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To cite this version:

Melani Schrötei, Marie Veniard, Charlotte Taylor, Andreas Blätte. A comparative analysis of the keyword multicultural(ism) in French, British, German and Italian migration discourse. Viola L.; Musolff A. Migration and Media. Discourses about identities in crisis, John Benjamins, 2019. hal-02186002

HAL Id: hal-02186002

https://hal.science/hal-02186002v1

Submitted on 17 Jul 2019

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Schröter Melani, Veniard Marie, Taylor Charlotte and Blätte Andreas, (2019), "A comparative analysis of the keyword *multicultural(ism)* in French, British, German and Italian migration discourse", in Viola, L. and Musolff, A., eds., *Migration and Media: Discourses about identities in crisis*, John Benjamins, London, p. 13-44.

Chapter 1

A comparative analysis of the keyword *multicultural(ism)* in French, British, German and Italian migration discourse

Melani Schröter

Marie Veniard

Charlotte Taylor

Andreas Blätte

Abstract

This chapter looks into discourses about migration in four European countries through the lens of cultural keywords (cf. Williams 1983; Bennett et al. 2005; Wierzbicka 1997); using Corpus Assisted Discourse Analysis, it compares the use of the keywords *multicultural* and *multiculturalism*. The study is based on corpora from British, French, German and Italian newspaper articles covering the time span 1998-2012, collated from one conservative and one left-liberal national newspaper in each language.

Across the languages, the results show that the adjective *multicultural* is mostly descriptive of a state of affairs, typically without negative evaluation, and that the noun *multiculturalism* is associated with abstract

concepts and points to a more negative discourse prosody, indicated by collocates such as 'failure'.

1. Introduction

In the following, we will explain our conceptualisation of Discourse Keywords and provide a rationale for using Discourse Keywords (DKW) for comparative discourse analyses.

Our understanding of DKWs is mostly informed by research in the area of cultural keywords (Williams 1983, Wierzbicka 1997, 2006, 2010) and conceptual history (following from Brunner et al. 1972-1997), even though it differs from such approaches methodologically (see section 3. below). Williams describes cultural keywords as "a shared body of words and meanings in our most general discussions, in English, of the practices and institutions which we group as culture and society" (1983: 15). Williams considers keywords as simultaneously reflecting and shaping reality (cf. Stubbs, 2010: 24) and introducing a revised edition of Williams' keywords, Bennett et al. emphasise the connection between (changes in) words and their meanings and the wider political, social and economic context, their characteristics of being significant in public discourse, and difficult in the sense that they are sites of struggles about meaning. These characteristics have also been recognised in Germanophone analyses of public and political

discourse, where the interest in keywords has led to numerous publications, including lexicographically organised documentations of keywords across historical periods (e.g. Strauß/Hass/Harras 1989; Stötzel/Wengeler 1995; Felbick 2003). While these works need to be seen as part of the 'cultural keywords tradition', they are closer to our understanding of discourse keywords, as explained below. A few publications relating to the four languages under investigation here also focus particularly on keywords in migration discourse (Aprile/Dufoux 2009; Jung et al. 2000; Gallissot 2001). In Anglophone academia, Wierzbicka (e.g. 1997, 2006, 2010) contributed a body of work on cultural keywords that is particularly valuable in introducing a cross-linguistic and comparative perspective and by pointing out the culture-specificity of conceptualisations that are wrapped up in the semantics of keywords.

Despite the commonalities mentioned above, we can differentiate between the academic endeavours relating to cultural keywords and conceptual history on the one hand and DKWs on the other. 'Cultural keywords' capture more basic conceptualisations of publicly relevant social phenomena that can feature across a whole range of thematic discourses across time, such as *state*, *justice*, *citizen*, *freedom* (Brunner et al.), or *culture*, *work*, *civilisation*, *idealism* (Williams 1983). Wierzbicka points out the culture specificity of English words such as *fair*, *reasonable*, *experience*,

sense (2006, 2010) and compares keywords such as *friendship* and *freedom* across a number of languages (1997). DKWs pertain more to the use of words in specific, thematic discourse contexts at certain points in time; "the emphasis is on those cultural keywords which have sociopolitical significance in a particular period" (Jeffries/Walker, 2018: 4). Hence, the approach to their study differs also in the choice of data for analysis: Cultural keywords tend to have more of a diachronic dimension in studying the use of words in key texts (literary, academic or political), more often than not spanning more than one historical period, whereas "sociopolitical keywords" (Jeffries/Walker, 2018: 4), or DKWs, are often studied using a range of media and political texts over shorter time periods, relating to more thematically specific discourses.

Based on the publications mentioned in this section, we can specify that DWKs in our understanding (Schröter/Storjohann 2015; Schröter/Veniard 2016) are first of all lexical items that occur frequently in periods of the salience of the discourse they belong to. Secondly, they function as semantic nodes in discourses which, upon deeper analysis of their context of usage, unravel a part of the history and ideology of the underlying discourse. Thirdly, they are usually part of an ensemble of other lexical items that feature prominently in the same discourse; typically there are a number of DKWs that might be associated with certain points of view. Finally, they

more often than not signify controversially debated issues; controversies can lead to the creation of concurring DKWs. Controversy entailed in keywords can refer to either the signifier, i.e. problematizing the choice of word (e.g. re-framing *illegal immigrants* as *illegalised immigrants*), or the signified, i.e. problematizing the phenomenon referred to (e.g. *austerity*). The use of DKWs is often accompanied by metalinguistic comments, e.g. distance markers or specifications of meaning.

Having said this, we do not suggest that the complex phenomenon of 'discourse' can or should be boiled down to the lexical level. However, it seems to provide comparable and replicable way to access discourses since the study of DKWs is a study of words in usage in certain contexts. Because they are semantic nodes in discourses, they allow insights into the discourses in which they occur (Mahlberg 2007; Née/Veniard 2012). Wierzbicka (1997:16f.) captures this with the following metaphor:

Using 'key words' as an approach to the study of culture (or discourse, the authors) 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.

So far, the study of cultural and discourse keywords has mostly been based on manual, qualitative-hermeneutic analyses of more or less substantial text corpora, the selection criteria for which have been made more or less transparent. The way that their salience has been determined was through noting their frequency (albeit with unreliable quantification), their occurrence over a range of texts, changes in meaning, their relation to other words in the same discourse, and the occurrence of metalinguistic comments which might indicate controversy. All of these aspects suggest that corpus linguistic tools could support such analyses very effectively. It is, however, at this point in time mostly in Anglophone academia, which so far displayed a lesser interest in the lexical dimension of discourse than e.g. Germanophone discourse studies, that corpus linguistic methodology has been integrated into (critical) discourse analysis (cf. Partington et al. 2013) and thereby sparked a greater interest in the lexical dimension of discourse than it was previously apparent in Anglophone discourse studies.

Stubbs (2010), O'Halloran (2010) and Jeffries/Walker (2012, 2018) acknowledge the notion of 'cultural keywords' and the necessity to differentiate between this understanding of keywords and a different one

within corpus linguistics which can, as they show, be combined. In corpus linguistics, keywords are determined based on statistical calculation 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 (cf. Baker 2004). While this procedure could be used also to identify DKWs (cf. Jeffries/Walker 2018), it has a range of other uses as well. Jeffries/Walker (2018) differentiate between the notion of a cultural keyword as described above, and the notion of a statistical keyword in the context of corpus linguistics. In our project, a practical limitation of our research is that we cannot use reference corpora from the four languages to identify statistical keywords, because these are simply not available for use with one and the same tool. Therefore, we do not use the term keyword in the corpus linguistics sense of 'statistical keword'. Despite not being able to use reference corpora for the process of identifying keywords, corpus-assisted methodology proves useful for us for a number of reasons: firstly, it is particularly supportive of lexically focussed research (cf. Mautner, 2009: 124). Secondly, we think with Jeffries and Walker (2018)

> that there is a place for research that uses the data-structuring advantages of corpus linguistics (…) guided by analytical frameworks, to add to our

> understanding of the ways in which language is used in smaller, well-defined and often time-limited corpora [and to use] the available resources of current software to find salient patterns of occurrence in the data and organize the results in order to facilitate detailed, co-textual analysis of whatever aspect of the data is under scrutiny (…) to help us understand the socio-political significance of any purely statistical result and pattern. (2018: 16)

Thirdly, because we are using the same corpus database and corpus analytical tool across four subcorpora in different languages, it also allows us to consistently undertake the same analytical steps for a systematic comparison, without relying too much on the adaptation of a methodological framework across a team of researchers who might over- or underemphasise certain findings. Corpus assisted procedures are also useful for empirical validation. On the one hand, researchers are more likely to see what they have not been looking for and patterns might emerge that are not visible without a corpus perspective. On the other hand, notable lexical patterns that might have aroused the attention of the researcher can be evaluated in terms of their frequency of occurrence. Last but not least, corpus linguistics and the study of cultural/discourse keywords share an understanding of meaning not as an abstract, cognitive or metaphysical entity related to a form, but as a

fait social, as emerging from usage in (social) context(s): "[w]hat […] lexical words […] mean, is what we learn about them in the discourse"; "[a]ll that has been said about a discourse object contributes to its meaning." (Teubert/Čermáková, 2007: 68; cf. Teubert 2010).

