

**A Corpus-based analysis of the Construction of
Identities in the BBC Sitcom *Citizen Khan***

By

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Abstract

An abundance of studies post 9-11 have critically evaluated the representations of Islam and Muslims in the media. In spite of this, very little work has focused on portrayals of Muslims in fictional television programming. This thesis aims to address this gap by investigating language usage and the construction of identities in the BBC sitcom *Citizen Khan*, which is centred around a family living in the Sparkhill area of Birmingham. In order to carry out this analysis a 40,000 word corpus was created, consisting of transcripts of the thirteen episodes from the first two seasons of the sitcom.

The analysis utilised an array of different analytical tools and approaches to carry out an in-depth textual and visual analysis. Corpus software was used to carry out an initial quantitative analysis which identified salient aspects of identity within the sitcom. This was followed by a qualitative analysis which employed a modified version of Fairclough's 3 stages of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) framework to assist in interpreting the data from a wider contextual standpoint. Incorporated into the framework were aspects of Conversational Analysis and Multimodal Analysis, in order to provide evaluation of some of the textual and visual aspects of the programme.

The analysis indicated that the lead character Mr Khan has a hybrid of intersecting identities: Pakistani, British and Muslim; and his negotiation of these multiple identities was used by the writers to generate humour. Due to aspects of the Muslim and Pakistani identities overlapping with one another, the scriptwriters employed negative stereotyping around Pakistanis within the sitcom, as opposed to directly stereotyping Muslims as a whole. The findings also identified an association between Pakistani and family identity, with aspects of Pakistani culture dictating the dynamics within the household. Namely, through the importance attached to producing male offspring, coupled with Khan attempting to construct himself as

the patriarch of the family and Mr and Mrs Khan's first names never being revealed to the audience.

The gendered identities of the characters were also found to be intersecting with other facets of their identity. A visual analysis identified a correlation between Khan's usage of *good girl* and his religious expectations for his daughters. Additionally, analysis of male-related terms indicated Khan's views were male-centred, with him drawing upon constructions of hegemonic masculinity and patriarchal order. Overall, the study identified that *Citizen Khan* reinforced negative stereotyping of Pakistanis and Muslims. However, by portraying Muslims in a normalised setting on a primetime slot on BBC One, despite its many flaws *Citizen Khan* could be seen as providing a positive step in the right direction in enabling more diverse and honest representations of Muslims in the media.

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Declaration

This thesis is my own work and has not been submitted in substantially the same form for the award of a higher degree elsewhere.

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1. Introduction

1.1 Introduction

In this thesis I investigate the construction of identities within a BBC situation comedy (sitcom) called *Citizen Khan*, which is focussed around a Muslim family. I employ an analytical framework based on Corpus Linguistics (CL), supplemented with approaches from Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), Conversation Analysis (CA) and Multimodal Analysis (MMA). In this chapter, I provide a brief background to *Citizen Khan* and my motivation for studying it, positioning my research in terms of current literature on representations of Muslims. I then outline the three research questions that this thesis aims to address, as well as defining some relevant key terms. The chapter concludes by providing an overview of the organisational structure of the thesis.

1.2 Rationale

In the UK, along with many other countries, the media spotlight has been firmly positioned on Islam, since the beginning of the 21st century¹, in a way that is incomparable to the world's other major religions. However, as Jaspal and Cinnirella (2010:290) point out, Muslims have been largely absent 'from more 'normalised' representational positions [in the media] such as in popular soaps, literature and reality television.' A BBC programme,² *Citizen Khan* which was billed as the UK's 'first Muslim sitcom' (Theweek, 2012), offered such potential for a normalised representation of Islam. However, within minutes of the first episode concluding, the broadcaster started to receive complaints (Daily Mail, 2012) regarding the content of the programme. Viewers stated that the show 'takes the mickey out of Islam, contained 'stereotypes of Asians' and was 'disrespectful to the Qu'ran'. Despite

¹ Baker et al (2013: 95) show that articles about Muslims doubled in British newspapers between 2000 and 2001, as a result of the 9.11 attacks on New York. Between 2002 and 2006, the number of such articles

² This study was initiated in January 2013, at the time only the first season had just aired. My analysis was thus only carried out on the first two series of the programme.

these complaints, the series was recommissioned, and at the time of writing (March 2017), has run for five seasons.

This study aims to carry out a corpus-based critical discourse analysis in order to investigate how identities were constructed for a mainstream British audience, mainly through the use of scripted speech, in this sitcom.³

Due to the unprecedented media attention that Muslims have faced, a number of studies have been carried out examining the western media's (often negative) representation of Islam. From a linguistic standpoint, the main focus has been on written media (newspapers, internet news websites, etc). Baker et al. (2013a, 2013b) looked at 'representations around the word *Muslim* in the British Press' using a corpus-driven approach, Moore et al. (2008) had a similar focus, although they used content analysis. Additionally, Al-Hejin's (2012) doctoral dissertation investigated the representation of Muslim women on the BBC and Arab News websites.

Although written media play a significant role within society in influencing public perceptions and ideologies, the most popular form of media to this day (alongside the recent social media phenomenon) is the television. Baig (Albalagh.net, 2003) explains the preference for the television over written media by stating that 'a piece of writing requires one to go beyond the shape of the letters to read them. It requires thought to understand what is being said. Television does not require reflection.'⁴ The important role that television plays in the daily lives of many people should not be downplayed. This is highlighted by Giannino and Campbell (2012:60) who mention that previous social science studies had identified 'the

³ An initial motivating factor behind this research was to establish if the writers of the programme decided to 'play safe' in the second series by altering the constructions of Muslim identity in order to avoid further aggravating their critics. This did not prove to be an enlightening line of enquiry, however, so my subsequent analyses did not distinguish between the two series.

⁴ It should also be acknowledged that 'written media' takes different forms and is not a monolithic concept and written media may incorporate visuals or videos (in the case of 'online written media'). However, as stated by Baig (ibid), television would require less reflection and input from its intended audience than these forms of media.

omnipresence of television and the ways in which it serves as a powerful socialization agent that influences public discourse.’

When looking at the representation of Muslims within the media, very few studies have examined spoken or visual forms of media (television, radio, etc). Adnan (2010) carried out discourse analysis (from a social sciences perspective) of a magazine-style show that was produced by the Islamic Development Department of Malaysia to help improve the image of Islam, while Flood et al. (2008) investigated the categorisation of Islam in French and British Television News (from a political science perspective). However, no linguistic-based study⁵ has been carried out on the representation of Muslims on the television and the two studies mentioned above investigated factually based programming. With television being the most popular form of media today and Islam being scrutinised so heavily in all forms of media, this thesis thus aims to make a pertinent addition to research on representations of Muslims by focussing on a linguistic-based study on the representation of Muslims/Islam on television.

1.3 Research Questions

According to the framework of analysis that I employed for this study (see section 4.6), the formulation of the research questions is an organic process and would only be fully formulated after an initial evaluation of the corpus. However, from the onset, the initial theme of this research centred around the construction of Muslim identities in the BBC sitcom *Citizen Khan*.

After the initial corpus examination (see section 4.7) I refined my research questions to the following:

⁵ This term is referring to any studies which have investigated language-usage by utilising methodology associated with the field of linguistics (i.e. semantics, pragmatics, syntactics, discourse analysis, etc.).

- RQ1. a) What are the most salient aspects of identity in Citizen Khan, and b) how can a corpus driven analysis identify them?
- RQ2. a) How are the identities of Muslim characters constructed within the BBC sitcom Citizen Khan, and b) how can such constructions be explained in terms of reference to wider social context?
- RQ3. When considering language use in a sitcom, how can different analytical approaches be combined in order to answer RQ2 (e.g. concordance analysis, conversation analysis, discourse analysis, multimodal analysis)?

These research questions are comprehensive in their design, as they do not only address the content of the sitcom script (RQ1a, RQ2a&b), but they also address the methodology employed within the study (RQ1b, RQ3).

1.4 Defining Key Terms

In this section I provide definitions of the key terms and concepts that are used in the thesis.

1.4.1 Terms Relating to Islam

The foundations of Islamic jurisprudence are formed upon textual evidence found in the *Quran* and the *Sunnah*. The Quran is the Islamic holy book, which Muslims believe is the speech of Allah and was revealed to the Prophet Mohammed (peace and blessings be upon him) through the angel Jibreel (Gabriel) over a period of 23 years. The Sunnah refers to the actions, speech and tacit approval of the Prophet Mohammed, which have been narrated by his companions and these prophetic traditions are referred to as *Hadeeths*. These hadeeths have been recorded in a number of books and consist of chains of narration, which lead back to the companions of the Prophet. In Sunni Islam there are six main books of hadeeth, which are referred to as ‘al-Kutub al-Sittah’ (literally translated as ‘The Six Books’) and these books are the following: (1) Sahih Al-Bukhari, (2) Sahih Al-Muslim, (3) Jami Al-Tirmidhi, (4)

Sunan Abi Dawud, (5) Sunan Al-Nasa'i (6) Sunan Ibn Majah. Based upon the principles found within the 'Science of Hadeeth', the hadeeths found in these books are graded for their authenticity using three over-arching categorisations: (1) Sahih (authentic), (2) Hassan (good/fair), (3) Da'eef (weak); and thus, according to Sunni Muslims, the hadeeths contained within the books Sahih Al-Bukhari and Sahih Al-Muslim are considered to be authentic,⁶ whereas the other four books contain a mixture of authentic hadeeths, alongside hadeeths which were deemed to be not as authentic.

1.4.2 Terms Relating to Identity

Defining *identity* is not always straightforward and a host of interpretations exist in academic literature. Gleeson (1983:918) summarises these definitions into two broad opposing meanings, either that 'identity is to be understood as something internal that persists through change or as something ascribed from without that changes according to circumstances.' In my research I acknowledge these two meanings, noting that definitions of identity are best understood by referring to the ways that individuals conceptualise them. Later in this study, I demonstrate that the Pakistani characters within Citizen Khan have an evolving *hybrid identity*,⁷ where their British identity gradually becomes more prominent alongside their existing Pakistani and Muslim identities. The concept of hybrid identity is closely related to the theory of *intersectionality* (see Crenshaw 1989), which views people as holding multiple, interacting identities (see Section 6.2).

⁶ Scholars such as Al-Albani have highlighted a few hadeeth in these two books that contained some errors in wording or had a weaker chain of narration. However, in general, the overwhelming majority of hadeeth within these two books are considered to be authentic by Sunni Muslims.

⁷ The concept of immigrants holding hybrid identities has deep-seated roots, with Robert Park (1928) discussing this notion in the 1920s.

1.4.3 Terms Relating to Corpus Linguistics

Corpus Linguistics (CL) refers to the linguistic study of a machine-readable text that is referred to as a corpus (*pl. corpora*).⁸ In order to analyse a corpus, a corpus linguist may use a range of corpus techniques. One of the most common corpus techniques is *concordance analysis*, which allows an analyst to examine usage of a word by searching through concordance lines. Another popular corpus technique is *keyword analysis*, where keywords are identified by comparing one corpus against another and using a statistical calculation to identify which words within the corpus are considered to be ‘key’. The study of *collocation* examines two words which frequently appear directly next to one another or in close proximity to each other. A closely related area of collocation analysis involves the analysis of *clusters*, commonly occurring fixed sequences of words that are directly next to one another.

1.4.4 Terms Relating to Critical Discourse Analysis

The term *discourse* holds multiple definitions, although a loose definition is provided by Brown and Yule (1983:1) who describe it as ‘language in use’. When looking at *discourse analysis* specifically, similar to discourse, Stubbs (1983:1) states that ‘the term discourse analysis is very ambiguous’, defining it as ‘attempts to study the organization of language above the sentence or above the clause.’ More specific to this study is the term *Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)*,⁹ which refers to ‘a form of discourse and text analysis that recognize[s] the role of language in structuring power in society’ (Wodak, 2001:5) and subsequently analyses language usage in light of the wider societal context.

1.5 Thesis Overview

Following on from this chapter, Chapter 2 presents a critical discussion around the media representations of Islam and/or Muslims (MROIM), as well as the construction of Muslim

⁸ A broader definition of corpus linguistics can be found in section 4.2.1

⁹ A broader definition of this term is provided in section 4.3

identities within the media. The chapter then goes on to provide a review of literature concerning MROIM and this is broken down firstly by media type and then by the methodologies that were employed (i.e. CL, CDA). Chapter 3 begins by providing a discussion around genre within fictional television, before looking specifically at sitcoms. This is followed by a review of constructions of identity within sitcoms and in particular the sitcom family. Similar to Chapter 2, the chapter concludes by providing a breakdown of previous studies which used methodology such as CL/CDA/CA/MMA to analyse fictional television.

Chapter 4 examines the data and methodological approaches used for the study. The chapter commences by giving a background to CL and then goes on to explain how the transcripts from *Citizen Khan* were used to form the CK corpus, as well as providing a summary of the corpus techniques and software used during the study. The next section of the chapter provides a background into the formation of CDA, as well as a summary of Fairclough's (1989) 3 stage model of CDA. This is followed by a discussion on how CL and CDA can be combined with one another and the benefits of doing so. Aside from CL and CDA, CA and MMA are also used as supplementary techniques within the analysis and the theoretical background of these approaches are explored. The analytical framework for the study is then provided, which details how these four methodologies are incorporated into a step-by-step methodology for the study. The chapter concludes by providing a breakdown of the initial corpus analysis, which addresses RQ1 and identifies which aspects of identity were to be examined within the thesis.

Chapter 5 address RQ2 by investigating the first aspect of identity, the religious identity of the characters within *Citizen Khan*. RQ3 is also addressed in the first section of the analysis by looking at the adjacency pair *Asalaam Alaikum* and *Waleikum Asalaam*. RQ2 is then

further addressed by looking at the usage of religious labels, as well as the mention of Allah/God and acts/places of worship within the CK corpus.

Chapters 6, 7 and 8 go on to further address RQ2 by examining how terms related to nationality, family and gender further construct the identities of the characters in Citizen Khan. RQ3 is further addressed in chapter 8, with a MMA in tandem with a concordance analysis that examines the usage of the phrase *good girl*. The thesis concludes by providing a summary of the findings in relation to the research questions and then critically reflecting on the strengths and limitations of the study. This is followed by suggestions related to the scope for future research, as well as examining the wider implications of the study in relation to the current body of literature, as well as societal implications when considering the impact upon future television programming and the representation of Muslims and ethnic groups within the media.

2. Literature Review I - Islam

2.1 Introduction

Islam is one of the world's major religions and has over a billion adherents around the world. According to figures from the 2011 Census, there are 2.7 million Muslims in the United Kingdom, accounting for 4.83% of the population. Although Muslims are a minority within the UK, they have received an unprecedented amount of media coverage when compared to other minority religions (see chapter 1 and section 2.2). This chapter will provide a detailed overview of previous studies which have examined the media representation of Islam and/or Muslims (MROIM) by examining studies which focussed on different forms of media such as newspapers (section 2.2.1), television (section 2.2.2) and other forms of media such as the internet (section 2.2.3). The studies that used newspaper data will predominantly focus on the British press. However, due to the lack of studies focusing on MROIM in the other forms of media, studies which have analysed television and internet data from outside of Britain will also be analysed.

Sections 2.3 and 2.4 will look at how MROIM has been investigated by employing approaches from Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), as well as Corpus Linguistics (CL). After carrying out a wider critical analysis of previous MROIM studies, as well as a more detailed analysis of methodological approaches employed in those studies, it is hoped that it will become clearer to the reader how this study contributes towards the current body of literature.

2.2 Media Representation of Islam and Muslim Identities

Prior to looking at the MROIM, it is important to acknowledge the role that the media can play in shaping the perceptions and ideologies found within societies. Fairclough (1995b:2)

recognises the ‘power of the mass media’, and identifies some of the ways that the media utilise power: ‘the power of the media to shape governments and parties...the power to influence knowledge, beliefs, values, social relations, social identities.’ It is these latter forms of power which are most relevant in this study, as the media is at the forefront of portraying Islam and Muslims to non-Muslims in western societies, many of whom may know very little about Islamic teachings and practices and in some cases may not know much about Islam prior to incidents such as 9/11.¹⁰

The power of the media in representing Islam to a wider public audience is highlighted by Elgamri (2011:ix), who argues that:

In the case of media representation, it could be argued that because media texts are intentionally written, constructed, framed and sometimes backed up by visual images, they represent reality. It follows that media texts are, in essence, a representation of the text producer’s concept of reality and existence, wrapped in a set of signs and symbols in order to be received by an audience. The audience, in turn, relies on the media for perception of reality, i.e. to make sense of reality. In this sense the media have a significant impact in the way we look at the world. How Islam and Muslims are represented in the media in general, and in the British press in particular, is a case in point: what people read, see and hear in the media influences and shapes their opinions about Islam and Muslims.

