meaning” (Teubert 2007: 68). For ‘integration’, this means that whatever has been said about the word in one language will add to and be reflected in its meaning. We understand DKWs as lexical items that (see Schröter & Storjohann 2015)

- a) occur frequently, especially in periods of salience of the discourse they belong to (e.g., *austerity* in the discourse about the financial crisis since 2008)
- b) function as semantic nodes in discourses which, upon deeper analysis of their contexts of usage, unravel a part of the history and ideology of the underlying discourse
- c) are usually part of an ensemble of other lexical items that feature prominently in the same discourse; typically there are a number of DKWs (e.g., in discourses about migration: *multicultural society, integration, communities*) that might be associated with certain points of view (e.g., *fortress Europe* as a criticism of European migration policy)
- d) sometimes signify controversially debated issues; controversies can include the creation of concurring DKWs; for example, the DKW *illegal immigrants* emphasizes the illegality of the action of a group of people, whereas *illegalized immigrants* was positioned against the former DKW to shift the emphasis from the people to the system and the conditions under which people are ‘outlawed’.

While we do not suppose that discourse analysis and discursive and semiotic complexity can or should be boiled down to the level of lexis, we see some advantages in focusing on DKWs especially for contrastive discourse analysis. Points a)–d) above suggest that analyses of DKWs allow insights into the discourses within which they occur (Mahlberg 2007; Née & Veniard 2012). Wierzbicka (1997: 16f.) uses the metaphor of a ball of wool:

Using ‘key words’ as an approach to the study of culture (or discourse, MS/MV) may be criticized as an ‘atomistic’ pursuit, inferior to ‘holistic’ approaches

targeting more general cultural patterns (...). A key word (...) is like one loose end which we have managed to find in a tangled ball of wool: by pulling it, we may be able to unravel a whole tangled 'ball' of attitudes, values, and expectations, embodied not only in words, but also in common collocations, in set phrases, in grammatical constructions, in proverbs, and so on.

This quote suggests studying the lexical and structural environment of words, for which corpus tools have proven so useful. For the purpose of contrastive analyses, a corpus-assisted approach offers the advantage of employing the same analytical steps. It still entails problems in collating comparable corpora and arguing semantic and formal equivalence of words, but consistency in the methodological procedure is a great advantage for collaborative comparative research.

Given that our approach to *intégration/Integration* as a DKW is more aligned with the notion of cultural keywords, it is necessary to include contextual knowledge about the discourse in order to “make the case” (Wierzbicka 1997: 16) for studying it, to situate its occurrence in a specific discourses at specific times and to explain and interpret the results from corpus analyses. It is social reality rather than anything within the language system that explains why, for example, *terrorism*, *nuclear*, and *global* are used with increasing and decreasing frequencies and in shifting contexts over time.

Taking the historical, social, and political context into account is necessary, especially for contrastive discourse analyses across languages and discourse communities, because the notion of lexical equivalence requires some caution. Where similar events or debates (such as migration, debt crisis, and climate change) occur, a contrastive approach can involve looking at individual keywords, their roles, and their semantics in the relevant discourse. The advantages of studying DKWs in a discourse comparative project are their salience and frequency of occurrence in a variety of texts and genres in the public realm, their phenomenologically distinct form--as opposed to, e.g., the notion of a persuasive strategy--and their ubiquity: every thematic discourse features keywords as semantic nodes. This means that keywords, though not always equivalent, can be found across different discourses and different languages.

To conclude, we align ourselves with the notion of ‘cultural keywords’ in that we are looking primarily at the historical context to identify DKWs in migration discourses. We use corpus tools to investigate the salience and semantics of ‘integration’ in German and French migration discourses.

Discourses about immigration offer a good opportunity to investigate the notion of keywords and to test our methodology, since they have occurred in many countries inside and outside of Europe for a number of decades, in some countries leading to rather intense debates at certain times. Thus, migration discourses are likely to bring out DKWs. Moreover, migration debates occur at a national as well as a transnational (e.g., European Union) level (Wodak & Boukala 2015) and, whereas migration discourses have been treated from a national perspective (see, among many others, Baker et al. 2008, 2013; Hart 2010 for Great Britain), comparative perspectives are not often pursued in discourse analysis (but cf. Benson 2013; Vollmer 2014). With our approach of a comparative discourse keyword analysis, we aim to highlight similarities and differences in the French and German discourses about immigration. Differences in or convergence of national migration discourses between European countries are also of interest with a view on overarching European policies and debates about migration. Tensions between European national and supranational approaches to migration can be currently observed in case of Britain's endeavor to opt out of the principle of freedom of movement within the EU, and with Germany's desire to develop a system for the distribution of refugees over European countries. .

3. Historical and political background of the use of *Integration* and *intégration*

Considering both sociohistorical and discursive contexts regarding the use of *integration*, we can say that *integration* is widely used in discourses about migration in Germany and France, but its development as a DKW differs somewhat between German and French migration discourses. Early in the new millennium in Germany, *Integration* gradually replaced the concept and the positive associations of *multicultural society* that was favored by left-liberal groups in the second half of the nineties. In France during the 1990s, *intégration* came to be largely used instead of *assimilation*. *Intégration* was seen as a more liberal alternative to the more rigid concept of *assimilation*, which is still favored and used by right-wing politicians.

3.1 *Integration* in Germany

In Germany, mass immigration had become a fact of life decades ago, particularly in West Germany. Successive governments hesitated to acknowledge the presence of immigrant communities as a permanent change to the German society and failed to react politically and constructively to a diversifying society. When the recruitment of guest workers was

terminated in the aftermath of the 1973 oil crisis, politicians emphasized that Germany needed to consider the limitations on the number of immigrants that the country could bear (Herbert 2003).

However, former Turkish guest workers in particular had lived in Germany for so long that they had acquired residence rights and were entitled to be joined by their families, so many decided to settle in Germany. It was not until the end of the 1990s that, through a change in government from 16 years of conservative Kohl governments to a coalition between the social democratic and green parties, a distinctive shift took place in the discourse as it finally acknowledged Germany's multicultural society as social reality and turned to the question of how to deal with it (Green 2004).

While left-liberal groups and milieus promoted the idea of multiculturalism, conservatives succeeded in making it appear as a naïve laissez-faire approach to immigration (Schröter 2013), with an effective pejorization especially of the short form *Multikulti*. At the same time, parts of the conservatives attempted to promote the concept of *Leitkultur*, “guiding culture” (Eitz 2010). The idea behind this was to declare the German culture as a “guiding culture” for everyone living in Germany. However, this was criticized as an inappropriate conceptualization of ‘German culture’ and as an attempt to promote the assimilation of immigrants by asking them to orientate towards German guiding culture and to give up their cultural heritage (Göktürk, Gramling, & Kaes 2007: 243-330). However, assimilation as such was never officially promoted through the use of the keyword *Assimilation*. Instead, conservatives and more left-liberal parties largely embraced *Integration* as a middle ground between multiculturalism (which was seen to encourage segregation) and assimilation (which was regarded as too rigid and inhumane). There is a broad consensus between the political parties in Germany on the need for integration, with an ongoing debate about how to achieve it. In 2004 and 2007 legislation was passed with the aim of integration, most notably with the introduction of integration classes for new immigrants, citizenship tests, and language requirements for resident immigrants applying for a German passport.

3.2 *Intégration* in France

In France, from the nineteenth century until the 1970s the main word used to refer to the process of foreigners settling down was *assimilation* (Aprile & Dufoix 2009: 31-34). It meant that immigrants were expected to blend into their new country and adopt the French

language, customs, and way of life. This is related to the fact that the French nation sees itself as an egalitarian and culturally homogeneous community. However, nowadays only the far-right National Front party uses *assimilation* exclusively. Other political parties and the media widely use *intégration*, even if there remains some variation as well as contestation on how integration should be brought about. The development of immigration policies and the use of pertaining keywords are closely related to the rise of far-right ideas in the public sphere. Other political parties reacted either by taking these ideas up or by hushing them. This political background tended to be a strong driver of news coverage (Benson 2013: 101).

In the 1970s, immigration in the media was treated from a social perspective (Bonnafous 1991). The main newspapers looked at the living and working conditions of immigrants who came as cheap labor to work in car factories. Left-wing media were more concerned with the question of immigration than conservative and far-right media (Bonnafous 1991: 44). The deteriorating economic situation after the 1973 oil crisis gave way to far-right positions that reached out to an audience considerably larger than its supporters. Subsequently, newspapers focused more on issues of coexistence and its (supposed) resulting difficulties, gradually constructing immigrants as a ‘problem’ and questioning their ability and willingness to blend in (Benson 2013:115). At the same time, the label *assimilation* became contested by left-wing groups who advocated cultural diversity and anti-racist positions. These claims framed part of the French journalistic construction of the immigration debate at the time (Benson 2013: 100).