Such an understanding of of lexical semantics implies that we take discourse context into account, and for comparative analysis across languages, this could mean that lexical equivalence might not equate functional equivalence across languages/discourses. However, a comparative approach can take cognates as a starting point for problematising functional equivalence as a result of the comparative analysis. The advantage of using DKWs for comparative research lies in their salience, their frequency of occurrence across a range of texts in public discourse, their phenomenologically distinct form – as opposed to the analytical level of 'strategy' or 'argumentation' – as well as their ubiquity in that every thematic discourse will feature such lexical nodes. Thus, DKWs – whether or not they can be established as cognates or functional equivalents – can be identified across languages and discourses.

2. Background – previous literature relating to multicultural/ism in the UK, France, Germany and Italy

Schröter Melani, Veniard Marie, Taylor Charlotte and Blätte Andreas, (2019), "A comparative analysis of the keyword *multicultural(ism)* in French, British, German and Italian migration discourse", in Viola, L. and Musolff, A., eds., *Migration and Media: Discourses about identities in crisis*, John Benjamins, London, p. 13-44.

Discourses about immigration have become salient in many European countries in recent decades, leading to at times intense debates. What is more, migration debates can occur at national as well as transnational level (cf. Wodak/Boukala 2015 for the EU). Migration discourses have mostly been investigated at national level (cf., e.g. Baker et al. 2008, 2013; Hart 2010 for the UK; Jung et al. 2000; Wengeler 1995; Jung et al. 2000 for Germany, Bonnafous 1991; Barats 1999 for France; Triandafyliidou 1999; Sciortino/Colombo 2004 for Italy). However, "[t]o date few comparative studies exist that make any form of systematic qualitative comparisons" (Maneri/Ter Wal 2005; unpaginated; more recent studies involve comparison, cf. Benson 2013; Vollmer 2014; Taylor 2014; Schröter/Veniard 2016).

Multicultural(ism) has been recognised as a keyword in the migration discourses within the four countries and languages that we included in our following analyses (Gallisot 2007; Jung et al. 2000; Aprile/Dufoux 2009; Bennett et al. 2005). It is interesting to note that a combined overview of existing literature on these keywords sources already points to a number of differences and commonalities across the four discourses in question that are related to their histories of immigration, including differing political responses to immigration. It should also be noted that *multicultural(ism)* in itself can ambiguously refer to the state of a society, to policies and more

abstractly to a way of dealing with a diverse society, resulting from a process of immigration.

For the UK, Farrar (2012) notices how the meaning of *multicultural(ism)* was negotiated between concurring notions of 'integration' and 'assimilation' since the keyword has been introduced into British immigration debates in the late 60s. He also observes that an anxiety of minorities undermining a nation's culture is an underlying theme for those who oppose the idea of multiculturalism from the political right, and that in the 1980s, multiculturalism has been questioned also from the left with a view on structural mechanisms of oppression and discrimination, including not only race but in particular also class. More recently, the political left defend multiculturalism as it continues to be challenged from the right. Farrar traces the problematisation of Muslim immigrants since the 1990s and the 2001 attacks on the World Trade Centre as well as the 2005 London bombings as triggering criticism of multiculturalism and the invention of 'multicultural nationalism' since the 2000s which attempts to combine , similar to the German integration debate, 'British core values' with a 'celebration of diversity'.

In Germany, *Multikulturalismus* resp. the idea of a *multikulturelle Gesellschaft*, a multicultural society, has been problematised already from the early 1980s, decidedly so by the conservative parties, and has been

increasingly dismissed as a naïve laisser-faire approach to dealing with immigration politically, in favour of the concept of integration which aims to strike a compromise between 'laisser-faire' multiculturalism and more rigid expectations of immigrants to assimilate culturally (Wengeler 1995). Here as in other European countries, the most problematised group of immigrants in the German integration debate are Muslims. Since 2000, the focus has been on integration policies, providing civic education and German language courses, whereas the engagement with such offers on the part of immigrants has been made increasingly mandatory and a purported lack of effort to integrate on part of the immigrants has been increasingly problematised.

Multiculturalismo is addressed in Gallissot et al.'s (2007) discussion of Italian and French migration keywords, but it is not itself listed as keyword, largely because it is considered an American term which has only recently come into Europe (Kilani, 2001: 12) and because Italy is described as a country with a very weak secular tradition which is far from a position in which religious pluralism is socially operative (Rivera, 2007: 150). In surveying current dictionary definitions, we find the following two senses in the *Garzanti* and *Repubblica* dictionaries, and only the second in the *Treccani*: **1.** belonging to or participating in more than one culture; **2.** policies aimed at protecting cultural identities of ethnic groups. The

academic discussion focusses on the latter meaning, but often to comment on the absence of policies in this area, as Allievi (2013: 730) argues,

the legislative process concerning migration has not really raised – much less solved – the problem of the ongoing process of cultural pluralisation of Italy, usually interpreted in the media arena with the slightly negative connotation of the term multiculturalism diffused in the political language in recent years.

With reference to the other countries in this project, it may be interesting to note that Triandafyllidou's (2002) paper on multiculturalism in the Italian context concludes that the Italian debate is similar to the French debate in its emphasis on assimilation, even though it is not based on the same tradition of republicanism. Similar to the British debate, she notes, is the recognition that the needs of Muslim communities have to be taken into account, but "the Italian understanding of the national civic culture is much 'thicker' than that predicated by the British liberal communitarian multiculturalism" (unpaginated; paragraph 4.4). She also notes that the conservative *Il Giornale* sympathises with the German conservative's stance on emphasising 'German core values' while the left-liberal La Repubblica avoids to take sides between the multicultural positions of the German Socialist party and the 'Germanisation' policy of the CDU. The bottom line

of the Italian debate is that cultural and religious diversity have to be assimilated (ibid.).

As stated above, the situation in France presents some similarities with that of Italy. French identity and conception of the relations between the State and individuals stems from the 18th century Revolution and posits equality between all citizens, regardless of origin or religion. Thus, immigration policies have been orientated towards assimilation and then, more recently, towards integration. However, if there is no official policy of recognition of origins and cultures, there are in France *de facto* multicultural policies, which are justified by social, rather than racial, arguments (Schnapper 2015). Despite France's long history of immigration – France being *de facto* a multicultural country, the words *multiculturel* – *multiculturalisme* themselves are very recent (Aprile and Dufoix 2009). According to *Le Petit Robert*, a common dictionary, the modifier *multiculturel* dates back only to 1980. The noun *multiculturalisme* is just slightly older (1971). Both refer to the cohabitation of several cultures, as attested by one of the phrases given as example in the definitions, *société multiculturelle*.

Based on this review, it seems as though in all languages, *multicultural(ism)* refers broadly to the issue of immigrant groups preserving cultural identity and/or to the resulting cultural diversity in

immigration countries, including how to deal with this diversity. It is a contested term in relation to concurring concepts of assimilation and integration, both of which can entail varying expectations regarding the degree of preservation of cultural identity or heritage by migrants in the different languages. The discussion above also seems to indicate an increasing problematisation, especially regarding Muslim communities, even where the idea of a multicultural society was initially (partly) embraced. Differences lie in the French and Italian focus on assimilation, in the duration over which multicultural(ism) was initially embraced in British discourse – but increasingly problematised, moving towards a stance that is more focused on creating more cultural homogeneity in a perceived need for social cohesion. In Germany, multicultural(ism) never gained the currency that it had in the British discourse and was dismissed quickly, replaced by a remarkable consensus on integration as middle ground. However, this middle ground continues to be pulled at from a more liberal (multicultural) and a more rigid (assimilation) stance, arguably more successfully by the latter, which is reflected in integration measures becoming more obligatory for migrants.

Drawing on this previous literature, the following hypotheses for our analyses emerge; (i) that there is a (more) negative discourse of *multicultural(ism)* in France and Italy; (ii) that there might be ambivalence

in the British discourse and (iii) that the German discourse is more indifferent regarding this particular term. However, we will also in the following look at the adjective and the noun separately to see if and how usage of these two differs.

3. Data & Methodology

We collected a more general thematic newspaper corpus relating to Italian, French, German and British migration discourse. In the following, we will explain how the rationale of our research, moderated by practical feasibility, guided our choice of material. We chose a newspaper corpus for our comparative project despite some limitations of this material. In particular, news values (cf. Bednarek/Caple 2014), events and discourse interventions by powerful or influential participants make newspaper reporting likely to be a snapshot of hegemonic discourse that neglects the perspectives most crucially of migrants themselves. However, such a snapshot of hegemonic and influential discourse is likely to contain salient representations that are likey to be stable, i.e. not ad-hoc and ofen reproduced, i.e. not marginal, individual perceptions of issues and problems. Sales of hard-copy newspapers have seen a decline, but the availability of content online and the dissemination of news articles through social media still indicates a wide, if more fragmented, readership (Bednarek/Caple, 2012: 30ff.). While

there are existing analyses of representations of migrants and migration in newspaper discourse (e.g. Hart 2010; Baker et al. 2008; Gabrielatos/Baker 2008; Bonnafous 1991; Barats 1999; Jung et al. 2000; Niehr 2004; Wengeler 2003; Maneri 2011; Sciortino/Colombo 2004; Triandafyllidou 1999), there is scope for our project to add a systematically comparative perspective to this research