As a starting point, it is pivotal to be aware of what exactly is being propagated by the media, in relation to Islam and/or Muslims. The sub-sections below will provide an overview of studies which have carried out in-depth analyses of MROIM. The majority of these studies have looked at newspaper data, although previous television based studies (which are most

¹⁰ The expression 9/11 is used to refer to the terrorist attacks which took place in New York on September 11th 2001, where the twin towers were struck by hijacked planes.

relevant for this study), as well as research that has focused on other media platforms will also be explored.

2.2.1 Newspapers

When analysing MROIM, the vast majority of research has considered newspaper data. Table 2.1 presents these studies in chronological order according to the period researched (due to this, some studies may appear more than once if they investigated different time periods).

Table 2.1: Previous studies which utilised newspaper data to investigate media representations of Islam and/or Muslims

Period Researched	Name of Study	Type of Analysis	Broadsheets Analysed	Tabloids Analysed	Total No. of Articles.
1 August 1985- 31 January 1986	Van Dijk (1991)	Content Analysis	The Times, The Guardian, The Daily Telegraph.	The Daily Mail, The Sun.	2,700
First 6 months – 1989	Van Dijk (1991)	Content Analysis	The Times, The Guardian, The Sunday Times, The Observer	The Daily Mail, The Sun.	1,200
15 Feb 1989 – 30 March 1989 - Rushdie Affair	Elgamri (2011)	Discourse Analysis	The Times, The Guardian, The Independent.		15 articles from each newspaper.
Jan 1994 – Dec 1996	Poole (2002)	Content Analysis	The Times, The Guardian, The Sunday Times, The Observer		6,507
28 Sept 1996 – Nov 1996 - Rise of Taliban	Elgamri (2011)	Discourse Analysis	The Times, The Guardian, The Independent.		15 articles from each newspaper.
Jan 1997 – Dec 1997	Poole (2002)	Discourse Analysis	The Times, The Guardian, The Sunday Times, The Observer	The Daily Mail, The Sun.	6,507
October 1997 – January 1998	Richardson (2004), Richardson (2006).	Discourse Analysis	The Financial Times, The Guardian, The Independent, The Daily Telegraph, The Times, The Independent on Sunday, The Sunday Times.		2,540
18 Nov 1997 – 22 Dec 1997 - Luxor Massacre	Elgamri (2011)	Discourse Analysis	The Times, the Guardian, the Independent.		15 articles from each newspaper.
1 Jan 1998 – 31 Dec 2009	Baker et al. (2013a)	Corpus Analysis	The Guardian, The Observer, The Independent, The Independent on Sunday, The Daily Telegraph, The Sunday Telegraph, The Times, The Sunday Times.	The Sun, The News of The World, The Mirror, The Sunday Mirror, The Star, The Sunday Star, The Daily Express, The Sunday Express, The Mail, The Mail on Sunday, The People.	Over 200,000 articles. (143mil. word corpus)
1 Jan 2000 – 31 May 2008	Moore et al. (2008)	Content Analysis	Same as Baker 2013a.	Same as Baker 2013a.	974 articles – sampled from initial 23,000 articles.
12 Sept 2001 – 24 Oct 2001 - September 11	Elgamri (2011)	Discourse Analysis	The Times, the Guardian, The Independent.		15 articles from each newspaper.
19 March 2007 – 1 May 2007	Malcolm et al. (2010)	Qualitative Content Analysis	9 British Newspapers + Sunday Equivalents (does not name them)		768 articles
1 Nov 2007 – 25 May 2008	Moore et al. (2008)	Image Analysis	Same as Above.	Same as Above.	451 articles – sampled from initial 1,800 articles.

Table 2.1 indicates researchers have shown a greater interest in evaluating broadsheet papers as opposed to their tabloid counterparts when evaluating media attitudes towards Islam. A possible explanation for this is put forth by Poole (2002:55) who states that ‘broadsheets are the voice of the establishment’. Therefore, it could be argued that the broadsheets are seen as more worthy of being studied, as they are more reflective of the ‘national position’ on a particular issue. Additionally, broadsheets are the preferred reading material for the upper classes (Richardson, 2004:36, Baker et al., 2013a:69), and consequently have the power to influence the perceptions of people in powerful position across various walks of life.

Although tabloids have received less attention from researchers than the broadsheets, Poole (2002:55) believes that ‘critics of media coverage of Islam often draw on tabloid articles for their evidence.’ This perception that the coverage of Islam found in tabloid articles could provide ammunition for those who assert that Islam is unfairly represented within the media is supported by a report commissioned by the Greater London Authority (2007) entitled ‘*The Search for Common Ground*’. The report found that only one percent of UK based tabloid newspaper articles within a random week which referred to Islam or Muslims contained positive associations, in comparison to the broadsheets where five percent of articles in that week were found to contain positive associations. Additionally, tabloids tend to be read more widely than broadsheets, so have the potential to influence larger numbers of people, which is particularly important in a democracy.¹¹

One of the first studies to investigate newspaper data concerning Islam was carried out by Teun van Dijk (1991).¹² The study consisted of articles from *The Times*, *The Guardian*, *The Daily Telegraph*, *The Daily Mail* and *The Sun* between 1 August 1985 and 31 January 1986

¹¹ In 2008-2009 the biggest selling daily newspapers were *The Sun* (2,899,310 copies a day), *The Daily Mail* (2,139,178) and *The Daily Mirror* (1,346,916). None of the broadsheets sold more than 1 million copies a day, and the liberal broadsheets in particular sold relatively few copies: *The Guardian* sold 343,010 while *The Independent* sold 200,242 copies (Baker et al 2013a:14).

¹² Although the study did not solely focus on Muslims but rather examined all articles relating to ‘ethnic issues’, it still provided an insight into how Islam was portrayed in the media during the 1980s.

and compared these with ‘race’ related articles from the first six months of 1989 in the above mentioned newspapers, as well as *The Independent*. When investigating newspaper headlines, he found that in 1985, the three most frequent words were *police*, *riot* and *black*. However, in 1989, although *black* (95) was now the most frequent word, *Muslims* (64) was now within the top five most frequent words. Van Dijk (1991:68) commented on this shift by stating that ‘whereas in 1985 the major villains were young rioting blacks, now the threat to British society comes from fundamentalist Muslims.’ Additionally, Van Dijk (1991:90) found that ‘Muslims are almost exclusively associated with negative topics, such as education (separate schools), religion, and attacks or protests in the Rushdie affair.’¹³

The ‘Rushdie affair’ was also identified as a significant event by Elgamri (2011), who carried out a qualitative discourse analysis on articles from three broadsheet papers, which he believed represented different political standpoints.¹⁴ Newspaper coverage of four significant events concerning Islam/Muslims were selected from the three broadsheets, the events selected were:

- The Rushdie affair – (15 Feb 1989 – 30 March 1989)
- The rise of the Taliban movement to power – (28 Sept 1996 – Nov 1996)
- The Luxor massacre of foreign tourists – (18 Nov 1997 – 22 Dec 1997)
- The 9/11 attacks – (12 Sept 2001 – 24 Oct 2001)

Elgamri (2011:102) established that the news reports about the Rushdie affair were dominated by a number of themes: a tendency to depict Islam as a single entity, and associations with extremism, terrorism, violence, anti-western feeling and irrationality.

¹³ After author Salman Rushdie published a book called the *Satanic Verses*, where he used a fictional character based around the Prophet Mohammed to imply that verses from the Quran were inspired by the devil. Consequently, a fatwa (religious verdict) was issued by Ayatollah Khomeini of Iran calling for his assassination, as he had labelled Rushdie’s book as being ‘blasphemous’.

¹⁴ *The Times* (right of centre), *The Independent* (non-aligned) and *The Guardian* (left of centre).

Poole (2002) conducted a content analysis of two broadsheet papers which hold ‘differing political/ideological stances’ (*The Times* and *The Guardian*). She examined editions of the papers from 1994-1996, searching for all articles that included the lexical items – Muslim(s) or Islam. Over the duration of the period studied, Poole found that ‘there were 6507 articles on Islam and only 837 of these were about British Muslims’, with the majority of articles looking at global affairs related to Islam/Muslims. Interestingly Poole’s findings corresponded with those of van Dijk (1991), with ‘Education’ being the most frequent ‘main topic’ of an article, and ‘relationships’ and ‘fundamentalism’ occurring second and third most frequently.

The strong presence of articles that referred to Islam/Muslims and Education was also observed by Richardson (2004:137) who stated that ‘the theme of Muslim pupils and schooling was an almost constant agenda running throughout the sample,’ with 54 articles recorded within the parent topic of ‘Education’. Richardson’s study consisted of a data-set of 2,540 items of newspaper reporting which were identified as ‘Islam and/or Muslim related’ within a four month period (October 1997 – January 1998) from British broadsheet newspapers. The study examined five areas when investigating the MROIM in Broadsheets:

- The ‘Muslim Other’
- The ‘Positive Self (the West)’
- British Muslims
- The Iraq Debacle
- The Reporting of Algeria

In all of these areas of investigation, Richardson identified the presence of an ‘ideological square’ (see Van Dijk 1998a), which consists of the positive ‘ingroup’ and negative ‘outgroup’. When analysing the ‘Muslim Other’, Richardson (ibid:xx) found that Muslims

were consistently identified as the negative ‘outgroup’ and that ‘four stereotypical topoi’ were used to derogatively represent them:

- The military threat of Muslim countries
- The threat of Muslim extremism
- The (internal) threat to democracy posed by Muslim political leaders and parties
- The social threat of Muslim gender inequality

Contrastingly, the broadsheet journalists took a distinctively different approach when reporting news stories involving members of the positive ‘ingroup’. Richardson (2004:103) observed that stories detailing Israel’s annexation of Palestinian land had been ‘facilitated by journalists’ nominalising,¹⁵ backgrounding¹⁶ or deleting significant occupation.’ For example, land that was ‘illegally occupied’ by Israel, was labelled with nominalisations such as ‘Israeli settlements’.¹⁷

A further study by Richardson (2006), which used the same data set as his 2004 research, investigated the primary and secondary sources of articles related to Islam and/or Muslims. Richardson found that Muslims were quoted as the primary source mainly in articles that had a negative stance towards Islam/Muslims and were largely absent in articles related to Islam and/or Muslims that did not contain any criticism towards them. Richardson (ibid:115) states that this ‘symbolically implies that Muslims are only qualified to speak in response to certain (negative) events.’

¹⁵ A simplified definition of this term would be the conversion of verbs/adjectives into nouns.

¹⁶ Refers to the process where social actors are not directly referred to in a text but their presence can be inferred from the context of the text. In many cases, this is done by newspapers to either appear objective or to help in obscuring blame.

¹⁷ A further example of this journalistic manipulation is provided by Richardson (2004:102) who found that participants of the positive ‘ingroup’ would be ‘constantly negotiated and renegotiated in the context of specific reports.’ For example, *the French* were referred to as ‘we/our’ in reports where they held a similar political stance to Britain and in instances where their stance differed, they were referred to as ‘they/theirs’.

With Richardson's study analysing coverage up until January 1998, Baker et al. (2013a) chose the same time as the starting date for their longitudinal study which analysed all the major national British broadsheet and tabloid newspapers up until the end of 2009. Their corpus comprised of over 200,000 articles consisting of 143 million words. When looking at collocates for the terms *Islam* and *Muslims* (and their associated word forms), they found that 'over one-half of such words related to conflict' (2013a:65). Additionally, it was observed that the term *terror* and associated word forms occurred more often than *Islam* in their corpus, which is especially surprising as *Islam* was a query term they used when locating the articles for their corpus but *terror* was not.

Another interesting point that was picked up by Baker et al.'s (ibid:76) study was the different usage patterns of the terms *Muslim* and *Moslem* across the newspapers. There were 7,009 references to the terms *Moslem* and *Moslems* in their corpus, with 90 percent of these references occurring in the *Daily Mail* and *Daily Express* newspapers, although by 2004 both papers had dropped this term.¹⁸

Baker et al.'s (ibid: 96) study also looked at changes over the twelve year period being researched and their findings suggest that '9/11 may have kick-started media interest in Muslims.' The impact of 9/11 on newspaper coverage of Muslims is highlighted by Malcolm et al (2010:215) who state that 'newspaper coverage of Muslims increased dramatically, being between 250% and 658% greater in British national daily newspapers in 2001-2002 compared to the 12 months before 9/11. This significant rise in coverage is also clearly demonstrated in a three-part study carried out by Moore et al. (2008) which comprised a

¹⁸ As alluded to in their study, the Muslim Council of Britain (MCB) had written letters to the editors of both papers in 2002, asking them to use the *Muslim* spelling, as the term *Moslem* can be pronounced similar to the Arabic word for 'oppressor'.

detailed content analysis searching for all stories about British Muslims in British national newspapers from 2000 to the end of May 2008. Figure 2.1 below illustrates the significant increase in the number of news stories during the duration of their research:

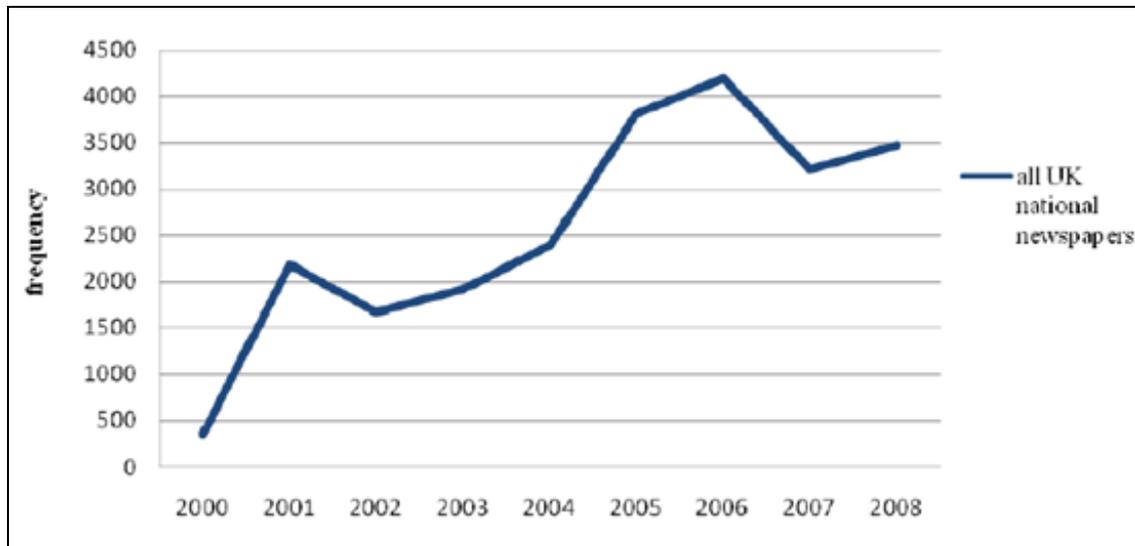


Figure 2.1: News stories about British Muslims from 2000-2008. (Moore et al., 2008:9)

Figure 2.1 shows that the number of news stories relating to British Muslims appears to increase in the years where significant events relating to Muslims have taken place. The first notable growth took place in 2001 and this is most certainly due to the 9/11 attacks. These findings corroborated Richardson's (2009:359) study which investigated the 'election reporting of Muslims in British newspapers' and found that the 2005 election brought a massive proliferation of references to Islam and Muslims, increasing from an average of one per day in 1997 to 10 per day for the sampled two weeks of 2005.'

Moore et al. (2008:11) discovered that 'terrorism' was still the most common type of news hook used in articles relating to Islam/Muslims prior to 9/11. This demonstrates that although there were significantly fewer stories about British Muslims in the press pre 9/11, the association with terrorism and Muslims had already been established, albeit on a much smaller scale. Following the surge in 2001, the number of stories reduced slightly in 2002 and then began to rise at a steady rate till 2004. Additionally, Baker et al. (2013a:103) noticed a

shift in focus, with words such as *Arab(s)*, *Arabian*, *foreign* and *Saudi* starting to appear as keywords in 2001 although they were no longer keywords by 2005. Contrastingly, *British* first appeared as a keyword in 2003 and was then present in almost all of the remaining years of their corpus (except 2008) as a keyword, signalling a possible shift in focus in newspaper reporting from global issues related to Muslims to more domestic ones.