In the 1980s, the electoral breakthrough of the far-right party in the 1983 local elections created a new configuration of positions in the political field, which was soon amplified in the intellectual and journalistic field (Benson 2013:112). Left-wing politicians and intellectuals turned away from anti-racist and diversity stances to promote a revival of republicanism “via the notion of integration” (Benson 2013:113). Immigration became a political issue as the debate was fuelled by the ‘headscarves’ affair (a debate over women wearing the veil in public places) and several riots in underprivileged suburbs. *Intégration* occurred in speeches by French Presidents from 1983 (Barats 1994) and was institutionalized in 1989 with the creation of the *Haut Conseil à l’Intégration* (Higher Council for Integration). This was the beginning of the politicizing of immigration.

Immigration has been institutionalized since 1991, when the left-wing government created a Ministry of Social Affairs and Integration as part of an effort to prevent the rise of far-right ideas. These, however, have spread out widely, which became apparent in the 2002 presidential election when immigration and supposedly resulting delinquency were at the

heart of the electoral debate (Née 2012). The far-right candidate Jean Marie Le Pen stood in the second round of presidential elections alongside the conservative Jacques Chirac, instead of the expected socialist candidate. Chirac won the election in a landslide, supported by right-wing voters as well as left-wing voters willing to withstand the far-right candidate. This event contributed to a series of political measures, such as the creation of an integration contract in 2002, to be signed by every immigrant coming to settle in France, and the creation of the *Office Français de l'Immigration et de l'Intégration* (French Agency for Immigration and Integration). In 2007, a Ministry for Immigration, Integration, National Identity, and Sustainable Development was created by the conservative president Nicolas Sarkozy. However, it was soon considered too discriminatory to devote a ministry exclusively to immigrants and in 2010, the management of integration and immigration matters was attributed to the Ministère de l'Intérieur (Home Office). This change of attribution reflects the historical shift from a social to a law-enforcement perspective. In parallel, between 2003 and 2011, no less than seven laws related to immigration and integration were passed (11/2003, 12/2003, 07/2004, 07/2006, 11/2006, 11/2007, and 06/2011).

4. Corpus and methodology

Within the historical and political context characterized above, we are interested in the semantics of integration associated with its use in the two languages and speech communities. We are interested in whether a close analysis of their usage in the public discourse about migration in both languages reveals differences. Such differences may concern:

- a) frequency--are there differences in the relative frequency with which the word is used?
- b) distribution--are there differences in the relative frequency with which the word is used in different time spans or by different newspapers?
- c) collocation--are there differences in the contexts in which the word is used as far as these can be indicated by their lexical environment through the study of collocations?
- d) patterns--are there differences in the structural embedding of the word?

While newspapers should not be seen to entirely represent 'the public discourse about migration', they are still a good place to start such an investigation. Firstly, they offer a snapshot of a reasonably widespread hegemonic discourse unlike almost any other coherent source. Even if hard-copy newspapers have seen a notable decline, very similar content is usually available online. This still attracts and addresses a wide--if more fragmented--

readership, not least through possibilities of disseminating links to news stories via social media networks (Bednarek & Caple 2012: 30ff.).

We chose two French and two German broadsheet newspapers, one each with a left-liberal political orientation (*Libération* and *tageszeitung*) and one each with a conservative orientation (*Die Welt* and *Le Figaro*). This choice was partly determined by the availability and accessibility of digitized newspaper material. In order to obtain empirical evidence regarding the development of usage and distribution, our corpus covers the years 1998 to 2011. The data was collected in 2012, at which point 1998 was the first year for which material from all of the above-named newspapers was available in databases and online archives.

It would not have been feasible or helpful to download all articles containing *intégration* and *Integration* respectively because of polysemy in both languages. To disambiguate, and also to allow further comparative studies of other migration keywords, we used search words that we considered to be general and indicative of the topic of migration. For French, we downloaded all texts containing the words *immigration*, *immigré(s)* and *immigrant(s)*. In German, there is more lexical variety, so *Einwanderer*, *Zuwanderer*, and *Migranten* and *Einwanderung*, *Zuwanderung*, and *Migration* were used as search words to download the corpus.

Corpus	French		German	
Newspaper	<i>Libération</i> (left-liberal)	<i>Le Figaro</i> (conservative)	<i>tageszeitung</i> (left-liberal)	<i>Die Welt</i> (conservative)
Number of words	7 369 495	8 538 685	5 022 716	2 488 423
Number of articles	10.797	11.827	8.582	4.195
Frequency of <i>inte-gration</i>	2181	2533	2436	2739
Total frequency of <i>integration</i>	4714		5175	

Table 1: Overview of size of subcorpora per newspaper and absolute frequency of *intégration* and *Integration* within these

These search words will not be investigated as keywords, but they served to collect a corpus on a specific theme. The aim was to collect a thematic corpus of immigration

discourse which would yield keywords within this discourse and serve as the textual basis for investigating the use of these discourse keywords, notably *intégration/Integration*, but also, for example, *multiculturel/multikulturell*, *diversité/Diversität*, *communautarisme/Parallelgesellschaften*.

The verb *integrieren/intégrer* also occurs in the corpus. Space prohibits detailing its use here, but it is clear that there is a high prevalence of the keyword in its nominal form in both languages: as a noun, *Integration* occurs 5,175 times in the German corpus, whereas the verb occurs 1,260 times. In the French corpus, *intégration* occurs 4,714 times, whereas the verb occurs 1,934 times.

Both corpora were annotated for date and source. The German corpus was only available via the Corpus Workbench database, which is used with the Corpus Query Processor (CQP) (Hardie 2012). However, there were not enough resources available to add the French corpus to the same database for use with the same tools. So for the French corpus, we used AntConc (Laurence 2011). However, because the corpora were both annotated with the same metadata and because the two different tools provide the same statistical measure for calculating collocations, we could perform the same analytical steps.

