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Chapter 1

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

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Abstract

This article tackles the topic of European public discourses of migration through the notion of cultural keywords (cf. Williams 1983, Bennett et al. 2005, Wierzbicka 1997) combined with Corpus Assisted Discourse Analysis in order to take a comparative view of the use of the key words *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 *multicultural* is mostly descriptive of a state of affairs, typically without negative evaluation. *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 II 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). Anticipating the focus and development of (critical) discourse studies, Williams considers keywords in the same way as simultaneously reflecting and shaping reality (cf. Stubbs 2010: 24). 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 for 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?). 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 mand 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.), 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). The study of discourse keywords is more interested in the use of words in specific, thematic discourse context at certain points in time. Hence, the approach to their study differs as well 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 discourse keywords are often studied using a range of media and political texts over shorter time periods, relating to specific discourses.

Based on the publications mentioned in this section, we can specify that DWK 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. While, for example, the use of the keyword *Brexit* started as early as 2012 in British newspaper discourse, its frequency rose from 293 between 2012 and 2014 to 2353 in 2015, and to more than 127 000 between January and October 2016 in four British national newspapers. 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. To stay with the above example, the discourse about Brexit, the collocational profile of *Brexit* in British newspaper discourse changes between June and at least October 2016, reflecting political developments in these months, for example collocates relating to the referendum vote and possible outcome, such as 'campaigners', 'vote', 'prospect', 'implications' are replaced by collocates relating to necessary steps following its outcome, such as 'negotiations', 'deal', 'talks', 'strategy' and 'plan' (Schröter, in prep.). 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 (soft/hard Brexit, Brexiteers, post-Brexit leavers,

remainers). Finally, they more often than not signify controversially debated issues; controversies can lead to the creation of concurring DKWs, for example Bregret or Bremain. 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 conclusion about 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 selections 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) 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, it has a range of other uses as well and for us it is important to point out that while we are using corpus tools for our analyses, this is not what we understand by keyword in our project. Moreover, as a practical limitation of our research, we cannot use reference corpora from the four languages to identify keywords (in the corpus linguistic sense) in our corpora because these are simply not available for use with one and the same tool. Apart from this delineation and limitation around the notion of 'keyword' a corpus-assisted methodology proves useful for us because it is particularly supportive of lexically focussed research (cf. Mautner 2009: 124). Because we are using the same corpus database and corpus analytical tool, 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).

As we stated above, despite using corpus analysis tools, our approach to studying multicultural(ism) in British, French, German and Italian public discourse is more akin to the notion of cultural/discourse keyword, so that it is necessary to include contextual information in order to interpret and contextualise the patterns emerging from our corpus-assisted analyses. This also helps to make the case for studying this DKW and for situating its occurrence in a specific discourse at a specific time, since we cannot prove its status based on frequency in the corpus linguistic sense of 'keyword'. Taking the historical and political context into account is also necessary especially for comparative discourse analysis, because the notion of lexical equivalence requires some caution since, to begin with, lexical equivalence does not equal 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, 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, DKW – whether or not they can be established as cognates or functional equivalents – can be identified across languages and discourses.

2. Data & Methodology

For the wider project as described above in section I, 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.

First of all, we chose a newspaper corpus for our comparative project. We are aware of the 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, However, this makes a newspaper corpus arguably a fairly representative snapshot of hegemonic and influential discourse that would allow to compare salient representations of immigration and migrants. 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. It is one of the longer term aims of this project to add material from the political domain and also material that would be indicative of migrants' perspectives. However, practically, experience shows that the space limit of an article or book chapter is already quickly reached with reporting the research design and results across four languages when dealing with one dataset only.

Since it was our aim to analyse more than one DKW in this 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. Secondly, we strove to achieve at least a minimal spread of different political orientations, so we chose one conservative and one left-liberal newspaper from each country. 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. 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, the time span, number of retrieved articles and total number of words in the four corpora:

	Newspapers	**Query**	**Source**	**Time span**	**Articles**	**Words**
French	Le Figaro La Libération	Immigration, immigré(s), immigrant(s)	Factiva Database	1998-2012	22.624	16.194.941
German	Die Welt tageszeitung	Einwanderer, Zuwanderer, Migranten, Einwanderung, Zuwanderung, Migration	Partly newspapers' online archives, partly LexisNexis database	1998-2012	13.874	6.006.912
English	The Times Guardian	Immigrants, migrants, immigration, migration	LexisNexis database	1998-2012	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.	1998-2012	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. We then looked at each language individually for frequency over time per newspaper. In a third step, we analysed 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.

3. Background – previous literature relating to multicultural/ism as keyword

Modern discourses about immigration offer a good opportunity to investigate DKW across languages since they have occurred in many countries inside and outside of Europe, in some countries leading to intense debates at certain points in time. What is more, migration debates can occur at national as well as transnational level (cf. Wodak/Boukala 2015 for the EU). Migration discourses have 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.

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."

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, 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*.

From here, it seems as though in all languages, multicultural 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 ideas 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, hypotheses for the following analysis could be (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.

4. Analysis

4.1 Frequency

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.

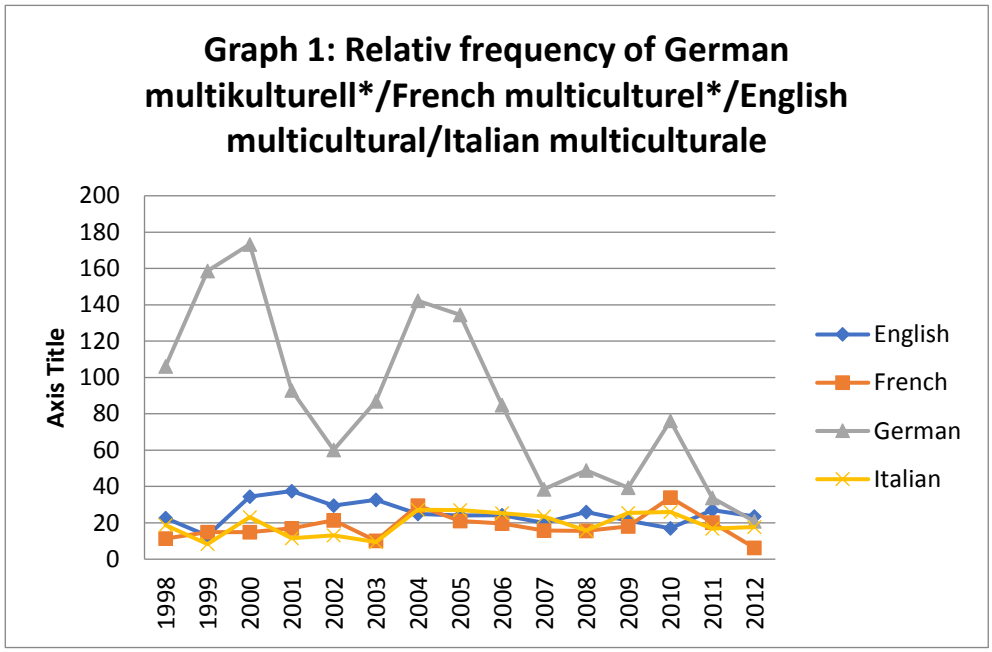


Figure 1: Relative frequency

Somewhat against our hypotheses above, the graph shows that the relative frequency of the adjective multicultural is notably high in German over the years. German 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) similar to each other and b) quite constant over time.