The next significant increase took place in 2005, with it being assumed this was due to the London tube network being attacked on July 7th 2005. The number of stories peaked in 2006, most likely due to the controversy around the face veil worn by some Muslim women, which had been triggered by comments made from Jack Straw encouraging Muslim women to abandon the veil. Baker et al. (2013a:199) found that the phrase *Muslim women* occurred over a thousand times in British newspaper articles in 2006 (and tended to relate to the veiling debate). This figure is almost as many as all the other years combined across the duration of their twelve year study. Additionally, the most frequent lexical collocates of *Muslim women* in 2006 articles were *veil*, *veils*, *wear*, *wearing*, *remove*, *Straw*, *Jack*, *right* and *faces*' (ibid:198), further alluding to Straw's comments being the impetus for the surge in references to Muslim women.

Although references to Muslim women are significantly more marked than Muslim men when looking at the textual content of articles within British newspapers, a similar dominance is not found when analysing the visual images found within such newspapers. Moore et al (2008:24) discovered that out of 315 articles that depicted British Muslims, only 56 of these images contained an individual Muslim female or a group of female Muslims. Contrastingly 236 of the images contained an individual Muslim male or a group of male Muslims, with 23 of the images depicting a mixed-gendered group of Muslims. As the majority of stories related to Muslims are associated with terrorism or violence, it could be assumed that the high percentage of images depicting Muslim men, as opposed to Muslim women is due to the

newspapers believing images of males would more accurately fit the perceived description of a terrorist.

This view is strengthened by the findings of Baker et al. (2013a:201) when investigating the sets of collocates for 'Muslim men'. They found that the 'three related categories for Muslim men are law and order, radicalisation and terrorism, and killing.' Contrastingly, Baker et al. (ibid) found that the 'three closely related categories of collocates for Muslim women are: the veil, freedom and oppression.' The collocates related to Muslim women reinforce the notion that has been constructed by the western media that Muslim women are 'oppressed' and do not enjoy the same rights as other British women. Richardson (2004:89) comments on similar media tactics being used within broadsheet newspapers by stating that 'the subjugation and repression of women at the hands of either Muslim men or 'Muslim' value/social systems are argumentative strategies frequently used to disparage 'Islam'.'

Most of the studies mentioned up to this point have either covered wide time periods or investigated significant political events related to Muslims. However, Malcolm et al.'s (2010) study investigated media representation of Islam from a completely different viewpoint. Their study examined 768 articles published in 9 British national daily newspapers between March 19 and May 1, 2007 using the search term 'Bob Woolmer'. Bob Woolmer was a former England cricketer who was managing the Pakistani national cricket team and was found dead in his hotel. Although his cause of death was never ascertained, the articles analysed by Malcolm et al. (ibid:230) revealed that 'the dominant media narrative contained elements that conveyed Muslims as dishonest, calculating, having a culture of studied skulduggery and [being] sexually corrupt'. Malcolm et al. (ibid:232) argue that sports related stories regarding Muslims can have a greater impact on shaping public perception about Muslims than 'hard news', as the reader is 'passively consum[ing] Islamophobic ideology'. When readers engage with 'hard news', they may be more aware that the newspaper could be imposing its political

position upon their readers and therefore could potentially have their ‘guard up’ when engaging with the story. However, ‘less serious news’ or ‘soft news’ such as sports pieces are more likely to be perceived as being objective by readers, as the newspapers wouldn’t appear to have strong political motivations when reporting them.

When discussing newspapers, it is also important to point out the difference in lexical usage between tabloids and broadsheets. In Baker et al.’s (2013a) study, the keywords for broadsheets and tabloids were identified by comparing two sub-corpora. The keywords were indicative of the reporting styles employed in both types of newspapers, with tabloid keywords mainly consisting of peoples’ names and first/second person personal pronouns.

Contrastingly, the broadsheet keywords contained names of organisations and countries, as well as a larger proportion of grammatical keywords in comparison to the tabloids. The keyword analysis also highlighted the orthographical differences between newspapers, with *Moslem(s)* appearing as a tabloid keyword. The stylistic differences between broadsheets and tabloids was further illustrated when analysing the keywords for individual newspapers, with broadsheet keywords reflecting their coverage of global Islamic related events, with keywords for tabloids particularly focussed on ‘villains’ with the Muslim community such as Osama Bin Laden, Abu Hamza and Omar Bakri. Additionally, there were some instances where newspapers within the same genre had differing styles of keywords, for example, the keywords for the *Independent* contained mainly grammatical keywords, as opposed to the mainly lexical keywords found in other broadsheets.

In sum, the research mentioned above is by no means a complete list of all the studies that have investigated representations of Muslims in newspapers but the sheer number of studies mentioned signifies the importance researchers have paid to this field of research. Additionally, it should be noted that apart from the research that has investigated British

newspapers, numerous studies (e.g. Dunn 2001, Akbarzadeh and Smith 2005, Gardner et al. 2008, Byng 2010, etc.) have also explored representation of Muslims in media outside the UK and similar discourses are found in these studies, namely the association with Islam/Muslims and terrorism, the reinforcement of the ‘Us’ and ‘Them’ dichotomy and negative referencing to the veil.

Despite this abundance of studies, it is noteworthy that apart from Elgamri’s (2011) study, none of the other studies were conducted by Muslim researchers. I believe that the field could only benefit from analysis carried out by people from different backgrounds and perspectives. Therefore, I feel that my perspective as a Muslim researcher with an understanding of Muslim ideologies and values would significantly add to the existing discourse.

Additionally, with regards to the methodological approaches employed in the studies mentioned in table 2.1, any longitudinal study of newspaper data needs to employ corpus techniques, otherwise it will be susceptible to accusations of cherry-picking. Apart from Baker et al.’s (2013a) study, existing research is severely lacking in this regard. Furthermore, determining what search terms to use when acquiring the newspaper articles from databases such as LexisNexis also need to be reviewed, as inclusions or omissions of particular terms can significantly alter the data set. This study will not encounter such issues as transcripts for all the episodes will be used when forming the corpus.

2.2.2 Television

Studies that have examined television programming when investigating representation of Muslims in the media are considerably fewer than those that have focused on newspaper data. Table 2.2 provides a summary of previous studies which have investigated representations of Islam on television:

Table 2.2: Previous studies which utilised television data to investigate media representations of Islam

Period/Episodes Researched	Name of Study	Analysis used	Location of TV Programme(s)	Genre Analysed
September 11 – 16 2001	Martin and Phelan (2002)	Corpus / CDA	America	News
2001 – 2009	Alsultany (2013)	Qualitative	America	TV Dramas
20 episodes: 2005 – 2007	Adnan (2010)	Interviews / Discourse Analysis	Malaysia	Topical magazine-style show
November 2006 – October 2008	Flood et al. (2011)	Quantitative	United Kingdom	News

Martin and Phelan (2002) used a combination of corpus linguistics and critical discourse analysis to analyse transcripts from five television news networks (CNN, ABC, CBS, NBC and Fox) between September 11 and 16 2001. Their research identified that the fifteen most popular nouns phrases from the TV corpus where *Islamic* was used as an adjective were mainly associated with terrorism.

Alsultany’s (2013) study looked at portrayals of Arabs and Muslims in television dramas between 2001 and 2009. Alsultany (ibid:163) claims that ‘it is evident that writers have increasingly created ‘positive’ Arab and Muslim characters to show that they are sensitive to negative stereotyping’ and cites examples from popular TV dramas which contain Arabs/Muslims in a positive light. On the other hand, Alsultany (ibid:165) goes on to state that ‘despite the shift away from the more blatant stereotypes of previous decades, Arab and Muslim identities are still understood and evaluated primarily in relation to terrorism.’ However, there does not appear to be any methodology behind how the shows mentioned in Alsultany’s study were selected and it could be argued that these examples were cited, as they went along with the researcher’s personal conclusions.

Adnan's (2010) study investigated how 'Reflections', a topical magazine-style show that was produced by the Islamic Development Department of Malaysia, was used to present a contemporary view of Islam. The study consisted of two phases, the first included a discourse driven textual analysis of the scripts and the second involved interviewing production members of the programme. Adnan (2010:39) argues that 'Islamic television programs like Reflections would be able to reflect unto the world the true face of Islam.'

The only study which looked at representations of Islam/Muslims by using data from British Television was Flood et al.'s (2011) study which examined the reporting of Islam-related topics on the 'BBC's Ten O'Clock News' between November 2006 and October 2008. Their study found that Islam-related news topics accounted for over 19% of all news items, with 47% of these items appearing near the beginning of the programme, as one of the first three items.¹⁹ Additionally, the three most frequent Islam-related topics were Iraq, Terror and Afghanistan.

Although the studies that have analysed television programming are far fewer than those looking at newspaper data, the representation of Islam/Muslims across both platforms are similar. With the exception to Adnan's (2010) study, the other three studies that looked at the television data found that Islam/Muslims are closely associated with topics relating to terrorism or war.

2.2.3 Internet and Other Media Platforms

Data from other forms of media have also been used to investigate media representation of Islam, adding to those that have utilised newspaper and television data. Table 2.3 provides a summary of previous studies which have investigated representations of Islam using other forms of media.

¹⁹ In news broadcasting the most important news items are mentioned first, with less important pieces mentioned towards the end of the broadcast, alongside 'soft-news' such as sports and the weather.

Table 2.3: Previous studies which utilised data from other forms of media to investigate media representations of Islam

Period Researched	Name of Study	Analysis used	Type of Media	Further Details
September 11 – 16 2001	Martin and Phelan (2002)	Corpus / CDA	Internet - Forums	
September 2001 – June 2005	Van Buren (2006)	Theory of Remediation (Bolter and Gruisin, 2000)	Internet – Still Animations	106 anti-Arab web cartoons
10-31 March 2008	Mosemghvdlishvili and Jansz (2013)	Content Analysis	Internet – Videos (YouTube)	120 Videos and 15 interviews
13 April 2001 – 11 June 2007	Al-Hejin (2012)	Corpus/CDA	Internet – News Websites	3,269 BBC articles & 3,111 Arab News articles
Unspecified	Al-Hejin (2007)	CDA	Internet – News Website	23 articles
Unspecified	Weaver (2013)	Discourse Analysis	Internet – Website Text	

Traditional forms of media such as newspapers and the television are now being replaced by the Internet as the most consumed form of media. Despite the Internet's rising popularity with the general public, it has not always been fully embraced by researchers as a mass medium. Morris and Ogan (1996:40-41) detail that the main objections by researchers when not equating the Internet to print and broadcast media was the belief that it 'resembled interpersonal communication' and some researchers even 'compared computers to telephones.' When defining mass media in its broadest sense (i.e. a medium to communicate with the masses), as well as considering the advent of social media sites such as YouTube, Facebook and Twitter, it would be very difficult for any contemporary academic to deny the Internet is indeed a mass medium and arguably the most influential of all current forms of media.

Despite these early objections by some academics, there have been a few studies conducted which have analysed MROIM on the Internet. The first of these studies was carried out by Martin and Phelan (2002) who analysed CNN online message boards between 11 and 16 September 2001, in the immediate aftermath of the 9/11 twin tower attacks in New York. Their research found that the fifteen most popular nouns phrases on the message board where *Islamic* was used as an adjective were mainly associated with terrorism, fundamentalism and jihad.

Van Buren (2006) used Bolter and Grusin's (2000) *theory of remediation* to investigate racist post 9/11 web animations. The theory states that 'new medium gains currency through homage to older forms, and simultaneously older media forms maintain currency by incorporating elements of the new' (Van Buren, 2006:538). The animations were found by searching major search engines such as Google using search terms such as *Arab, Islam, Muslim, Taliban, Osama, etc.* Van Buren found that the animations could be placed into two main categories: 'violence against and humiliation of Arab characters' and the 'Arab culture as deviant', which he believed placed Muslims/Arabs as the 'other'.

Mosemghvdlishvili and Jansz (2013) investigated the framing of Islam in user-created YouTube videos. *Islam* was used as a tag in almost half a million videos on YouTube. The first 50 videos that were deemed to be most relevant by YouTube alongside 100 videos selected through random systematic sampling were chosen for further quantitative content analysis. These 150 videos were then narrowed down to 120 by removing repeated videos and those removed by YouTube. When framing the overall tone of the videos, 49% of them carried a mainly positive tone and 51% contained a mainly negative tone. This is in contrast to the mainly negative overtones found in the newspaper and television studies. The most common category of the videos was *educating/preaching Islam*, with videos being aimed at both Muslim and non-Muslim audiences.

Al-Hejin's (2012) doctoral thesis investigated the representation of Muslim women on the Arab News (AN) and BBC News websites between April 2001 and June 2007. In order to carry out his analysis, Al-Hejin identified keywords from both news sites and placed them into semantic categories. The categories from the AN corpus were more diversified than those from the BBC corpus, which was to be expected considering the normalised position Muslim women would hold within a news site operating from a Muslim country. Al-Hejin (ibid:101) identified the salient topics from both websites, with all of the BBC's topics containing some negative element, such as some type of controversy or tragedy. Contrastingly, the Arab News articles mainly contained a mixed range of salient topics and the topics only corroborated with BBC's during major world events (i.e. 9/11, Iraq War, London Bombings, etc.).

When analysing the semantic categories from the BBC corpus, it was found that geographical names were predominantly used to mention the location of an event, rather than distinguishing characteristics of Muslim women within those countries. When analysing Muslim women in war contexts, the majority of cases consisted of them being Patients (victims), although interestingly when appearing as Actors, the vast majority of occurrences referred to them as suicide bombers. Representation of Muslim women in criminal contexts, were predominantly centred on sexual crimes (53% where they are the perpetrator and 13% where they are the victim). Social actors referred to reporting of wars (Taleban, Mujahideen, etc.), as well as specific individuals (Abu Hamza, Jack Straw, etc.). From a religious perspective, in 60% of the articles referring to *Islamists*, Muslim women were seen to be oppressed by them, with 21% of the articles containing support for Islamists by Muslim women. This theme of oppression was also present when he analysed keywords related to *hijab*, with a 'general tendency in the BBC to represent hijab as something Muslim women are forced to wear.' (ibid:161) However, when looking at the Saudi based Arab News

website, keywords were mainly centred on religious terminology, and categories which highlighted women in positive roles in society such as *Business* and *Education*.

Al-Hejin also looked at collocates of Muslim women and found that the attributive adjectives of Muslim women in the AN corpus were mainly positive, and the negative adjectives would normally describe Muslim women in a victimised state. Contrastingly, the BBC corpus contained mainly negative attributive adjectives and although some of these also described Muslim women as victims, there were also adjectives of aggressions such as *armed*, *baton-wielding*, *Kalashnikov-wielding* and *militant*. Additionally, the majority of the nouns premodifying Muslim women in both corpora were ‘functionalisation nouns’²⁰ such as *minister*, *lawyer*, *police officer*, etc. However, from the nouns that were deemed to be either classified as positive or negative, the majority of negative nouns were found in the BBC corpus and the positive nouns were mainly present within the AN corpus.

Similar to the premodified nouns and attributive adjectives, the predicative adjectives found in both corpora highlighted a predominantly positive representation of Muslim women in the Arab News, with BBC articles mainly containing negative predicative adjectives. When looking at collocates which used quantification, in both corpora there was not a single instance where a negative statistic was reported with a low quantity.²¹ Additionally, positive aspects associated with Muslim women were mainly reported with a low quantity on both sites, although high quantity positive aspects appeared in a significantly larger quantity within the Arab News.

Many of the lexical collocates of Muslim women focussed on their rights, or perceived lack of rights. This restriction on rights was prominent in both papers, with the BBC mainly

²⁰ Van Leuween (1996:54) coined the term ‘functionalisation’ to refer to instances where social actors are referred to in terms of an activity.

²¹ E.g. ‘hundreds of women are killed in Pakistan by relatives’, ‘many Muslim women were raped’, ‘thousands of women are killed each year by relatives in the Middle East’

referring to Muslim women in countries such as Afghanistan, whereas the Arab News focussed more on issues related to the local Saudi context. Al-Hejin dedicated a section to the topic of ‘women driving’, as this was an issue consistently associated with Saudi women alongside their ‘strict’ dress code. This concern for the restriction of rights for Muslim women was once again highlighted when examining lexical collocates used to geographically profile Muslim women such as *Afghan (women)*, *Iranian (women)*, etc. However, the BBC’s coverage was not all negative and some news articles did contain examples that highlighted the positive developments in women’s rights in countries such as Pakistan and Saudi Arabia.

