Dualisms in Jihad

The role of metaphor in creating ideological dichotomies

Katie J. Patterson
Universidad de Granada

This paper explores how metaphors are employed in jihadist magazines to promote a dichotomist worldview of 'us' versus 'them', 'good' versus 'bad', 'east' versus 'west' and 'right' versus 'wrong'. It argues that juxtapositions in both language and thought help writers to reaffirm and/or challenge certain paradigms. The approach uses critical metaphor analysis (Charteris-Black 2004) to investigate qualitative evidence of conceptual metaphors, focusing on the domains LIFE IS A SEED, CONFLICT IS A RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PREDATOR AND PREY, and FAITH IS LIGHT/LACK OF FAITH IS DARKNESS. Dichotomous language in these domains (e.g., 'seed' versus 'weed'; 'sheep' versus 'wolves'; the 'spark of Jihad' versus the 'shadow' of Western governments) help to position extremist groups on the right side of a number of paradigms. The use of binary metaphors also permits simultaneously conflicting conceptualisations; for instance, jihadists are both innocent victims and merciless defenders of their faith, depending on with who or what they are juxtaposed. The research concludes that the use of binary metaphors serves to underscore entrenched paradigms of 'good' versus 'bad', thus allowing the writers to frame their discourse in a way that justifies and promotes their extremist agenda.

Keywords: metaphor, critical metaphor analysis, extremism, jihadism

1. Introduction

Often, the language of politics divides our world into two groups: those who share our values, and those who oppose them. This dichotomy is exhibited in our language choices; for instance, research has shown that we will glorify our own good actions and minimise those of our opposition whilst excusing our own bad actions and condemning those of our enemies (Halmari 1990; van Dijk 2005).

https://doi.org/10.1075/jlac.00075.pat
Journal of Language Aggression and Conflict ISSN 2213-1272 | E-ISSN 2213-1280

Jihadist groups such as the Taliban, Al Shabaab, Al Qaeda and Islamic State challenge existing beliefs, behaviours and governments in the Muslim world, and oppose Western values and influences more generally. Whilst each group differs in their aims, the dissemination of their propaganda depends on a number of shared discursive roles. These include radicalising readers through inciting hate, recruiting new members, gaining financial support and ultimately "influencing the thoughts, emotions, and behaviours – that is, the psychology" of their readership (Aggarwal 2019, 6; Benitez-Castro and Hidalgo Tenorio forth. 2022). This paper argues that these discursive roles are met with the help of promoting dichotomies between them and 'the other'.

The propaganda that such groups rely on can be identified as distinct from other text types for its dependence on portraying a narrow, dogmatic ideology[1] that runs counter to (or is a reaction to a number of Western community 'norms' (Hervik 2019, 3105). As a result, a number of its linguistic characteristics can help to identify and track its influence. Marcellino et al. (2016) and Baker et al. (2012), for instance, have measured the spread of violent extremists' propaganda within certain groups over time, using corpus methods on social media data. In addition, research has shown that authors of extremist material often "centre their rhetoric on themes of morality, social proof, inspiration and appeals to religion" (Prentice, Rayson, and Taylor 2012, 260). Analysis through several linguistic frameworks has revealed how language choices of extremists serve to unite political, social, and cultural values (Brookes and McEnery 2020; O'Regan and Betzel 2016). In particular, this is fundamental to jihadist groups, who are promoting a culture that blends radical militant ideology together with traditional age-old religious beliefs, whilst drawing on 21st century resources. This juxtaposition of new and old world order dictates a re-positioning of accepted norms and values.

This paper explores how metaphors have been employed in jihadist online magazines to serve a dichotomist worldview of 'us' versus 'them', 'good' versus 'bad', and 'right' versus 'wrong'. It argues that juxtapositions in language help writers both to challenge and reaffirm certain paradigms. The approach in this study draws on critical metaphor analysis (Charteris-Black 2004) to investigate qualitative evidence of conceptual metaphor use. The corpus comprises a selection of English language magazines published online by the Taliban (*Azan*), Islamic State (*Rumiyah*, *Dabiq*), Al-Shabaab (*Gaidi Mtaani*), and Al-Qaeda (*Inspire*; *Jihadi Recollections*), each one serving to promote a jihadist agenda.[2] The analysis

1. Here, ideology is defined, following van Dijk (2006), as a social construct, largely acquired, expressed, and reproduced by discourse.

2. This corpus was created as part of a larger project entitled "Nutcracker: Sistema de detección, rastreo, monitorización y análisis del discurso terrorista en la red" (FFI2016-79748-R, A-

focuses on key conceptual domains already identified within the corpus (LIFE IS A JOURNEY; DARKNESS IS LACK OF FAITH, and LIFE IS A SEED, see Patterson 2020). The research questions are presented below:

- What kind of conceptual metaphors do the writers draw on when juxtaposing concepts such as 'east' vs. 'west'; 'good' vs. 'evil'; 'right' vs. 'wrong'?
- What role do these metaphors play in polarising ideologies and promoting an 'us' versus 'them' mentality in jihadist discourse?

2. Literature review

2.1 The (extreme) discourse of jihadism

According to Kilp (2011, 16), 'extremism' refers primarily to a nature of commitment, "not to the substantive content of the cause or goal". In a literal and decontextualised sense, the term carries the meaning of pushing a value or a set of values to the limit. This can be realised as much in words as in actions. In a social context, extremism refers to the radical actions against prevailing social norms and rules that are recognised by the majority of actors in a certain environment, for instance in a religious or a political domain (Mölder 2011). A sociological explanation of extremism would also extend to many populist movements. Global crises (economic, political or ecological, for instance) often push people into hating elites, justifying an opposite ideology. In the cases of jihadism, perceived social injustice is often cited as the primary justification for the sanctioning extreme violent acts. The ideology "reflects a perception that identity itself is under threat from social change" (Prevent 2011). Research in the fields of linguistics (e.g., Brookes et al. 2020), psychology (e.g., Houck et al. 2017), artificial intelligence (e.g., Fernandez and Alani 2021) and cultural studies (e.g., Benigni et al. 2017) seeks to explore how individuals are persuaded to partake in such actions. One highly contributing factor is a group's online presence. Online extremist communities (OECs, see Benigni et al. 2017) exist on a global platform and are able to define or transform identities through their language (how individuals view themselves as well as their relationship to their cause). This ultimately helps drive behaviour choices in the real world (Aggarwal 2019).