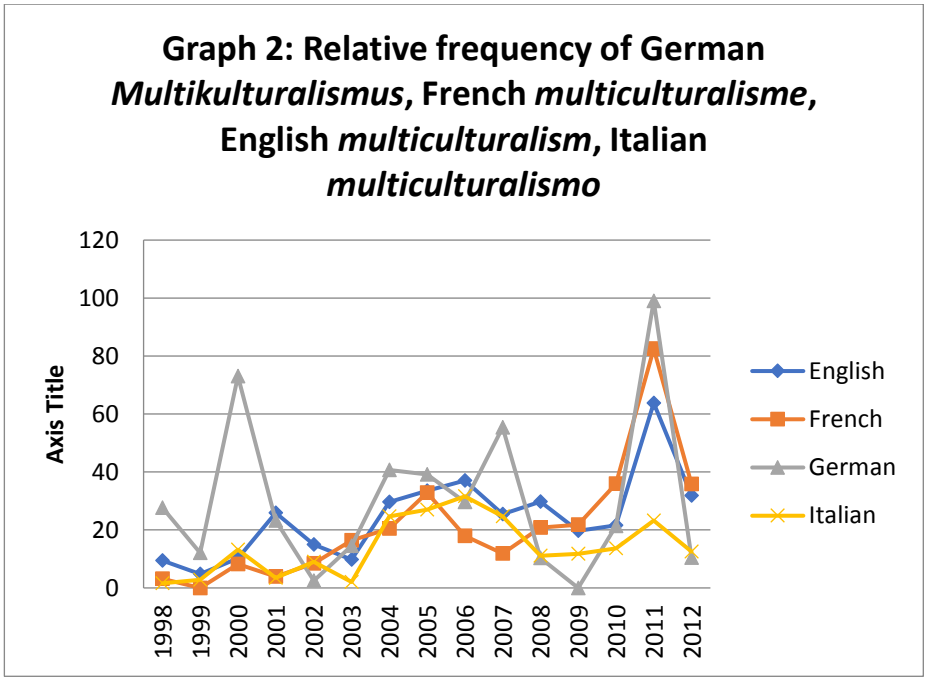


Figure 2: Relative frequency

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.

Looking at the frequency of multicultural and multiculturalism in the conservative versus liberal papers in each language (Appendix B) shows that in English, the left-liberal Guardian uses both the adjective and the noun more frequently than conservative Times.[1] The fact that increases and decreases in the use of the adjective are hardly aligned indicates that the use of the adjective might not have the same triggers in both newspapers. With regard to use of the noun increases/decrease differs in 2004, 2006 and 2009, but is line in 2001 (increase), 2003 (decrease) and 2011/12 (increase/decrease).

In French, contrary to results in the other sub-corpora, relative frequencies of both noun and adjective are higher in the conservative Figaro. This is especially clear for the noun *multiculturalisme* (see Appendix B), even if it must be pointed that the noun's frequency increases steadily in both newspapers throughout the period, to a peak in 2011 (see Appendix A). The frequency of *multiculturel* is more varied in both newspapers over the given time span. In the left-wing Libération, *multiculturel* rises until 2004 when it starts a slow but regular decrease. In the conservative Figaro, the frequency peaks in 1998, 2002, 2004, 2006 and 2010. It must also be noted that, compared to the other sub-corpora, relative frequencies of both forms are overall lower (Graph 1)[2].

[1] The graphs in Appendix B show the relative frequency. In terms of absolute frequency, the adjective shows 555 occurrences in Guardian, 314 in Times; the noun 599 in Guardian, 331 in Times.

[2] Frequency overall 115 in *Libération*, 187 in *Le Figaro* for *multiculturel**; Frequency overall 68 in *Libération*, 243 in *Le Figaro* for*multiculturalisme*.

In German, we can see that also in the case of the German newspapers, the left-liberal paper uses both terms more, at least in absolute numbers.

In Italian, the left-leaning Repubblica consistently uses *multiculturale* more than the conservative Corriere della Sera. Both show increases in 2000, 2004 and 2009/2010. The overall frequencies suggest that the more liberal newspaper is more likely to *use multiculturale* to describe situations and communities, while the more conservative newspaper is more likely to discuss the concept of *multiculturalismo*, distancing itself from the actual description of places in this way Frequencies are broadly similar initially. The frequency in both rises in 2004 but more so for the conservative newspaper. It then stays higher until 2011 when the Repubblica increases in frequency.[3]

4.2 Collocations

In order to compare the collocations across the four language sub-corpora, we grouped collocates semantically, as indicated in the table below. This 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. The semantic categorising also means that we will not list grammatical articles and prepositions. Rather than putting too much emphasis on finding exact and very differentiated categories, we are more interested in their function as a

[3] Frequency overall 673 in Repubblica, 539 in Corriere for *multiculturale/i;* Frequency overall 358 in Repbubblica, 629 in Corriere for *multiculturalismo*.

way to structure our results so that they become more easily comparable and to identify topical emphases across the four discourses.

4.2.1 Collocations of multicultural

For the sake of this chapter and of not cluttering our table, we did not indicate the log likelihood values for each collocate. It should be noted that for English, they range from 1133.5 (society) to 0.21 (national); 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'). To give a rough idea which collocates in the table below have higher and lower collocation values, those 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 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,	**échec**, succès, ouverte, meilleur	**Scheitern,** Realität, **gescheitert**, Alltag, leben	**fallito**, aperta, coeso, pacifica, **fallita**, cosmopolita, tollerante, integrato, mondiale, nuova,

	crap[4] new, cosmo-politan, part			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,
Geographical locations	Britain, London, Eng-land, 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,

[4] 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).

				Uniti, Europa
Places	City, environ-ment, capital, cities, country, place, world, here, east	Ville, pays nation, monde	Metrop ole, Land, Stadt, Welt, hier	città, paese, metropoli, capitale, mondo, nazione
Institutio ns	Program mes, programmin g, commission -ing, found-ation, Depart-ment, school, Centre			bibliotec a, biblioteche, scuola, mercatino, laboratorio, radio, redazione, programmi, rassegna, corsi, incontri, media, comunità
Abstract concepts	Society, societies, approach, affairs, experi-ment, model, arts, educa-tion, vision, developmen t, history	société, modèle, sociétés caractère, Providence, **idéologie**, vocation, République, vision, mondialisa-tion	Gesell-schaft, Angelegen -heiten, Demo-kratie	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
Related concepts	Multi-ethnic, multiracial, melting + pot, mix, nation, backgrounds, community, tolerance, identity, diversity, communities, immigration, national	métissée, multi-ethnique**, mosaïque,** intégration, identité	Zusam men-leben, Mitein-ander	multietnica, multireligiosa, multirazziale, multireligioso, integrazione, multietniche, multietnico, interetnico, intercultural e, razzismo
People	Muslims, immigrant, population, black,	partisans, immigrants, gens, enfants, On	Wir	Merkel, autori, direttore, cittadino,

	white, group, immigrants, minister			popolo, abitanti, Leader
Actions	Creating, become, believe	devenue, devenir, **limites**, mutation, créer, attendre, veut, tente, développement, **cause** (in *remettre en cause*, criticize), doit, peut, faut, va		**confrontano**, viviamo, gestito, diventando, diventata, riconosce, riservata, rendere, costruire, attraverso, essere, diventare, dobbiamo
Religion				Islam
Intensification	Most, increasingly, genuinely, very, especially, particularly	trop, très, plus		veramente, davvero,
Misc.	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, 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. However, secondly, both English and Italian have also comparatively extensive reference to related concepts in common.