A further study by Al-Hejin (2007) investigated the representation of the ‘Muslim veil’ by carrying out a CDA of 23 articles on the BBC News website. The study found that the BBC articles would normally appear as balanced, by adding a voice from within the Muslim community to defend the veil from the prejudiced opinions mentioned at the beginning of articles. However, on closer examination, Al-Hejin (ibid:29) found that ‘subtler linguistic effects seemed to contribute to negative and inaccurate representations of the veil.’ For example, there was no clear distinction between the different types of covering that Muslim women use, and terms such as *veil*, *hijab* and *niqab* were used interchangeably or without clarification of the differences between the terms. Additionally, the veil was constructed as being in opposition to ‘women’s rights’ and a sign of the oppression of Muslim women.

Weaver’s (2013) study compared anti-Muslim and anti-Semitic jokes on three internet websites and divided the jokes into two categories: inclusive jokes (jokes that do not remove Muslims/Jews from society) and exclusionary jokes. The study found that the inclusive anti-Semitic jokes contained stereotypes about Jewish people suggesting that they were ‘miserly’, ‘parasitic’ and ‘have bigger than average noses’, as well as indicating that Jewish women in America were ‘whiny’ or ‘high maintenance’. The exclusionary jokes mainly focussed on the death of Jews in the Holocaust, with Weaver (ibid:495) arguing that these jokes tend to utilise

rhetorical devices such as *grotesque*, ‘to construct the removal or exclusion of the Jew from society.’ On the other hand, the anti-Muslim jokes (inclusive and exclusionary) contained ‘culturally racist themes and stereotypes [which included] the use of Muslim names and puns on those names, owning corner shops, and associations with 9/11 and suicide bombing.’ (ibid:491) Weaver identified that the anti-Muslim jokes contained a more contemporary theme to the anti-Semitic jokes, with the former mentioning recent events such as 9/11 and anti-Semitic jokes referring to historical events such as the Holocaust.

The studies mentioned in this section all investigated representations of Islam on the Internet. Other forms of media such as radio, film and magazines are absent from the current body of research and could prove to be of interest. For example, the representation of Muslims on radio programming could provide insights if this incident recalled by Monowar Hussain (2012:13) is deemed to be a regular occurrence. He recalls that when he was invited by a local radio station for an interview, ‘some 8–10 minutes into the interview, what I call my ‘shock and awe’ moment occurred. The interviewer suddenly and abruptly changed the topic of questioning, from the OCF [his organisation] to the wholly different area of the 72 virgins in paradise, suicide bombings, jihad, women Imams, honour killings, and shariah.’

The next section will critically analyse the studies mentioned in the preceding sections which utilised CDA or CL from a methodological standpoint.

2.3 CDA Research on Islam in the Media

The preceding sections focused on the media representation of Islam and the construction of Muslim identities across various media platforms, with many of the studies being carried out from a non-linguistic standpoint. In this section, studies which had utilised CDA approaches when analysing representations of Islam in the media will be explored. I will focus on the

theoretical frameworks and techniques of analysis used by these researchers. Table 2.4 provides a summary of the studies that will be discussed over this section:

Table 2.4: Studies which have utilised CDA Approaches to analyse media representations of Islam

Name of Study	Period Researched	CDA Approach	Further Details
Van Dijk (1991)	1 August 1985 - 31 January 1986, First 6 months – 1989	Multi – Disciplinary (Structural and Contextual) Analysis	Quantitative – Content Analysis
Poole (2002)	Jan 1997 – Dec 1997	Qualitative content analysis drawing on Halliday’s ‘functional linguistics’ and Van Dijk’s ‘structures of news discourse’.	Quantitative – Content Analysis
Richardson (2004)	October 1997 – January 1998	‘Ideological Square’ (Van Dijk) drawing upon DHA framework used by Reisigl and Wodak (2001).	Quantitative – Content Analysis
Al-Hejin (2007)	Unspecified	Fairclough’s (1995a) dialectical-relational approach - 3 dimensions of discourse: text, discursive practices and sociocultural practices.	23 news articles from BBC News website.
Adnan (2010)	2005 – 2007	3 discourse analysis methods: study of textual surface features, study of thematic organisation and measure of word use & frequency	20 thirty-minute episodes of a Malaysian TV programme.
Byng (2010)	January 2004 – December 2006	Discourse as social practice.	
Elgamri (2011)	15 Feb 1989 – 30 March 1989 (Rushdie Affair), 28 Sept 1996 – Nov 1996 (Rise of Taliban), 18 Nov 1997 – 22 Dec 1997 (Luxor Massacre), 12 Sept 2001 – 24 Oct 2001 (9/11)	CDA drawing upon Van Dijk’s ‘structures of news discourse’.	
Weaver (2013)	Unspecified	Rhetorical discourse analysis - drawing upon Berger’s (1995) list of 45 rhetorical devices that can structure jokes.	

The first known study which utilised CDA approaches to investigate media representations of Islam was carried out by van Dijk (1991). Part of this study consisted of a quantitative content analysis of more than 2,700 articles relating to ‘ethnic affairs’ from five British

national newspapers.²² These articles were coded for a number of statistical properties (e.g. newspaper, date, discourse genre, etc.) and then statistically analysed using the statistical program SPSS, which yielded the quantitative results of the study. A further qualitative analysis was conducted by Van Dijk, which comprised of in-depth interviews with 150 newspaper readers in Amsterdam. Van Dijk then carried out a further analysis on the same five newspapers, as well as *The Independent* for the first six months of 1989, with a dataset of 1,200 news items, coding in a similar manner to the 1985 data.

Van Dijk employed an ‘informal discourse analysis’ (ibid:10) by carrying out a multi-disciplinary structural and contextual analysis of the news items. The structural analysis was divided into two areas of inquiry, the analysis of the ‘surface structure’ and the ‘superstructure’. The surface structure analysis investigated the lexical, rhetorical and syntactical style of the news items. The ‘superstructure analysis’ identified the schematic news categories of the texts and explored some of these categories (i.e. headlines) in greater detail.

A study by Poole (2002) also combined a quantitative content analysis with a qualitative discourse analysis. The content analysis was used to establish the most frequently occurring topics during 1997 in two broadsheet and two tabloid newspapers (see table 2.1). The six most frequently occurring topics in the broadsheets were Politics, Criminality, Relationships, Education, Fundamentalism and Censorship/Rushdie. These topics were also dominant themes in the tabloid newspapers, with the exception to Education. Poole used these topics to identify 5 stories she selected for the qualitative discourse analysis:

- Fraud allegations against MP Mohammed Sarwar. (Criminality/Politics)
- The marriage of British teenager Sarah Cook to a Turkish Muslim. (Relationships)

²² Articles were taken from The Times, the Guardian, the Daily Telegraph, the Daily Mail and the Sun between 1 August 1985 and 31 January 1986.

- The funding of Muslim schools. (Education)
- The activities of dissidents (i.e. Omar Bakri) in Britain and the government's reaction to them following incidents of terror abroad. (Fundamentalism)
- The Salman Rushdie Affair (Censorship/Blasphemy/Rushdie)

Despite Poole utilising a quantitative method to identify the most frequently occurring topics, there was still a great deal of subjectivity within her methodology, as it isn't clear how articles were identified as belonging to a particular topic. Additionally, there is a degree of ambiguity around the selection of these five stories, namely were they chosen due to them being the most frequently occurring or were they cherry-picked by the researcher. It is possible that by employing a corpus methodology, as opposed to content analysis, salient topics could potentially be identified in a more objective manner, as personal names such as *Bakri*, *Rushdie* and *Cook* are highly likely to appear as keywords.

In order to carry out the qualitative analysis on the stories mentioned above, Poole (2002:102-3) employed what she referred to as a 'classical qualitative method of content analysis' and then drew upon aspects of 'critical linguistics' based on the 'functional linguistics' of Halliday and also 'structures of news discourse' identified by Van Dijk (1991). Poole (ibid.) examined 'the deployment of lexical choices, sentence structures, structural transformations and photographic imagery in texts' in order to 'make explicit the implicit assumptions' contained within the news articles. Poole's analysis found that some of these news items were given significant coverage due to the fact Muslims were involved and similar stories involving non-Muslims do not receive similar media attention.²³

²³ For example, in relation to the Sarah Cook story, Poole (ibid:115) states that 'concern for the victim cannot be seen as the primary motive in this coverage given the number of juvenile relationships, teenage pregnancies and oppressed wives that go unreported in Britain.'

Although each of the stories had differing themes, Poole (ibid:180) found that certain discourses were identified as being most prevalent in each of these five stories and were mainly identified with negative representations of Islam/Muslims, these discourses were *primitivism, irrationality, homogeneity, threat to values* and *insincerity*. Other discourses which were widespread in at least four of the five stories included: *restriction, nation, loyalty, economy* and *absolutism*.

Similarly to Van Dijk and Poole, Richardson (2004) also combined a quantitative content analysis with a qualitative discourse analysis to analyse newspaper data from 7 broadsheet papers (see table 2.1). He identified an *ideological square*, with Muslims as the negative other (see section 2.1 for further details around the findings of the study). In order to further examine how both of these groups were depicted by the broadsheets, the discursive strategies employed by journalists when referring to either of these groups were investigated. Richardson (2004:57) mentions that ‘the choice of words used in nomination and characterisation of social actors are of particular significance in analysing the positive self-presentation and the negative other-presentation integral to the *ideological square*.’

The three studies mentioned above (Van Dijk, Poole, Richardson) all combined discourse analysis with a quantitative content analysis. Although this enabled their studies to partially distance themselves from the allegations of bias consistently aimed at CDA studies²⁴, the content which was eventually qualitatively analysed was still chosen without any clear methodological approach. Leech’s (1992:112) approach could have been used, as opposed to selective data selection, where he calls for ‘total accountability’ by not using a favourable subset of the data. However, in the case of the above studies the quantitative analysis was used purely to add statistical content to the qualitative analysis or to direct the researchers’

²⁴ For a detailed overview of criticisms that have been made about CDA, see Stubbs 1997, Titscher, et al. 2000, Widdowson 1995, 2004.

attention towards particular topics without clearly indicating how the articles were down-sampled for the qualitative analysis.

Up to this point, the CDA studies mentioned in this section have all analysed newspaper articles. Al-Hejin (2007) investigated the representations of the ‘Muslim Veil’ in the BBC News website by using CDA to analyse 23 news articles. The study was framed around Fairclough’s (1995a) ‘3 dimensions of discourse’ (text, discursive practices, sociocultural practices) framework. During the textual analysis, Al-Hejin identified a number of strategies employed by BBC journalists when referring to the veil:

Table 2.5: Strategies employed by BBC journalists when referring to the veil

Type of strategy	Application of strategy in the articles
Referential strategies	Reluctance of reporters to specify type of veil they were referring to.
Predication	Associating extremism and fundamentalism with the veil.
Passivity	Passivising Muslim women and giving agency to the veil.
Transitivity	Views that opposed the veil were associated with transitivity, which removed agency from Muslim women.
Scalar implicatures	Reducing the estimated ‘damage’ a veil ban might cause in France.
Quantification	Exaggerating public support for a veil ban.

The next stage of Fairclough’s model necessitated identifying the discursive practices. Al-Hejin classified the discursive practices of the BBC into two, firstly at an institutional level and secondly, on a professional level. When analysing the representations of the veil from a sociocultural perspective, Al-Hejin (2007:28) observed a ‘discoursal shift’. In early articles, the veil was not seen as a problem but rather it was arguably portrayed in a positive light by symbolising the ‘multiculturalism’ found within British society. Events such as the London Bombing triggered the ‘discoursal shift’ from a ‘discourse of multiculturalism’ to a ‘discourse of integration’, where the veil was now perceived to be at odds with the ‘British way of life’.

CDA has also been used to analyse televisual data, with Adnan (2010) combining discourse analysis and interviews when investigating how to reconstruct images of Islam on Malaysian television. The discourse analysis examined the scripts from 20 episodes of the ‘Reflections’ TV programme, a contemporary religious program which ran on Malaysian TV between 2005 and 2007. This textual data from the scripts was ‘analysed using three discourse analysis methods, namely study of textual surface features, study of thematic organisation and measure of word use and frequency’ (ibid:37).

When examining the textual surface features, it was observed that only the second segment of the programme used technical terminology, whereas the first and third segments used informal speech. Additionally, the first and second segments consisted of mainly reported speech, with the final segment using speech mostly in the ‘first person present tense’. In relation to the thematic organisation of the scripts, Adnan identified the presence of the following themes within the twenty episodes: *Malaysian youth issues, Islam as a religion of knowledge, living a balanced and healthy life, inculcation of universal Islamic values and the need to contribute to one’s community and society*. With regards to word usage patterns, it was identified that Islamic terminology was mainly used in the second segment of the show, with other key terms such as *youth, lifestyle, young, life and value* appearing frequently in the transcripts. This discourse analysis was combined with interviews conducted with key production personnel from the television show.

Byng (2010) used CDA to analyse stories about the hijab and niqab in the New York Times and Washington Post between January 2004 and December 2006. The studies analysed the ideological similarities/differences between France, Britain and America in relation to the hijab/niqab (also referred to as ‘veil’) and to aid in this analysis, the stories were split into three themes: *the national identities of Western nations, the assimilation/integration of ethnic minorities and the threat of Islamic terrorism*.

In relation to national identity, the news items portrayed a unified ideological stance from the three nations that the veil posed a threat to their national identities. With regards to the assimilation/integration of Muslims, it was observed that although Britain was a multicultural society and France was more secularly positioned, both countries saw the veil as a symbol of the failure of Muslims to integrate with wider society. Similarly, Americans viewed assimilation to be the logical and rational alternative, after what was seen as the failure of multiculturalism within America. Furthermore, in light of the 2005 London bombings, as well as 9/11 and the Madrid bombings, there was an effort to connect issues related to the Islamic veil with the threat of Islamic terrorism within the news articles.

Similar to Richardson's (2004) study, Elgamri (2011:98) investigated the representation of Islam in the British broadsheets by drawing upon Van Dijk's (1991) approach to CDA that 'looks at structural analysis as a prerequisite to establishing relationships to a context.' The study analysed four news stories from 3 broadsheets (see table 2.1) and investigated coverage of them for 6 weeks from the day that the event happened. News items covering these four stories constructed Muslims as the 'negative other' by consistently attributing Muslims with extremism, violence and anti-Western sentiments.

As well as employing a structural analysis, Elgamri drew upon the works of other prominent discourse analysts such as Foucault, Fairclough, Kress, Hodge, and Fowler in order to carry out the analysis. The use of rhetorical devices, especially negative metaphors, by the broadsheets, were examined, as well as words/expressions that were used by the papers to avoid being overtly derogatory about Islam/Muslims.

At the time of writing, the most recent CDA study was carried out by Weaver (2013) who investigated the rhetorical devices used to construct anti-Semitic and anti-Muslim jokes on internet websites. From an initial sample of fifteen websites, the analysis was narrowed down

to three websites. The jokes from these websites were then split into two categories: inclusive jokes (jokes that do not remove Muslims/Jews from society) and exclusionary jokes.

Whilst analysing the anti-Muslim jokes, Weaver (ibid:491) found that the racism present within the jokes was ‘contemporary and the stereotypes, if not completely new, have been updated by recent global events.’ Stereotypes were the most common rhetorical device employed in both inclusive and exclusionary jokes and they focused around ‘sexual practices, especially bestiality, repression of women and body image, particularly body hair in combination with ugliness.’ (ibid.) Although the majority of the jokes centred around such stereotypes and employed rhetorical devices such as absurdity, to further reinforce the concept of the ‘Muslim other’, some jokes contained lesser racial inclinations by using puns/wordplay to satirize Muslim names. When carrying out a comparative analysis between anti-Semitic and anti-Muslim jokes, Weaver found that although there were a larger number of anti-Semitic jokes, the number of anti-Semitic themes were fewer (mainly centred around the holocaust), thus indicating the contemporary nature of the anti-Muslim jokes. Weaver believed that these differences signified that anti-semitic themes are a ‘much older expression of racism’ and are now in a ‘stable place’ amongst white supremacists, as they have developed over a number of years. Contrastingly, as the hostility towards Muslims is more contemporary, a solid body of jokes has yet to be formed and thus Muslims are mocked from a variety of different angles.