Benigni et al. (2017) cite that ISIS's OEC membership has been (rather conservatively) estimated at between 46,000 and 70,000 strong. While not every

HUM-250-UGR18, P18-FR-5020), funded by MINECO, the Andalusian Government and the EU FEDER Funds, and led by Encarnación Hidalgo Tenorio and Juan Luis Castro Peña, University of Granada.

member will go on to commit a violent act, with every communicative act, their ideology is vindicated. This makes OEDs a rich source for analysis in (but not limited to) linguistics, psychology, artificial intelligence and politics. In the context of Islamic extremism, the notion of group identity embodies what has been termed 'jihadi culture'. Hegghammer (2017, 5) defines this concept as not simply filling "the basic military needs of jihadi groups", but rather, providing members or followers with a set of cultural products and practices. In this way, the writers are able to embed radical and controversial political aims within a broader foundation of cultural and social values. Tying political ideology to group identity provides the ultimate *emotional* persuasion tool which reinforces and complements "the cognitive persuasion work done by doctrine" (Hegghammer 2017, 5).

In linguistics, Matusitz et al. (2019) claim that jihadist magazines (*Inspire, Dabiq, Rumiyah* and *Gaidi Mtaani*), depend on a number of strategies to propagate their message. Using a narrative analysis technique, they identified several strategies, such as the use of images, attrition, intimidation, outbidding, and incitement, amongst others, with the end goal of recruitment. They also claim that examining jihadism as a form of communication helps readers understand how messages are framed and shape reality. From the perspective of Social Identity Theory (SIT), jihadist magazines are viewed as a tool for inciting intergroup behaviour; that is, individuals' self-concept is influenced by perceived differences in group status and membership (Matusitz et al. 2019). This means that, if a group can alter one's self-identity, "they can significantly alter individuals' behaviors" (2019, 62). Baker and Vessey (2018) have also shown how extremist texts in English and French both tend to focus on religion and rewards (i.e., for faith) as well as strongly rely on othering strategies. Most recently, Baker at al. (2021) have also explored the language of violent jihad, claiming that different strategies are employed keyed to different stages of radicalisation as well as different strengths of group affiliation or identity (i.e., those which advocate violence, those which take a hostile but non-violent standpoint, and those which take a moderate perspective on Islamic extremism).

According to Aggarwal (2019), a unique case study highlighting how jihadist propaganda has used preexisting social representations to construct their militant (and cultural) identity, is demonstrated in one speech in particular. In 2003, Abu Al-Zarqawi gave the first media output as the founder of Organization for Monotheism and Jihad (later becoming Islamic State). Aggarwal (2019, 27) claims that the speech introduces three mechanisms of persuasion: (1) stipulating propositions for his audience to accept, (2) invoking the authority of Qur'anic verses, and (3) highlighting the audience's uniqueness. The use of religion helps to centre the rhetoric on a pre-established and authoritative doctrine and to awaken shared meanings of an identity. Moreover, through religion, one is able to exploit strong

emotions such as fear, retribution and ultimately obedience (Aggarwal 2019). According to MacDonald et al. (2018, 538), "identification of a group's claims with the commands of God [...] results in a zero-sum game in which one side is regarded as fanatical and the other as evil, creating a vicious circle of antagonism". Religious themes and metaphors have also been shown to be successful in promoting radical, political agendas. For example, Patterson (2022) has shown that religious metaphors found in the Qur'an, such as the creation of journey metaphors (Charteris-Black 2004) are manipulated or distorted in the jihadist magazines to further their terrorist agenda.

Propositions in extremist propaganda are often embedded within a rhetoric that pits the desired act against the other, be it the less desired action or the enemy more generally (good versus evil, love versus hate, right versus wrong). In the literature, both van Dijk (2019) and Jeffries (2010) state that opposites are manufactured in discourse with an ideological agenda and emphasize how opposition is fundamental to thought. Jeffries (2010) shows how complementaries, for instance, being mutually exclusive, divide up and explain the concrete world in news reporting texts. She proposes that opposition is fundamental to human thought, and it exists as an image schema, pre-conceptually structuring the way humans think and feel about people, objects and events in their surroundings. Hervik (2019) uses Tannen's (2002) term *agonism* in relation to extremist discourse. He claims that this notion of ritualised opposition often refers to arguments that are unrelated to the original conflict or disagreement and consists of a knee-jerk opposition, "turning everything into a metaphorical battle and a battle of values" (2019, 3108). Juxtapositions, used in the context of "ritualised opposition" help to drive choices; propositions are seen as the right and only option. Aggarwal (2019) illustrates this juxtaposition referring to another speech by Al-Zarqawi which invokes shared emotions of reverence for the prophet alongside shared meanings of violence. He claims that this ritualized opposition mediates disorder but also reassures members of the promise of heaven despite committing atrocious acts: "God sent his messenger with a sword to fight → we fight the enemy → we go to paradise, and they go to hell" (2019, 28). Similarly, Ranstorp (1996) claims that a sharp distinction between the faithful and unfaithful leaves no middle ground and others those outside the group.

Prentice et al. (2012) have also documented juxtaposing positive and negative semantic pairing in extremist literature (e.g., *life* and *death*, *warfare* and *anti-war,* and *lawful* and *unethical*), which seeks to manipulate the reader into an all or nothing group membership mentality. Schwager (2004) claims that this "all or nothing" mentality is driven by our quest for identifying truth. The author posits that underlying our scientific, progress-oriented outlook within society is the assumption that "truth" is a scientific and rational concept and that we can

position ourselves on the "right" side of it. Schwager (2004) argues that this mentality underpins the utopian belief systems that motivated much of the genocide of the twentieth century; yet the argument could be extended to justify any extremist and harmful agendas in society. Within this structure, Schwager (2004) posits the assumption that "man has basic aggressive, evil, or 'sinful' instincts; a dualistic state of mind (constantly judging good and evil, true and false on the basis of certain truths established by religions, institutions, theory, culture); and a hierarchical, power-oriented organization of reality" (Schwager 2004, 348). These 'inbuilt' paradigms can be exploited in order to reposition existing ideologies to better suit a given agenda.

2.2 Metaphor and ideology

Metaphors have been shown to play an important role in a variety of persuasive discourses, for instance, religious texts (Naser and Mohammed 2020), advertisements (Burgers et al. 2015; Hidalgo-Downing and Kraljevic-Mujic 2017), and political speeches (Charteris-Black 2011). As a rhetorical device, they allow writers to align their message with a shared culture through which to interpret the world, reinforce a belief system or challenge mainstream principles and ideologies. From the bottom up, they embed social and experiential knowledge of world events within the frame of more abstract ideological beliefs and values (Fairclough 1992). From a top down perspective, they help to ground topics that transcend our ordinary cognitive and sense experience (Jäkel 2002). For instance, the prevalence of metaphors in a dialogic context such as in science writing has been well documented (see Levy and Godfrey-Smith 2019). In the religious context, metaphors help to explain miraculous events or non-rational and sometimes contradictory ideas (El-Sharif 2017). Another feature relevant to extremist propaganda is that they are often employed to elicit emotional responses that can influence individual judgement or collective moral evaluation (Charteris-Black 2019). Moreover, they can be viewed as a shared experience; that is, the reader engages in a joint activity of creating meaning (Charteris-Black 2004). This can play a role in influencing power dynamics in the jihadist magazines between author and reader or leader and follower.