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.[5] 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. In the French corpus, these negatively evaluating collocations are not compensated by positively evaluating ones, contrary to what happens in Italian (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 to other countries (the Netherlands and the UK). 'Society' (and equivalents in the other languages) is the strongest

[5] 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).

collocate across all sub-corpora, suggesting that *multicultural society* is a fixed phrase in all of the involved languages. 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. 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'[6] and the verbs 'become' and 'creating' point to this perception. 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 be noted that a look at the concordance

[6] 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'.

lines shows that some of these **References** pertain to other countries, and not so much to the here and now of France. When it is the case, the multicultural nature of France is often being questioned. 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 for English, they range from 148.4 (failed) to 1.4 (Europe); 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’) Within the individual categories, the collocates are again listed in the table such that the those among the 100 strongest appear in black, those following appear in grey. It is perhaps noteworthy that the collocates were overall similar enough so as to make the same semantic categories as above viable to provide an overview and comparison across the four languages – and between the use of the adjective and the noun, too. However, there is one category that we felt needed adding; references to debate and controversy.

Semantic category	**Related collocates: English**	**Related collocates: French**	**Related collocates: German**	**Related collocates: Italian**
Descriptions	Failed, failure,	Échec, faillite,		bello, creative,

	divisive, deference[7] failures, concerns, true, divided, modern, threat, dead, good, great, better	bienfaits, échoué, réalité, différences		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
Places	Areas, country	Pays		strada, terreno,
Institutions	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, DIBATTIT

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

				O, polemica, risposta, temi
Abstract concepts	society, model, extremism, concept, difference, culture, fiction, liberal, issue, idea, relations, mass, social, right[8], problems, national, problem, history	métissage, communautarisme, relativisme, politique, respect, doute, social, démocratie, valeurs	Multikulturalismus	apertura, civilta', concetto, comunita', contesto, crisi, democrazia, fallimento, idea, immigrazione, limiti, modello pericoli, politica, relativismo, rifiuto, prodotto, valore», sfida, societa, comunita' cultura, difesa, direzione, diritto, fronte, identita', INCHIESTA, libertà, necessità, ragione, regole,

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

				sistema, situazione
Related concepts	Immigration, integration, multiculturalism, diversity, tolerance, segregation, race, equality, identity, racism, multicultural, racial, ethnic, communities, cultural, different[9] Rights, immigrant (as adjective), migration	cultures, civilisations, diversité, commun-auté, immi-gration, identité		assimilazione, assimilazionismo, integrazione, monocultura, 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,	éloge, avènement, menace, choc, critique,		funzionare, sostenendo, sostenere, rischia,

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

	attack, criticised, creating, support, created, believe, report, become, saying	voie, garde[10] dénoncer, reconnaissance, reconnaître, remettre (en) cause, défendre, devenu, peut		denuncia diventato, dobbiamo,significa
Religion	Islam	Islam		laicità, Islam
Intensification	really	Certain		
Misc.	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, come, ormai, proprio, quale, Sarebbe, ultimo,

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

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 collocates is concerned. Notably, in German the only content word among the collocates is the same as the search word.[11] 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)[12]. 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'). 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] is

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

[12] In French, the use of aussi, comme (also/though, as) might as argumentative connectors might be suggestive of argumentation.

also the highest in Italian, and 'échec' in French the sixth highest. 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 as well as the use of *Multikulti* (see section 3 below) show. There are more actions now associated in English, some of which are negatively evaluating. Intensifications are now absent, places become less relevant, politicians become associated and in English and French there is now 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.) On the contrary, in the French corpus, this debate about multiculturalism concerns primarily France, even if other countries happen to be mentioned (mainly Canada). It must be noted that the debate and its negative evaluation is especially visible in the conservative newspaper Le Figaro, which is revealed by a comparison between *multiculturalisme*'s collocates in the two newspapers. In Le Figaro, multiculturalism is strongly criticised ('échec' [failure] ranks 5th, 'échoué' [failed] 7th and 'faillite' [collapse] 9th) and this stance can explain the higher frequency of the word, as well as of the adjective form, in this sub-corpora, mentioned above (see Graph 1 and 2).

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).[13] However, Merkel used the short word *Multikulti* in her speech,[14] 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 the only other word form is *multiculturalist* (adjective, 10 occurrences in Guardian, 6 in Times) and *multiculturalists* (plural noun, 14 occurrences in Guardian, 9 in Times) as well as two compounds which each occur only once: 'multiculturalism-bashing' and 'multiculturalism-is-compulsory'.

[13] 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.

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

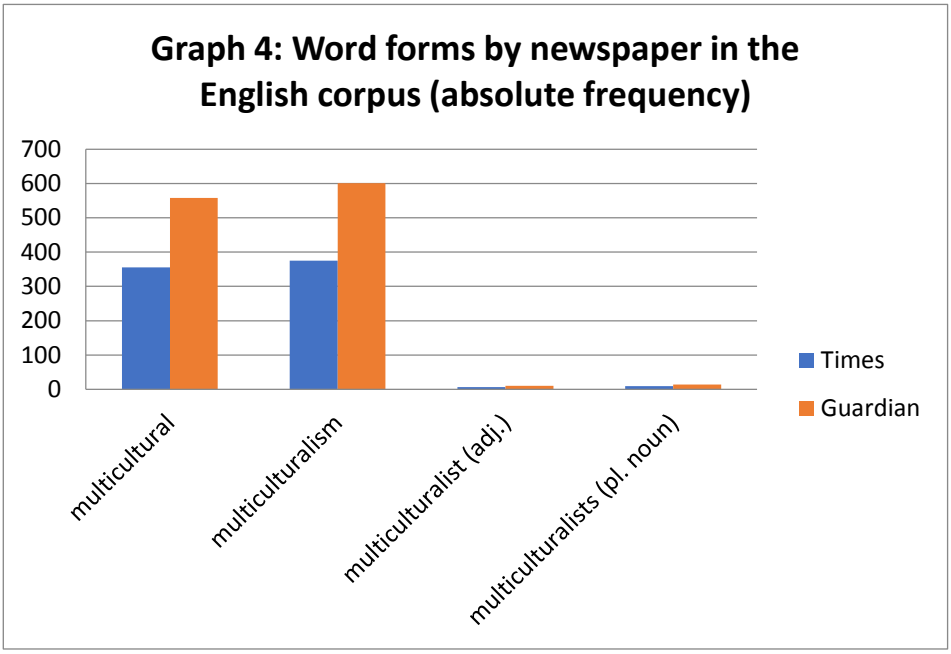


Figure 3: Words forms English corpus

Compared to *multiculturel* and *multiculturalisme*, other word forms are marginal in the French sub-corpus. However, the comparison shows that the only form that the left-liberal newspaper uses more than its conservative counterpart is *multiculturalité*. A few derived forms or neologisms can be spotted. The main one is *multiculturaliste* (31 occurrences) and its strongest collocate 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 hapax close the list of morphological variants in French: *multiculturatélé*, which is a neologism blending *multicultural* + *television* and *Multiculti*, which occurs once in a quotation in reference to the Netherlands.