In sum, the majority of studies which have used CDA to research media representations of Islam have drawn upon the works of established proponents of CDA such as Fairclough, Van Dijk and Wodak to construct their methodological frameworks. Additionally, the majority of these studies have focussed on the British media, which is of particular relevance to this study. However, there is a disproportionate amount of CDA research that has been conducted on newspapers, in comparison with other forms of media, especially in the current societal

climate where alternative forms of media such as television and the Internet are far more popular than newspapers. Furthermore, many of the studies have investigated large amounts of data, which would be difficult to qualitatively analyse without allegations of cherry-picking on the part of the researcher. Some studies have tried to address this by using quantitative analysis in combination with the CDA, although, as mentioned above, the methods they employed are also questionable. An alternative quantitative method that would be better suited for analysing large amounts of data is corpus analysis and studies which used this method will be discussed in the next section.

2.4. Corpus-Assisted Research on Islam in the Media

This section will provide a detailed overview of previous studies which have utilised methodology from corpus linguistics (CL) to investigate media representations of Islam. I will focus on the different corpus techniques (i.e. collocation analysis, keyword analysis, concordance analysis etc.) used in these studies. Table 2.6 provides a summary of the studies that will be discussed over this section:

Table 2.6: Studies which have incorporated corpus methodology to analyse media representations of Islam

Name of Study	Period(s) Researched	Other Methods Used	Corpus Software and Techniques	Corpus Size
Martin and Phelan (2002)	September 11 – 16 2001	CDA – nominalisations	WordSmith – Collocation Analysis	4.18 million word TV corpus, 2.39 million word CNN Internet corpus
Richardson (2009)	May 1997, June 2001, May 2005	CDA	Software is not stated – Collocation Analysis	Not stated
Baker et al. (2010)	January 1998 – August 2005	Qualitative analysis of Concordances.	WordSmith – Keyword Analysis, Concordance Analysis.	87 million words
Al-Hejin (2012)	13 April 2001 – 11 June 2007	CDA – Fairclough’s (1995a) dialectical-relational approach - 3 dimensions of discourse: text, discursive practices and sociocultural practices.	WordSmith – Keyword Analysis, Concordance Analysis, Collocation Analysis, Wmatrix – Semantic Categories, CQPweb – Colligation Analysis, Semantic Collocation Analysis	BBC corpus – 1.89 million words, Arab News corpus – 2.25 million words
Baker et al. (2013a)	1 Jan 1998 – 31 Dec 2009	CDA	Sketch Engine and WordSmith	143 million words
Baker et al. (2013b) ²⁵	1 Jan 1998 – 31 Dec 2009	CDA	Sketch Engine	143 million words

²⁵ This study is part of the larger study (Baker et al., 2013a).

Martin and Phelan (2002) carried out a corpus based discourse analysis comparing the representation of Islam on US television news networks with CNN's online message board in the immediate aftermath of 9/11. Discourse analysis was used to identify the naming strategies used in both forms of media and this was done with the assistance of the corpus software tool 'WordSmith' which identified all two-word noun phrases where *Islamic* was being used as an adjective.

Although the CNN message board corpus was significantly smaller than the TV corpus, there were almost three times as many 'noun phrases with Islam as an adjective' present. Additionally, there were considerably more instances where 'nominalisations' such as *fundamentalism*, *terrorism* and *extremism* were being used on the message boards, with relatively few occurrences of these nominalised forms in the TV corpus. Considering the size of both corpora, it is surprising that the study only investigated collocates of *Islamic*, as there was likely to be an abundance of other salient findings.

Ten noun phrases appeared within the list of '15 most frequent collocates of *Islamic*' for each of the corpora, with the majority of these phrases being centred on terrorism, extremism and fundamentalism. Martin and Phelan (2002:266) state their surprise at the 'absence of any references to either 'Islamic moderate/moderates'.' However, this should not be surprising, considering that their search terms when extracting transcripts for the TV corpus were 'terrorism OR world trade center', thus highlighting how the construction of corpora needs to be carefully considered in order to avoid elements of researcher bias.

A corpus based CDA by Richardson (2009) also analysed collocations when investigating election reporting of Muslims in British Newspapers by constructing a corpus comprising all

election-related articles that referred to *Islam*, *Muslim(s)* and/or *Moslem(s)*.²⁶ When analysing the collocates of the search terms mentioned above, Richardson (ibid:360) did not only examine the ‘immediately adjacent words’, but rather he also ‘coded words’. By doing so, he believed this allowed him to attend ‘not just to the lexical collocates of Islam/Muslim/Moslem, but also their *ideational collocates*, or the kinds of ideas and representations that are linked to Muslims.’

After collecting the collocates, Richardson placed them into one of the following categories: collectivizations, individualizations, institutionalizations, negativizations, ordinals and quantifications. However, the placement of collocates into these categories can be problematic on two fronts. Firstly, it is possible that a collocate which may not fit into any of these categories, but is placed into one for sake of convenience. Secondly, some collocates may fit into more than one category. For example, if a collocate referred to a Muslim individual in a negative manner, it could be placed in either the individualizations or the negativizations category.

Once the collocates had been grouped, the four most frequent categories in May 1997 had 31 collocates, there were 39 collocates in June 2001 and then that figure jumped considerably to 268 collocates in May 2005.²⁷ The collocates from these grouping were then qualitatively analysed and similarly to Richardson’s 2004 study (see section 2.3), the qualitative analysis clearly showed the presence of an ‘ideological square’ in the newspapers’ election reporting. Muslims were constructed as being a threat to the democratic process, either due to their perceived ability of having a unified vote or by their abandonment of the voting process. Richardson (2009:376) summarised his qualitative findings by stating that the ‘rise of press

²⁶ The corpus consisted of articles from the mainstream British national newspapers (both broadsheets and tabloids) in the two weeks prior to three previous British general elections: May 1997 (13 articles), June 2001 (19 articles) and May 2005 (141 articles).

²⁷ Due to the relatively low number of articles referring to *Islam/Muslim(s)/Moslem(s)* prior to the May 1997 and June 2001 general elections, it was not surprising that a negligible amount of collocates were present for those years.

interest in Islam and Muslims has been accompanied by the rise of a hostile and stereotyping discourse that emphasizes the putative threat that Muslims pose to ‘our way of life’.

A further CL study was carried out by Baker (2010), when investigating the representations of Islam in British broadsheet and tabloid newspapers. The study analysed an 87 million word corpus consisting of newspaper articles between January 1998 and August 2005. A keyword analysis was conducted, where the majority of keywords were grouped ‘into similar categories of meaning, which required more detailed qualitative analysis of individual keywords via concordances’ (ibid:324).

The first part of Baker et al.’s (2013a)²⁸ study used the corpus software tool *Sketch Engine* to examine collocates of *Muslim*, *Muslims*, *Islam* and *Islamic*. Using a feature within *Sketch Engine*, the grammatical structures of the collocates were analysed. For example, when *Muslim(s)* was used as a noun (N), five structures were initially identified: ‘N *and/or* Xxxx’, ‘verb + N’, ‘adjective + N’, ‘N + verb’ and ‘N + noun’.²⁹ This process was repeated to identify other grammatical structures and in order to further investigate these structures, the concordance lines were then crosschecked to ensure the reliability of the findings. However, it should be noted that these structures were identified after the corpus had been grammatically tagged and as acknowledged by the researchers, this process is not 100% accurate (ibid:39). Therefore, even if the findings were crosschecked, due to the sheer size of

²⁸ Baker’s initial study resulted in the creation of a larger corpus containing 143 million words, with the addition of all newspaper articles up until the end of December 2009. This corpus was used by Baker et al. (2013b), although that research paper discusses only one of the areas of investigation that forms the complete study conducted by Baker et al. (2013a). Therefore, only Baker et al. (2013a) will be discussed in this section, albeit in detail, as each section of the study could be a study in itself.

²⁹ The first structure mainly grouped Muslims with other minority religions, such as Sikhs and Buddhists. The second structure placed Muslims as the object in the sentence and had related themes such as *marrying* and *becoming*, which could relate to the conversion process. This is linked to the fourth structure, where the verb *converting* was frequently used in sentences where Muslims were the subject. The third structure where an adjective was used to describe Muslims, levels of religious adherence were especially frequent (i.e. *devout*, *strict*, *moderate*, *fanatic*, *committed*, etc.).

the corpus, it would not be feasible to do this comprehensively and thus, some anomalies may still exist.

The next stage of the study involved examining sub corpora rather than the corpus as a whole, and the differences in lexical usage between tabloids and broadsheets was analysed in a similar manner to Baker's (2010) study. A further keyword analysis³⁰ identified changes in newspaper reporting over the period of investigation by dividing the corpus into 12 sub-corpora, one for each year of the study between 1998 and 2009. Consequently, it was observed that the number of articles referring to Muslims and Islam would increase in specific months and this was caused by the occurrence of major events related to Islam/Muslims.³¹ The study also investigated the most frequently occurring collocates of *Muslim and Islamic* over the twelve years, with *Muslim world* or *Muslim community* appearing as the most frequently occurring collocate for every year of the corpus. These aspects of the study have demonstrated that by dividing a large corpus into subcorpora, it is possible to use a corpus to accurately identify trends in a longitudinal study across a number of parameters, which would not be feasible via a manual analysis. Additionally, this allows the researchers to return to the study in the future by adding new subcorpora, which could incorporate the subsequent years after the research.

The next phase of their study identified collocates of Muslim related to 'strengths or manifestations of belief among Muslims' using Sketch Engine, by categorising them as either extreme/strong/moderate belief.³² As mentioned in the preceding section (when looking at CDA studies), the categorisation of terms can sometimes be problematic: for example, the

³⁰ In order to carry out the keyword analysis, keywords for each year were identified by comparing the data from each year against the other eleven years. The keywords were then grouped into topics and it was observed whether the keywords found within the group were keywords in every year of the corpus or not.

³¹ i.e. 9/11, 7/7, Iraq war, veiling debate, etc.

³² For example, Baker et al. (ibid:149-50) found that 'if we want to show a Muslim holds an extreme belief, we are more likely to label the person with a noun – such as *fanatic*. However, if we want to suggest that he/she holds a strong belief we do not necessarily disapprove of, then we use an adjective such as *devout*.'

term *orthodox* was categorised as a strong belief. However, in many articles, it may be used in a context that is referring to somebody who holds extremist views.

The study identified that the hate preachers *Abu Hamza* and *Omar Bakri* appeared as keywords in the corpus and the concordance analysis around their names frequently referenced their taking of government benefits, with a particular focus on this issue post-2003.³³ In order to determine the frequencies for each newspaper over each year of study, the corpus was split into 144 subsections and the search term *scroung*/dole/handouts/benefits/welfare* were used to identify the relevant news articles. This was followed up by analysis of concordance lines to ensure each instance referred to Muslims on benefits and not to other unrelated topics. The researchers also read a number of sample articles to try to identify further terms they may have missed around this topic area. However, this process was still prone to error, as terms such as *parasite(s)*, which may not immediately come to mind and may even be overlooked when skimming an article, are occasionally used to refer to recipients of benefits.

As discussed in section 2.1, the study also looked at differences in the representations of Muslim men and women in the newspapers. Collocates for the terms *Muslim men and Muslim women* were analysed and then concordance analysis was carried out to further examine the usage of such collocates, where it was identified that the context of their usage differed across years.³⁴ The final part of the study investigated whether the representation of

³³ The reporting of Muslims receiving benefits was a common theme across the majority of the tabloid newspapers, namely the *Daily Express*, *the Sun*, *the Daily Mail* and *the Daily Star*. Although there were some references to this issue prior to 2003, a particular focus on this issue appeared after 2003 within the tabloids mentioned above. The broadsheets had an almost negligible amount of references to Muslims on benefits over the period of study and the *Independent* had no occurrences.

³⁴ For example the term *young Muslim men* was frequent in both 2002 and 2006, albeit appearing in two very different contexts, in 2002 this term referred to the mass murder of young Muslim men in Bosnia, whereas in 2006, most instances were centred around the fear that young Muslim men could be radicalised.

Islam/Muslims found in twenty-first century news articles was similar to that in early periods. Initially, English books between 1475 and 1720 were investigated using the Early English Books Online (EEBO) collection. An EEBO corpus was formed that consisted of 12,284 texts and the term *Muslim* occurred only once in the corpus, with *Mahometan* mainly being used in its place. When examining the collocates for *Mahometan*, although the collocates were mainly negative, terms such as *heathen*, *poor* and *infidel* were used instead of the terms more commonly found in more recent news articles. It was determined that a more recent time period would need to be analysed to provide a better comparison with the results of the initial study. Therefore, the nineteenth century newspaper collection was explored to identify articles relating to Islam, excerpts from these articles were then transcribed to form a 55,360 word corpus. This corpus was then compared against a reference corpus to generate a list of keywords, which were then grouped into semantic categories. These categories illustrated a similar pattern to twenty first century newspaper reporting of Islam/Muslims, with categories focussed around conflict and violence. Similarly to the initial study, names of Muslim countries and/or places associated with Islam/Muslims also featured heavily as keywords, although there was little to no mention of Muslims being on benefits, Muslim men/women or the veil.

Al-Hejin (2012) carried out a corpus based critical discourse analyse to investigate the representation of Muslim women on the Arab News (AN) and BBC News websites.³⁵ The corpus was analysed using WordSmith, Wmatrix and CQPweb. WordSmith was used to examine keywords, collocations and concordances, while Wmatrix identified key semantic categories and CQPweb analysed colligation (collocation based on parts-of-speech) and semantic collocation.

³⁵ The corpus used in the study consisted of 3,269 articles from the BBC and 3,111 from the AN between April 2001 and June 2007, which contained the following search terms: *Muslim(s)/Islam(ic)* and *woman/women/female(s)*.

Al-Hejin identified the keywords for the BBC corpus by comparing the corpus against the AN corpus, this process was then reversed to obtain the keywords for the AN corpus. 695 keywords were identified for the BBC corpus by WordSmith, with the author stating that only 268 of them were able to be placed into 7 ‘potentially meaningful semantic categories’.³⁶ The placing of the keywords into semantic categories was done manually and then crosschecked against Wmatrix’s categorisation system. It is not clear why Al-Hejin chose not to just directly use Wmatrix for this purpose, as opposed to a manual method of categorisation. Additionally, it is not clear what criteria he used (if any) to bring the keywords down from 695 to 268, as well as how exactly he determined which keywords were most relevant for each category.

This process was repeated for the AN corpus, with 514 keywords being narrowed down to 201 and manually placed into eleven ‘semantic categories’.³⁷ When comparing these categories against the Wmatrix categories, many of the categories were not present. For example, the ‘Religion’ category did not feature in Wmatrix’s top twenty categories. Al-Hejin (2012:184) explains this by stating that ‘many (Arabic) Islamic words [were] not being recognised by the USAS tagset.’

When analysing keywords related to the hijab, Al-Hejin singled out this category and identified the various referential and predicational strategies (similar to his 2007 study) used when reporting the hijab. Although the AN corpus contained fewer instances of such strategies compared to the BBC corpus, there were still many instances where they were used.³⁸ Al-Hejin’s justification for singling out the hijab for such a detailed analysis, when

³⁶ *Geography; War, Conflict and Violence; Social Actors; Crime; Hijab; Religious Spectrum; Other (keywords not fitting into a category but potentially relevant to Muslim women).*

³⁷ *Islamic Religion; Positives; Education; Business; Social Actors; Geography; Pronouns; Gender and Relationships; Negatives; Deontic Modality; Other.*

³⁸ For example, predications such as the face veil is ‘not required in Islam’ were surprisingly common in the AN corpus, with some articles also claiming that the veil had no basis in Islam at all. Despite these instances of

compared to the other categories was due to it being one of his research questions. However, if the corpus findings (i.e. via frequency data) had indicated the hijab as being especially frequent, it would have provided Al-Hejin a stronger reason to justify the disproportionate amount of attention he had paid to the hijab. Furthermore, it would have discounted the possibility, that due to the publicity around the hijab and Muslim women, the researcher has purposefully gone out of his way to ‘cherry-pick’ the focus of their research.

The next part of Al-Hejin’s study looked at the collocations for Muslim women. When examining the colligations for Muslim women, Al-Hejin investigated attributive adjectives (adjectives occurring immediately to the left of the nodes *woman** and *female**), premodified nouns (nouns occurring immediately to the right of the nodes *woman** and *female**) and predicative adjectives and transitivity (adjectives following the verb *be*) using CQPweb (Hardie, 2012).