Metaphor use, specifically in jihadist propaganda, has received scant scholarly attention. Matusitz and Olufowote (2016) have documented the use of visual metaphors, focusing on the image of the waterfall (symbolising paradise) and the hand (symbolising strength and unity). Their research shows that metaphors are a principal conceptual system for the thoughts and actions of Islamic extremists. Patterson (2020) found repeated use of religiously inspired metaphors in jihadist magazines that were manipulated to further the agenda of their cause. For exam-

ple, the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY was extended to JIHAD IS A JOURNEY, with violence and terror being justified as inevitable obstacles along the path to spiritual enlightenment (*this path must be paved by the blood of its righteous*). Similarly, metaphors likening faith to growth or creation were extended to represent growth towards the jihadist cause (*plant them* [pieces of my body] *like seeds in your consciences, in the hope that out of them will grow jihad if I water them with my blood*). At the same time the seed metaphor is also transferred to the concrete domain of money, demonstrating the practical necessity of financing the cause. These studies show how conventional metaphorical conceptualisations can be drawn on and altered to provide justification or authority to controversial beliefs or actions. For its part, the present study will provide support to the growing body of work in the field of language of extremism. Moreover, it aims to explore not only metaphor but also, more generally, the rhetoric of propaganda through dichotomic language.

When considering what metaphors are able to reveal about our beliefs or ideologies (collective or individual), we must consider a number of frameworks. Metaphors are not simply linguistic phenomena but are also cognitively driven. Conceptual Metaphor Theory or CMT (Lakoff and Johnson 1980) argues that metaphors are prevalent in thought as much as language, i.e., fundamental to our ways of understanding the world. They embody our experiential knowledge about how the world works and how we interpret it. In this sense, metaphors provide a fundamental way of learning and structuring conceptual systems, and thus are a part of everyday discourse. Seeing metaphor as a cognitive phenomenon holds relevance in the study of religious discourse in particular. This is because religion is a "[d]ynamic, embodied sociocultural discourse, which constitutes a world of meaning, a shared narrative that is constructed upon, but not terminated by, cognitive processes and products" (Martin 2013, 938). In other words, it is an abstract construction, which is given meaning by the fact that it depends on a shared understanding (cognitive, social and cultural). Indeed, Martin (2013) goes on to claim that cognitive linguistic theories applied to religious discourse have illustrated that the same metaphors occur in many of the world's religions, such as FAITH IS UP (El Sharif 2016), GOD IS A LIGHT (Kirkwood 2019) or GOD IS A SHEPHERD (Jäkel 2002).

3. Methodology

3.1 Data: The magazines

The corpus of jihadist magazines (JIHAD) was created by Miguel-Ángel Benítez-Castro (University of Zaragoza), Azzam Dhiab Hassan and Encarnación Hidalgo-Tenorio (University of Granada). It is comprised of several complete issues of English language online magazines sourced freely from jihadology.net.[3] The magazines comprise personal stories, informative articles, editorials, instruction manuals and news bulletins. Each magazine shares the same general aims, but they differ in target audience and specific aims. For instance, whilst Al-Qaeda's *Inspire* targets members in the West (active jihadists, jihadist sympathisers and self-radicalised killers), Islamic State's first publication *Dabiq* encouraged new members to leave their current lives in their Middle Eastern homelands and join the jihadist quest (Matusitz et al.). In total, there are 772 texts, producing a total of 1,272,003 words. The distribution is given below:

Table 1. Subfolders of the jihadi corpus

Code	Magazine	No of texts	Running token size
RV1	Azan	113	205,965
RV2	Dabiq	175	371,314
RV3	Gaidi Mtaani	32	57,870
RV4	Inspire	257	264,823
RV5	Jihadi Recollections	67	103,779
RV6	Rumiyah	128	268,252
	Total	**772**	**1,272,003**

Each text has been labelled with one of the following six functions:

Table 2. Function and code for each text in the corpus

Code	Function
CP	Recruitment
DC	Indoctrination
IC	Incitation
FC	Financial support
IF	Instructional
PL	Planning a terrorist attack

3. Created as part of a larger project entitled "Nutcracker: Sistema de detección, rastreo, monitorización y análisis del discurso terrorista en la red" (FFI2016-79748-R), funded by MINECO and led by Encarnación Hidalgo Tenorio and Juan Luis Castro Peña, University of Granada.

The texts were also coded with the date they were written or published.[4] As an example, the code RV6_DC_04052017_001 tells us that the source is Rumiyah (RV6), the function is indoctrination (DC), the text was published on the 4th May 2017, and it is the single article written by its author (001).

3.2 Theoretical framework and procedure of analysis

Critical Metaphor Analysis (Charteris-Black 2004) as discussed earlier, supports a cognitive semantic view of metaphor. It combines corpus linguistics, cognitive linguistics and critical discourse analysis. As a discourse model of metaphor, it takes into consideration both individual resources (cognition, emotion, pragmatic and linguistic knowledge) and social resources (influence of ideology, culture and history). As outlined by Charteris-Black (2004), the model proposes three stages of analysis: (1) identification, (2) interpretation and (3) explanation.

The first task is to identify keywords that signify potential metaphoricity (linguistic or conceptual) in the corpus. Keyword lists were created with Wordsmith6 (Scott 2012) to identify items of statistical significance in the jihadist texts (acting as a single corpus) when compared to the BNC (which acted as a general comparison corpus). Dunning's (1993) Log Likelihood test was used to measure keyness. Charteris-Black's (2004, 35) definition of metaphor keywords is "the presence of incongruity or semantic tension – either at linguistic, pragmatic or cognitive levels – resulting from a shift in domain use" (Charteris-Black 2004, 35). High frequency occurrences indicate conventional metaphors, which are more indicative of ideological or rhetorical strategies than creative examples. Individual searches were undertaken of listed items to determine which words had metaphoric potential. Below is a table of the selected keywords according to a number of conceptual domains:

The second stage, interpretation, involves a qualitative exploration of the context of concordance lines to determine metaphoricity. Keywords are words that have a "tendency" (Charteris-Black 2004, 37) to be used as metaphors, but not in every case. This is because, if the keywords were always used as metaphors, this would in turn erode their metaphoricity, or the necessary 'semantic tension' that creates them in the first place.

The final stage, metaphor explanation, is concerned with textual meaning: in other words, how the metaphors function with reference to their specific situational context. The analysis involves identifying elements of social agency

4. Coding was undertaken by Azzam Dhiab Hassan, research group member at the University of Granada.

Table 3. Keywords with potential metaphoricity grouped by conceptual domain

Conceptual domain	N	Keyword	Freq.	%	RC. Freq.	RC. %	Log_L
FIGHTING	38	ENEMY	962	0,07	3.196	0,00	3.755,31
	39	CRUSADER	506	0,04	100	0,00	3.752,61
	40	FIGHT	1.166	0,09	5.864	0,01	3.744,85
	398	LONE	140	0,01	879	0,00	397,53
	341	SWORD	201	0,02	1.347	0,00	548,84
ANIMALISTIC	630	WOLF	90	0,01	167	0,00	432,21
NATURALISTIC	196	EARTH	652	0,05	9.025	0,01	1.016,10
	228	PARADISE	242	0,02	920	0,00	890,56
	384	CREATOR	125	0,01	499	0,00	449,82
	485	CREATION	244	0,02	4.942	0,01	245,20
	552	SEED	142	0,01	321	0,00	760,56

(Charteris-Black 2018a, b) as well as exploring the rhetorical role, or the intended effect of the metaphors.