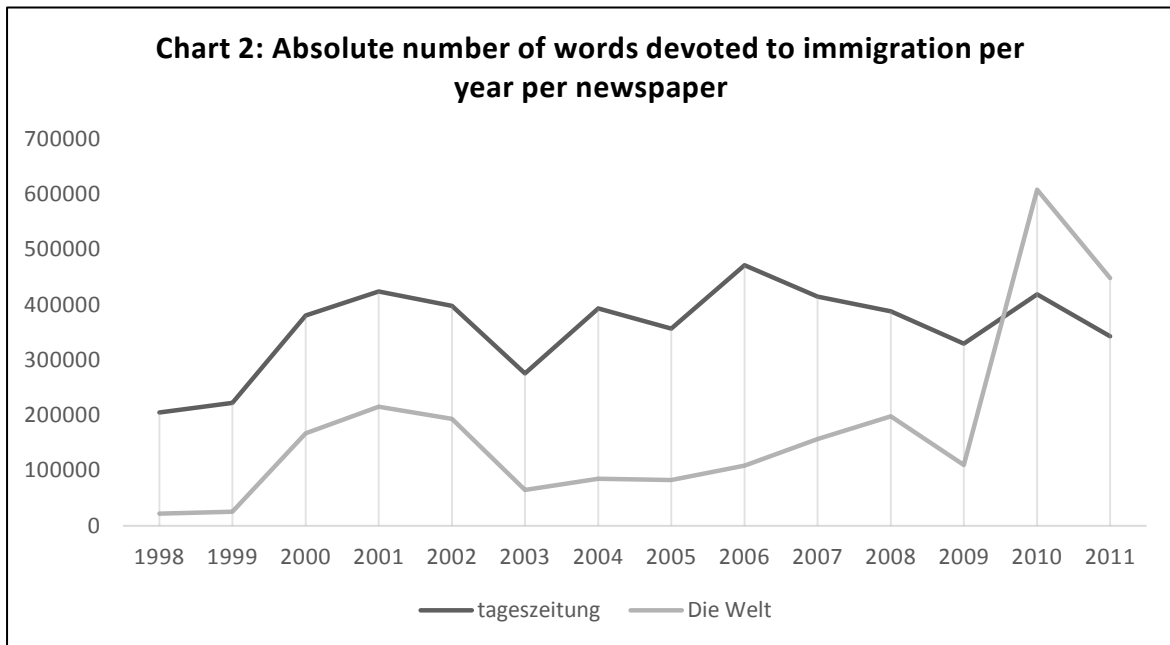
5. Analysis

5.1 Frequency and distribution of *Integration*

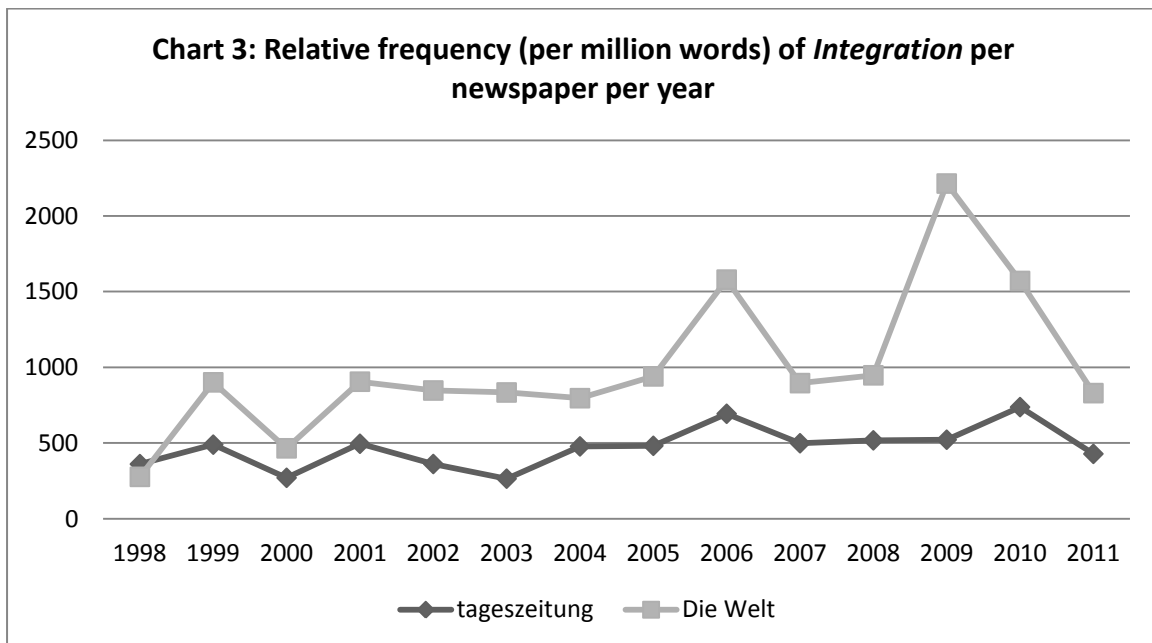
The emerging consensus is that, as the favored approach to a diverse society, Germany should be a country of immigration and of integration. This is reflected in the rise in frequency of *Integration* since 2000, the year in which the politicizing of integration began.

Chart 1 indicates that up to the year 2009, *Integration* occurs more often in the left-liberal *tageszeitung* than in the conservative *Die Welt*. However, there is a remarkable peak in the use of *Integration* in *Die Welt* in 2010. This picture is supported by a view of the absolute number of words per year per newspaper in the corpus (Chart 2). While the frequency curve is shaped in a similar way in both newspapers, indicating general tides of topical currency, the number of words in the *Die Welt* subcorpus is consistently lower than in *tageszeitung*.

Here, too, *Die Welt* shows a peak in 2010, suggesting that during this year, it was particularly concerned with immigration.



Taking both newspapers together, the frequency per million words (PMW) of *Integration* in the German corpus across all years is 688.98. Looking at the frequency PMW in every year, the years 2001, 2006, and 2010 stand out. The first peak of 633.55 PMW occurs in 2001, relative to figures below 600 PMW between 1998 and 2005. The second peak of 859.66 PMW in 2006 represents a steeper rise in usage, and the third peak of 1231.18 PMW in 2010 is even more remarkable.



The dominant peak apparent in charts 1--3 for 2010 in the conservative *Die Welt* was caused by the publication of a book by former finance minister of the Berlin city government and member of the executive board of the German Bundesbank, Thilo Sarrazin. In this book he claimed that Muslim immigrants had failed to integrate. The book became a bestseller instantly, but also sparked an intense and critical debate about its central claims. Selected contributions to the debate from German public figures were also published as a book in the same year (Deutschlandstiftung Integration 2010). The book was published in July and sparked a massive increase in the frequency of *Integration*. From January until July 2010, there is an average of 40 occurrences per month; this rises to 114 in August, 247 in September, and 190 in October. Overall the frequency of *Integration* in 2010 is 608.6 PMW. Yet even the overall frequency of words in *Die Welt* is divided in this year: From January until and including June there are 159,000 words devoted to immigration in *Die Welt*, rising to 449,600 between July and December. This is a remarkable demonstration of how frequency analyses can reveal how a certain discursive event – in this case, Sarrazin’s book – can emerge as a discourse-determining force.

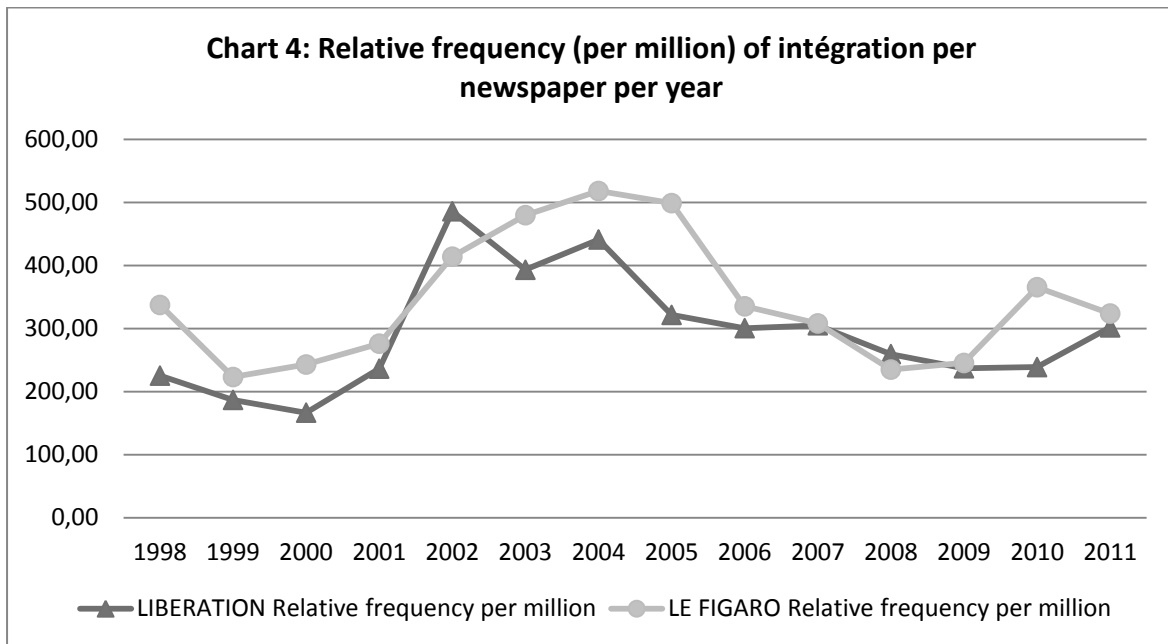
The first peak in 1999 reflects the discussion around the citizenship reform, which gave descendants of immigrants that fulfilled certain residency requirements the automatic entitlement to German citizenship. The second peak in 2001 coincides with the discussion of reports from two government commissions which recommend a clearer regulation of immigration and favor the integration of long-term immigrants and their descendants as well as new immigrants, which was also the starting point for integration legislation.

In 2006, the year of the third peak, the occurrence of *Integration* in both papers clusters between February and April and in July. One notable event initiating newspaper coverage in early spring was the publication of a letter written by teachers from a school that predominantly taught students descended from (mostly Muslim) immigrants about the situation at their school, which they described as highly problematic. The coverage in July was stimulated by the first ‘integration summit’, initiated and chaired by Angela Merkel.

5.2 Frequency and distribution of *integration*

Even if the word *intégration* has been used in French political vocabulary since the early 1990s, its relative frequency remained under approximately 200 PMW until 2002. This was when immigration started to be considered in the public debate as something having to be dealt with through concrete political measures. Frequency rose between 2002 and 2007, with

peaks in 2002, 2004, and 2007 followed by smaller peaks in 2010 (conservative *Le Figaro*) and 2011 (left-liberal *Libération*).



The relative frequencies of *intégration* presented in Chart 4 are parallel across the two newspapers, but that must not hide the fact that absolute numbers vary quite significantly.