In sum, the majority of studies which have used corpus approaches to research media representations of Islam have combined corpus linguistics with CDA, with no study using corpus linguistics as a standalone method. All these studies focussed on analysing news items, albeit from differing types of media: TV news shows, Internet news websites and newspapers, with none of the studies analysing representations found in non-news related sources (i.e. fictional TV programming, films, etc). Established corpus techniques such as collocation analysis, keyword analysis and concordance analysis were used in all the studies, with studies such as Baker et al.(2013a) utilising all of these techniques. One potential issue that was identified was that the studies that used keyword analysis, tended to manually place the keywords into categories that had been determined by the researcher. This could be deemed problematic on a number of fronts, in particular, the issues arising when determining

negative predication, the AN corpus contained a much higher proportion of articles that contained ‘only positive’ predications in comparison to the BBC corpus.

which category to place a keyword into when there may be more than one applicable option. For example, should the *hijab* be categorised as ‘a piece of clothing’ or ‘a religious symbol’. This study aims to counteract this issue by firstly identifying the key semantic categories using Wmatrix and then identifying search terms within each category. The majority of the studies discussed in this section successfully combined corpus linguistics with CDA and effectively investigated their respective areas of research. However, it should be noted that the number of studies using corpus approaches to investigate media representations of Islam are still negligible, with half of these studies being carried out by one group of individuals (Baker et al.).

2.5 Conclusion

As is evident from the preceding sections, various studies have analysed media representations of Islam/Muslims, with the majority of those examining newspaper data and in particular broadsheet newspapers from the UK. Most of the studies have focussed on data from the 1990s and 2000s, with the majority of studies being conducted post 9/11. Due to this, the studies have highlighted that there has been a negative representation of Islam and Muslims in the media, as negative labels such as extremist, fundamentalist and terrorist have been attached to Muslims. It had also been observed that the media promoted the concept of an *ideological square* through the use of the ‘us’ and ‘them’ dichotomy, where the Muslims were represented as the ‘negative other’ (Baker et al. 2013a, Richardson 2004). Moreover, the studies have also identified that Muslim women are represented by the media as being oppressed by males and a particular emphasis had been placed on their face veil (Al-Hejin 2012, Baker et al. 2013a, Moore et al. 2008).

From the relatively few studies that have investigated television programming, only one has carried it out from a purely linguistics standpoint (Martin and Phelan, 2002) and that was

looking at news programming. However, there have been no linguistic-based studies on fictional television relating to Islam/Muslims. Additionally, no in-depth analysis has been carried out on fictional television programming from even a non-linguistic angle, as the only study that incorporated fictional programming (Alsultany, 2013), did so haphazardly without any clear methodology. Furthermore, apart from Flood et al.'s (2011) study, no research has been carried out on programmes that had been produced in the United Kingdom and their study was also looking at news programming.

From a methodological standpoint, it appears that the methodological choices employed by researchers have evolved over time. Earlier studies mainly employed content analysis (Poole 2002, Van Dijk 1991), prior to a more frequent usage of discourse analysis (Al-Hejin 2007, Elgamri 2011, Richardson 2004, 2006), with later studies employing CL (Al-Hejin 2012, Baker et al. 2013a,b). When looking at the studies that have used CDA as a standalone approach, it appears that in many cases the researchers 'cherry-picked' the data they would use in their qualitative analysis. Studies carried out by Baker (2010), Baker et al. (2013a,b), Richardson (2009) and Al-Hejin (2012) aimed to counteract such concerns by combining CDA with CL, although the categorisation of keywords in these studies were not entirely objective either. What is also noteworthy is that CL was never used as a standalone method when investigating MROIM and CDA was always used in combination with it, with this possibly being due to the studies having been carried out by researchers such as Baker and Richardson, who are proponents of CDA. The studies that employed CL analysed the data in a number of ways by using concordance analysis, keyword analysis and collocation analysis. When examining such large data sets (i.e. Al-Hejin 2012, Baker et al. 2013a), collocation analysis proved to be especially useful, as it identified which words were commonly used in conjunction with one another, which is something that would have been extremely difficult to identify by the naked eye.

3. Literature Review II – Fictional Television

3.1 Introduction

Despite the increasing role of the Internet and Social Media, the television continues to play an important role in the daily lives of billions of people around the world. Hours are spent on a weekly, if not daily basis,³⁹ gazing at the rectangular object that occupies prime position in most living rooms across the globe. Even when people physically move away from the television, it continues to play a role in their lives. Bednarek (2010:8) states that ‘our engagement with viewing television is not just limited to viewing television programmes. Not only do we watch television, we also talk about it and even use it to negotiate our identities.’ With this in mind, as well as considering the lack of studies analysing televisual representations of Muslims/Islam as discussed in the preceding chapter, the need for research, the like of that being conducted in this thesis, becomes ever more salient.

The first section of this chapter will commence with an overview of the term *genre* and then take a more in-depth look at the genre being studied in this paper: The situational comedy (sitcom). As well as providing an overview of some of the distinguishing characteristics of the sitcom, regional variations between US and UK sitcoms will also be explored. The discussion will then shift to the construction of gender, family, ethnic and religious identities within sitcoms and how the representation of these groups has evolved from initial portrayals in traditional sitcoms to more recent depictions in contemporary sitcoms.

The chapter then illustrates the existing research gap in televisual research that further emphasises the need for this study. This will be done by firstly examining studies that have used Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to investigate fictional television, as well as other relevant studies that may have looked at genres outside of fictional television. Additionally,

³⁹ <https://www.statista.com/statistics/487130/average-tv-viewing-time-per-day-uk/>

studies which analysed fictional television using other relevant methodologies (i.e. Conversation Analysis, Multimodal Analysis) are also examined. The next section of the chapter explores previous research that used Corpus Linguistics (CL) to analyse fictional television by identifying which corpus techniques were used, as well as identifying other significant aspects of each study.

3.2 Genre and the Situational Comedy (Sitcom)

Genre is a French term that means *type* or *kind* and within the field of television and film it carries a very specific meaning, which denotes how each film or programme is categorised. The study of genre originally focused on placing literary texts into categories of literature. However, these categorisations needed to be developed or refined further when identifying genres for television and film. For example, ‘instead of employing a broad category such as “comedy” [within the field of literature], we need to activate specific genres such as the “screwball comedy” (film) or the “situation comedy” (television)’ (Feuer, 1992:139).

When analysing television programming it is important to understand that it is not always possible to place a series within the pre-defined genres that may currently exist. Mittell (2004:1) states that ‘genres are cultural products, constituted by media practices and subject to ongoing change and redefinition.’ An example of this ongoing change of genres is found in a study by Bednarek (2011), where she classifies the *Gilmore Girls* (The WB/The CW, 2000-2007) as a ‘Dramedy’ – a hybrid of the ‘drama’ and ‘comedy’ genres.

The genre that this study will be focusing on is the situational comedy (sitcom). Sitcoms have a number of distinguishing features that can help in differentiating between them and other genres. The sitcom is traditionally half an hour in length and normally consists of a small set of regular characters who interact with one another in a similar setting each episode. Sitcom episodes are normally stand-alone episodes, as opposed to genres such as soaps, which

require background knowledge prior to watching an episode. Additionally, sitcoms usually contain audience laughter to highlight a joke, as they are either taped in front of a live audience or ‘canned laughter’ is added to the final edit. However, although these characteristics are found in the vast majority of instances, it is possible to find programmes that are regarded as sitcoms but contain features that are contrary to the description mentioned above.⁴⁰

3.2.1 The British Sitcom

As mentioned in the preceding discussion, sitcoms have distinguishing characteristics that set them apart from other genres. However, it would be naive to assume that all sitcoms are entirely the same. One of the main factors that differentiate one sitcom from the next is the place of production and it could be argued that the British sitcom could be considered as a genre in itself. In relation to this study specifically, Saha (2013:97) states that *Citizen Khan* is a ‘British situation comedy about a Muslim family.’

The distinctiveness of the British sitcom is further emphasised by a group of studies (Griffin 2008, Beeden and de Bruin 2010) which compared the differences between the BBC sitcom *The Office* (BBC, 2001-2003) and its American adaptation of the same name. It was found that the original version had to be ‘Americanized’ in order to be accepted by the American audience. Beeden and de Bruin (2010:16) found that ‘both the British original and American adaptation remain relatively similar in terms of the central premise and comedy verite style, but they display key differences within the components of situation, character and humor.’

In relation to these differences in characterization, the flawed central character is a distinctive factor found in the majority of British sitcoms – i.e. David Brent in *The Office*, Basil Fawlty in *Fawlty Towers* (BBC Two, 1975-1979), Victor Meldrew in *One Foot in the Grave* (BBC,

⁴⁰ For example, *Only Fools and Horses* (BBC One, 1981-2003) ‘expanded to encompass developing storylines’ and went ‘beyond the half-hour structure, expanding to fifty minute episodes’ (Mills, 2005:27).

1990-2001) and most relevantly Mr Khan in *Citizen Khan*. Contrastingly, when we look at popular sitcoms from countries such as America, although there may be some comedic aspects to the lead character(s), the characters are not constructed to be as overtly flawed as their British counterparts. This view is supported by Mills (2005:41) who states that ‘while American sitcoms often invite us to laugh with its characters, Britcom instead offers pleasure in us laughing at them.’

The importance placed on characterization within British sitcoms is further illustrated by this excerpt from the BBC’s guidelines for sitcom writers:

‘When planning a new idea, the characters should come first and if they are the right characters they will arrive with their world attached... Think about the people first, give them histories, test them out in different situations where they are under pressure and see how they react, think about what makes them happy or scared or angry....Make the people authentic, put them in an authentic world and then find their comic tone.’ (Quoted in Huisman, 2005:178)

A leading British comedy website (comedy.co.uk, 2011), which ran an annual competition for British sitcom scriptwriters went a step further than the BBC in emphasising the importance of sitcom characterization. It stated that ‘if there’s nothing wrong with your characters, then there’s almost certainly something wrong with your script.’

From a contextual perspective the distinctiveness of a character within a British sitcom, as opposed to those found within sitcoms produced/based in other countries is also indirectly acknowledged by Culpeper (2001:16), who when discussing the analysis of characters within Shakespearean plays, states that ‘characters are partly shaped by their contexts. Thus, it makes little sense to compare, say, the characters of Romeo and Juliet with the characters of

Macbeth or Antony and Cleopatra, since the fictional worlds of Italy, Scotland and Egypt provide very different contextual influences.’

3.2.2 Representation of Sitcom Identities

As was mentioned briefly in the introduction of this chapter, television plays an important role in the daily lives of many people. Giannino and Campbell (2012:60) mention that previous social science studies had identified ‘the omnipresence of television and the ways in which it serves as a powerful socialization agent that influences public discourse.’ When looking at television viewing figures in both UK and USA, the sitcom is ever popular (see Mills 2005) and thus, the representation of sub-groups and more specifically minority groups within sitcoms may help in shaping public perceptions of said group, especially if the audience has had limited interaction with them (see Elgamri, 2011:ix).

Therefore, the analysis of how these groups have been represented within sitcoms is of importance to researchers. This section will provide a breakdown of how characters belonging to these sub-groups have been depicted within sitcoms and how such portrayals have evolved over time. Additionally, the lack of representation of minority groups and/or mis-representation of these groups due to stereotyping will also be explored.

3.2.2.1 Gender and Family

Female characters in sitcoms have received far greater attention from the academic community than their male counterparts. An in-depth study by Gray (1994:47) looked at the role of women in both American and British sitcoms. Gray identified that US sitcoms in the 1950s portrayed women as mothers and wives. Sitcoms such as *I Love Lucy* (CBS, 1951-1957) demonstrated to the American audience what would happen when women attempted to venture outside of their domestic duties.

‘The premise of *I Love Lucy* was her desire to be a star, to be more than, as her husband Ricky wanted, ‘just a wife’. Every week she tried, every week things misfired in a slapstick explosion and she dwindled into a wife.’

However, by the 1960s, sitcoms began to portray women who had ventured out of the home and into working environments and the beginning of the 1970s produced the most significant of such sitcoms: *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* (CBS, 1970-1977), which depicted a single female, who moves city and becomes an Associate Producer on the Six o’clock News. The 1980s introduced the ‘female-community sitcom’ as a genre (ibid:78), with programmes such as *The Golden Girls* (NBC, 1985-1992) and *Kate and Allie* (CBS, 1984-1989).

Although the societal and domestic role of the woman has shifted in some sitcoms, certain stereotypes still exist in contemporary sitcoms, even in cases where the female characters may be deemed by the audience as being modern women. For example, Mills (2005:114) points out that in the US series *Friends* (NBC, 1994-2004) ‘femininity is clearly signalled through Monica’s obsession with domestic correctness and Rachel’s interest in clothes and shopping. Their jobs are avowedly feminine, even though the series attempts to offer them some kind of gender empowerment.’

Furthermore, Gray (1994:9) states that there exists a ‘stereotyping of women into roles which permit them to be looked at, judged, and laughed at as sexual objects.’ One sitcom that challenged such stereotypes was *Roseanne* (ABC, 1988-1997) and was thus the subject of numerous academic papers (see Rowe 1990 and 1995, Mayerle 1991, Senzani 2010). Mills (2005:114) states that ‘Roseanne Conner is funny because she refuses to conform to the standard feminine convention in terms of her appearance, the way she treats her children, the responsibilities she has towards the family and how she interacts with others generally.’

When looking at men in sitcom, Mills (ibid:111) points out that there is ‘surprisingly little work on the relationship between sitcom and masculinity’, with the vast majority of research focusing on female characters within sitcoms. From a contemporary standpoint, Feasey (2008:21) suggests that ‘the representation of male friendship, homosociality and homosexuality are as important, if not more important than heterosexual relations in the contemporary sitcom.’ The increasing importance that researchers have paid to sexual identity in contemporary sitcoms is highlighted by a number of studies that analyse both heterosexuality (Bradley 2013) and homosexuality (Battles and Hilton-Morrow 2002, Baker 2005). The majority of studies that have analysed homosexuality in sitcoms have focussed on the popular US sitcom *Will and Grace* (NBC, 1998-2006), although some critics have argued that Will’s character confines the ‘portrayal of gay men to those are white and upper-middle-class, making his character more acceptable to a mainstream heterosexual audience’ (Battles and Hilton-Morrow, 2002:90), thus not accurately representing the typical gay American.

The most in-depth study related to sitcom males, although slightly outdated, was conducted by Butsch (2003) who investigated gender and class in American sitcoms over five and a half decades (1950s-1990s). He identified that there was a clear distinction between the portrayal of working class men and middle class men in sitcoms. The middle-class man was ‘typically intelligent, rational, mature and responsible’ (ibid: 21). Contrastingly, ‘working class men were portrayed as buffoons. They were dumb, immature, irresponsible, and lacking in common sense’ (Butsch, 2011:101).

A similar theme is noticed when looking at sitcom fathers in particular. Scharrer (2001:33) found that the working-class father was almost twice as likely to be portrayed as foolish or be the butt of jokes compared to his middle and upper-class counterparts. Reep and Dambrot (1994:13) stated that middle-class parents were portrayed as ‘superparents’ on television and

that the 'exception to the superparent model is in the portrayal of working class families where fathers are often shown as bumbling, inept or even vicious and cruel.'

Speaking of fathers, when analysing the construction of gender identities within sitcoms, it is impossible to not analyse gender roles within sitcom families. Neale and Krutnik (1990:236) state that sitcom 'tends to be associated with its most pervasive and obviously conventionalized type, the domestic or family sit-com.' This association between sitcoms and the family unit is further reinforced by Moore's (1992:48) investigation of the portrayal of the family on prime-time television, where he found that 86% of successful family-series between 1947-1990 were comedies.

Sitcom families have traditionally consisted of the core nuclear family, with the father being at the head of the household. A study by Scharrer (2001:23) examined the portrayal of the 'sitcom father' from the 1950s to the 1990s and found a 'changing portrayal of father figures from positions of wisdom and authority to roles in which their sensibility is called into question or mocked through foolish, humorous portrayals.' It has been suggested that this diminishing of the father's status has been caused due to the changing role of females in society as whole and more specifically within the family, as the father is now no longer the sole breadwinner.

This societal change has also been reflected in the portrayal of the 'sitcom mother'. Reep and Dambrot (1994:18) found that 'mothers in current programs work outside the home and are concerned with career matters, as well as domestic duties.' Although their study is now outdated as it was conducted over twenty years ago, it is indicative of how the changing societal role of females triggered by the feminist movement during the 1970s had caused a reassessment of how mothers were portrayed on television. This is can be compared to early

portrayals, where ‘wives and mothers across the decades were predominantly shown as home centred and supported by their husbands and fathers’ (Moore, 1992:54).