4. Results and discussion

4.1 Conflict as a prey versus predator relationship

A metaphoric conceptualisation that helps establish a hierarchy of power between the jihadists and their enemies is CONFLICT IS A RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PREDATOR AND PREY. Animal metaphors are often used to perform a representation function of activity/passivity (Chilton 2004) whereby the presence of an agent who is the doer or instigator of the action (i.e., the predator) implies a patient counterpart (i.e., the prey) who undergoes the action. This predator versus prey dichotomy sees the jihadists positioned as passive in the form of an unwarranted threat to the West who, in turn, is depicted as the aggressive predator in Example (1):

(1) …the West is on its toes, ready to jump at whatever they may see as a threat. (RV5_DC_000509_001)[5]

5. Where the date begins with 00, only the month and year of when the article was written is known.

(2) They [the US Army] were attacking legitimate military targets, but being hunted like dogs and spoken of like filth. (RV5_CP_000809_001)

Example (2) illustrates the dehumanisation of the enemy, another characteristic use of animal metaphors more generally, and provides a rhetoric that serves to contrast the group with the 'other' (Haslam 2006). In the same way that Al-Zarqawi labels Israelis as "monkeys and pigs" (Aggarwal 2019), the jihadist writers seek to debase their attackers by presenting them as savage, rabid dogs. To compare human affairs to those of animals is to portray humans as failing to live up to their natural and/or God-given potential in terms of the "Great Chain of Being" (Albtoush and Sahuri 2017, 117). According to Albtoush and Sahuri (2017), this well-used conceptualisation, particularly within the domain of politics, also performs a cognitive function; by projecting animal types from a concrete domain onto an abstract relationship, the writer can provide a greater clarity to intangible, and perhaps subjective, phenomena such as corruption or terrorism. It also creates an all or nothing mentality; a predator depends on prey, and the use of the binary metaphor leads individuals to identify as one or the other, leaving no middle ground alternative.

In addition, the predator/prey dichotomy also draws on notions of the 'ideal victim' of violence from criminology (Christie 1986); someone who is passive, uncomplicated and vulnerable, or the "epitome of pure good and pure innocence" (Lawther 2014). To this end, the sacredness of religion falls into the possession of the innocent victim, which is a means of justifying jihadist actions in the eyes of non-believers or non-extremist Muslims. However, Downing (2019) cites problems with the 'good' versus 'bad' Muslim dichotomy in the context of jihadism, and according to Lawther (2014), rather than adhering to binary and one-dimensional conceptualisations, questions of victimhood are inherently fluid in a general political context, speaking to notions of identity, agency and context. Looking only at dichotomies risks oversimplifying the relationship between the jihadi and the 'other', not least because the 'other' involves a complexity of groups. This is portrayed through the use of the same conceptual metaphor, this time turned on its head:

(3) The agents of America stole the sacrifices of your revolutions through movements attributed to Islam, which led you to slaughter, and left you as prey for the wolves, because they were raised and they brought up their followers like sheep, and sheep not made to fight wolves. Wolves, however, are killed by lions … So rise O our Umma, like lions rise, and have your sons grow up to have the nature of lion cubs. (RV4_CP_000916_003)

Here the victimhood mentality is toppled, and the role reverses, with the jihadists as the ultimate predator in the sectarianist war. The infidels are seen as victims of

America's agents (wolves), but as sheep, they are painted in a complex light; the animal conjures up the image of the sacrificial slaughter but also of the blind or ignorant follower. The lion is introduced as the ultimate predator of wolves asserting the natural and rightful dominance of jihad at the top of the food chain. This animalistic imagery is also reminiscent of the rhetoric of Ayatollah Khomeini, as analysed by Charteris-Black (2006). Khomeini's rhetoric carried a commanding moral authority and spiritual appeal, and also raised anxieties that national identity was threatened by colonial Western forces, i.e., the United States and Britain. In a speech given in 1978, the same imagery of wolves is invoked:

> Is our country independent? America dictates to use from one direction and the Soviet Union from the other. *America digs its claws deep* into the depths of our oil wells while the Soviet Union *does the same* to our gas supplies.
> (Khomeini speech, 21 October 1978, cited in Charteris-Black 2006, 148)

Returning to the jihadist magazines, later in the same passage, the war between America and the jihadis is depicted again through conflict in the natural world. The military metaphor 'head of the snake' refers to disabling the most dangerous of enemies:

(4) As for you O agents, soldiers, and followers of America: our battle with you is long, and our focus is on the head of the snake, and we will not veer from it.
(RV4_CP_000916_003)

Thus, animal imagery helps portray the enemy not only as the 'other' but also as something to fear. We can view the creation of scare tactics as an argument scheme (or *topoi* according to Wodak 2006); by constructing a culture of fear through the predator/prey conceptualisation, the writers are able to promote instability and anxiety (Mölder 2011).

4.2 'Seed' versus 'weed'

Another reoccurring image that, at times, sets up a discourse of opposition is the 'seed'. This metaphorical domain contains various lexical items associated with religion, faith and human creation as living, natural world objects (see Asher 2001), in need of protection or nurture, with the potential to grow into something bigger. The literal concept of creation within religions around the world is deeply metaphoric (Johnston 2009). Indeed, metaphors that convey the relationship between the human and the divine are found to be similar across different religions, as revealed by cognitive linguistic theories that are adapted in the comparative study of religions (Martin 2013). Within this domain, 'seed' is often used as a metaphor for life, renewal, abundance, potential and faith in religious con-

texts (Charteris-Black 2004). It has also already been demonstrated to be prevalent in the jihadi corpora as a way of invoking Qur.´anic values (Patterson 2022). In some instances, in the jihadist texts, the same conceptual metaphor is used to refer to the act of 'planting' violence hand in hand with faith, in the minds of jihadists. In Example (5) below, we have an extended metaphor: the actions of the infidel are described as a threat to Islam and its 'seed', but also, the jihadists are 'uprooting' their enemies as if they were 'weeds':

(5) The war of kufr on Islam and its seed, Resulted in battalions uprooting Crusader weeds. (RV_DC_000911_001)

Here, we are presented with a juxtaposition of good growth, from the seed of Islam, and bad growth from the Crusader weeds. Seeds need to be nurtured and encouraged to grow, whilst the unwanted and uncontrolled growth of weeds poses a threat to our cultivation. This juxtaposition provides a natural-world justification for retaliation against non-believers who are seen as a harmful threat.