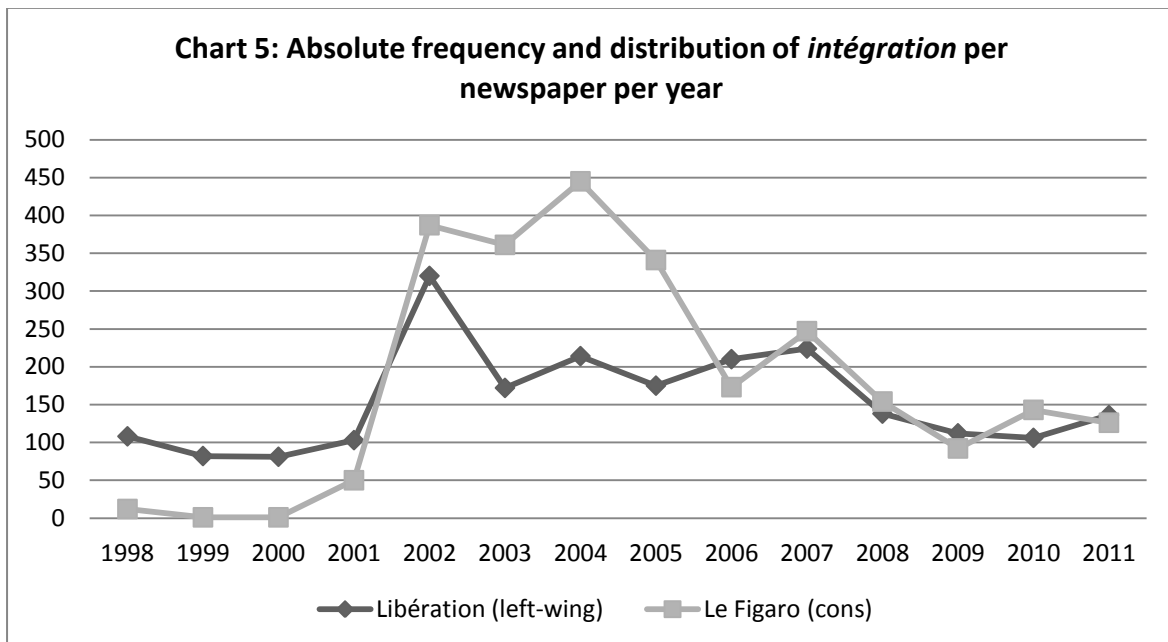
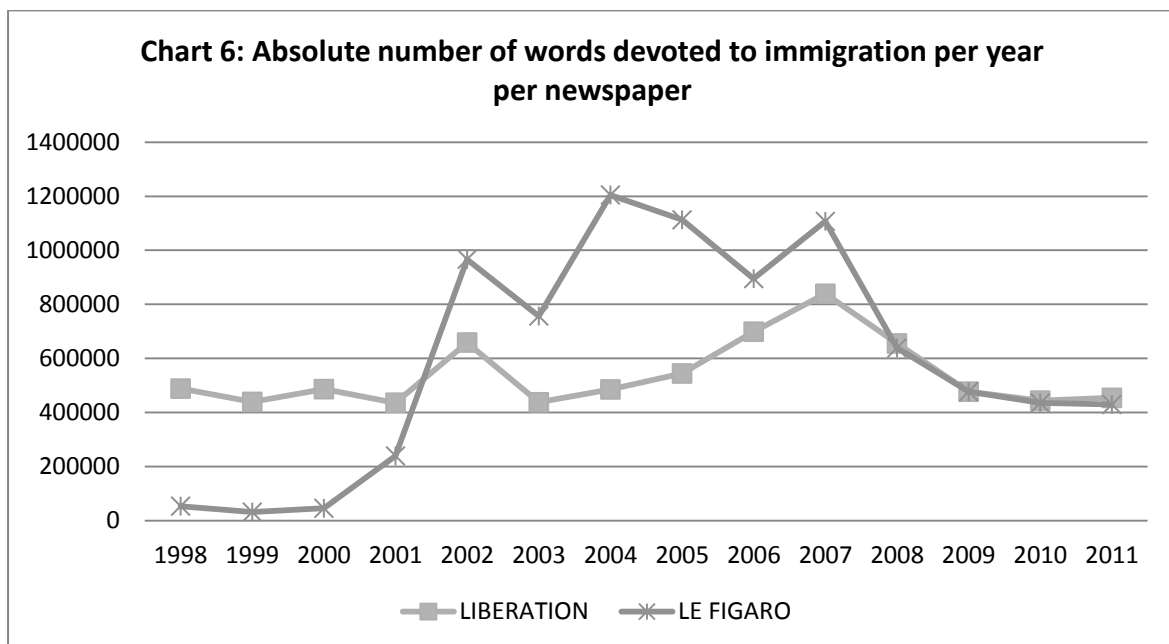


Chart 5 reveals that *Le Figaro* uses *intégration* very scarcely before 2001, but then the frequency rises higher and for a longer period of time than in *Libération*. Absolute numbers are meaningful: *Le Figaro* uses the word 18 times in 1998 (versus 110 for *Libération*) and frequency reaches 624 in the highest peak of 2004. This is considerably higher than the peak in *Libération*: 320 occurrences in 2002. In fact, it is not so much a low frequency of

intégration itself as it is a low number of words in the *Figaro* sub-corpus prior to 2001. Chart 6 presents the absolute number of words devoted to immigration by each newspaper every year and shows that the number of words in *Le Figaro* has gone up by a factor of 22 between 1998 and 2004 (from 53,000 to 1.2 million), whereas it remained stable in *Libération* (about 490,000 in 1998 and 2004), except for the 2002 peak.



The frequency of *intégration* clearly soars in 2002; the 103 occurrences in *Libération* and 66 in *Le Figaro* from 2001 rise to reach 320 and 400 respectively in 2002. Reading through the concordance table and article extracts reveals that this rise is related to a series of political and media events. Two periods of high frequency have to be distinguished. The first, covering April, May, and June (84, 109, and 76 occurrences respectively) results from electoral debates revolving around insecurity, delinquency, and, as implicit causes, immigration and alleged unsuccessful integration. These debates were very vivid when the far-right candidate passed the first round of election on 22 April. Other events are mentioned in the articles containing *intégration*, such as a football match where young people with immigration backgrounds hissed the national anthem (13 May); the June 2002 Sevilla European Summit, which focused on asylum and immigration (occurrences of *Séville* suddenly rise to 151 in June, starting from nil just two months before); or the discussion in Germany of a law related to immigration.

The peak in October and November (139 and 108 occurrences respectively) is clearly related to the creation of a mandatory integration contract to be signed by every immigrant coming to settle down in France (*contrat d'accueil et d'intégration*). The n-gram *contrat d'*,

“contract of” occurs 100 times in 2004, including 66 in October and 19 in November, all of which refer to the integration contract.

The frequency of *intégration* reaches another peak in 2004 with 659 occurrences (versus 505 in 2003). One-third (187) of these occurrences are clustered in January and February. As in 2002, several political events explain this rise. A debate about affirmative action (*discrimination positive*: 48 occurrences in January, then declining) was initiated by the Home Office Minister and ended by the Higher Council for Integration, who released a report ruling it out. At the time, there were also demonstrations against *la loi sur la laïcité*, a law discussed at Parliament prohibiting obvious symbols of religious allegiance in public, especially the veil (hijab). This is also reflected in the peak in frequency of *laïcité* in January of that year.

The peak in 2007 is related to the presidential election debates, notably the question of *l'identité nationale*, “national identity,” which was brought about by one of the candidates, the then Home Secretary Nicolas Sarkozy, to gain far-right voters. During this year, uses of both *intégration* and *identité nationale* rise to their highest point in March (59 and 96 occurrences respectively). This coincides with a media event, Sarkozy’s televised declaration to create a Ministry for immigration and integration if elected.

The peak in 2010 is mainly visible in *Le Figaro* (141 occurrences in *Le Figaro* versus 106 in *Libération*) and takes place in September and October (47 and 48 occurrences), coinciding with several events. In France, a bill about immigration in Parliament was discussed and a report by the Higher Council for Integration was released. Events in Germany are also mentioned, namely the acknowledgment by Angela Merkel that the multicultural model was a failure (the word *Allemagne*, “Germany” peaks at 54 and 65 in September and October; otherwise, it is below 25 occurrences) and Thilo Sarrazin’s earlier-mentioned book mentioned (*Sarrazin* accounts for 31 of the 52 occurrences in September).

One last and smaller peak can be noted in 2011, lasting from March to July (more than 20 occurrences every month). The peak in April (49 occurrences) is once again due to the release of a report by the Higher Council for Integration (occurrences of *Haut*, “Higher” is 14 in April, otherwise below 8). Other events are mentioned, such as the discussion in *Sénat* of another bill relating to immigration and the release of a book by Malika Sorel-Sutter (8 occurrences of *Sutter* in April and May, otherwise 0). She was at the time a member of the Higher Council for Integration and she claimed that immigrants should make more efforts to integrate. The frequency of *intégration* was still 25 in May due to a media event, when Home Secretary Claude Guéant declared on television that integration was a failure in France. He

specifically mentioned supposedly bad school results of children with migrant backgrounds. This statement was much commented upon, and *échec*, “failure,” which is a collocate of *intégration* in 2011, peaks in May and June (14 occurrences each month, below 10 otherwise).

5.3 Collocations of *Integration*

Frequency and distribution reveal trends of usage of *Integration/intégration* over the years, but collocations offer more detailed insights into the semantics of these DKWs. Drawing on Firth and Sinclair’s conception of meaning as a result of co-occurring words, discourse analysis posits that “in order to understand the meanings of words, we have to compare them in relation to other words” (Baker 2006: 95).