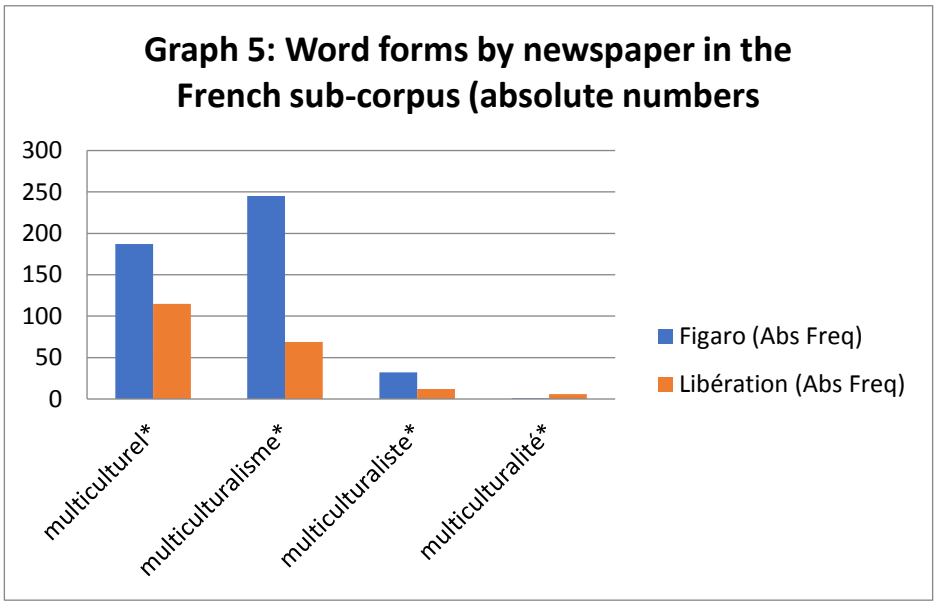


Figure 4: Words forms French corpus

In German, the picture is more varied. In particular, the frequency of the short word *Multikulti* is striking (99 in Die Welt, 184 in taz), as well as the multitude of hyphenated compounds that are created with the short word as a modifier, as the search for Multikulti-* reveals (60 in Die Welt and 111 in taz). Altogether, Multikulti* appears 166 times in Die Welt and 355 times in tageszeitung. Collocations of Multikulti* are more varied than for *Multikulturalimus* and include 'Radio'[15], 'gescheitert' (failed), 'Begriff' (term) and 'tot' (dead) as well as 'Ende' (end). However, the latter occur in

[15] 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".

tageszeitung, within contexts that echoes a negative discourse about *Multikulti** and at the same time indicates distancing towards this discourse. A number of compounds that are created with *Multikulti* also reflect a discourse about multiculturalism as naïve: 'Multikulti-Idylle' (idyll), 'Multikulti-Träumereien' (dreams), 'Multikulti-Illusion'. These occur more in the conservative Welt than in the left-liberal tageszeitung. Again, in the latter these occur with distance markers; here we also find one occurrence of 'Multilkulti-Bashing'. Two thirds of all occurrences of *Multikulturalist** are from Die Welt; in German, this refers to people who purportedly support multicultural(ism).

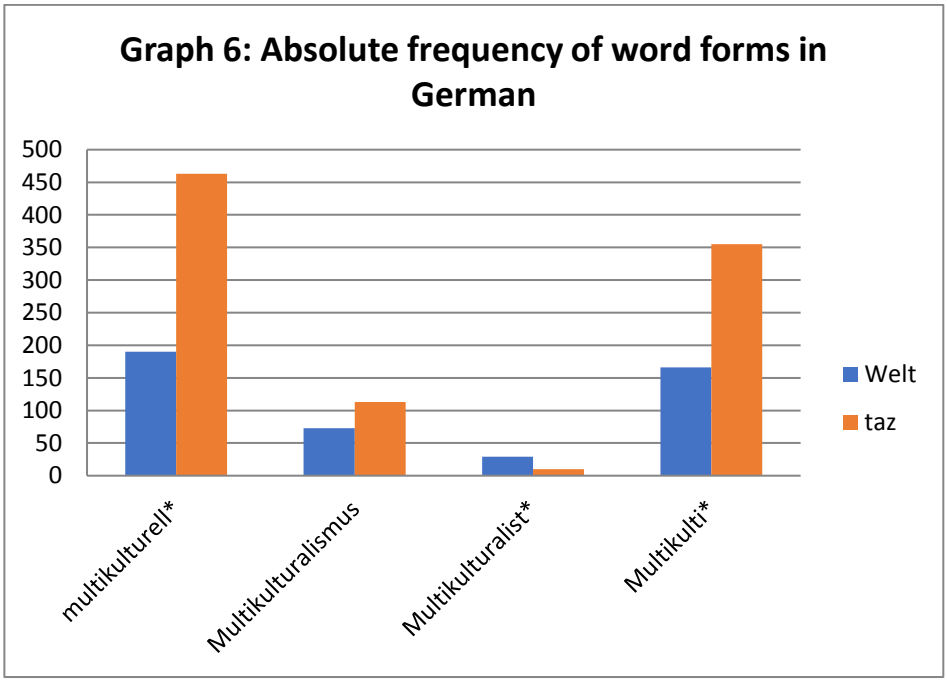


Figure 5: Words forms German corpus

The Italian data shows that a third form, *multiculturalita'* is also present in the debates. As this term, at least superficially, denotes a state of being rather than a concept or policy approach, it is in line with the previous findings for *multiculturale* that it is used more frequently in the more liberal newspaper, La Repubblica. It is perhaps interesting to note that this form is explicitly opposed to the noun form *multiculturalismo* in the one article:

(1) 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** which, perhaps surprisingly, is also used slightly more frequently in the Repubblica though it occurs in much lower proportions overall. This term refers more to the policy sense of the term (the most salient collocates are 'modello' and 'assimiliazionista').

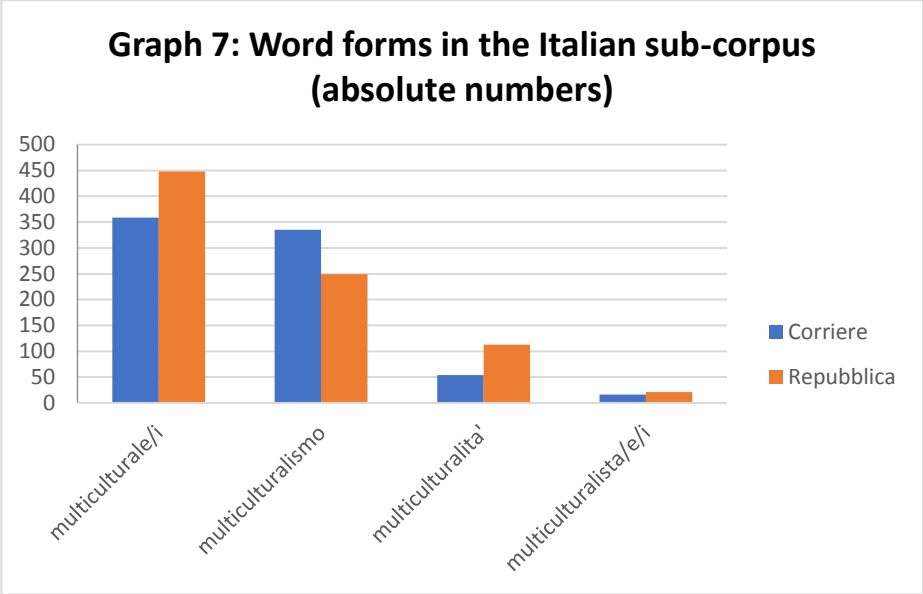


Figure 6: Words forms Italian corpus

5. Discussion and Conclusion

Our analyses show that a comparative analysis of European migration discourses points to some commonalities across these discourses, but also to some differences between them, and to differences in the use and associated evaluations of two formally closely related keywords within this discourse. 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.