Another use of the 'seed' metaphor is to juxtapose life with death. In the example below, the word of jihad is scattered like seeds, with the potential to grow in the hearts and minds of followers:

(6) So I am calling to you from there, from the depth of your hearts, with words whose letters resemble pieces of my body which I scatter like severed limbs in the ether, for their echoes to reverberate in your ears forever, and for me to plant them like seeds in your consciences, in the hope that out of them will grow jihad if I water them with my blood tomorrow. (RV4_CP_000910_001)

The word of jihad also metaphorically resembles physical body parts, scattered in a sacrificial offering. Sacrifice is the practical proof of man's devotion to his Creator. It is the ultimate form of religion-in-action and as a concept it exists in all the main religions of the world (Siddiqui 2008). The purpose of sacrifice is not fulfilled only physically, through the sacrifice of an animal, but also when a man submits himself completely to the command of their god. Returning to the importance of the dichotomy, the juxtaposition of a loss of life (scattered severed limbs) together with growth (in the form of seeds) visually emphasises the role of sacrifice as the ultimate goal of a jihadi warrior. The scattering of limbs is an image which all too starkly conjures up the direct consequences of physical conflict and acts of terror.

4.3 Light of faith / heat of conflict

Charteris-Black (2004, 230) calls light/dark a multifunctional proto-dualism as the semantic fields represent a number of conceptualisations. For instance, whilst

light can symbolise faith, right choices or knowledge, dark often represents a lack of faith, temptation or the unknown. This is shown in the nouns associated with dark/light keywords presented in the table below:

Table 4. Nouns semantically associated with light or dark keywords

Item	Collocate
Shadow	America, one world government, evil scholars, evil one, desertion of the mujahidin, spear, nuclear war, drones, swords
Spark	war, zeal of Islam, jihad, tawhid
Flame	warrior, Islam, tawhid, jihad
Fire	people and stones, Battle of Raqqah, Paradise, path, wrath, motivation, Jahannam, jihad, war, disagreement
Light	liberty, Allah, hope, Heaven, Islam, hadith, revolutions, Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan, truth, shar'ia, knowledge, prophethood, New World Order, enlightenment, Lord, faith, salvation, Commands, teachings
Dark	path, years of massacres, hypocrisy, waves, future, mind, hearts

Light is associated with abstract concepts including faith ("light of faith" RV1_DC_001013_001), liberty ("glow of liberty" RV5_CP_000909_001) and truth ("vivid rays of truth" RV3_CP_001013_001). Darkness metaphors represent negativity, either abstract or concrete. Often, this is achieved through an absence of something good (i.e., absence of LIGHT IS FAITH in "dark years of massacres and annihilation" RV4_PG_001214_001). In Example (7), "the darkness of night" may refer more abstractly to a society that lacks moral values, lack of morality being precisely what the jihadi warrior is fighting against:

(7) …in the darkness of night, they straddled the light of truth and kindled with their blood the torch of guidance while shunning the paths of deviance (RV6_DC 040517_001)

Often, throughout the different magazine issues, there exists a relationship between light and heat metaphors (Patterson 2022); excerpt 8 being a clear example:

(8) …the blood of martyrs is light and fire. Light guiding those who follow their footsteps and fire burning the enemies of Allah. (RV4_CP_000313_002)

In this extract, the martyrs' blood being depicted as fire is a relevant metaphor because it offers up the notion of destruction alongside the conceptualisation of light (renewal, faith, potential). Destruction can perhaps be seen as an inevitable

factor in the healing or creation of something new. In one example, the writer describes the consequences of the Western world's capitalist desires:

(9) Wars, economic implosion, chronic deflation and, eventually, a new global financial system that will emerge from the ashes. (RV2_PG_210214_001)

The phrase suggests that whilst wars, economic implosion, and chronic deflation are the destructive factors (the fire), a new global financial system is something desirable, based on the positive semantic prosody attached to the metaphor "emerge from the ashes" that will emerge from the ashes.

Moreover, this combined dualism sees the conflict (heat) intrinsically tied to faith (light) through a semantic extension. Conceptualisations of CONFLICT IS HEAT are, of course, reminiscent of the literality of conflict battlegrounds (weapons and destruction in civil war; terror attacks; even homemade bomb making). In Example (10), the burning of crusaders (CONFLICT IS HEAT) is fully justified by coming from the spark of faith (GOOD IS LIGHT):

(10) The spark has been lit here in Iraq, and its heat will continue to intensify by allah's permission until it burns the crusader armies. (RV4_PG_000610_001)

The semantic extension and dual conceptualisation involved in such examples serves to marry spiritual attainment (or a closeness to Allah) with a naturalisation of warfare (see Charteris-Black 2018: 28). And in Example (11), the heat of the battle brings the promises of heaven (light) through death:

(11) one who does not have a scorching beginning will not have a shining end. (RV1_DC_041016_006)

Here, heat is not just representative of physical conflict but also of heroism and bravery. This shifts the focus away from the physical acts of terror, the dichotomy is set up as: be brave in this life and be rewarded with a "shining end" in the next. Thus, we can say that the relationship between 'light' and 'dark' not only helps justify the fighting for the jihadist cause, but it also helps to direct readers in their choices through a sense of glorification. Moreover, the light/heat versus dark dichotomy contributes to the eradication of any form of middle ground and room for moderate views. As Schwager (2004) notes, terror forces adherence to existing paradigms such as 'good' and 'bad' or 'right' and 'wrong'. In this case, the binary relationship between light/heat and dark serves to reinforce opposing ideologies. This dependence on polarisation is well illustrated in Example (12):

(12) The Quran does not want a unity in which evil retains its nature and gets mixed up with goodness. It does not want a unity in which darkness and light mix together to form a third mixture. No!… This is because the mixing up of

> truth and falsehood yields darkness in which the reality of all things is lost and this only begets falsehood. (RV1_PG_000413_001)

Instead, the separation of 'good' from 'bad', or 'light' from 'dark' as the quote argues, allows for writers to present a consistent and ideologically laden a message as possible. Houck et al. (2017) draw on the term 'integrative complexity' to explain successful rhetoric in the context of violent terrorist groups. They claim that such groups have a tendency to use fewer complex structures than ideologically similar non-violent groups, claiming that simple rhetoric may be due in part to the fact "that while the target audience for terrorist propaganda is by no means a simple-minded group of people, the terrorist life that the propaganda is calling them to requires substantial sacrifice and resolve" (2017, 110). Thus, the simpler the rhetoric, the more effective the message. Dichotomies, indeed, simplify the choice for readers and allow writers to pit their doctrine against a worse option. Another point for consideration is the simplicity of the demand the writers are making of readers; this simplicity is a rhetorical strategy to make the message as comprehensible as possible, given that not all readers' first language will be English.