We used T-scores to calculate collocations for this research, available both on AntConc and The Corpus Workbench. We preferred T-scores to MI (Mutual Information) because MI tends to give high scores to relatively low-frequency words (Baker 2006: 102). For instance, in the French corpus, the strongest collocate of *intégration* according to MI is *démasquée*, “uncovered,” which has a frequency of two. T-score provides a better balance between frequency and salience by placing more emphasis on frequent words, which also means that grammatical words appear with a strong collocation value. This was not considered as a drawback since it does not exclude content words from the list. The content word with the strongest value of collocation with *intégration* in the French corpus is *immigration*, which occurs as many as 693 times near the keyword (T-score of 25.9). With an interest in the semantics rather than the grammar of integration, we followed an established procedure in corpus-assisted discourse analysis to focus on the lexical words in the list of collocations. We set the collocation scope at lexical items that occur up to five positions left or right of our search word, with a required minimum of five occurrences in the corpus.

Overall, there are 7,491 different words that collocate with *Integration* in the German corpus over both newspapers and over the whole time span; and 6,106 collocations of *intégration* in the French corpus. We consider those collocates with the highest statistical collocation value to be the most salient indicators of repeated contexts in which the word is used. It would be a very unwieldy procedure to analyze each of these collocates in detail, so we restricted our exploration to the 100 collocates with the strongest collocation values according to T-score. T-score values range overall from 18.3 to 3.4 for the 100 strongest lexical collocations in the German corpus and from 25.9 to 7.0 for the 100 strongest lexical

collocations in the French corpus. Raw frequencies of content words among the strongest 100 collocates range from 285 to 13 in the German corpus, and from 693 to 52 in the French corpus. We will analyze the collocations by indicating their rounded T-score values, since the procedure for retrieving them is based on this statistical measure.

In a first step, we assigned the content words within the 100 strongest collocations to emergent thematic categories. This is only a rough way of seizing and comparing data since collocates might play different roles in different patterns of co-occurrence. However, we can then check the concordance lines and positions in which the collocations occur so as to support or refute our assumptions about the dominant role played by the collocation. For some--but for reasons of space limitations, not all--collocates, we demonstrate through examples patterns of co-occurrence of the collocations with the search words.

In the German corpus, the 100 strongest collocates contain 16 function words (auxiliary verbs, prepositions, articles) and 84 content words (nouns, verbs, adverbs, adjectives). Because the search was conducted for word forms and not for lemmas in order to remain sensitive for contexts of usage--variation of which might be indicated by grammatical form, especially in German with its case system--some content words appear with different endings due to grammatical case or in singular and plural; for example (all plural): *Zuwanderer* (T-score 6.5), *Zuwanderern* (dative case; T-score 10) and *Zugewanderten* (participle, plural; T-score 4). Moreover, *Zuwanderer* is synonymous with *Einwanderer* (T-score 5.5) which also appears separately in the dative case, but not with the participle form. Both words mean “immigrants” and are synonymous with *Migranten* (masculine form; T-score 13.9) and *Migrantinnen* (feminine form; T-score 4) which also appear among the 100 strongest collocates. *Ausländer* (foreigner; T-score 5.9), a semantically related word, also appears in two forms. Taking a closer look at *Zuwanderer* vs. *Zuwanderern* reveals that both mostly occur on the second position to the right of *Integration* as *Integration der Zuwanderer* and *Integration von Zuwanderern*. Both translate to “integration of (the) immigrants,” but the second uses a preposition, which requires a dative ending, instead of an article, which itself indicates the dative case.

In 63% of their 842 co-occurrences with *Integration*, the labels for immigrants mentioned above appear two positions to the right of the search word in the two patterns described. This supports the initial assumption that this group of words indicates the subjects and target groups of *Integration* are one emergent thematic category. A table that lists all content word collocations of *Integration* with their translation and T-score values and indicates the thematic categories to which they were allocated can be found in Appendix A.

The collocate *lebenden*, “to live” (present participle; T-score 7.3) needs to be considered in the same thematic category because 87% of the time it occurs between three and five words to the right of *Integration* in the patterns *Integration der hier lebenden/der bereits hier lebenden/der in Deutschland lebenden/der bereits in Deutschland lebenden [Ausländer, Migranten etc.]*, “integration of [foreigners, migrants etc.] (already) living here/in Germany.”

Collocates such as *Gesellschaft*, “society” (T-score 5.8), *Arbeitsmarkt*, “labor market” (T-score 5.6), *gesellschaftliche/soziale*, “social” (T-scores 4.8/4.8), *Einbürgerung*, “naturalization” (T-score 3.9), and *kulturelle*, “cultural” (T-score 3.4) point towards target domains of integration, i.e., the respects in which immigrants could be, or become, integrated.

Another thematic category in the context of integration, as indicated by the collocations, is the state of integration--whether or not or to what extent integration is seen to have been achieved. Related collocates are: *gelungene/gelungener/gelungenen*, “successful/accomplished” (T-scores 8.3/4.3/3.5), *erfolgreiche*, “successful” (T-score 5.8), *bessere/besseren*, “better” (T-scores 5/4.8), and *mangelnde*, “lacking” (T-score 3.7), which occur in 89% of all cases one position left of *Integration*, in addition to related verbs like *funktionieren* “to work/function” (T-score 3.4), *gescheitert*, “failed,” (T-score 4.8), *gelingen*, “to succeed” (T-score 5.6), *erschweren*, “to inhibit” (T-score 4.0) and *verbessern*, “to improve” (T-score 3.9), as well as the nouns *Probleme*, “problems” (T-score 7.3), *Stand*, “state (of integration)” (T-score 4), and *Beispiele*, “examples” (T-score 3.9), mostly in the context of examples of successful integration. *Probleme* occurs two or three words to the left of *Integration* in 48 of 78 cases, in the pattern *Probleme der* or *Probleme mit/bei der Integration*, “problems of/with integration.” Similarly, *Fragen*, “questions” (T-score 3.7) occurs two positions left of *Integration* in 17 of 36 cases, in the pattern *Fragen der Integration*, “questions of integration.”

Collocates indicating metacommunication, such as *Thema/Themen*, “topic/topics” (T-scores 11.4/5.0), *Debatte*, “debate” (T-score 8.1), *Diskussion*, “discussion” (T-score 4.5), the above-mentioned *Fragen*, and *Sachen*, “concerning/with regard to” (T-score 6.8) point towards an awareness of integration as a subject of public debate. *Sachen* co-occurs one position to the left of *Integration* in 80% of cases, within the pattern *in Sachen Integration*, “with regard to/concerning integration.”

The collocates *Anstrengungen*, “effort” (T-score 3.8), *Bemühungen*, “effort” (T-score 3.5), *Bereitschaft*, “readiness” (T-score 4.4), *Aufgabe*, “task” (T-score 4.0), *Voraussetzung*, “precondition” (T-score 5.0), *fördern*, “promote/facilitate” (T-score 6.7), *Engagement*, “commitment” (T-score 4.8), *Beitrag*, “contribution” (T-score 4.6), and *Schlüssel*, “key” (T-

score 7.1) point towards the conceptualization of *Integration* as a state that can be achieved by making a conscious effort to integrate--rather than something that happens as a natural process.

In this context, a related category emerges which reflects concerns about requirements for integration to succeed. *Schlüssel* occurs in 68% of cases two left of *Integration* in the pattern *Schlüssel zur Integration*, “key to integration.” Related to this pattern is the use of the collocate *Sprache*, “language” (T-score 3.6) in the vicinity of *Integration* (five to the left) in 38% of occurrences, as in *Sprache ist der Schlüssel zur Integration*, “language is the key to integration.” *Bildung*, “education” occurs in the same position in 17% of the occurrences of *Bildung*, i.e., “education is the key to integration.” The collocates *Bildung*, “education” (T-score 5.5), *Einbahnstraße*, “one-way road” (T-score 4.0), *braucht*, “needs” (verb; T-score 3.7), *Sprache*, “language” (T-score 3.6), and *Seiten*, “sides” (T-score 3.6) also point towards conditions for successful integration. The latter occurs in the pattern *Integration erfordert beide/zwei Seiten*, “integration requires two/both sides”; *beide*, “both” and *zwei*, “two” co-occur with *Seiten* 25 times, 19 of which occur one left of the collocate. *Einbahnstraße* occurs three positions to the right of integration 88% of the time in the fixed phrase *Integration ist keine Einbahnstraße*, “integration is not a one-way road,” reflecting a perceived need for the state to facilitate *Integration* as well as a need for immigrants to make an effort to integrate.