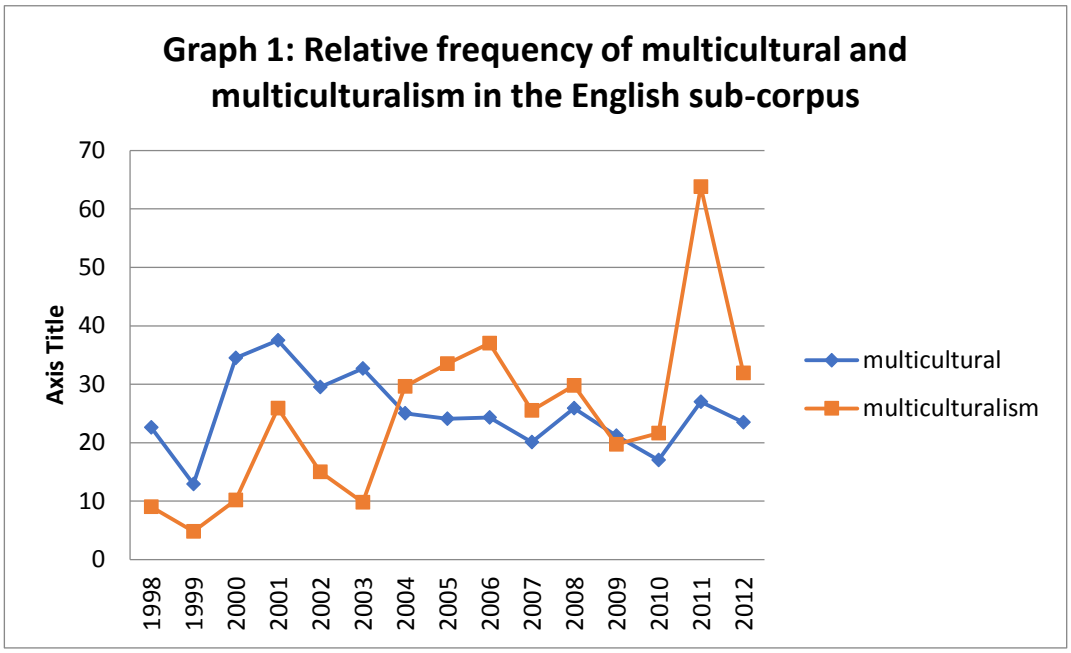
With a view on our initial hypotheses, a particular negativity of the French and Italian discourses about multicultural(ism) can be confirmed for France on the basis of our data, but not for Italian. Ambivalence mostly emerges for English, but also for Italian when comparing the use of the noun and the 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.

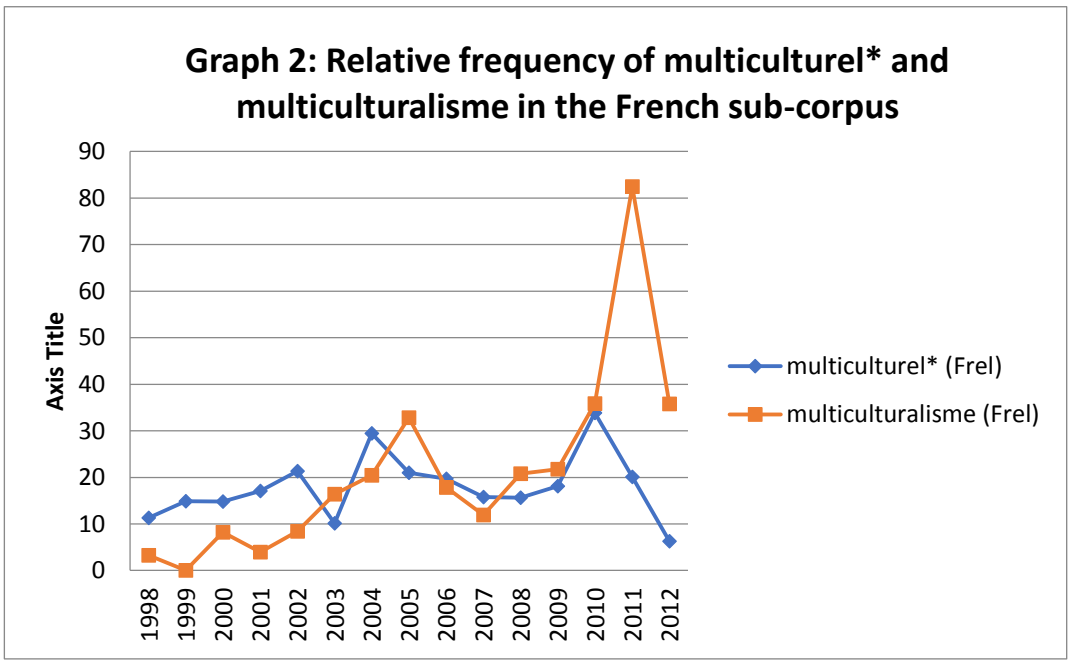
In spite of the negativity and emphasis on multiculturalism as a controversial issue emerging from the French collocates, multicultural(ism) appears least frequently and hence yields less collocates than in English or Italian, which might suggest that it is less essential than other key-words to discourse about migration in the French press. In the German discourse, the lack of a distinct collocational profile despite high frequency could be