4.4 Superhero vs. villain

Throughout the texts, there exists a dichotomy not only between the enemy and the jihadist group but also between the 'good' versus 'bad' Muslim. This rhetoric helps the writers stake their claim of ownership of their religion (as opposed to infidels or non-believers). This is another means of justifying their cause. A way to carry out this conceptualisation is through the image of the superhero. Extract 13 illustrates exactly this:

(13) For many Muslim youth in the West, it almost becomes like watching their favourite superheroes on television; they are in awe and harbor immense respect for these prominent Muslims. This is partly due to the fact that the Muslim American experience is entirely empty of such role models as opposed to the Muslim experience in the Islamic lands which have […] a plethora of contemporary "Robin Hood" champions. (RV5_DC_000509_001)

The image of a superhero depicted here is ironically a rather Western one; in action movies a superhero is brave, male, selfless, solitary, even socio-phobic, and generally weird (Batman or Superman), etc. The image of the 'good Muslim' is also embodied in a much older superhero rhetoric reminiscent of both historical conflicts and fairytales. The jihad warrior is depicted as a "knight¨ in a number of instances, making use of the positive collocates of the lexical item: "brave", "courageous", "gallant", "noble", and "dedicated" (e.g., RV_PG_060817_003). This is in

contrast to references to the "crusader" enemy which is framed negatively, alongside items such as "arrogant" and "spiteful" (e.g., RV6_DC_060817_001). Here, "crusader" is a direct reference to the middle age Christian crusades, bringing to the readers' collective mind ancient conflicts between Islam and Christianity, thus validating the current struggle. Not only is the enemy's evil perpetrator status exaggerated but the analogy glorifies the jihadi warrior by providing their present struggle with historical weight. In order to show the specific analogical entailments of "crusader" in our corpus, below is a visualisation of its collocates when compared to a general corpus (enTenTen18):

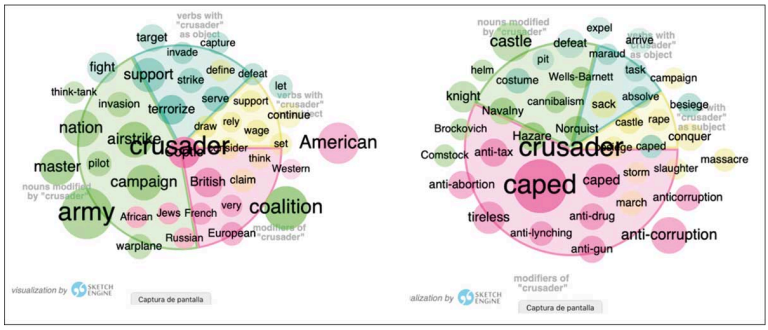

Figure 1. Wordsketch of "crusader" in jihadist corpus (left) and enTenTen18 corpus (right)

The image shows that "crusader" has a different set of associations in each corpus. Interestingly, the verbs associated with "crusader" in subject position are more negative in the general corpus (conquer, storm, slaughter, rape, massacre). In our corpus, for its part, the majority of action verbs (strike, invade, capture, fight, terrorise) are used when "crusader" is object rather than subject (i.e., as the receiver of the action). Thus, the enemy "crusader" is framed in a passive light, in contrast to the original Christian crusaders (defending their faith or terrorising Muslims, but actors in either sense). It is also worth pointing out that the crusader is often described in the general corpus in opposition to a given political movement or ideological stance (anti-drug, anti-lynching, anti-corruption), but in our jihadi corpus, it describes the enemy (British, French, Russian, African, Jews, European, Western) in a concrete military or warlike setting, with collocates such as "airstrike", "army" and "warplane".

Other metaphors that emphasise the superhero versus villain dichotomy depict conflict as a theatrical showdown, reminiscent of a superhero film. For instance, followers are urged to "remove the mask of betrayal" from the ugly faces of their enemies (RV4_CP_000916_003), a metaphor which sees them as defend-

ers of the truth. The superhero rhetoric is also present in Examples (14) and (15), with the infidel being defeated in rather theatrical descriptions:

(14) Islam has begun to rise and climb, the dark cloud has begun to scatter, and kufr has begun to be defeated and exposed. (RV2_PL_181115_004)

(15) It [America] pulls the threads of struggles and regional differences racism and sectarian by creating an atmosphere blurred by clouds of chaos and instability. (RV4_CP_001214_001)

Here, the phrases "clouds of chaos" and "dark cloud has begun to scatter" both depict the enemy as threatening, stormy weather. There is no human-driven solution to bad weather, it is something out of our hands, controlled by powers higher than ourselves and, ultimately, something inevitable that must be endured. Pitching their cause in direct opposition to stormy weather, the writers set their cause against a universally threatening opposition, together with the suggestion that order will ultimately be restored. The pathetic fallacy also reinforces the basic light-dark setting of the discourse. This is something that has been documented in other discourses of conflict (see Thornton 2015) and more generally in culture, such as film (Forceville and Renckens 2013).

5. Conclusion

When examining extremist language, society-dictated norms of what is morally accepted and what is not are, by definition, challenged. Whilst metaphor analysis is always dependent, to a certain point, on subjective interpretations, this study has shown how writers are not only repositioning the 'extremes' on a given value system, but they are also introducing a theatrical rhetoric through metaphor use, that sees, for instance, the jihadist's enemy as animalistic, or less than human, and their own martyrs as superheroes. These conceptual analogies help further polarise societal norms and radical ideologies. By setting up beliefs or values as polarised, the writer leaves the reader with no option of taking a middle ground (Ranstorp 1996). What this means for our understanding of jihadist discourse is that such framing may urge readers away from any pre-existing moderate views, creating an effect that can have real word repercussions. As cited by previous literature (see Miller 2019), there exists a direct link between propaganda and radicalisation, allowing us to propose that the dichotomic rhetoric present in the magazines analysed above contributes to the radicalisation and indoctrination of a new group of jihadists. Finally, something that has not been explored in enough detail is the extent to which these binary metaphors are found in or can be com-

pared to other text types. Future research may focus on a quantitative exploration to complement the present findings.

Funding

This research serves a part of the project ISCID funded by the H2020 European Commission (H2020 MSCA-IF-2019-ID: 882556).

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to my supervisor Encarnación Hidalgo Tenorio, together with Juan Luis Castro Peña, who both lead the project Nutcracker (FFI2016-79748-R, A-HUM-250-UGR18, P18-FR-5020) at the University of Granada. I am also indebted to Miguel-Ángel Benítez-Castro (University of Zaragoza), Azzam Dhiab Hassan and Encarnación Hidalgo-Tenorio (University of Granada) for creating the JIHAD corpus.