Since it was our aim to analyse more than one DKW in our project and since some of the envisaged DKW were polysemous (especially *integration*, see Schröter/Veniard 2016), we firstly collected a thematic migration discourse corpus by using search words that we considered to be general and indicative of migration as a topic of the articles that were to be retrieved (see Table 1 below). The articles were retrieved partly from digital databases and online archives of the relevant newspapers (see Table 1 below). Secondly, a snapshot of widely circulating, influential and hegemonic discourse does not preclude a certain spectrum of political orientations such as reflected in the biggest political parties of the involved countries, so that we strove to achieve at least a minimal spread of different political orientations. For this reason, we chose one conservative and one left-liberal newspaper from each country. Political orientation of newspapers can be determined by a number of factors, such as newspaper owners and stakeholders, voting behaviour of the readership, amount of

coverage of certain political parties and/or policies as well as amount of space devoted to quotes from political actors of different orientations. Thirdly, we also wanted to be able to trace changes over time, so we chose the earliest year in which all of the selected newspapers were available digitally – the year 1998 – as the starting point for our data collection which took place in 2013, so that we collected data from 1998-2012 in all cases. The following table indicates the search words and newspapers that we used for each language as well as the databases from which the articles were downloaded manually, number of retrieved articles and total number of words in the four corpora:

	Newspapers	**Query**	**Source**	**Articles**	**Words**
French	Le Figaro La Libération	Immigration, immigré(s), immigrant(s)	Factiva Database	22.624	16.194.941
German	Die Welt tageszeitung	Einwanderer, Zuwanderer, Migranten, Einwander-ung, Zuwan-derung, Migration	Partly newspapers' online archives, partly LexisNexis database	13.874	6.006.912
English	The Times Guardian	Immigrants, migrants, immigration, migration	LexisNexis database	42.145	35.236.313

Italian	Corierre della Sera La Repubblica	Immigante/i, immigrati, immirazione/i, migrante/i, migrazione/i	Partly from LexisNexis, partly newspapers' online archives.	75.489	49.708.425

Table 1: Sources, retrieval and size of the four newspaper corpora

These four corpora were then uploaded to the Corpus Workbench database (Evert/Hardie 2011), where they were part-of-speech-tagged, annotated with metadata (source, year) and duplicates were removed. The Corpus Workbench is linked to the corpus analysis tool Corpus Query Processor (Hardie 2014), which allows for a range of queries, most of all collocations and their occurrence in terms of position to the left or right of the lexical item in question, concordances and dispersion (e.g. frequency in a certain source/over time).

For both the noun *multiculturalism* and the adjective *multicultural*, we first looked at the frequency of occurrence over time across all four languages in order to identify trends as well as differences and similarities in usage over time. In a second step, we retrieved the collocations of each *multicultural* and *multiculturalism* separately in each corpus. In doing so, we used the statistical measure of log likelihood and a collocation span of five positions to the left and to the right from the search word, as well as a minimum number of three occurrences of the collocate in the overall corpus.

In a third step, we analysed the collocations. In order to do so feasibly, we first scrunitnised the entire list of collocates, ordered by decreasing log likelihood values indicating the strength of the connection between two co-occurring lexical items. It firstly showed that the items at the top of the list can have very high collocation values, but that those values diminish rapidly not much further down the list. We therefore found that rather than including every item on the list of collocations in all four languages, a good cut-off point would be to only include the first 200 items on the list for every language. When discussing the results below, we do not indicate the log likelihood values for each collocate in order to avoid cluttering our presentation with figures. It should be noted that in the case of *multicultural*, collocation values of the 200 strongest collocates range from 1133.5 ('society') to 0.21 ('national') in English; for German from 1184.1 ('Gesellschaft') to 'jetzt' (0.19), for French 506.38 ('société') to 0.002 ('aussi'), for Italian 1505.65 ('società') to 1.471 ('altro'). In the case of *multiculturalism*, they range from 148.4 ('failed') to 1.4 ('Europe') in English; for German the only content word collocate has a log likelihood value of 53.7, for French from 80.9 ('métissage') to 0 ('France'), for Italian from 135.405 ('fallimento') to 0.152 ('volta'). To briefly indicate statistical significance, a log likelihood value of 10.83 corresponds to a probability value of 0.001, i.e. in this case a 99.9 percent probability that the co-

occurrence of two words is not coincidental. The higher the log likelihood value, the lower the probability value, i.e. the percentage to which the finding is not due to chance (c.f e.g. Jeffries/Walker, 2018: 27).

Secondly, we found that grammatical function words, especially articles, were not indicative of the sociopolitical context and could therefore be disregarded. However, we included all other collocating words as potentially relevant and found that they could be grouped into semantic categories which seemed relevant across all four languages, for instance words pertaining to institutions, (groups of) people, actions or places. This grouping is an interpretative step aided by checking the concordance lines for the way in which the collocate appears near our search word in cases of ambiguity. As a group of researchers, we discussed our understanding of these semantic categories and cross-checked each others' categorisation of the collocates accordingly. The main use of it is that it helps to further break down and organise the data (200 collocates for each language), and to describe and compare patterns of usage in a more fine-grained way, especially since we found that the collocational profiles and hence the usage of *multicultural(ism)*, seen through the lens of our semantic grouping, shows some variation across the four languages. This interpretative step, including our highlighting in bold of negatively evaluating words among the collocates, pertain to the notions of semantic prosody and semantic

preference. These are concepts emerging from corpus linguistics and refer to patterns which may be observed through collocation analysis. We often associate related words and evaluative meanings with words that are often not visible to the 'naked eye' or part of our conscious word knowledge but can be revealed through the large quantities of data that corpus linguistics affords and thus allows us to glimpse the discourse web that may be pulles upon by individual lexical items. To refer to an often quoted example for semantic prosody, Sinclair (1991) observed that *happen* shows collocation with words that denote unpleasant things and therefore semantic prosody indicates that a word entails attitudes or evaluations. Semantic preference relates to collocates that can be grouped according to semantic similarity or semantic field. "For example, if the collocates of *happen* turn out to be mostly from the field of natural disasters, then there is both a semantic preference and, since natural disasters tend to be evaluated negatively, a semantic prosody." (Jeffries/Walker: 2018: 37f.) We endeavour to capture semantic preference in our analysis by sorting the collocates into different semantic categories.

4. Analysis

4.1 Frequency

Schröter Melani, Veniard Marie, Taylor Charlotte and Blätte Andreas, (2019), "A comparative analysis of the keyword *multicultural(ism)* in French, British, German and Italian migration discourse", in Viola, L. and Musolff, A., eds., *Migration and Media: Discourses about identities in crisis*, John Benjamins, London, p. 13-44.

First of all, we looked at the frequencies of the adjective and the noun across our four languages sub-corpora over the years 1998-2012.

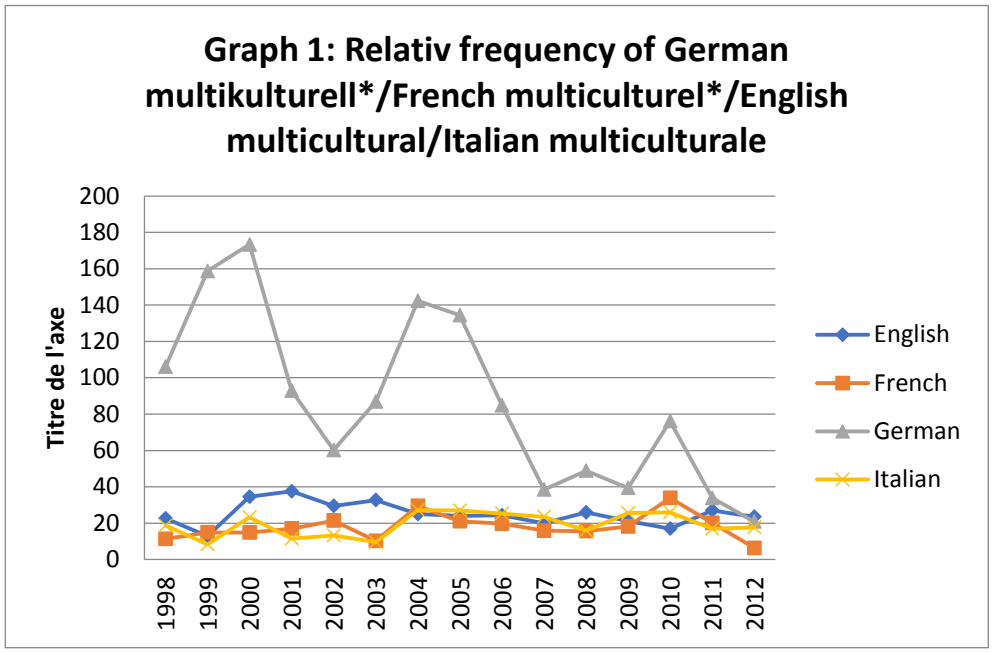

Figure 1: Relative frequency

Somewhat against our hypotheses above, the graph shows that the relative frequency, i.e. frequency per million words, of the adjective multicultural is notably high in German over the years. German, while being the smallest corpus, also shows the most notable increases and decreases in the use of the word over time. It is similarly frequent over time in the other languages from about 2004. Before 2004, the frequency is higher in English than in French and Italian, but since then, frequencies in these three discourses are a) remarkably similar to each other and b) quite constant over time.