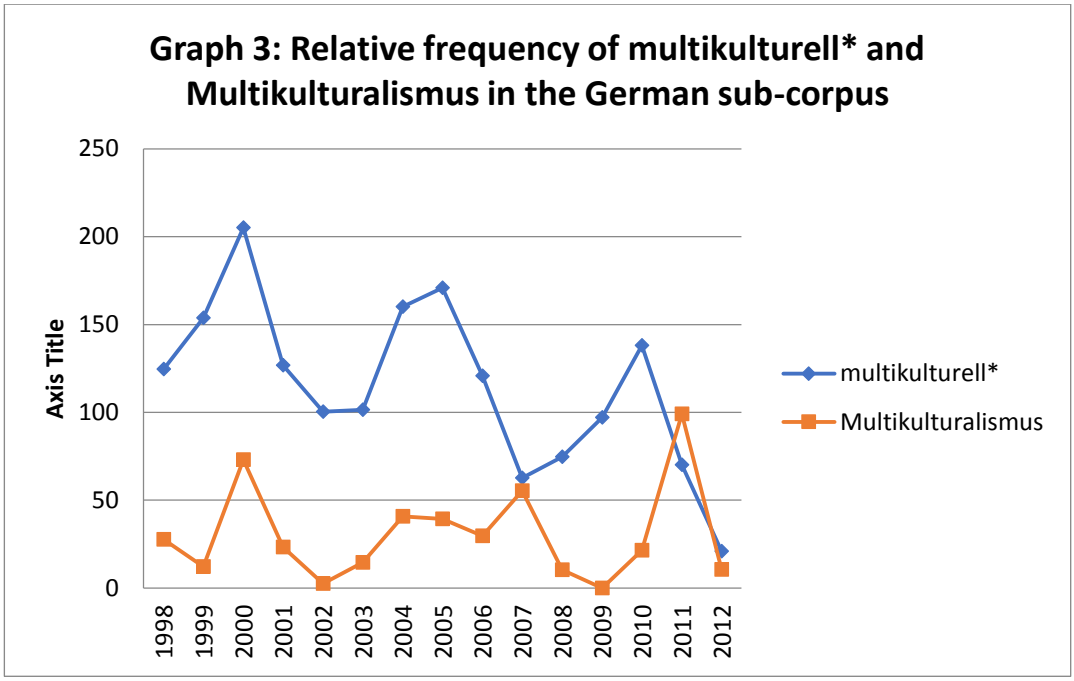
interpreted as a debate that lacks intensity, in comparison to English and Italian. Since previous literature points to a detachment from multicultural(ism) in Italy, it is perhaps interesting to note the various indicators among the collocates to multicultural(ism) as something that is the case elsewhere. 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).

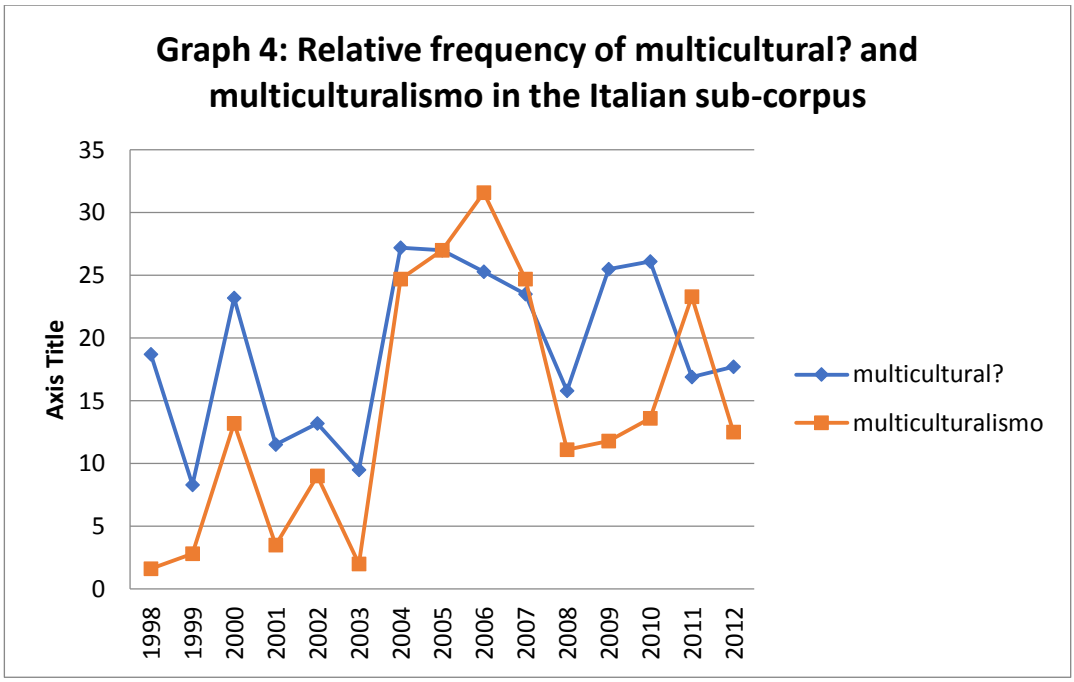
Overall, our analyses suggest that while there does not seem to be much difference in the semantic scope of multicultural and multiculturalism across the four languages, and not much difference in that it is part of a discourse about (im)migration, the salience of the keyword in the respective discourses 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). However, a closer look at these reveals differences in their salience to the respective discourse which can be explained with reference to the migration histories and political responses to immigration in the respective countries. A comparative analyses, even of only one or two words, can therefore bring evidence that is indicative of such differing contexts, and also show how these determine discourses, down to the lexical level.