References

Aggarwal, Neil K. 2019. *Media Persuasion in the Islamic State*. Columbia: Columbia University Press. https://doi.org/10.7312/agga18238

Albtoush, Mohammad A., and Sakina S. Sahuri. 2017. "Beyond Predator and Prey: Figuring Corruption through Animal Metaphoric Scenarios in the Jordanian Context." *English Language and Literature Studies* 7 (2): 110. https://doi.org/10.5539/ells.v7n2p110

Asher, Jeffrey R. 2001. "*Σπειρεται*: Paul's Anthropogenic Metaphor in 1 Corinthians 15: 42–44." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 120 (1): 101–122. https://doi.org/10.2307/3268595

Baker, Paul, Rachelle Vessey, and Tony McEnery. 2021. *The Language of Violent Jihad*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108363365

Baker, Paul, and Rachelle Vessey. 2018. "A Corpus-Driven Comparison of English and French Islamist Extremist Texts." *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics* 23 (3): 255–278. https://doi.org/10.1075/ijcl.17108.bak

Baker, Paul, Costas Gabrielatos, and Tony McEnery. 2012. "Sketching Muslims: A Corpus Driven Analysis of Representations around the Word 'Muslim' in the British Press 1998–2009." *Applied Linguistics* 34 (3): 255–278. https://doi.org/10.1093/applin/ams048

Benigni, Matthew C., Kenneth Joseph, and Kathleen M. Carley. 2017. "Online Extremism and the Communities that Sustain It: Detecting the ISIS Supporting Community on Twitter." *PLoS ONE* 12 (12), e0181405. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0181405

Benítez-Castro, Miguel-Ángel, and Encarnación Hidalgo-Tenorio. (forth., 2022). "A Detailed Analysis of Discursive Pathos through the Emotion/Opinion Interplay in Jihadist Magazines." *Pragmatics and Society*. Special issue: Approaches to Discourse of Terror.

Brookes, Gavin, and Tony McEnery. 2020. "Correlation, Collocation, and Cohesion: A Corpus-Based Critical Analysis of Violent Jihadist Discourse." *Discourse & Society* 31 (4): 351–373. https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926520903528

Burgers, Christian, Elly A. Konijn, Gerard J. Steen, and Marlies, A. R. Iepsma. 2015. "Making Ads less Complex, Yet More Creative and Persuasive: The Effects of Conventional Metaphors and Irony in Print Advertising." *International Journal of Advertising* 34 (3): 515–532. https://doi.org/10.1080/02650487.2014.996200

Charteris-Black, Jonathan. 2004. *Corpus Approaches to Critical Metaphor Analysis*. London: Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230000612

Charteris-Black, Jonathan. 2006. *The Communication of Leadership: The Design of Leadership Style*. London: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203968291

Charteris-Black, Jonathan. 2011. *Politicians and Rhetoric: The Persuasive Power of Metaphor*. London: Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230319899

Charteris-Black, Jonathan. 2018a. *Fire Metaphors: Discourses of Awe and Authority*. London: Bloomsbury.

Charteris-Black, Jonathan. 2018b. *Analysing Political Speeches*. London: Palgrave.

Charteris-Black, Jonathan. 2019. *Metaphors of Brexit: No Cherries on the Cake*. London: Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-28768-9

Chilton, Paul A. 2004. *Analysing Political Discourse. Theory and Practice*. London, New York: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203561218

Christie, Nils. 1986. "The Ideal Victim." In *From Crime Policy to Victim Policy*, ed. by Ezzat A. Fattah, 17–30. London: Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-349-08305-3_2

Downing, Joseph. 2019. "Blurring European and Islamic Values or Brightening the Good–Bad Muslim Dichotomy? A Critical Analysis of French Muslim Victims of Jihadi Terror Online on Twitter and in Le Monde Newspaper." *Critical Studies on Terrorism* 12 (2): 250–272. https://doi.org/10.1080/17539153.2019.1573038

Dunning, Ted. 1993. "Accurate Methods for the Statistics of Surprise and Coincidence." *Computational Linguistics* 19 (1): 61–74.

El-Sharif, Ahmad. 2016. "A Theoretical Account on the Study of Metaphor in Didactic Discourse." *Advances in Language and Literary Studies* 7 (2): 100–112.

Fairclough, Norman. 1992. "Discourse and Text: Linguistic and Intertextual Analysis within Discourse Analysis." *Discourse & Society* 3 (2): 193–217. https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926592003002004

Fernandez, Miriam, and Harith Alani. 2021. "Artificial Intelligence and Online Extremism." In *Predicting Policing and Artificial Intelligence*, ed. by J. McDaniel and K. Pease, 132–163. London: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429265365-7

Forceville, Charles J., and Thijs Renckens. 2013. "The Good is Light and Bad is Dark Metaphor in Feature Films." *Metaphor and the Social World* 3 (2): 160–179. https://doi.org/10.1075/msw.3.2.03for

Grice, H. P. 1989. *Studies in the Way of Words*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press.

Halmari, Sirkka H. 1990. "On Dichotomous Political Rhetoric: With Special Reference to Ronald Reagan's Language." Unpublished thesis. Available at: https://scholarworks.lib.csusb.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1567&context=etd-project

Haslam, Nick. 2006. "Dehumanization: An Integrative Review." *Personality and Social Psychology Review* 10 (3): 252–264. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327957pspr1003_4

Hegghammer, Thomas. (ed.), 2017. *Jihadi Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781139086141

Hervik, Peter. 2019. "Ritualized Opposition in Danish Online Practices of Extremist Language and Thought." *International Journal of Communication* 13: 3104–3121.

Hidalgo-Downing, Laura, and Blanca Kraljevic-Mujic. 2017. "Metaphor and Persuasion in Commercial Advertising." In *The Routledge Handbook of Metaphor and Language*, ed. by Elena Semino and Zsófia Demjén, 323–336. London: Routledge.

Houck, Shannon C., Meredith A. Repke, and Lucian G. Conway. 2017. "Understanding what Makes Terrorist Groups' Propaganda Effective: An Integrative Complexity Analysis of ISIL and Al Qaeda." *Journal of Policing, Intelligence and Counter Terrorism* 12 (2): 105–118. https://doi.org/10.1080/18335330.2017.1351032

Jäkel, Olaf. 2002. "Hypotheses Revisited: The Cognitive Theory of Metaphor Applied to Religious Texts." *Metaphorik.de* 2 (1): 20–42.

Jeffries, Lesley. 2010. *Opposition in Discourse: The Construction of Oppositional Meaning*. London: Bloomsbury.