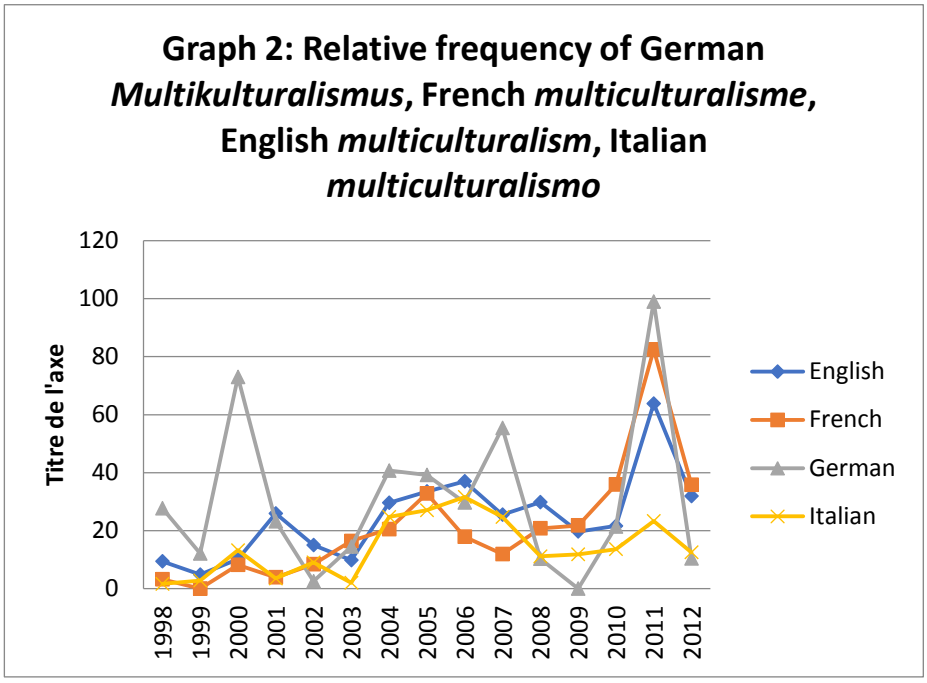

Figure 2: Relative frequency

From a comparative perspective, the noun behaves differently from the adjective. Apart from the year 2000 with German peaking again out of line with the other languages, Graph 2 shows a) a notably more varied frequency over time in all languages, b) convergence between the languages with regard to increases and decreases, and c) a general increase in frequency since 2004 across all languages, despite the drop in 2009.

Looking at the comparative frequencies of the noun and adjective in each language (Appendix A) overall confirms (apart from German) the tendency

that from about 2004 the use of the noun is increasing and the use of the adjective decreasing, in particular in French and English.

4.2 Collocations

4.2.1 Collocations of multicultural

As stated above in section 3, for the sake of not cluttering our table, we did not indicate the log likelihood values for each collocate, but indicated above the span of log likelihood values between of the collocates listed below.To provide a rough idea which collocates in the table below have higher and lower collocation values, those content word collocates that are among the first 100 on the collocation list (which appears along declining log likelihood values) appear in black, items 101-200 on the list appear in grey. Negatively evaluating words are highlighted in bold, which will become more relevant when comparing the use of the adjective with the use of the noun in section 4.2.2.

Semantic category	**Related collocates: English**	**Related collocates: French**	**Related collocates: German**	**Related collocates: Italian**

Descriptions	reality, successful, modern, today, now, tolerant, leftie, diverse, **crap**[1] new, cosmo-politan, part	**échec**, succès, ouverte, meilleur	**Scheitern,** Realität, **gescheitert**, Alltag, leben	**fallito**, aperta, coeso, pacifica, **fallita**, cosmopolita, tollerante, integrato, mondiale, nuova, moderna, numerose, tolleranza, convivenza, modernità, apertura, diversità, tolleranza, arie, sinistra, nostra, primi, contrario, buon, new, vecchio, forte, grande, nostro, diversi, nostre, diverse, internazionale, ricchezza, chiusura,

[1] The collocate 'crap' in English occurs in terms of absolute frequency only six times. A check of the concordance lines reveals that they occur in a specific quote and not as a genuine stance of the paper(s).

Schröter Melani, Veniard Marie, Taylor Charlotte and Blätte Andreas, (2019), "A comparative analysis of the keyword *multicultural(ism)* in French, British, German and Italian migration discourse", in Viola, L. and Musolff, A., eds., *Migration and Media: Discourses about identities in crisis*, John Benjamins, London, p. 13-44.

Geographical locations	Britain, London, England, UK, Europe, France, Australia British	France, Canada outremers, néerlandais, britannique, Suède, français, Pays-Bas, Europe	Frankfurt, Deutsch-land, USA, Berlin	Palermo, Roma, Montréal, Bretagna, Germania, Berlino, Gran, Londra, britannica, Olanda, Trieste, California, inglese, Francia, europee, francese, Uniti, Europa
Generic places	City, environment, capital, cities, country, place, world, here, east	ville, pays nation, monde	Metropole, Land, Stadt, Welt, hier	città, paese, metropoli, capitale, mondo, nazione
Institutions	programmes, programmingc ommission-ing, found-ation, Department, school, Centre			biblioteca, biblioteche, scuola, mercatino, laboratorio, radio, redazione, programmi, rassegna, corsi, incontri, media, comunità

Schröter Melani, Veniard Marie, Taylor Charlotte and Blätte Andreas, (2019), "A comparative analysis of the keyword *multicultural(ism)* in French, British, German and Italian migration discourse", in Viola, L. and Musolff, A., eds., *Migration and Media: Discourses about identities in crisis*, John Benjamins, London, p. 13-44.

Abstract concepts	society, societies, approach, affairs, experiment, model, arts, education, vision, development, history	société, modèle, sociétés caractère, Providence, **idéologie**, vocation, République, vision, mondialisation	Gesellschaft, Angelegenheiten, Demokratie	società, modello, sfide, identità, idea, dottrina, progetto, acquisizione, realtà, esperimento, economy, **illusione**, carattere, festa, politica, politiche, promozione, **sfida**, mito, formazione, esperienze, centro, creazione, iniziativa, versione, spazio, riproduzione, dialogo, comunicazione, globalizzazione, costruzione, natura, obiettivo, civiltà, tradizione, problemi, sviluppo, scelta, confronto, democrazia, esperienza, tipo, futuro, storia

Schröter Melani, Veniard Marie, Taylor Charlotte and Blätte Andreas, (2019), "A comparative analysis of the keyword *multicultural(ism)* in French, British, German and Italian migration discourse", in Viola, L. and Musolff, A., eds., *Migration and Media: Discourses about identities in crisis*, John Benjamins, London, p. 13-44.

Related concepts	multi-ethnic, multiracial, melting + pot, mix, nation, backgrounds, community, tolerance, identity, diversity, communities, immigration, national	métissée, multi-ethnique**,** **mosaïque,** intégration, identité	Zusammen-leben, Mitein-ander	multietnica, multireli-giosa, multirazziale, multireli-gioso, integrazione, multietniche, multietnico, interetnico, interculturale, **razzismo**
People	Muslims, immigrant, population, black, white, group, immigrants, minister	partisans, immigrants, gens, enfants, On	Wir	Merkel, autori, direttore, cittadino, popolo, abitanti, Leader
Actions	creating, become, believe	devenue, devenir, **limites**, mutation, créer, attendre, veut, tente, développemen t, **cause** (in *remettre en cause*, criticize), doit, peut, faut, va		**confrontano**, viviamo, gestito, diventando, diventata, riconosce, riservata, rendere, costruire, attraverso, essere, diventare, dobbiamo
Religio n				Islam
Intensifica-tion	most, increasingly, genuinely, very, especially, particularly	trop, très, plus		veramente, davvero,

Miscellaneous	nature, live, our, towards, proud, living, food, life	longueur, avance, base, serait, abord, aujourd'hui, est, étaient, avoir, Nouvelle, dire, tous, Mais, même, nous, aussi	wollen, heute, jetzt	dedita, Garzanti, predicazione, melting, pot, crocevia, basata, eccellenza, come, significa, sempre, presenta, perciò, più, ormai, propone, vista, stiamo, sostiene, quindi, senso, sarà, Eppure, Siamo, insomma, stessa, ultimi, sta, sarebbe, propria, altro

Table 2: Collocations (content words only) of multicultural in the four sub-corpora

Following on from our initial characterisation based on existing secondary literature and on the comparison aided by the table above, a few points seem of particular interest here. Firstly, there are more collocations in English and Italian than in German, French being in the middle-range for that matter. This is particularly surprising in the case of German, since Graph 1 indicates that the relative frequency of the word is much higher in this sub-corpus than in the others. Indeed, the German corpus is the smallest of the four sub-corpora, but even a look at absolute numbers shows that the adjective occurs

654 times in German and 762 times in Italian, which constitutes the largest corpus, so the occurrence of fewer collocates, and fewer content words among them, points towards a more scattered discourse in German and a more patterned and sustained discourse around *multicultural*, and hence to more salience of the DKW in these English and Italian migration discourses. Having said this, number of collocates referring to other places and the occurrence of Anglicisms in the Italian sub-corpus might also point towards a notion that *multicultural* is something pertaining to elsewhere mostly.