Race also plays a significant role in how sitcom families are constructed for their audience. The overwhelming majority of families that appear on prime-time television series are of a ‘white’ background (see Moore 1992). From the limited examples of ‘black sitcom families’, previous research (see Merritt and Stroman, 1993:493 for a detailed overview) has found that black sitcom families are ‘isolated from whites, are more likely to be without a father, and black mothers are more dominant when critical family decisions are made.’ A detailed discussion on construction of ethnic identities within sitcoms is presented later in this paper (see section 3.2.2.2), which will include further examples of non-white families that have appeared on sitcoms.

‘Broken’ or non-conventional families were not mutually exclusive to black sitcom families and Moore’s (1992:55) study found that the appearance of such families started to emerge more frequently during the 1960s. However, during the 1960s the majority of these non-conventional families appearing on prime-time television series were white families, headed by a single-male parent, who had been widowed. Single mothers and divorced parents were largely invisible in such programming over the duration of the period studied (1950 – 1990).

Existing research on television families and in particular sitcom families is outdated, with no large scale study having looked at post-millennium programming. However, what can be observed from recent sitcoms is a shift away from the traditional sitcom family and towards more varied domestic environments, which are reflective of current societal trends.

Emergence of sitcom households containing single unmarried mothers (Lorelai from *Gilmore Girls*), divorced single fathers (Alan from *Two and a Half Men*⁴¹) and most commonly a

⁴¹ Aired on CBS between 2003 and 2015.

group of cohabiting friends (*Friends*, *Will and Grace*, *The Big Bang Theory*⁴², etc.) are further indicative of such a shift. Additionally, recent sitcoms such as *The Office* focus purely on the working environment, with no exploration of the characters' domestic lives.

3.2.2.2 Ethnicity and Religion

Following on from the discussion in the preceding section, the portrayal of ethnic minority characters and/or families within sitcoms has mainly involved a stereotypical negative representation. The vast majority of research in this area has focused on African American characters. Early representations depicted African American characters as 'lazy, untrustworthy, unintelligent; largely demeaning roles designed to entertain a White audience' and 'a majority of these characters lived in ghettos and slums' (Mastro and Greenberg, 2000:691).

The depiction of African American characters improved significantly with the introduction of programming like *The Cosby Show* (NBC, 1984-1992). Lewis (2004:61) states that the show demonstrated that 'television did not need to resort to tokenism or racial stereotyping to be popular with white audiences.' Mills (2005:128) further highlights the importance of *The Cosby Show* by stating that it 'is the most examined sitcom in the history of television' and the fact that 'at least two books (Jhally and Lewis, 1992; Fuller, 1992) are dedicated to it demonstrates the significance which is attached to the series.' Gray (1995:81) states that 'the show appropriated the genre of situation comedy and used it to offer a more complex representation of African American life than had been seen previously.'

There is little question that programming such as *The Cosby Show* aided in delivering a more positive portrayal of black characters to a predominantly white television audience. However, negative stereotyping of African American characters is still prevalent as is highlighted by

⁴² CBS, 2007-present.

Mastro and Greenberg's (2000:700) study that examined 6 weeks of prime-time fictional television during Fall 1996. They found that 'African Americans seemed to be negatively portrayed more often than the Caucasian or Latino characters. They were judged as the laziest and the least respected, their dress was the most provocative and most dishevelled.'

However, there has been a negligible amount of research conducted to date on sitcom characters and/or families from the Indian subcontinent. This is partly due to the under-representation of characters from such backgrounds in sitcoms, as opposed to those from other ethnic minorities, such as Afro-Caribbeans. Although Asian characters have existed in popular mainstream sitcoms such as *Mind Your Language*⁴³ (Ali, Jameela, Ranjeet), *Thin Blue Line*⁴⁴ (Maggie Habib) and more recently *The Big Bang Theory* (Raj), they have yet to be the subject of in-depth academic research. Additionally, stand-alone Asian sitcoms such as *Tandoori Nights* (Channel 4, 1985-1987) and *Meet the Magoons* (Channel 4, 2005) were largely unsuccessful, with neither lasting more than two seasons.

Outside of the sitcom genre there has been limited success with Asian programming such as the comedy sketch show *Goodness Gracious Me* (BBC Two, 1998-2001) and comedy chat show *The Kumars at No. 42* (BBC, 2001-2006). However, the difficulty of getting such programmes onto a mainstream platform is explained by Saha (2013:99), who states that *Goodness Gracious Me* had to jump 'through more hoops than other successful comedy shows' before finally getting commissioned. And even these successful programmes are further examples of Asians being 'reduced to stereotype and fetishized/denigrated tropes as channels compete for ratings, unwilling to risk broadcasting anything that might challenge or alienate mainstream (white) audiences' (ibid:97).

⁴³ LWT, 1977-1986.

⁴⁴ BBC One, 1995-1996.

As well as the portrayal of race, the depiction of religion within sitcoms is equally of interest. As discussed in chapter 2, academic research concerning the representation of Muslims on television and in particular, fictional television is an area that is severely lacking, with no known research to-date on Muslim characters within sitcoms. However, a growing body of research has developed which analyses Jewish characters and/or sitcoms, with most of them largely acknowledging the success of Jewish characterisation on television. Brook (2001:281) states that ‘Jewish representation on American TV is not only no longer a big deal; it appears to be a done deal.’ Furthermore, Brook (2003:3) in a later study states that ‘thirty-three sitcoms with Jewish protagonists made their way onto America’s television screens from 1989 to 2001’, which further illustrates the ‘Yiddishization of American humor’ (Krieger, 2003:395).

To conclude, in Western society at least, sitcom writers and television networks have adapted representations of different identities in order to reflect changing times. The portrayal of specific genders, races or religions in negative stereotypical roles that may have been acceptable in early sitcoms is less acceptable in contemporary society and there is a fine line between what is deemed as funny, as opposed to what is seen as offensive to the modern television audience. This difficulty is also explained by Mills (2005:148):

‘Those within the television industry are now so concerned about the possibility of criticism concerning representations of these groups, coupled with increased audience sensitivity to the political implications of comedy, that this has resulted in a lack of such portrayals overall....Viewers have yet to discover how they’re meant to laugh at blacks, female or gays in contemporary comedy without inadvertently supporting power structures which keep these groups subordinate, precisely because the comedy industry has yet to offer alternative reading strategies....The difficulty in solving this

conflict has resulted in the banishment of such portrayals either to minority channels or off television altogether, and it's difficult to see this as a positive step.'

Considering the above, it is astonishing that the BBC decided to commission a sitcom such as *Citizen Khan*. Even more astonishing was its placement on BBC1 and with the second series moving to the prime-time Friday 9.30pm slot. The BBC's decision to broadcast a sitcom containing a Pakistani Muslim family, considering that this is the first such instance of a sitcom family from such an ethnic or religious background, is an extremely brave one. This is more-so the case considering the negative representation of Muslims and/or Islam by the media (see Chapter 2) and the strong reactions that some Muslims have shown when they perceived that their religion was being mocked or inaccurately portrayed. Unlike other ethnic portrayals such as *The Cosby Show*, which contain a middle-class family, *Citizen Khan* consists of a typical working class family, which adds to its difficulty of being accepted by a mainstream audience.

3.3 Previous Research Analysing Fictional Television

Prior to exploring previous research on fictional television, it is worth noting that due to its popularity, television has been the subject of numerous academic papers. Allen (2004:11) states that television-based studies are found in '3,000 journal articles in several hundred different journals published since 1995.' However, the vast majority of these articles focus on issues such as television institutions, ownership/control, audiences, and so forth, with little attention paid to fictional programming (see Bednarek, 2010:9) and more specifically 'television dialogue'. Additionally, factual programming (i.e. news, parliamentary and presidential debates, documentaries, etc.) is seen to be more research-worthy for many academics.

Although fictional television has received considerably less attention from academics in comparison to factual television, studies have been conducted across the various genres of fictional television, with an especially strong focus on sitcoms. Popular sitcoms such as *Friends* (Quaglio 2009; Rockler 2006; Stokoe 2008), *Will and Grace* (Baker 2005), *Gilmore Girls* (Bednarek 2011) and *Ally McBeal*⁴⁵ (Bubel and Spitz 2006) and countless others have all come under observation from researchers.

The situational comedy is not the only genre that has come under the gaze of researchers, with studies also being carried out in genres such as: ‘crime’ (Bednarek 2012), ‘drama’ (Bednarek 2012, Stamou et al. 2012; Toolan 2011; Wodak 2010), ‘medical’ (Bednarek 2012), ‘mystery’ (Bednarek 2012) and ‘sci-fi’ (Mandala 2011; Rey 2001). These studies (as well as others) will be explored in greater detail in the subsequent sections.

3.3.1 CDA and Related Research

In this section, studies which have utilised CDA approaches when analysing fictional television will be explored. However, due to the limited number of such studies, I will also examine other relevant studies that will aid in highlighting the position of this study in relation to the current literature. This will be done by looking at studies that either investigated fictional television programming using other methodologies, which may be related to this paper such as conversational and multimodal analyses, and/or studies that used CDA/CL in other closely related fields such as factual programming, films and plays. An overview of the studies that will be discussed in this section is provided in table 3.1:

⁴⁵ Fox, 1997-2002

Table 3.1: CDA studies and other relevant studies related to this research

Name of Study	Data used in study:	Genre(s)	Method(s) Used
CDA and Other Qualitative Studies			
Bubel and Spitz (2006)	Ally McBeal – 1 episode	TV – Sitcom	Structural Analysis / Interactional Analysis
Mandala (2007)	Buffy the Vampire Slayer – Seasons 4, 6 and 7 (66 episodes)	TV – Sci Fi	Quantitative Analysis of usage of y-suffix.
Mandala (2011)	Star Trek – Seasons 4, 5 & 6 (78 episodes)	TV – Sci-Fi	Brown and Levinson’s Theory of Linguistic Politeness
Wodak (2010)	The West Wing – 1 episode	TV - Political Drama	CDA - Wodak and Reisigl’s Discourse Historical Approach (DHA)
Unger and Sunderland (2007)	Shrek – 6 extracts and random visual stills from parts of these extracts.	Animated Film	Discourse Analysis / Multimodal Analysis
Multimodal Analysis			
Toolan (2011)	The Wire – One scene from first season.	TV – Drama	Multimodal Analysis / Linguistic Opacity – Incomprehensible dialogue.
Conversation Analysis			
Stokoe (2008)	Friends – 5 extracts from season 1,2, 3 and 5.	TV – Sitcom	Conversation Analysis
Related CL Studies outside of Fictional Television			
Culpeper (2009)	Romeo and Juliet (Complete script of play)	Shakespearean Play	CL – Wordsmith: Keywords Analysis, Wmatrix: Key Semantic Categories, Key Parts-of-Speech.

Bubel and Spitz (2006) investigated 'the characterization of women through the telling of dirty jokes in *Ally McBeal*'. The study carried out a structural and interactional analysis of two jokes from one episode of the programme: a beach joke told by Renee and a flea joke told by Ally. The structural analysis looked at how both jokes were structured and found they both consisted of a 'simple build up' followed by a 'simple punch'. However, the first joke consisted on a play of words for the term 'screwed' and the second joke was regarded as a 'referential joke' as it required the recipient to have familiarity with a sexual act.

The interactional analysis examined how the jokes were delivered within the programme and found that Renee self-selected herself to tell the joke, whereas Ally reluctantly told hers. Additionally, due to Ally's personality traits (prim and inhibited) compared to Renee's (provocative and tomboyish), Ally was not seen by the audience as somebody who would tell dirty jokes and therefore, the audience Ally was telling the joke to were already sceptical prior to her delivering the joke. They were then further aggravated by Ally, as she challenged them to prove her wrong and this lead to the negative reaction to her punch line at the end of the joke.

As well as the structural and interactional analysis of the joke, Bubel and Spitz examined the funniness of the two jokes by presenting them to 43 people (23 male and 20 female), who had to rate them from 1 (good) to 5 (bad) and found that neither of the jokes were considered to be especially funny. However, the subjects of the study were particularly hostile to the 'beach joke', as it had a handicapped woman as the subject of the joke.

As the study contained a limited dataset it is not possible to ascertain if the findings of the study were limited to the characterisation of these characters within this particular episode or if this characterisation was consistent across all six years of the series. Additionally, it is unclear as to why this particular episode was chosen and if any of the other episodes within

the series also contained similar jokes. A problem in selecting such a limited dataset from a programme that contains a large amount of readily available transcribed episodes is that the researchers may have entered the study with a pre-determined conclusion.

A further study by Mandala (2007) analysed usages of the –y suffix in the television series *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* (The WB/UPN, 1997-2003). The -y suffix adjectives are used in unconventional ways⁴⁶ by the ‘scoobies’ - Buffy and her group of friends. Mandala identified 151 marked –y adjectives from 66 episodes (from a total of 144 episodes) during seasons four, six and seven. However, it is not clear why these particular seasons or episodes were selected. Additionally, exactly how these 151 instances were identified is also unclear – i.e. whether Mandala watched the episodes or read the transcripts.

Once these instances were identified they were then broken down into a table detailing the total number of occurrences of the –y suffix for each of the scoobies. It was found that Buffy, Xander and Willow used the –y suffix considerably more (110 instances from a total of 151) than other members of the scoobies. Mandala explained this by stating that usage of the –y suffix served as ‘a badge of identity’ for these characters and signified their close friendship. Whereas, other members of the scoobies were not as close with the core group for varying reasons. The research did not extend beyond looking at the number of occurrences per character and there was potential for a more in-depth linguistic enquiry. For example, did the types of adjectives used by characters differ across characters or seasons? Was a specific –y suffix more commonly used than others⁴⁷ and was it independent to one character or used universally by the group? The usage of the –y suffix within Buffy is certainly salient and I believe a corpus-based investigation would better serve in examining this phenomenon.

⁴⁶ E.g. Heart of Darknessy, cutey, commandery, unmixy, post-hastey, apocalpsy, etc.

⁴⁷ Mandala (2007:56-57) identified a number of different forms where the –y suffix adjectives were used. i.e. proper noun + y, adjective + y, modified by all, affixed to idioms, etc.

Mandala (2011) applied Brown and Levinson's *Theory of Linguistic Politeness* (TLP) to analyse the language of the character *Seven of Nine* from the television series *Star Trek: Voyager* (UPN, 1995-2001). She conducted the study by watching 78 episodes across three seasons (4, 5 and 6) and then identified scenes for transcription at various stages across the 78-episode span, which would then go onto be qualitatively analysed in-depth. By selecting scenes from various stages of the series, the author hoped to demonstrate how Seven's language usage had evolved and how her character had become 'humanised'.

Seven was initially introduced into the series as an enemy 'borg' – a technologically advanced race of cybernetic humanoids. Borgs were initially humans, before being forcibly transformed by other Borg's into emotionless droids. The character Seven was separated from her Borg persona and reverted back to being a human, albeit still containing Borglike traits. Mandala (ibid:207) states previous studies when analysing Seven concentrated specifically on aspects of her 'gender and race' – i.e. 'an excessively feminine body, with a masculine personality' and 'her visible Borg components standing metaphorically for racial characteristics'.

The TLP considers how our speech is constructed due to our 'face concerns' – the need to keep a positive public self image. Mandala looked at aspects of Seven's speech which demonstrate 'negative politeness' (freeing oneself from imposition on others) and 'positive politeness' (wanting to be liked). It was identified that Seven's initial speech was very formal and abrupt, and came across as being 'rude', with little concern for the need of positive/negative politeness. However, by season five, although the construction of her speech was still formal, her speech demonstrated that she had 'developed an awareness of the need to respect the feelings of others' (ibid:211). Mandala brought forth further examples of

changes in Seven's speech and used these to argue that Seven's character has become 'humaned' and this humanisation allowed her to become a 'valued and participating member of the Voyager family' (ibid:223). However, without looking at all of Seven's speech across the three seasons, as opposed to a limited number of scenes that had been hand-picked by the researcher, it is impossible to ascertain in what ways Seven's speech had changed. It is quite possible, that Mandala had missed or possibly ignored instances across the three seasons that were contrary to her findings.