Appendix A: Comparative frequencies of multicultural/ism per language

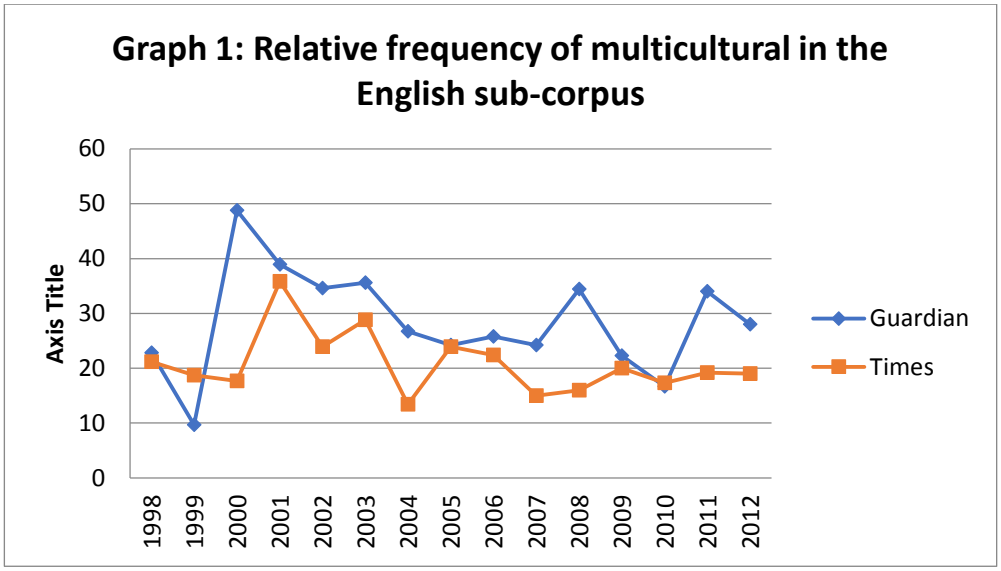


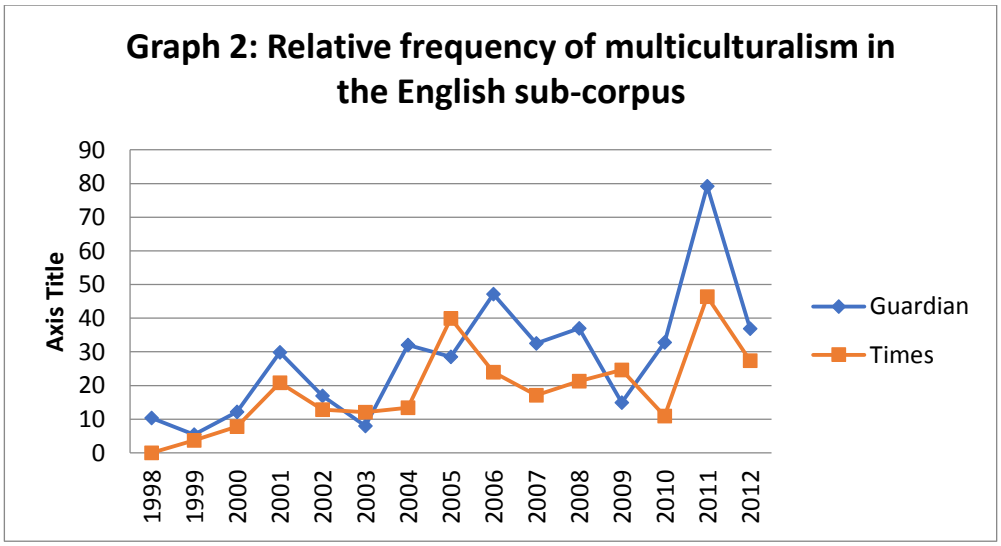


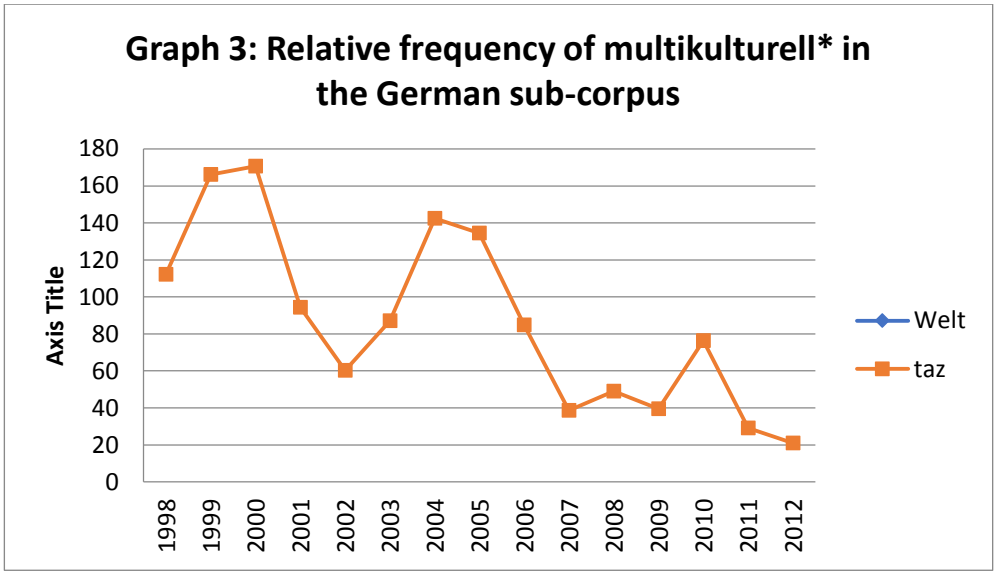


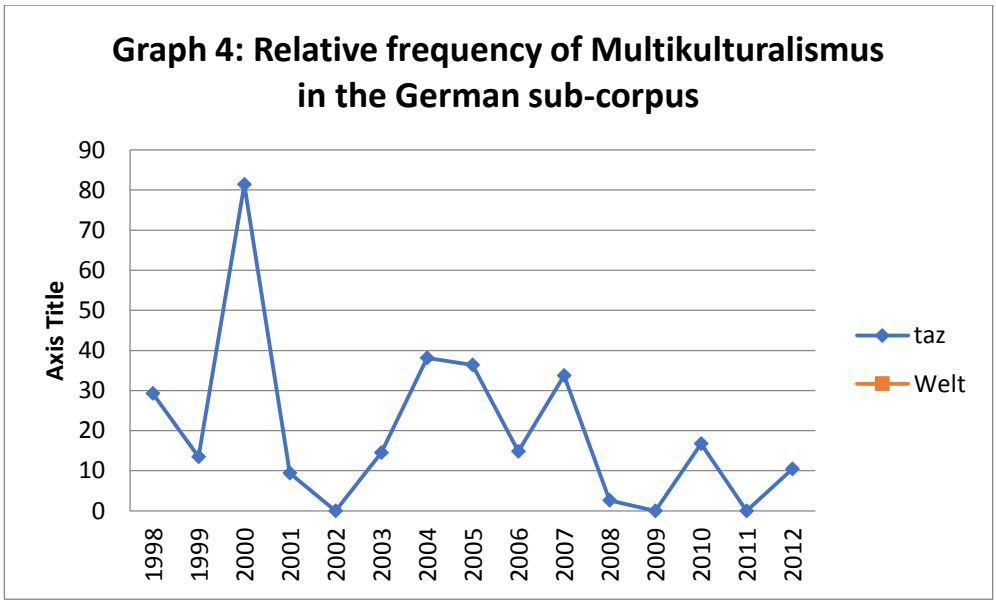


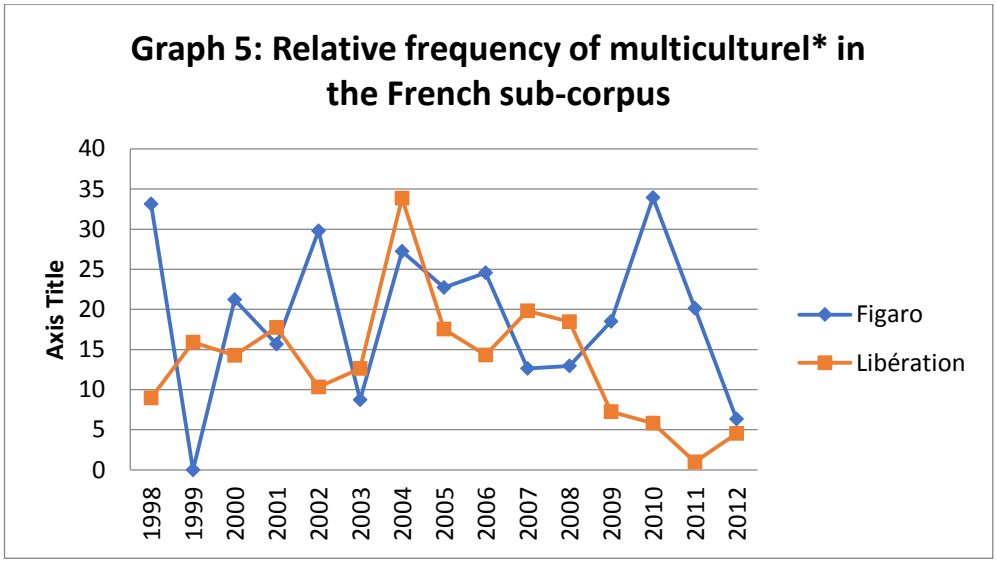
Appendix B: Relative frequencies of multicultural and multiculturalism per newspaper and corpus