Another group of collocates seems to generally reflect the thematic connection between integration and immigration; *Migration* (T-score 12.5), *Zuwanderung* (T-score 9.8), *Einwanderung* (T-score 6.4)--all of which translate to “immigration”--and *Assimilation* (T-score 6.3) co-occur with *Integration* mostly in coordinating patterns. Taken together, these collocates appear two positions left or right of *Integration* in 74% of their co-occurrence with *Integration*: *Integration und Migration*, “integration and migration”; *Integration statt Assimilation*, “integration instead of assimilation”; *Einwanderung und Integration*, “integration and immigration.”

Finally, a last thematic category can be seen in a number of collocates that are indicative of the politicization of integration in Germany, i.e., political institutions and measures responsible for triggering and implementing *Integration*: *Aktionsplan*, “action plan” (T-score 3.6), *Staatsministerin* “Minister of State” (T-score 4.4), *Sachverständigenrat*, “advisory council” (T-score 4.8), *Maria* (T-score 4.0), and *Böhmer* (T-score 5.9). The latter two words are the first and last names of the Minister of State responsible for migration, refugees, and integration between 2005 and 2013.

5.4 Collocations of *intégration*

There are no additional thematic categories emerging from the French corpus. Out of the eight categories within the German corpus, six are well represented. First, those collocations that treat integration as a sub-topic of immigration; second, those that indicate the politicization of integration; third, those that include labels for subjects or target groups of integration; fourth, those that indicate metacommunication; fifth, those relating to domains of integration; and finally, those that describe the state or progress of integration. Two of the thematic categories that emerge in the German corpus--efforts made to achieve integration as well as requirements for integration--are not found within the 100 strongest collocates from the French corpus. A table that lists all content word collocations of *intégration* with their translation and T-scores and indicates the thematic categories to which they were allocated can be found in Appendix B.

The most frequent collocate of *intégration* is *immigration* (T-score 25.9), indicating the theme of the articles. This result might not be surprising since it was used as a search word, but still, the very high T-score indicates a close discursive relationship between the two words, above and beyond thematic associations. To explore this relationship, a statistical measure that delinearizes the syntagmatic axis the data proves a good starting point; but in order to arrive at a deeper analysis of the use of the word, we have to not only consider the frequency of co-occurrence but also syntagmatic patterns of co-occurrence, by looking at concordance lines. The word *immigration* appears with sound regularity (40.5%) coordinated or juxtaposed with *intégration*, e.g., *immigration et de l'intégration*, "immigration and of integration." It is also found commonly (106 times, 17.4%) to the left of *intégration*, e.g., *l'immigration et l'intégration*, "immigration and integration" (56 times, 9.2%), *l'immigration et à l'intégration*, "immigration and to integration" (27 times, 4.4%), *l'immigration, l'intégration/immigration, intégration*, "immigration, integration" (33/25 times, 5.4% /4.1% respectively).

This "immigration and integration" pattern is itself embedded in patterns related to policies and institutions such as *ministre/ministère de l'immigration*, "Minister/Ministry of Immigration" (61 occurrences), *de l'intégration (et de l'identité nationale)*, "integration (and national identity)" (114 occurrences), *loi relative à l'immigration et à l'intégration* or *projet de loi relatif à l'immigration et à l'intégration*, "law/bill on immigration and integration" (21 and 25 occurrences), *Office Français de l'Immigration et de l'Intégration* (39 occurrences). Overall, those patterns account for 260 out of the 693 occurrences of the collocate

immigration (over one-third) and are classified under the semantic category ‘policies and institutions’. Thus, the strong collocate *immigration* is relevant to two categories, ‘thematic indicators’ and ‘policies and institutions’.

This latter category includes *politique*, “policy” or “political,” the lexical item with the second highest T-score (17.8). The following collocates are part of labels for policies or institutions: *haut* (T-score 15.8) and *conseil* (T-score 15.7), which stand for *Haut Conseil à l’intégration*, “Higher Council for Integration” (3% of all occurrences of *conseil*); *contrat*, “contract” (T-score 15.3) and *accueil*, “welcome” (T-score 11.4), as in *contrat d’accueil et d’intégration*, literally “welcome and integration contract” (14.7% of the occurrences of *contrat*); *nationale*, “national” (T-score 13.6); *identité*, “identity” (T-score 13.2); and *ministre*, “minister” (T-score 10.7), as in *ministre de l’immigration, de l’intégration et de l’identité nationale*, “minister for immigration, integration and national identity” (6.6% of the occurrences of *ministre*).

The collocate *politique* (402 occurrences) is ambiguous and can be understood either as “policy” (noun) or as “political” (adjective). The patterns and their frequency provide disambiguation. Half of the occurrences of *politique* are embedded in the pattern *politique(s) d’intégration*, “integration policy(ies)” (201 occurrences, 50%) and only 28 rely on the adjective, as in “political integration” (6.9%). *Politique* therefore can be seen to belong to the category of ‘policies and institutions’.

A series of adjectives with high T-score values constitute the category ‘domain of integration’; e.g., *européenne*, “European” (T-score 12.1), *intégration européenne* (111 occurrences), *sociale*, “social” (T-score 9.1), *intégration sociale* (46 occurrences), *républicaine*, “republican” (T-score 8.6), *intégration républicaine* (67 occurrences), or *française*, “French” (adj.; T-score 10.6), 58 occurrences of which occurred as *intégration à la française*. These collocates do not all refer to immigration, especially *européenne*. However, this thematic heterogeneity is decreasing over time (see section 6.1).

The noun *intégration* is derived from a verb, so that we find collocates indicating groups integrating, mostly appearing in stable patterns based on a noun phrase. The frequency of occurrence of the collocate in the pattern is as high as 85.4%. Examples include *intégration de/des*, “integration of” + nouns such as *jeunes*, “young people” (35 of 72 occurrences, 48.6% of the occurrences of *jeunes* appearing in the pattern), *étrangers*, “foreigners” (55 of 108 occurrences, 50.9%), *populations*, “populations” (53 of 62 occurrences, 85.4%), *immigrants*, “immigrants” (36 of 61 occurrences, 59%), and *immigrés*, “people having immigrated” (98 of 249 occurrences, 39.3%). To underline the necessity of

resorting to patterns, the case of *nouveaux*, “new” (plural) is enlightening. This collocate has a T-score of 7.2 with *intégration*, but this measure does not give any explanation of the reason behind this collocation. In more than half of its occurrences (55.3%), this collocate appears in the pattern *intégration des nouveaux (arrivants, venus)*, “integration of new immigrants, of newcomers,” which suggests it should be classified in the ‘subjects of integration’ category.

Another linguistic characteristic of the noun *intégration* is its aspectual dimension, stemming from its verbal origin. This is well represented by collocates indicating integration is a process. Collocates may point at the process itself, as in *favoriser*, “to promote” (T-score 8.4), or *faciliter*, “to facilitate” (T-score 7.1); at the end of the process as a success, as in *réussie*, “successful” (T-score 10) or as a failure, as in *échec*, “failure” (T-score 9.6). The two words *problème(s)*, “problem(s)” (T-score 8.8 (pl.)/7.9 (sing.)) and *difficultés*, “difficulties” (T-score 7.2) can express opposite meanings through different patterns, either pointing at immigrants supposedly having *problème(s)/difficultés d’intégration*, “problems/difficulties to integrate” (accounting for 69 of 148 occurrences (46.6%) of *problème(s)* and 18 out of 54 (33.3%) of *difficultés*), or causing *problèmes/difficultés de l’intégration*, “problems/difficulty caused by integration” (13 occurrences out of 67 (19.4%) and 19 of 54 (35.1%)). Both patterns are related to integration as a process. The last strong collocation referring to integration as a process occurs with the collocate *modèle*, “reference model” (T-score 14). The pattern *modèle (français, républicain) d’intégration*, “(French/republican) reference model for integration” accounts for 173 of the 200 occurrences of *modèle* (86.5%). The discursive meaning of the verb *fait* (3rd pers. *faire*, “to do”), is related to integration as a process as it appears in patterns such as *l’intégration se fait/ ne se fait pas*, “integration is realised/not realized” (respectively 11.6% and 5.1% of the occurrences of *fait*), expressing a judgment on the state of integration.

These judgments about the state of integration are expressed in a debate where integration is being discussed, which is attested by collocates such as *question* and *matière*. Both appear in patterns indicating their metacommunicative function: *question de l/son/leur intégration*, “question of (his/her/their) integration” (45 occurrences out of 76, 59.2%) and *en matière d’intégration*, “concerning integration,” or *en matière de contrat d’intégration/de politique d’intégration*, “concerning the integration contract/integration policy” (53 occurrences out of 57, 92.9%).

It appears that the category containing the most and the strongest collocations is ‘policies and institutions’. This needs to be interpreted with regard to the historical context

outlined above, especially the role played by the *Haut Conseil à l'Intégration*, the successive legislation between 2003 and 2006, and the legislation concerning the 'integration contract'.