Commonwealth di nazioni , iniziativa in sé	**multiculturale**	con una forte leadership **inglese** , che
ızione non è il modello **inglese** e olandese ,	**multiculturale**	, ma quello francese laico dell ' integ
tacco suicida . Le discussioni sulla politica	**multiculturale**	**inglese** , perciò , hanno una portata a
pubblicò un articolo intitolato «Il modello	**multiculturale**	**inglese** in crisi» . , al dibattito si unì

Figure 1: Concordances of multiculturale *collocating with 'inglese'*

However, secondly, both English and Italian have also comparatively extensive reference to related concepts in common, such as 'multinational', 'tolerance', 'communities' and 'mulireligiosa', 'integrazione', 'mulitetniche'.

Third, there is an absence of reference to particular ethnic minorities, and, considering the increasing problematisation of Muslim minorities, of reference to religion, which only occurs with one collocate in the Italian sub-corpus. This is in contrast to our preliminary findings for another

keyword, *community* (cf. Veniard/Taylor/Blätte/Schröter 2016), where various ethnic minority groups are mentioned in English, French and Italian. Fourth, we highlighted the negatively evaluating collocations in the table above which show that a negative discourse about multicultural is specific to Germany, Italy and France.[2] It should be noted in the German case, that 163 of 654 occurrences of *multikulturell** account for the phrase *multikulturelle Gesellschaft* (multicultural society) and that the collocates 'Scheitern'/'gescheitert' [failure/fail] refer to this phrase.

sie haben sich eher das **Scheitern** der	**multikulturellen**	Gesellschaft auf ihre Fahnen geschrieben . I
eralen , Schuld an dem **Scheitern** der	**multikulturellen**	Gesellschaft . Die Türken erscheinen so als
mit Predigten über das **Scheitern** der	**multikulturellen**	Gesellschaft einen Politikwechsel voranzutr
en . Wenn jetzt also das **Scheitern** der	**multikulturellen**	Gesellschaft verkündet wird , so wird hier e
e um Ehrenmorde , das **Scheitern** der	**multikulturellen**	Gesellschaft , Zwangsheirat , das Erstarken
Gefährlich fremd ? das **Scheitern** der	**multikulturellen**	Gesellschaft? oder ?Nach den Kurden-Kraw

Figure 2: Concordances of multikulturell* *and 'Scheitern'*

In the French corpus, these negatively evaluating collocations are not compensated by positively evaluating ones, in contrast to the Italian corpus (cf. values such as 'tolleranza' [tolerance], 'convivenza' [coexistence/cohabitation], 'apertura' [open-mindedness]). Moreover, a positive collocate such as succès [success] refers, in the French corpus, only

[2] The collocate 'crap' in English occurs in terms of absolute frequency only six times. A check of the concordance lines reveals that they occur in a specific quote and not as a genuine stance of the paper(s).

to other countries (the Netherlands and the UK). 'Society' (and equivalents in the other languages) is the strongest collocate across all sub-corpora, suggesting that *multicultural society* is a fixed phrase in all of the involved languages. This finding is supported by a look at positions; in the French corpus, in 81 out of 106 co-occurrences, 'societé' occurs immediately to the left of *multiculturel**, in Italian equivalently 211 times out of 264 – in German, 'Gesellschaft' occurs immediately to the right of the adjective in 163 out of 179 co-occurrences and equivalently in English 158 times out of 170 co-occurrences. Beyond this, the use of *multicultural* as a modifier for other cultural/educational institutions is more common in English and Italian than in French and German. Fifth, however, the notion of a present multicultural reality seems to be shared mostly in English and German, where collocates like 'reality', 'our'/ 'Realität' [reality], 'Alltag' [everyday life], 'hier' [here], 'Zuammenleben', 'Miteinander' [(living) together, togetherness] and reference to own geographical locations seems to indicate that *multicultural* relates to a fact of life in Britain and Germany.

, he is an embodiment of **our**	**multicultural**	ambitions . An immigrant , a west London boy
changed in recent years . **Our**	**multicultural**	society is now what makes up Britain . It is a pr
nnections help shape **our** own	**multicultural**	society . Steve Brace Commonwealth Institute I
at will attack **our** multiracial ,	**multicultural**	society ? Will the contributions of , for example
ic diversity of **our** pluralistic ,	**multicultural**	society . One of the best new plays I 've seen th
nomic benefits , they like **our**	**multicultural**	society , and they often admire migrants . They
ice that faces **our** increasingly	**multicultural**	society . We can try to defend an ever growing

Figure 3: Concordances of multicultural *and 'our'*

A last noteworthy finding points to the notion that multicultural is considered a recent, modern, evolving or even increasing development. In English, the descriptions 'modern' and 'new' as well as the intensifiers 'increasingly', 'genuinely', 'most' and 'very'[3] and the verbs 'become' and 'creating' point to this perception.

ons of what is happening **today** in	**multicultural**	, multi-ethnic Britain ; headlines denouncing
leader sprang out from behind the	**multicultural**	pieties . **Today** the tradition of tolerance was
ly empire . So did **today** 's vibrant	**multicultural**	society . The 400 West Indians who came to
be much more at home in **today** 's	**multicultural**	Bradford , " she says . " I 've deliberately pro
al and educational glue in **today** 's	**multicultural**	, multiracial society , Alan Johnson , the Edu
alties of young Asians in **today** 's	**multicultural**	society -all these contribute to what Verma ca

Figure 4: Concordances of multicultural *and 'today'*

In German, the collocates 'heute' (today) and 'jetzt' (now) seem to indicate this notion; it should be noted however, that in terms of absolute frequency, both co-occur only 5 times with multikulturell* and among these, only 3 co-occurrences of 'heute' refer to multicultural as a phenomenon of 'today'. In French and Italian, the idea of multiculturality as being a process is expressed through the verbs 'devenir' and 'diventare' (to become) as well as costruiere [to build], nuova [new] and moderna. However, for both it should

[3] In more than half of the 29 co-occurrences, 'most' appears immediately left of 'multicultural'; 'the same goes for the 15 co-occurrences of 'very'.

be noted that a look at the concordance lines shows that some of these references pertain to other countries, and not so much to the here and now of France or Italy.

destinait la Suède à **devenir** une société	**multiculturelle**	. Pourtant , avec 22 % de sa population né
ndus , a de son côté cru que la " société	**multiculturelle**	" en **devenir** se suffirait à elle - même . De
el et religieux ont commencé à **devenir**	**multiculturelles**	, ces formations populistes ont intégré les
s voir le Danemark **devenir** une société	**multiculturelle**	. " Nous avons créé une des meilleures soc
Italie **devenir** un pays multiethnique et	**multiculturel**	" , l' actuelle campagne électorale ne s' est

Figure 5: Concordances of multicultural* *and 'devenir'*

Overall, it therefore seems that this notion of a recent and increasing phenomenon is specific to the English sub-corpus.

4.2.2 Collocations of multiculturalism

For the collocation analysis regarding *multiculturalism*, we proceeded in the same way as for *multicultural* above. Again, we did not indicate the log likelihood values for each collocate. It should be noted that in German, there is only one content word that collocates with *Multikulturalismus*, which is 'Multikulturalismus', as shown in the following concordance lines:

es Multikulturalismus zusammen . Was ist denn am	**Multikulturalismus**	zu beklagen ? **Multikulturalismus** hat
Was ist denn am **Multikulturalismus** zu beklagen ?	**Multikulturalismus**	hat in vielerlei Hinsicht den Platz des K
kulturelle Gesellschaft gegeben ? Was ist überhaupt	**Multikulturalismus**	? **Multikulturalismus** wird überall and
gegeben ? Was ist überhaupt **Multikulturalismus** ?	**Multikulturalismus**	wird überall anders verstanden . In Fran
die rassistische ?White Australia?-Politik durch den	**Multikulturalismus**	zu ersetzen . ?Der **Multikulturalismus**
k durch den **Multikulturalismus** zu ersetzen . ?Der	**Multikulturalismus**	ist für uns alle gut.? Australiens Protag

Schröter Melani, Veniard Marie, Taylor Charlotte and Blätte Andreas, (2019), "A comparative analysis of the keyword *multicultural(ism)* in French, British, German and Italian migration discourse", in Viola, L. and Musolff, A., eds., *Migration and Media: Discourses about identities in crisis*, John Benjamins, London, p. 13-44.

Figure 6: Concordances of Multikulturalismus *and 'Multikulturalismus'*

For lack of items, the table below does not have a column for the German collocates. Within the individual categories, the collocates are again listed in the table such that the 100 content words with the higher log likelihood values the appear in black, those following on the list between 101-200 appear in grey. It is perhaps noteworthy that the collocational profiles were overall similar enough to the ones for *multicultural* so as to make the same semantic categories as shown in Table 2 above viable to provide an overview and comparison across the four languages. However, there is one category that we felt needed adding for the noun *multiculturalism*, which was not necessary for the adjective, and that is references to debate and controversy.

Semantic category	**Related collocates: English**	**Related collocates: French**	**Related collocates: Italian**
Descriptions	**failed, failure, divisive, deference**[4] **failures, concerns**, true, **divided**, modern, **threat**, dead, good, great, better	**Échec, faillite,** bienfaits, échoué, réalité, différences	bello, creative, entusiasti, **fallito**, liberale, meticciato, superficiale
Geographical locations	Britain, British elsewhere: Germany , Dutch, European, Europe	canadienne, canadien, anglo, (Grande-) Bretagne, française, français, France	Tedesco, Occidente, Bretagna, britannico, Europa, Gran, inglese, Olanda, Francia, Londra, europei

[4] Concordance lines confirm that the connection is 'deference to multiculturalism'.