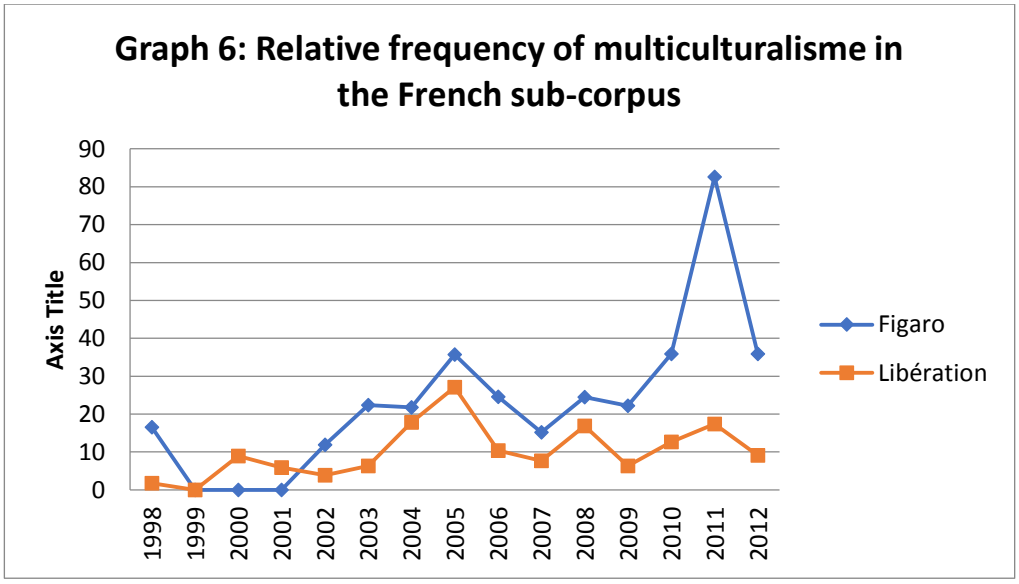

Graph 1: Relative frequency of multicultural in the English sub-corpus
Axis Title
60
50
40
30
20
10
0
1998
1999
2000
2001
2002
2003
2004
2005
2006
2007
2008
2009
2010
2011
2012
Guardian
Times

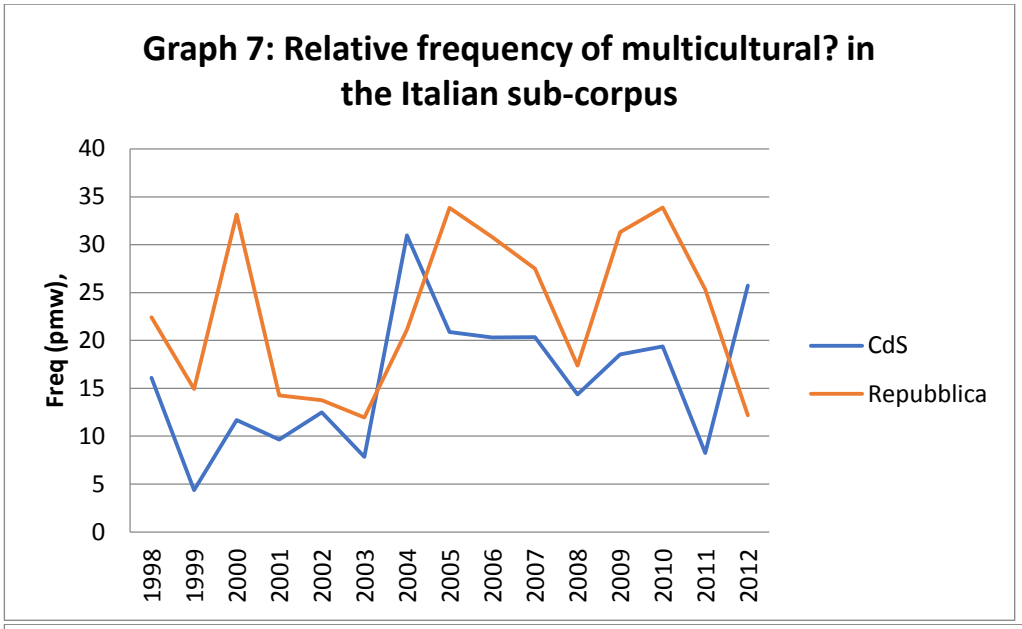

Graph 2: Relative frequency of multiculturalism in the English sub-corpus
Axis Title
90
80
70
60
50
40
30
20
10
0
1998
1999
2000
2001
2002
2003
2004
2005
2006
2007
2008
2009
2010
2011
2012
Guardian
Times

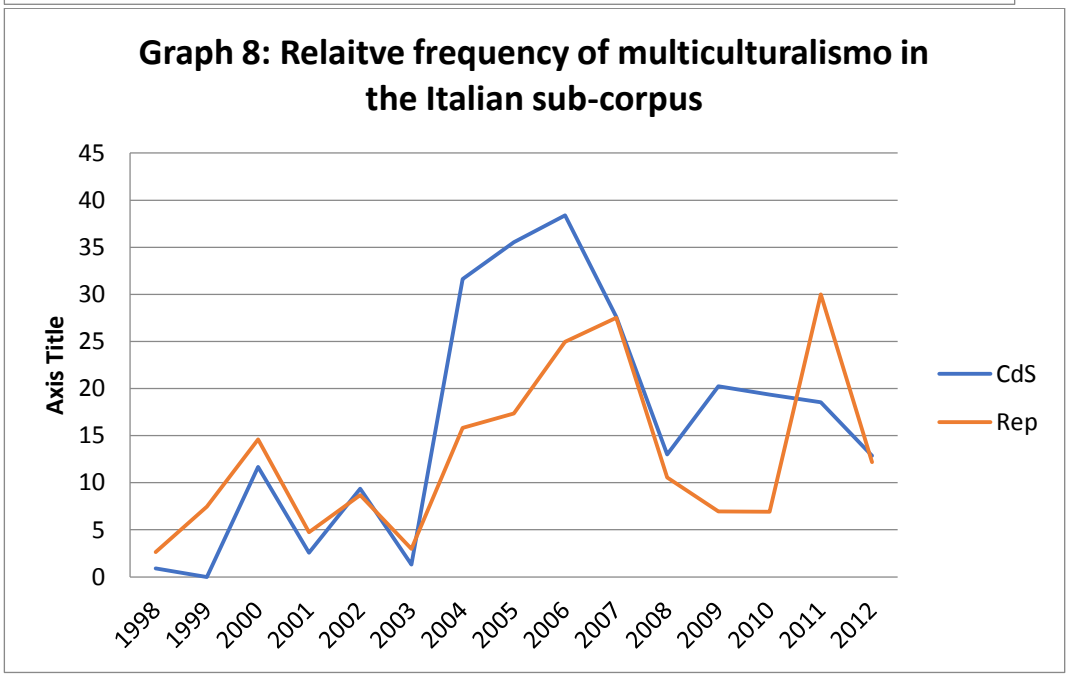

Graph 3: Relative frequency of multikulturell* in the German sub-corpus
Axis Title
180
160
140
120
100
80
60
40
20
0
1998
1999
2000
2001
2002
2003
2004
2005
2006
2007
2008
2009
2010
2011
2012
Welt
taz


Graph 4: Relative frequency of Multikulturalismus in the German sub-corpus
Axis Title
90
80
70
60
50
40
30
20
10
0
1998
1999
2000
2001
2002
2003
2004
2005
2006
2007
2008
2009
2010
2011
2012
taz
Welt


Graph 5: Relative frequency of multiculturel* in the French sub-corpus
Axis Title
40
35
30
25
20
15
10
5
0
1998
1999
2000
2001
2002
2003
2004
2005
2006
2007
2008
2009
2010
2011
2012
Figaro
Libération


Graph 6: Relative frequency of multiculturalisme in the French sub-corpus
Axis Title
90
80
70
60
50
40
30
20
10
0
1998
1999
2000
2001
2002
2003
2004
2005
2006
2007
2008
2009
2010
2011
2012
Figaro
Libération





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