Johnston, Amanda K. 2009. "Assessing the Effectiveness of Deradicalization Programs for Islamist Extremists." Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, CA. Available at: https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/36698137.pdf

Kilp, Alar. 2011. "The Ontology and Epistemology of Extremism." *Estonian National Defence College Proceedings* 14 (2): 9–25. Available at: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/319256635_THE_ONTOLOGY_AND_EPISTEMOLOGY_OF_EXTREMISM

Kirkwood, Rachel J. 2019. "Stand still in the Light": What Conceptual Metaphor Research Can Tell Us about Quaker Theology". *Religions* 10 (1): 41. https://doi.org/10.3390/rel10010041

Lakoff, George, and Mark Johnson. 1980. "Conceptual Metaphor in Everyday Language." *The Journal of Philosophy* 77 (8): 453–486. https://doi.org/10.2307/2025464

Lawther, Cheryl. 2014. "The Construction and Politicisation of Victimhood". In *Victims of Terrorism: A Comparative and Interdisciplinary Study*, ed. by O. Lynch and J. Argomaniz, 10–31. London: Taylor and Francis. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203725320-2

Levy, Arnon, and Peter Godfrey-Smith. (eds.) 2019. *The Scientific Imagination*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Macdonald, Stuart, Nyasha Maravanyika, David Nezri, Elliot Parry, and Kate Thomas. 2018. "Online Jihadist Magazines and the 'Religious Terrorism' Thesis." *Critical Studies on Terrorism* 11 (3): 537–550. https://doi.org/10.1080/17539153.2018.1471098

Marcellino, William M., Kim Cragin, Joshua Mendelsohn, Andrew M. Cady, Madeline Magnuson, and Kathleen Reedy. 2016. "Measuring the Popular Resonance of Daesh's Propaganda." *Journal of Strategic Security* 10 (1): 32. https://doi.org/10.5038/1944-0472.10.1.1527

Martin, Paul C. 2013. "The Exploratory and Reflective Domain of Metaphor in the Comparison of Religions." *Zygon* 48 (4): 936–965. https://doi.org/10.1111/zygo.12054

Matusitz, Jonathan, and James O. Olufowote. 2016. "Visual Motifs in Islamist Terrorism: Applying Conceptual Metaphor Theory." *Journal of Applied Security Research* 11 (1): 18–32. https://doi.org/10.1080/19361610.2016.1104276

Miller, Ben, Weeda Mehran, Yassin K. Alsahlani, and Harron Qahtan. 2019. "Metaphors of Radicalization: A Computational and Qualitative Analysis of Jihadi Propaganda." In *Online Terrorist Propaganda, Recruitment, and Radicalization*, ed. by John R. Vacca, 215–225. CRC Press. https://doi.org/10.1201/9781315170251-14

Mölder, Holger. 2011. "The Culture of Fear in International Politics – A Western-Dominated International System and Its Extremist Challenges." *KVÜÕA toimetised* 14: 241–263.

Naser, Hayder S., and Ali B. Mohammed. 2020. "The Persuasive Power of Religious Metaphor in Selected Qur'anic and Biblical Verses." *Al-Adab Journal* 2 (135): 11–32. https://doi.org/10.31973/aj.v2i135.816

O'Regan, John, and Betzel, Anne. 2015. *Critical Discourse Analysis: A Sample Study of Extremism*. Blackwell: London.

Patterson, Katie J. 2020. "The Path to Jihad: A Critical Metaphor Analysis of Religious Conceptualisations in Jihadist Magazines." *Cambridge Open Engage*. https://doi.org/10.33774/coe-2020-nc1d5

Patterson, Katie J. 2022. (in press) "Under the Shadow of Swords: The Rhetoric of Jihad. A Corpus Based Critical Analysis of Religious Metaphors in Jihadist Magazines." *Pragmatics and Society*, Special issue: Approaches to Discourse of Terror.

Prentice, Sheryl, Paul Rayson, and Paul J. Taylor. 2012. "The Language of Islamic Extremism: Towards an Automated Identification of Beliefs, Motivations, and Justifications." *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics* 17 (2): 259–286. https://doi.org/10.1075/ijcl.17.2.05pre

Ranstorp, Magnus. 1996. "Terrorism in the Name of Religion." *Journal of international affairs* 50 (1): 41–62.

Schwager, Elaine. 2004. "Transforming Dualism and the Metaphor of Terror, Part I: From Genocidal to Dialogic Mentality: An Intergenerational Struggle." *The Psychoanalytic Review* 91 (3): 347–394. https://doi.org/10.1521/prev.91.3.347.38300

Scott, Mike. 2012. WordSmith Tools Manual, Version 6. *Liverpool: Lexical Analysis Software Ltd*. Available at: https://lexically.net

Siddiqui, Abdul H. 2008. "Translation of Sahih Muslim." University of Southern Carolina Centre for Muslim-Jewish Engagement. Available at: www.usc.edu/schools/college/crcc/engagement/resources/texts/muslim/hadith/muslim

Sperber, Dan, and Deidre Wilson. 1986. *Relevance: Communication and Cognition*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Tannen, Deborah. 2002. "Agonism in Academic Discourse." *Journal of Pragmatics* 34 (10–11): 1651–1669. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0378-2166(02)00079-6

Thornton, Pip. 2015. "The Meaning of Light: Seeing and Being on the Battlefield." *Cultural Geographies* 22 (4): 567–583. https://doi.org/10.1177/1474474015595795

van Dijk, Teun A. 2005. "Discourse Analysis as Ideology Analysis." In *Language and Peace* ed. by Christina Schäffner and Anita Wenden, 41–58. London: Routledge.

van Dijk, Teun A. 2006. "Ideology and Discourse Analysis". *Journal of Political Ideologies* 11 (2): 115–140. https://doi.org/10.1080/13569310600687908

van Dijk, Teun A. 2019. "Ideologies, Racism, Discourse: Debates on Immigration and Ethnic Issues." In *Comparative Perspectives on Racism* ed. by Jessika ter Wal and Maykel Verkuyten, 91–115. London: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315196374-5

Wilson, Deidre. 2011. "Parallels and Differences in the Treatment of Metaphor in Relevance Theory and Cognitive Linguistics." *Intercultural Pragmatics* 8 (2): 177–196. https://doi.org/10.1515/iprg.2011.009

Wodak, Ruth. 2006. "Mediation between Discourse and Society: Assessing Cognitive Approaches in CDA." *Discourse Studies* 8 (1): 179–190. https://doi.org/10.1177/1461445606059566

Links

Prevent Strategy. 2011. Available at: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/97976/prevent-strategy-review.pdf

Address for correspondence

Katie J. Patterson
MSCA Fellow
Departamento de Filologias Inglesa y Alemana
Fac. Filosofia y Letras
Universidad de Granada
Campus de Cartuja s/n
18071 Granada
España

kpatterson@ugr.es
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1379-4300

Publication history

Date received: 1 November 2021
Date accepted: 17 January 2022

Author Queries

- Please provide a complete reference for the citation '(El-Sharif 2017), (Miller 2019), (Matusitz et al. 2019), (Brookes et al. 2020), (Cha teri -Black 2018)' in this article.
- Please provide a citation for the reference id "CIT0021 (El-Sharif, Ahmad. 2016), CIT0025 (Grice, H. P. 1989), CIT0044 (Miller, Ben, Weeda Mehran, Yassin K. Alsahlani, and Harron Qahtan. 2019), CIT0055 (Sperber, Dan, and Deidre Wilson. 1986), CIT0061 (Wilson, Deidre. 2011)" since citation is missing in the article.