Schröter Melani, Veniard Marie, Taylor Charlotte and Blätte Andreas, (2019), "A comparative analysis of the keyword *multicultural(ism)* in French, British, German and Italian migration discourse", in Viola, L. and Musolff, A., eds., *Migration and Media: Discourses about identities in crisis*, John Benjamins, London, p. 13-44.

Generic places	areas, country	Pays	strada, terreno,
Institu-tions	policy, state, political, national		libro, mercato
Debate/controversy	Debate, **doctrine, ideology**, debates	**doctrine, idéologie**, débat, nom, non, question, contraire, sens, exemple	**critica, dottrina**, ideologia, ideologico, parola, parole, **questioni**, saggio, tema, teoria, versione, dibattio, **polemica**, risposta, temi
Abstract concepts	society, model, **extremism**, concept, difference, culture, fiction, liberal, issue, idea, relations, mass, social, right[5], **problems**, national, **problem**, history	métissage, **commun-autarisme, relativisme,** politique, respect, doute, social, démocratie, valeurs	apertura, civilta', concetto, contesto, crisi, democrazia, **fallimento**, idea, immi-grazione, limiti, modello **pericoli**, politica, relativismo, **rifiuto**, prodotto, valore», sfida, societa, comunita' cultura, difesa, direzione, diritto, fronte, identita', inchiesta, libertà, necessità, ragione, regole, sistema, situazione

[5] 'Right' occurs partly in the sense of 'entitlement', partly with reference to the political right wing and partly in the sense of 'adequate, correct'.

Schröter Melani, Veniard Marie, Taylor Charlotte and Blätte Andreas, (2019), "A comparative analysis of the keyword *multicultural(ism)* in French, British, German and Italian migration discourse", in Viola, L. and Musolff, A., eds., *Migration and Media: Discourses about identities in crisis*, John Benjamins, London, p. 13-44.

Related concepts	immigration, integration, multiculturalism, diversity, tolerance, **segregation**, race, equality, identity, **racism**, multicultur-al, racial, ethnic, communities, cultural, different[6] rights, immigrant (as adjective), migration	cultures, civilisations, diversité, commun-auté, immigration, identité	assimilazione, assimilazion-ismo, integra-zione, mono-cultura, diversita', **razzismo**, tolleranza, Multiculturalismo, multietnica, multietnicità, Pluralismo, «Pluralismo
People	Muslims, Cameron, Merkel, Angela, Phillips, Muslims, critics, Britons, David	Huntington, Blair, (les) Verts, nous, gauche, gouvernement	Angela, Merkel, **nemici**, sostenitori, Rizzoli, Giovanni, Sartori, estranei, estranei» **critici**
Actions	celebrating, **attacking**, speech, promotion, declared, **attack, criticised**, creating, support, created, believe, report, become, saying	éloge, avènement, **menace**, choc, **critique**, voie, **garde**[7] **dénoncer**, reconnaissance, reconnaître, **remettre (en) cause**, défendre, devenu, peut	funzionare, sostenendo, sostenere, **rischia**, denuncia diventato, dobbiamo,significa
Religion	Islam	Islam	laicità, Islam
Intensi-fication	really	certain	

[6] 'Different' is listed here because the concordance lines show that it mostly pertains to different culture, ethnicities and communities.

[7] In the phrase 'mettre en garde' [to warn].

Miscellaneous	against, favour, led, makes, our, true, made, result, seen, often, recent, better, become, live, past, long	désigné, est, fait, choix, vient, aussi, manière, avons, comme, bien, grand, autre, avoir, ont	perchè, andato, che, ciò, corrispondente, cosiddetto, destra, dichiarato, esempio, fallimentare, nome, opposto, produrre, proposito, prova, basato, sarebbe, come, ormai, proprio, quale, ultimo

Table 3: Collocations of multiculturalism (content words only) in the four sub-corpora

From a comparative point of view, again English and Italian show the highest number of collocates and therefore again it seems as though the DKW was more salient in the two discourses as captured in the relevant sub-corpora, with French being again in the middle range as far as the number of content words among the collocates is concerned. Notably, in German the only collocating content word is the same as the search word.[8] The difference between the usage of the adjective and the noun becomes quite clear. Firstly, a new semantic category was added pertaining to debate and controversy and diverging points of views ('ideology', 'doctrine'; 'nemici' [enemies] v 'sostenitori' [supporters]; 'idéologie', 'critique')[9].

[8] Concordance lines ignore sentence borders – the noun collocates across sentence borders in all cases.

[9] In French, the use of 'aussi', 'comme' (also/though, as) as argumentative connectors is suggestive of argumentation.

dly , at a recent **debate** on	**multiculturalism**	I attended , a black member of the audience s
the **debate** has changed .	**Multiculturalism**	came under attack in the Cantle report in 200
level of **debate** is around	**multiculturalism**	at our national theatre . " England People Ve
nded and open **debate** on	**multiculturalism**	. Survivors and relatives welcomed the court
UK race **debate** between	**multiculturalism**	and assimilation . What Phillips is saying is t
infected the **debate** about	**multiculturalism**	, manifested in the assumption that Muslims

Figure 7: Concordances of multiculturalism *and 'debate'*

Secondly, there are notably more collocates that entail negative evaluations – highlighted in bold in the table above – in the case of the noun than in the case of the adjective. These indicate conflict ('attacking', 'défendre' [to defend]), problematisation ('concerns', 'problem', 'criticised', 'threat', 'rischia' [risks], 'pericoli' [dangers]; 'menace' [threat]) as well as division and lack of success ('failure').

bonne nouvelle de l' été : le	**multiculturalisme**	est désigné comme une **menace** pour la cohésion nat
les différences , pousse à un	**multiculturalisme**	qui est une **menace** pour la cohésion nationale . L' au
s pour tenter de répondre au	**multiculturalisme**	qui **menace** d' éclatement les États - nations et qui fa
Berlusconi serait rassuré : le	**multiculturalisme**	ne **menace** vraiment pas Caravaggio . Les immigrés
t mettre en garde contre " le	**multiculturalisme**	" qui **menace** le modèle " occidental et judéo - chréti

Figure 8: Concordances of multiculturalism *and 'menace'*

It is interesting to note that 'failure' is a collocate in three of the four languages, and not only that; in English the collocate 'failed' has the highest

collocation value, 'fallimento' [failure] the highest in Italian, and 'échec' in French the sixth highest.

, quando ha parlato di **fallimento** del	**multiculturalismo**	- cioè del mettere le culture aliene sullo st
un anno i tedeschi sul **fallimento** del	**multiculturalismo**	e la mancata integrazione degli immigrati
la sfida delle libertà Il **fallimento** del	**multiculturalismo**	e il riformismo musulmano Il fondamental
immigrazione dopo il **fallimento** del	**multiculturalismo**	inglese e dell ' assimilazionismo francese .
quando si constata il **fallimento** del	**multiculturalismo**	La dichiarazione del cancelliere Angela M
quando si constata il **fallimento** del	**multiculturalismo**	. Ciò che ovunque in Europa si teme è che

Figure 9: Concordances of multiculturalisme *and 'fallimento'*

Therefore, our study confirms that the discourse about multiculturalism is a discourse about a failed multiculturalism (cf. Kymlika 2012; Ossewaarde 2014). The lack of a respective collocate in German does not mean that this discourse is absent in German, as the collocates 'Scheitern' and 'gescheitert' for the adjective in the phrase *multikulturelle Gesellschaft* as well as the use of *Multikulti* (see section 4.3 below) show. There are more actions now associated in English, partly negatively evaluating ('attack' and 'criticise'). Intensifications are now absent, places become less relevant, politicians become associated and in English and French there is more reference to religion, too ('Islam' and 'Muslims' for English). However, again in Italian there seems to be a reflection of (debates about) multiculturalism elsewhere and hence reference to the non-Italian nature of *multiculturalismo* through distance markers ('cosidetto' [so-called]) and reference to locations in

Germany, France, Holland, UK.) By contrast, in the French corpus, this debate about multiculturalism concerns primarily France, even if other countries happen to be mentioned (mainly Canada).

It seems notable that there is reference to the German chancellor both in Italian and English without an indication of much debate in the German sub-corpus. However, this co-occurrence is due to a speech by Angela Merkel in 2010 in which she declared multiculturalism as failed in Germany (instead embracing integration cf. Schröter 2013).[10] However, Merkel used the short word *Multikulti* in her speech,[11] and a look at the word forms in the next section might add more clarity.

4.3 Word forms in comparison

A search for *multicultural** in the English sub-corpus reveals that *multicultural* appears altogether 893 times and *multiculturalism* 976 times and that the only other word forms are *multiculturalist/s* (39 occurrences) as well as two compounds which are both unique occurrences, *multiculturalism-bashing* and *multiculturalism-is-compulsory*.

In the French sub-corpus, other word forms are also marginal compared to *multiculturel* (302) and *multiculturalisme* (294); *multiculturalité* occurs 7

[10] Four of the six co-occurrences of *Merkel* and *multiculturalism* in the English sub-corpus are from articles published in 2010; eight of the twelve co-occurrences of Merkel and *multiculturalismo* in the Italian sub-corpus are from 2010.