5.5 Comparison

Firstly, it is interesting to note that there are more content words among the collocates for German *Integration* (87) than for French *intégration* (43). By the same token, there are considerably more function words in French (57) compared to German (13). To some extent this might be due to differences in morphology and syntax. In French, words are combined through prepositions and determiners, whereas German exploits compounding (see 6.2 below). However, the discussion below in 6.1 will show that there were more function words in German initially, but as the frequency of *Integration* increases, there are fewer function words and more content words among the first 100 collocates.

Secondly, the German data show distinct patterns of co-occurrence of *Integration* and its collocates, pointing towards an established discourse featuring repeated claims, such as *Bildung ist der Schlüssel zur Integration*, "education is the key to integration" and *Integration ist keine Einbahnstraße*, "integration is not a one-way road." While collocates in the French corpus also tend to occur within certain patterns, some of these patterns seem less distinct and less specific than in German.

Thirdly, the collocates suggest the presence of two additional semantic categories in German: efforts towards integration, involving the notion of efforts made by either government and/or immigrants and the measuring/assessment of such measures; and requirements for integration, demonstrating concern over what needs to be done in order to oblige or to help immigrants to become valuable members of the German society.

Finally, even though integration has been politicized and legislated in Germany and even though there are related collocations in German, lexis relating to political institutions collocates less strongly with integration than in French. In German, indicators of metacommunication feature more saliently among the 100 strongest collocates than in French, i.e., there are more such collocates with stronger collocation values in German than in French, indicating a distinct awareness about integration as a current issue under debate.

6. Indicators of discursive salience

6.1 Collocates and their development over time

First, we found indicators of the discursive salience of integration in metacommunicative collocates such as *question*, *matière*, *Thema*, *Debatte*, and *Fragen*, which illustrate a degree of self-reflective awareness about integration as part of an ongoing debate about migration in both countries.

Second, we looked at the development of collocation profiles of the keyword both in French and German over time. Along with the increasing frequency of the use of *Integration* and *intégration* in both corpora, we observe an increase in the number of collocations. There is also a qualitative change in the collocations in that there is an increase in content words over function words, fewer topic indicators, and, for the German corpus, more metacommunication and more evaluations regarding the state of integration over time.

In the French corpus, the development of collocations over time was analyzed based on a sub-corpus consisting of the year before the rise (2001), the overall peak in relative frequency (2004), and the levelling out of the absolute frequency (2009). As before, we computed collocates of *intégration* within a span of five words before and five words after the keyword. We took into account only the content words within the fifty strongest collocates. The number of collocates (types) relates to the frequency of the DKW in that it rises when the frequency of the word reaches its highest point. *Intégration* has 1,742 collocates in 2004, but only 637 in 2001 and 777 in 2009. The number of content words rises slightly: only 11 out of 50 collocates are content words in 2001, as opposed to 17 in 2004 and 18 in 2009.

Through the years, words referring directly to immigration become more numerous and with stronger links to integration. In 2001, only *immigration* (T-score 2.5) refers explicitly to it. In 2004, it is joined by *immigrés*, “people having immigrated” (T-score 5.9). In 2009, the thematic collocates are more diverse: in addition to those appearing in 2004, there is *immigrants*, “immigrants” (T-score 2.4) and *musulmans*, “Muslims” (T-score 2.6). In parallel, *européenne*, “European” disappears: it is present in 2001 (T-score 3.2) and absent in 2009. This is interpreted as a stabilization of the association of *intégration* with the theme of immigration rather than with Europe. It is confirmed by a rise in T-score values. For instance, *immigration* starts at 2.5, then rises to 6.6 in 2004 and to 7.2 in 2009.

This phenomenon needs to be considered in regard to the rise of collocates referring to French institutions. Many labels emerge: in 2004, *Haut* (7.4) and *Conseil* (7.2) were used for the Higher Council for Integration and *contrat* (5.9) and *accueil* (4.5) were used for the Integration Contract; in 2009, *identité* (5.4), *nationale* (5.4), and *ministre* (2.2) appeared in

the label *Ministre de l'immigration, de l'intégration et de l'identité nationale*. The name of the minister is also in the list (*Besson*, 2.8).

Words denoting negative or positive outlook appear quite irregularly: *échec*, “failure” is more frequent between 2001 and 2004, passing from 8 to 18 occurrences, with an increasing T-score (2.8 to 4.2), but disappears from the first 50 collocates in 2009. Its occurrences might be related to the peak of frequency of *intégration* in 2004.

To conclude, we can say that the number of collocates increases through the sub-corpora, and that T-score values increase as well. This can be interpreted as a densification of the collocations revolving around *intégration*. Collocations are more numerous and stronger, which means that the word progressively becomes a keyword and a node in the discourse.

In German, we compared the collocations of the time span of low frequency 1998--2000, before the use of *Integration* gathered momentum, and compared it to the year 2010, which yields the highest frequency. Increasing frequency goes along with a diversification of the collocation environment, so that there are 102 collocations in 1998--2000 and 346 in 2010. A closer look at the 50 strongest collocations in 1998 yields nine content words with strong collocation values which generally situate *Integration* in the context of migrants and immigration: *Zuwanderer*, *Migranten*, *Ausländern*, *Zuwanderung*, *Ausländer*, *Einwanderung*, *Migration*, *Einwanderern*, *Einwanderer* (all translate roughly to “immigrants”/“immigration”/“foreigners”). In 2010, there are still eight such thematically-situating words among the 50 strongest collocations, but more and other content words show stronger collocation values at that point.

In 1998--2000, there are 18 function words (articles, prepositions, connectors) among the 50 strongest collocations, and only two metacommunicative collocations, *Thema*, *Themen*, “topic/topics,” which indicate that *Integration* is an issue under debate. In this time span, there are no words among the 50 strongest collocates that evaluate the ‘state of integration’. In 2010, there are only 12 function words among the 50 strongest collocations. Discursive salience is now metalinguistically indicated by more collocates that appear with high collocation values: *Thema* (topic), *Debatte* (debate), *Sachen*, (*in Sachen Integration*, “concerning/with regard to integration”), *Diskussion*, “discussion,” *Thesen*, “theses,” and *Themen*, “topics.”

In contrast to 1998--2000, the 2010 list of the 50 strongest collocates contains evaluating lexis concerning the state of integration: *bessere/besseren besser*, “better,” *gelingen/gelingen/gelingt*, “successful/accomplished/success/succeeds.” The collocation

verweigert, “refused” is new on this list, indicating the increasing concern about groups of people who supposedly refused to integrate despite political measures promoting integration.

6.2 *Integration* and *intégration* as the basis for compounds and neologisms

A third point to make regarding discursive salience is the occurrence of compounds and neologisms. Compounding is of particular interest in German because compounds can replace what would have to be expressed with an object or relative clause in English. *Integration* needs the junction element ‘s’ to compound with other words, and it is interesting to see that *Integration* occurs 688.98 PMW in the corpus, but *Integrations** occurs even more often, 714.81 PMW, which means that nominal compounds including *Integration* are more frequent than the noun by itself. The years of peak in usage (2001, 2006, and 2010) are the same for both noun and compounds. The most frequent compounds point to the politicization, institutionalization and legislation of integration in the German context:

- *Integrationspol**, “(regarding) politics of integration” (121.55 PMW), possible as either a noun, e.g., *Integrationspolitik*, or an adjective, e.g., *integrationspolitisch*;
- *Integrationsbeauftragte*, “state commissioner for integration” (59.25 PMW);
- *Integrationskurs*, “integration course” (56.05 PMW).¹

A larger group of less frequent compounds indicate concern over the perceived readiness of immigrants to integrate.

- *Integrationswill**, “willingness to integrate” (15.18 PMW), possible as either a noun, e.g., *Integrationwille*, or an adjective, e.g., *integrationswillig*;
- *Integrationsprobleme*, “problems with integration” (28.62 PMW);
- *Integrationsverw** (13.85 PMW), either *Integrationsverweigerung*, “refusal to integrate” or *Integrationsverweigerer*, “those who refuse to integrate”;
- *Integrationsbereit**, “readiness to integrate” (12.78 PMW), possible as either a noun, e.g., *Integrationsbereitschaft*, or an adjective, e.g., *integrationsbereit*;
- *Integrationsfähig**, “ability to integrate” (10.92 PMW), possible as either a noun, e.g., *Integrationsfähigkeit*, or an adjective, e.g., *integrationsfähig*

¹ Classes provided with the aid of state funding that have become increasingly obligatory since the introduction of integration politics for new immigrants and/or those applying for citizenship if not born in Germany, comprising a language as well as a civic education component.

These findings support the above collocation analysis, especially concerning necessary efforts and requirements for integration. However, they somewhat strengthen the category of ‘politics and institutions’.