[11] Hence, Merkel is not a collocate of *Multikulturalismus* in the German corpus, but of *Multikulti*.

times, and a few derived forms or neologisms can be spotted. The main one is *multiculturaliste* (31 occurrences) and its collocate with the highest log likelihood value is 'idéologie', so it is clearly related to the policy-meaning of *multiculturalisme* and used with a negative semantic prosody to discard what it refers to. *Multiculturalité* (8 occurrences) mostly refers to Belgium. Two single occurrences of hapax close the list of morphological variants in French: *multiculturatélé*, which is a neologism blending *multicultural* + *télévision* and *Multiculti*, which occurs once in a quotation in reference to the Netherlands.

In German, the picture is more varied. *Multikulturell** occurs 653 times and Multikulturalismus 186 times in the German sub-corpus. However, the search for word forms illustrates an interesting phenomenon for German, namely the frequency of the short word *Multikulti* (283 occurrences), as well as the multitude of hyphenated compounds that are created with the short word as a modifier, as the search for *Multikulti-** reveals (171 occurrences). Unlike in the case of *Multikulturalismus* (section 4.2.2 above), collocations of *Multikulti** are more varied and include 'Radio'[12], 'gescheitert' (failed), 'Begriff' (term) and 'tot' (dead) as well as 'Ende' (end). However, these partly echo a negative discourse about *Multikulti**, but at the same time

[12] Together with the collocate Funkhaus (broadcasting studio) reference to the Berlin-based radio channel "Radio Multikulti". The channel stopped broadcasting in 2008. In tageszeitung, at least 45 of 355 occurrences of Multikulti* are reference to the radio station in the set phrase "Radio Multikulti".

partly indicates distancing towards this discourse, as the following concordances illustrate:

eskanzlerin Angela Merkel hatte jüngst	**Multikulti**	für **gescheitert** erklärt . Unterdessen hat
Islam nach Deutschland ein . Wer sagt ,	**Multikulti**	sei **gescheitert** , redet Unsinn . Woran w
anzlerin Angela Merkel (CDU) erklärt	**Multikulti**	für **gescheitert** . Wie kommt diese Deba
Merkel (CDU) für ihre Aussage , dass	**Multikulti**	**gescheitert** sei : ?Man muss klarstellen
Sarrazin-Debatte ? sagt die Kanzlerin ,	**Multikulti**	sei **gescheitert** , der Innenminister beißt
völkerung kam auch Merkels Aussage ,	**Multikulti**	sei **gescheitert** , gut an . Ich kann mit ei
chen Testat nichts anfangen . Wer sagt ,	**Multikulti**	ist **gescheitert** , kann auch behaupten , z

Figure 10: Concordances of Multikulti *and 'gescheitert'*

A number of compounds that are created with *Multikulti* also reflect a discourse about multicultural(ism) as naïve: *Multikulti-Idylle* (idyll), *Multikulti-Träumereien* (dreams), *Multikulti-Illusion*, there is also one occurrence of *Multikulti-Bashing*. Given the absence of a collocational profile for *Multikulturalismus* in German (section 4.2.2 above), it seems that in German, it is the short word *Multikulti* that indicates a similar contestation and debate as the collocational profiles of *multiculturalism/-isme/-ismo* attest for the other languages. *Multikulturalist**, referring to people who purportedly support multicultural(ism), occurs 39 times in the German corpus.

Multicultruale/i occurs altogether 807 times in the Italian data and *multiculturalismo* 584 times. A third form, *multiculturalita'* (167

occurrences) is also present in the debates. This term, at least superficially, denotes a state of being rather than a concept or policy approach. It is perhaps interesting to note that this form is explicitly opposed to the noun form *multiculturalismo* in the one article:

> Questo assimilazionismo senza assimilazione, questo multiculturalismo senza multiculturalità, rafforzato da un discorso pubblico intriso di retorica xenofoba e razzista, rischia di provocare, in un futuro non troppo lontano, seri problemi. Al confronto i fuochi delle banlieues parigine potranno sembrare solo illuminanti bagliori notturni.' [This assimilationism without assimilation, this multiculturalism without multiculturality, reinforced by a xenophobic and racist public discourse, risks creating, in a not too distant future, serious problems. By comparison, the fires in the Paris banlieues will just seem faint glows in the dark] (Repubblica, 2009).

The fourth form which appears in the Italian press is *multiculturalist** (37 occurrences) which refers more to the policy sense of the term (the most salient collocates are 'modello' and 'assimiliazionista').

5. Discussion and Conclusion

Our analyses indicate that a comparative analysis of migration discourses in different European countries can exhibit some commonalities across these discourses, but also differences between them. Our analysis shows that there are differences in the use and associated evaluations of two formally closely related keywords in migration discourses. Commonalities can be seen in the increase in use of the noun over the adjective and the negativity associated with the noun, especially if we accept that the phrase *multikulturelle Gesellschaft* and *Multikulti* in German can be used more interchangeably with the noun than in English, where the collocational profiles differ notably between the noun and the adjective. Places, (cultural and educational) institutions and geographical locations are also more associated with the adjective, whereas the noun is more 'politicised'; the collocations point towards debate, controversy and failure and include names of politicians.

With a view on our initial hypotheses, a particular negativity of the French and Italian discourses about multicultural(ism) can be confirmed for France on the basis of our data, but not for Italian. Ambivalence mostly emerges for English, but also for Italian when comparing the use of the noun and the adjective: The latter shows few negatively evaluating collocates, but the former notably indicates negativity and controversy. Our analyses confirm previous research about the negativity of the discourse about multiculturalism (Ossewaarde 2014; Kymlica 2012), but it is

important to notice that the adjective is used in a more neutral way, especially in English. Negatively evaluating collocates occur in German, French and Italian discourses, but among others that suggest that *multicultural* is indicative of a state of affairs that is not necessarily problematic. Only in Italian and English do we find recurrent positively evaluating collocates. The notion of *multicultural* as a recent development or evolving and increasing phenomenon is particularly pertinent in the English corpus, and limited to the use of the adjective.

In spite of the negativity and emphasis on multiculturalism as a controversial issue emerging from the French collocates, multicultural(ism) appears least frequently and hence yields less collocates than in English or Italian, which might suggest that it is less essential than other key-words to discourse about migration in the French press. In the German discourse, the lack of a distinct collocational profile despite high frequency could be interpreted as a debate that lacks intensity, in comparison to English and Italian. However, a look at different word forms points towards the shortened *Mulikulti*, and compounds with *Multikulti-*, as a node for the controversy that is indicated in the other languages such as 'debate', 'ideology', and 'doctrine'. Since previous literature points to a detachment from multicultural(ism) in Italy, it is perhaps interesting to note the various indicators among the collocates to multicultural(ism) as something that is

the case elsewhere. Given this, it is surprising that the collocates are numerous and varied in the Italian discourse, much like in English, where this could be expected, considering the salience of the keyword in the UK migration discourse (cf. Farrar 2012).

Overall, our analyses suggest that while there does not seem to be much difference in the semantic scope of *multicultural* and *multiculturalism* across the four languages, and not much difference in that it is part of a discourse about (im)migration, the salience of the keyword in the respective discourses might be different; it seems to be higher in British and Italian than in French and German migration discourses. In a shared European public sphere, discourses may develop around similar nodes (DKWs). In the context of this volume, the present chapter demonstrates that *multicultural(ism)* is a node of debates about host countries' and immigrants' national and cultural identities in public discourses about mass immigration used across different European countries and languages. However, a closer look at the use of DKWs in different European countries and languages reveals differences in their salience to the respective migration discourses as well as different contexts of usage, which to some extent point to different historical and political contexts that determine each countries' way of dealing with, and talking about, migration.

Appendix A: Comparative frequencies of multicultural/ism per language

Schröter Melani, Veniard Marie, Taylor Charlotte and Blätte Andreas, (2019), "A comparative analysis of the keyword *multicultural(ism)* in French, British, German and Italian migration discourse", in Viola, L. and Musolff, A., eds., *Migration and Media: Discourses about identities in crisis*, John Benjamins, London, p. 13-44.