Compounding is less common in French, where the favored way to express noun determination uses the preposition *de*, “of.” There are few compounds in the corpus, most notably *non-intégration* (8 occurrences) and *l’intégration-assimilation* (4 occurrences), and a few cases of morphological neology such as *intégrationniste(s)*, “advocating integration” (12 occurrences), *intégratrice*, “integrating” (19), *hyperintégrés*, “hyper-integrated” (2), or *intégrabilité*, “integrability” (1). The word *désintégrés*, “disintegrated” (4) usually refers to a concrete broken item and is semantically extended to the breaking up of relationships between immigrants and society. Even if numbers are very low, these examples echo judgments over the degree of integration achieved by immigrants.

7 Conclusion

Our corpus-assisted approach allows us to establish that *Integration* and *intégration* are keywords in French and German migration discourses and that their usage is indicative of main developments and events pertinent to public debates about migration and immigrants in both countries. They peak at certain times when the discourse salience increases, prompted not least by specific events and longer periods of high salience that lead to an increased density of content words among the collocation, and stabilizing patterns of co-occurrence and therefore discourse contexts.

The analysis of these two keywords exhibits similarities and differences in usage. In German, *Integration* occurs more often than *intégration* in French, and yields a higher number of content words among the collocations. However, despite the extensive politicization and legislation around this issue in Germany, collocates referring to concrete political measures are more prominent in the French discourse.

Other words from the same discourse that could be potentially considered as keywords also warrant attention, especially considering the area of tension between integration, assimilation, and multiculturalism as well as different word forms, e.g., the verbs *intégrer/integrieren*, *assimiler/assimilieren*, the adjective *multikulturell/multicultural*, and the noun *Multikulturalismus/multiculturalisme*.

A comparative, discourse and context-oriented project questions the notion of lexical equivalence. While we select lexical items for comparison on the basis of their surface

equivalence, we then explore in depth to what extent they are used in a similar way in discourse contexts and whether there are differences. Differences in usage to some extent undermine the idea of lexical equivalence across languages and confirm the role of discourse contexts as a determining factor for lexical semantics. Reference to research to establish the historical and political context of the discourses is also needed to gauge whether or not we compare words (that may or may not be formally equivalent) that hold a similar floor in the related discourse. We started from our insight into debates about migration in both countries and purpose-built a corpus that needed to focus on migration; we had to argue from the discursive context into the corpus as well as from the corpus into the discursive context so that our study was not primarily determined by one or the other.

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Appendix A. Collocations of Integration in German

Thematic category	Collocation	Translation	T-score value (rounded)
Indicators of thematic environment	<i>Migration</i>	migration	12.5
	<i>Zuwanderung</i>	immigration	9.8
	<i>Einwanderung</i>	immigration	6.4
	<i>Assimilation</i>	assimilation	6.3
	<i>Integration</i>	integration	5.6
	<i>Islam</i>	Islam	3.7
Subjects of integration	<i>Zuwanderern/ Zuwanderer</i>	immigrants (nom + gen)	10/6.5
	<i>Migranten /Migrantinnen</i>	migrants (m/f)	13.8/4.1
	<i>Ausländern /Ausländer</i>	foreigners (nom + gen)	8.8/5.9
	<i>Einwanderern/Einwanderer,</i> <i>lebenden</i>	immigrants (nom + gen) living	8.4/5.5 7.2
	<i>Türken</i>	Turks	5.2
	<i>Zugewanderten</i>	(past participle; those who	3.8
	<i>muslimischen/muslimischer</i>	immigrated) Muslim (adj., nom. + gen)	3.5/3.5
	Destination or domain of integration	<i>Gesellschaft</i>	Society
<i>Arbeitsmarkt</i>		labor market	5.6
<i>gesellschaftliche</i>		social	4.8
<i>soziale</i>		social	4.8
<i>Einbürgerung</i>		naturalization	4.0
<i>kulturelle</i>		cultural	3.4
Indicators of metacommunication	<i>Thema</i>	topic	11.3
	<i>Debatte</i>	debate	8.0
	<i>Sachen</i>	(concerning/with regard to)	6.8
	<i>Themen</i>	topics	5.0
	<i>fordert</i>	demands (reported speech)	4.8
	<i>Diskussion</i>	discussion	4.5
	<i>bedeutet</i>	means (verb 3rd p sg)	4.0
	<i>Thesen</i>	theses	4.0
	<i>Sarrazin</i>	(name of book author)	3.8
	<i>Fragen</i>	questions	3.7
	<i>Bedeutung</i>	meaning	3.6

State of integration	<i>Gelungene</i>	successful/accomplished	8.3
	<i>bessere</i>	better (adj)	8.0
	<i>Probleme</i>	problems	7.2
	<i>erfolgreiche</i>	successful	5.8
	<i>gelingen</i>	succeeding	5.6
	<i>gelingt</i>	succeeds	5.3
	<i>besser</i>	better (adv)	5.0
	<i>besseren</i>	better (adj, dat)	4.8
	<i>gescheitert</i>	failed	4.8
	<i>funktioniert</i>	works (~works well, succeeds)	4.6
	<i>gelungener</i>	successful/accomplished	4.3
	<i>Beispiele</i>	examples	3.9
	<i>verbessern</i>	improve	3.9
	<i>mangelnde</i>	lacking/not good enough	3.7
	<i>gelungenen</i>	successful/accomplished (gen)	3.5
<i>gescheiterten</i>	failed	3.4	
<i>funktionieren</i>	to work (~to succeed)	3.4	
Efforts made and measured	<i>Schlüssel</i>	key	7.1
	<i>fördern</i>	promote, foster	6.7
	<i>Engagement</i>	engagement	4.8
	<i>Beitrag</i>	contribution	4.6
	<i>Stand</i>	state of affairs	4.0
	<i>Bereitschaft</i>	readiness	4.0
	<i>Aufgabe</i>	task	4.0
	<i>Anstrengungen</i>	efforts	4.0
	<i>erschwert</i>	make difficult	3.8
	<i>Förderung</i>	promotion/support	3.8
	<i>braucht</i>	needs (verb)	3.7
<i>Bemühungen</i>	efforts	3.5	
Policies	<i>Stiftungen</i>	foundation	6.1
	<i>Böhmer</i>	family name of minister of state for integration affairs	5.9
	<i>Sachverständigenrat/Sachverständigenrats/ Sachverständigenrates</i>	advisory board/panel of experts, different case endings	4.8 /4.3 /3.8
	<i>Staatsministerin</i>	minister of state (f)	4.4
	<i>Maria</i>	First name of minister of state for integration affairs	4.0
	<i>SVR</i>	Acronym of <i>Sachverständigenrat</i>	3.7

	<i>Aktionsplan</i>	action plan	3.6
	<i>Minister</i>	minister	3.4
Requirements for integration	<i>Bildung</i>	education	5.5
	<i>Voraussetzung</i>	requirement	5.1
	<i>Seiten</i>	sides	3.6
	<i>Sprache</i>	language	3.6
	<i>Einbahnstraße</i>	one-way road	4.0

Appendix B. Collocations of *intégration* in French

Category	Relevant collocation and rank	Translation	T-score value (rounded)
Indicators of thematic environment	<i>immigration</i>	immigration	25.9
Policies and institutions	<i>politique /politiques</i>	Policy or political ('political integration')	17.8
	<i>haut/conseil/HCI</i>	<i>Haut Conseil à l'Intégration</i>	15.8/15.7/7.8
	<i>contrat/accueil</i>	contract (mandatory for every immigrant who enters France)	15.3/11.4
	<i>nationale/identité/ministre/ministère</i>	refer to the ministry/minister of immigration, integration, and national identity	13.6/13.2/10.7/7.2
Destination or domain of integration	<i>immigration</i>	immigration	25.9
	<i>européenne</i>	European	12.1
	<i>française</i>	French	10.6
	<i>France</i>	France	10.1
	<i>pays</i>	country	9.5
	<i>français</i>	French	9.2
	<i>sociale</i>	social	9.1
	<i>républicaine</i>	republican	8.6
Subjects of integration	<i>société</i>	society	7.7
	<i>immigrés</i>	immigrants	15.5
	<i>étrangers</i>	foreigners	10.1
	<i>jeunes</i>	young people	8.0
	<i>populations</i>	people	7.8
State of integration / Integration as a process	<i>immigrants</i>	immigrants	7.6
	<i>modèle</i>	model	14.0
	<i>réussie</i>	successful	10.0
	<i>échec</i>	failure	9.6

	<i>processus</i>	process	9.2
	<i>problèmes</i>	problems	8.8
	<i>favoriser</i>	promote	8.4
	<i>fait (verb)</i>	do	8.0
	<i>problème</i>	problem	7.9
	<i>difficultés</i>	difficulties	7.2
	<i>faciliter</i>	facilitate	7.1
Indicators of metacommunication	<i>question</i>	question	8.3
	<i>matière</i>	concerning	7.3
Efforts made and measured	N/A	N/A	
Requirements for integration	N/A	N/A	

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