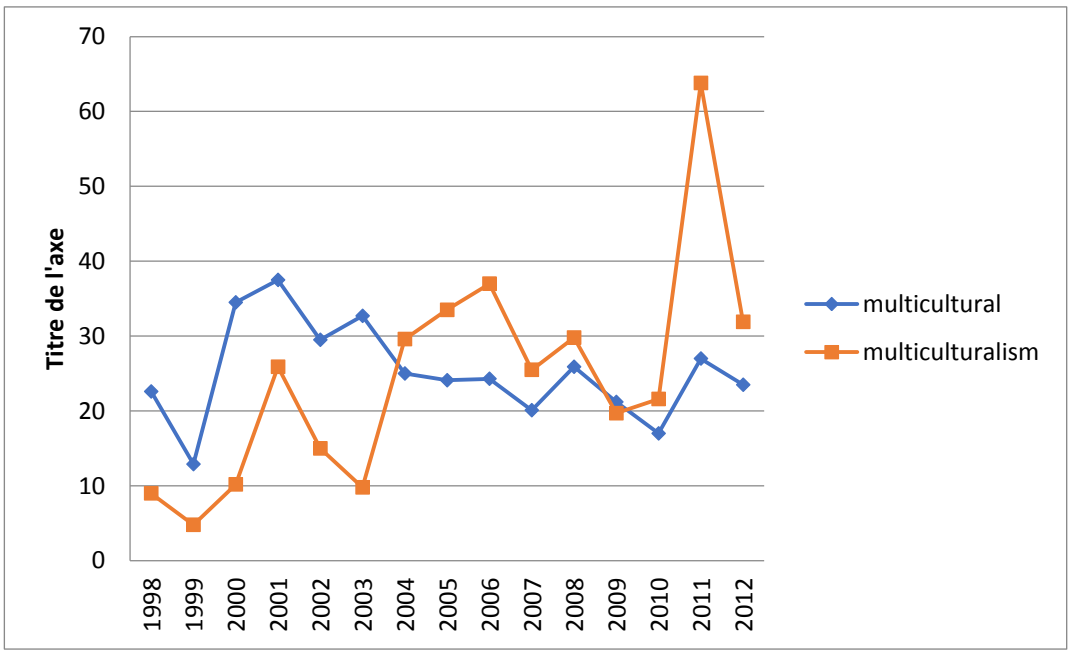

Figure 11: Relative frequency of multicultural and multiculturalism in the English sub-corpus

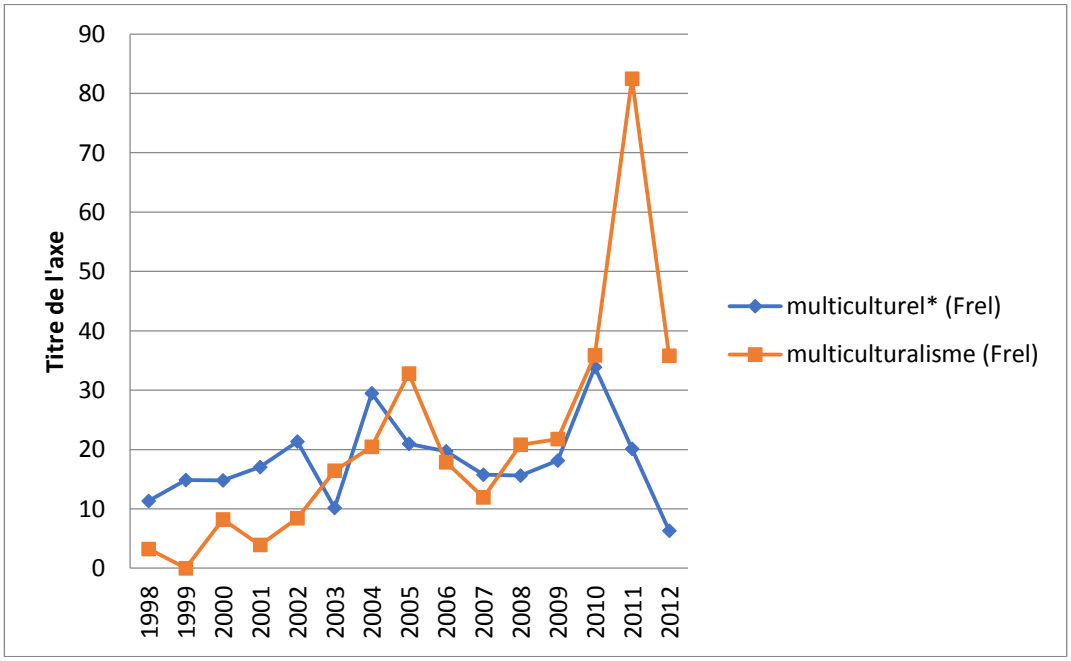

Figure 12: Relative frequency of multiculturel and multiculturalisme in the French sub-corpus*

Schröter Melani, Veniard Marie, Taylor Charlotte and Blätte Andreas, (2019), "A comparative analysis of the keyword *multicultural(ism)* in French, British, German and Italian migration discourse", in Viola, L. and Musolff, A., eds., *Migration and Media: Discourses about identities in crisis*, John Benjamins, London, p. 13-44.

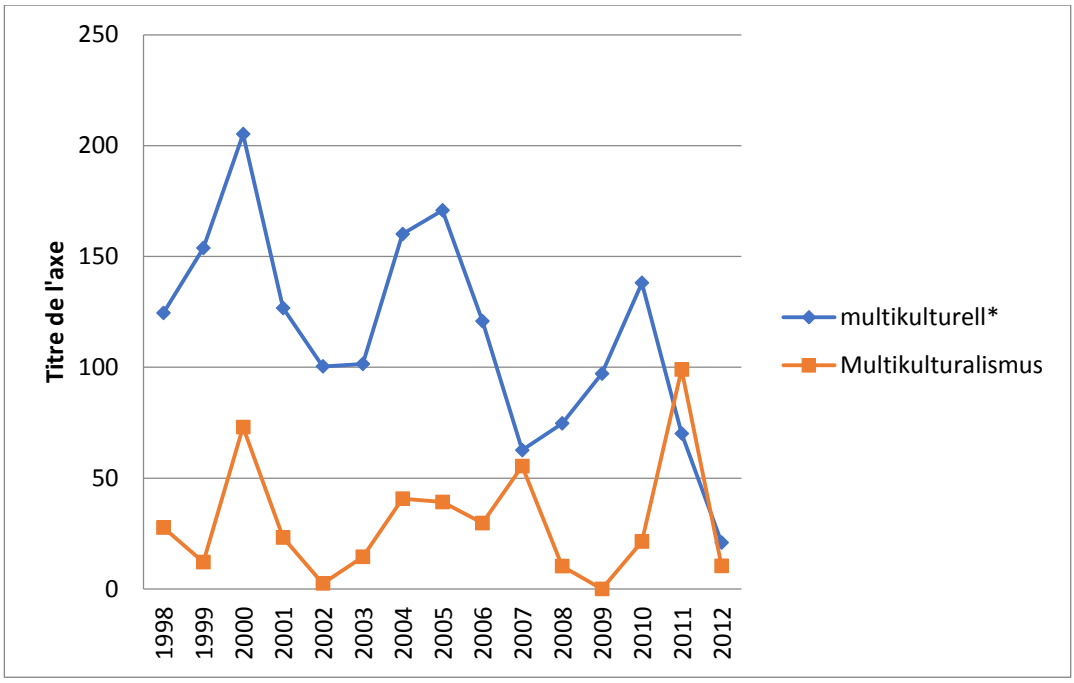

Figure 13: Graph 3: Relative frequency of multikulturell and Multikulturalismus in the German sub-corpus*

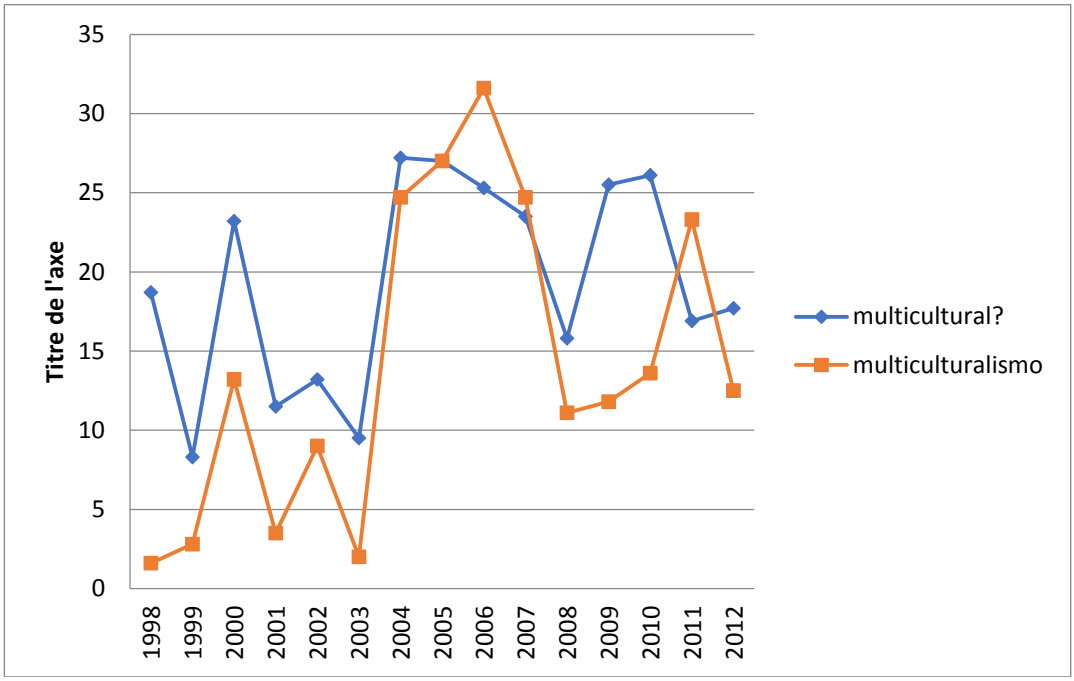

Figure 14: Graph 4: Relative frequency of multicultural? and multiculturalismo in the Italian sub-corpus

Schröter Melani, Veniard Marie, Taylor Charlotte and Blätte Andreas, (2019), "A comparative analysis of the keyword *multicultural(ism)* in French, British, German and Italian migration discourse", in Viola, L. and Musolff, A., eds., *Migration and Media: Discourses about identities in crisis*, John Benjamins, London, p. 13-44.

Acknowledgements

This article is a result of a collaboration initiated by a networking project, funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council, reference AH/J012386/1.

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