A CDA study by Wodak (2010) used the 'discourse historical approach' (DHA) to investigate the 'glocalization' of the political drama series *The West Wing* (NBC, 1999-2006). The study examined the first episode to be aired after 9/11, entitled 'Isaac and Ishmael'. Wodak identified the uniqueness of this episode by mentioning that this was the only episode that had the actors (using their real names) comment on a real life event at the beginning of the episode. Using the DHA framework Wodak (ibid:46) investigated the following four layers of context: (1) intertextual and interdiscursive relationships between utterances, texts, genres and discourses; (2) the extralinguistic social/sociological variables; (3) the history and archaeology of texts and organizations; (4) the institutional frames of the specific context of a situation.

From an intertextual perspective, Wodak identified the concept of 'recontextualisation', where, for example, a topic is removed from its initial context and placed into a new context. She argues that this recontextualisation exists with *The West Wing*, as US politics is 'glocalized' elsewhere (i.e. in European media). The importance of intertextual elements of the episode were also highlighted in the title of the episode. Wodak (ibid:49) states that the biblical story of Isaac and Ishmael explained 'how the source of conflict between Arabic and Jewish descendants first appeared in the world' and is thus a particularly relevant title considering the current animosity towards Muslims in the aftermath of 9/11.

Additionally, she claims that due to the climate in which this show aired, this specific episode served a role in educating its American audience about holding potentially dangerous and divisive stereotypes. Wodak (ibid: 48-9) argues that the narrative of the episode ‘implies that: first, not all Muslims are terrorists; second, that one should beware of suspecting people who ‘look different’; third, that everybody, even seemingly wise and knowledgeable people like the staff in the White House, have prejudices and are susceptible to false beliefs; and, fourth, that Arabs currently have to cope with many uncomfortable situations in the USA.’

The usage of the DHA was most appropriate for this study, as due to the uniqueness of this episode and its parallels to current real-life events at the time of airing, the contextual elements of this episode were particularly important. This, in turn, helped in supporting Wodak’s argument that fictional programming can be recontextualised and glocalised in different areas across the globe. However, it should be noted that this episode was indeed unique from other such episodes and a similar study would need to be conducted on a regular episode(s) to help in supporting such an argument.

Sunderland and Unger (2007) investigated gender stereotypes in the animated film *Shrek*. The study contained a qualitative analysis of 6 extracts from the film. A detailed analysis was carried out on two of these extracts, which involved not only analysing the written text but also descriptions of salient non-verbal information that accompanied each utterance, such as visuals. It is not clear why these two extracts were chosen for the detailed analysis from the original six extracts. Additionally, apart from mentioning that six extracts had been selected, there is little to no mention of them in the analysis and there are no transcripts present for them.

When carrying out the analysis of the selected extracts, Sunderland and Unger highlighted the intertextual elements found within the script, with many overt and covert references to

concepts and characters found in other fairy tales. They argue that the character of Princess Fiona does not fit into the stereotypical female character found in fairy tales and many of her traits are those normally found in the 'prince's role'. The transcription of non-verbal features although detailed to a degree, seemed to be fruitless, as it merely accompanied the verbal utterances and was scarcely referred back to in the actual analysis. Likewise, the visual stills seemed to be randomly scattered within the analysis and many of them were not even referenced in the main text. The authors should have perhaps restricted themselves solely to an analysis of the verbal text, as it would be hard pressed to consider this as a thorough multimodal analysis of those extracts.

A multimodal analysis by Toolan (2011) analyses one scene from the first season of the series *The Wire* (HBO, 2002-2008). The study comprised two parts: the first part examined incomprehensible speech from the series and the second part consisted of the multimodal analysis which investigated the non-verbal behaviours of the characters during the scene. For the purpose of this thesis, I will only discuss the second part of the research. The scene that Toolan chose to transcribe depicts two characters (Bodie and Wallace) in the middle of a game of chess, when a third character (D'Angelo) interrupts their game to show them how to play it properly. The transcription details not only the speech of the characters but also the camera positions and hand gestures for each utterance during the scene.

Toolan argues that the non-verbal elements of the scene add to the overall understanding and quality of it for the audience. He particularly emphasises on the 'importance of hands, particularly D'Angelo's hands, touching the chess pieces, holding them up, moving them around, knocking them over, as a vehicle of communication' (ibid:179). Additionally, another important aspect he identified was the screen position of the speaker, and whether or not he was in-shot whilst talking, arguing that if the face and lips of the speaker are visible it helps in the comprehensibility of his speech for the audience.

Although the author brings forth some interesting points for consideration, his assertion that these non-verbal aspects help in the overall production quality of the scene are purely subjective. Due to the time-consuming nature of multi-modal analysis, it is expected that a limited dataset was studied. However, to add to the objectivity of this research, it would have been preferable to have brought forth some comparative examples from within the series – i.e. camera shots that did not show hands. These examples could then be showed to a group of research participants who would rate each scene for its comprehensibility, thus, allowing for objective conclusions to be formulated.

Stokoe (2008) used conversational analysis to examine how interactional breaches within the sitcom *Friends* produce audience laughter. The study examined five extracts from seasons 1, 2, 3 and 5 of the series, which had a total of ten seasons. However, as previously mentioned, selecting random extracts from a long-running television programme opens the research up to accusations of cherry-picking. The first four extracts contain examples of adjacency pairs (see Schegloff and Sacks, 1973), and how dispreferred responses (Pomerantz, 1978) to the first part of these pairs can trigger audience laughter. There were a range of varying pairs from invitation/rejection to apologies. Another interesting observation was that some of the extracts contained both preferred and dispreferred responses for that interactional type or different variations of dispreferred responses. For example, in the invitation/rejection extract, Ross invited Rachel to help him move house and she politely rejected him. Contrastingly, in the same scene, Joey asked Phoebe to help with some DIY and she rejected the request with what could be deemed as an ‘argumentative’ response. Therefore, although both pairs contained dispreferred responses to the invitation, only one of them triggered audience laughter due to its argumentative nature. The final extract examines a breach of turn-taking (Sack et al. 1974), where Monica explicitly mentions to Ross that he interrupted her turn, which in turn produces laughter from the audience. Although the examples from these

extracts clearly demonstrate that interactional breaches can stimulate audience laughter, a wider scale study of scripts from *Friends* would need to be examined in order to determine if this was a regular occurrence across all seasons, or isolated to these selected extracts.

In a study away from film and television, but very relevant to this research, a corpus analysis by Culpeper (2009) investigated 'character-talk' within Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*. The first part of the analysis identified positive and negative keywords for six of the characters: Romeo, Juliet, Capulet, Nurse, Mercutio and Friar Laurence. Using the KeyWords feature in WordSmith, these keywords were identified by taking the speech of the character under investigation and comparing it against a reference corpus comprising the speech of the remaining five characters. Culpeper found that different characters had different keyword types and therefore, in the next stage of the study he carried out a further analysis on the speech of three of the six characters, who had varying keyword types: Romeo (ideational), Mercutio (textual) and Nurse (interpersonal). The speech of each of these characters was uploaded into Wmatrix and 'key parts-of-speech categories' were identified for each character. The analysis found that the key categories for each of the characters contained many of the grammatical keywords that were present in the first part of the study. However, it also identified some categories that contained lexical keywords that were not identified in the original keyword analysis, such as the 'general adjectives' category for Romeo.

The final stage of the analysis also used Wmatrix to identify the 'key semantic categories' for the same three characters. Unlike the key parts-of-speech categories, the majority of items found in the key semantic categories had not been identified as keywords for each of the respective characters. The ability of Wmatrix to identify these categories aids the researcher in his analysis, as it has the potential of uncovering salient aspects of the data, which would not have been noticeable from a keywords analysis. Although this feature has undoubted benefits, an issue with using Wmatrix to semantically tag Shakespearean English is that many

modern day words were used in different contexts at that time and this limitation had also been acknowledged by Culpeper.

To conclude, studies that use a clear CDA framework⁴⁸ when analysing fictional television are almost non-existent, with the exception to Wodak's study. Thus, this section looked at the existing CDA studies, coupled with other studies relevant to this study. It was observed that there was an abundance of studies that had selected a limited data set, with no clear methodological reasoning for their choice and in some cases where there was a large quantity of data readily available (Bubel and Spitz 2006, Unger and Sunderland 2007, Stokoe 2008, Toolan 2011). Furthermore, Sunderland and Unger's (2007) study chose to overlook some of the less interesting extracts, which they themselves had selected. Due to these limited data sets, it was not feasible for researchers to make any generalisations on the topic under investigation, as their findings would only be reflective of the selected data, as opposed to the selected series as a whole.

As well as linguistic based studies, studies that used conversational analysis and multimodal analysis were also examined. These studies were extremely limited in their data sets and I cannot be sure that the data was not selected to suit a pre-determined conclusion. For example, Toolan (2011) chose to look at only one scene when conducting the multimodal analysis. Likewise, Stokoe's (2008) conversation analysis consisted of five extracts from the long-running sitcom *Friends*, when it is highly likely that across the ten seasons there would have been numerous instances of similar interactional breaches to those which she had identified.

⁴⁸ i.e. Fairclough's 3 stages of CDA, Van Leeuwen's Representation of Social Actors, Wodak's DHA, see section 4.3 for details of these frameworks.

3.3.2 Corpus-Assisted Research

Corpus linguistics allows researchers to utilise specialist computer software to analyse large amounts of written and/or spoken data. When analysing television programmes (specifically television dialogues and transcripts) it would seem that this field of linguistics would be the first port of call for most researchers. Surprisingly, this does not seem to be the case, as is mentioned by Bednarek (2012:35), who states that ‘television dialogue, to date, has only rarely been the object of corpus linguistic inquiry.’

In this section, I examine previous CL studies that analysed fictional television by critically reviewing the methodology and techniques they had employed. This is supplemented (where relevant) by also considering the (1) type of show, (2) ethnicity/religion of main character(s), (3) data selection, (4) corpus software, (5) findings of the study. The studies that will be covered in this section are listed in Table 3.2 below:

Table 3.2: Studies which have incorporated corpus methodology to analyse fictional television

Name of Study	Episode(s) Researched	Genre(s)	Other Methods Used	Corpus Software and Techniques	Corpus Size
Rey (2001)	Classic Star Trek (8 episodes and 3 movies), Star Trek: The next Generation (9 episodes), Star Trek: Deep Space 9 (4 episodes).	Sci – Fi	Dimensions of Linguistic Variation (Biber, 1988)	Biber Tagger – Corpus Tagging.	Not stated
Baker (2005)	Will and Grace - 107 episodes, First four seasons plus first 15 episodes from fifth season	Sitcom	CDA	WordSmith - Keyword Analysis, Concordance Analysis, Collocation Analysis. Wmatrix – Semantic Categories,	310,316 tokens
McEnery (2006)	Steptoe and Son – Episode: Men of Letters Till Death Us Do Part – Episode: The Bird Fancier	Sitcom	CDA	Worsmith – Frequency Analysis	Not stated
Mittmann (2006)	Friends (7 episodes), Golden Girls (1 episode, Dawson’s Creek – 6 episodes	Sitcom, Drama.	None.	WordSmith - Keyword Analysis, Collocation Analysis.	49, 601 tokens (English original scripts) 52,248 tokens (German dubbed scripts)
Quaglio (2009)	Friends – 206 episodes (9 seasons)	Sitcom	Dimensions of Linguistic Variation (Biber, 1988)	MonoConc Pro 2.2. – Concordance Analysis Biber Tagger – Corpus Tagging.	604, 767 tokens
Bednarek (2010)	Gilmore Girls - 153 episodes from 2000 – 2007	Sitcom - 'Dramedy'	CDA / Multimodal Analysis	WordSmith - Keyword Analysis, Concordance Analysis, Collocation Analysis.	1.3million tokens (unedited fan transcripts) 1.1million tokens (dialogue only)
Bednarek (2011)	Gilmore Girls all episodes from 2000 – 2007	Sitcom - 'Dramedy'	None	WordSmith - Keyword Analysis, Concordance Analysis, Collocation Analysis.	1.1million tokens
Bednarek (2012)	NCIS (5 episodes), Supernatural (4 episodes), Lost (3 episodes), House (5 episodes), How I Met Your Mother (5 episodes), My Name is Earl (5 episodes), Desperate Housewives (5 episodes).	Crime, Mystery, Medical, Sitcom, Drama.	None	WordSmith - Keyword Analysis, Collocation Analysis.	128,249 tokens

As is illustrated in table 3.2, one of the first to utilise this methodology was Rey (2001) in her investigation of changing gender roles within *Star Trek*, which comprised a corpus consisting of dialogue from *Star Trek* episodes and movies. The episodes were selected using stratified random sampling. However, the movies had been hand-picked by the researcher to ensure an adequate sample of female language. The corpus was tagged using the Biber Tagger and language usage from Dimension 1 (D1) of Biber's (1988) *five dimensions of linguistic variation* was analysed to identify synchronic (i.e. within a series) and diachronic variations in language usage for the male and female characters.

An analysis of the mean scores for D1 found that there was a significant change in the language of the female characters, shifting from highly involved linguistic production (mean score: 41.5) in the classic *Star Trek* (NBC, 1966-1969) series towards more informational language production (mean score: 21.9) in *Star Trek: Deep Space 9* (Syndication, 1993-1999). Contrastingly, the dialogue of male characters has remained relatively stable with a slight shift towards more involved linguistic production in the latest series under investigation. However, it should be noted that the researcher purposely ignored randomly selected episodes which only contained male speech and therefore, it would not be possible to state that these findings are a true reflection of the speech of male characters within *Star Trek*. Furthermore, as the language in *Star Trek* has not been constructed to appear similar to that of everyday naturally occurring conversation, it would not be feasible nor sensible to use the findings of this study to highlight changes in gender roles on a societal level.

A study by Baker (2005) investigated 'the construction of sexual identities' in the popular American sitcom *Will and Grace*. The study examined 107 episodes from the sitcom spread across five seasons and these episodes formed a corpus consisting of 310,316 tokens. The first part of the study analysed the usage of words related to sexuality within the series. From the 715 occurrences that were identified, more than half (478) of these were usages of the

term *gay*. A further analysis of the collocates of the term *gay* found that almost all of the occurrences were not directly referring to sex, with the most common two-word phrase being 'I'm gay'.

In the second part of the study Baker used Wmatrix to analyse the speech of the two central gay characters (Will and Jack). Sub corpora containing the speech of each character were compared against one another to identify the key semantic and grammatical categories for each character's speech. When comparing Jack's speech to Will's, the strongest semantic category was 'female names'. Baker (ibid:107) found that Jack had a 'preference of mentioning actresses with three names [and this served as] a particular communicative function for Jack.' One of the strongest semantic category when comparing Will's speech to Jack's was 'food', Baker (ibid:112) mentions that 'Will's association with food represents two facets of his identity – domesticity and urban sophistication.'

As well as comparing the semantic categories, the key grammatical categories for both characters' speech were also compared. The key grammatical category for Jack's speech was 'foreign words', with French and Spanish words being used to further define the 'campness' of his character. A key grammatical category that was also the strongest semantic category of Will's speech was the use of negatives, namely *not* and *n't*. A closer analysis of the grammatical structure of Will's speech found that the personal pronoun 'I' was used significantly more than 'you' in sentences that contained negation.

Although Baker's study utilised a vast array of corpus techniques, there is a degree of ambiguity as to how it was determined how the words related to sexuality were identified, and if there was a possibility that some words were overlooked. The first part of the study examined the keyword *love*: why this keyword was solely analysed and not the other lexical keywords is also unclear. Additionally, although it is evident some CDA techniques have

been used within the study, the author has not explicitly stated that he used CDA and there is no suggestion as to the exact CDA framework that was employed within the study.

After Baker's study, McEnery (2006:137) looked at the uses of bad language in the British sitcoms *Steptoe and Son* (BBC One, 1962-1974) and *Till Death Us Do Part* (BBC One, 1965-1975). A single episode from each sitcom was analysed,⁴⁹ by collecting frequency data for 'bad language words' in the two episodes. McEnery's research consisted of a broader study of *Swearing in English* and therefore, he only very briefly examined these two sitcoms and did not look at them in depth. Part of his study involved looking at the writings of author Mary Whitehouse, who was critical of bad language on television. In one of her books, she mentioned one specific episode of *Till Death us Do Part* and this is the episode McEnery chose to focus on. McEnery drew parallels between *Till Death Us Do Part* and *Steptoe and Sons*, in relation to their controversial nature. However, it is not clear how he selected the episode from *Steptoe and Son*. As there is very little information as to how McEnery identified these bad language words and how he constructed his corpus, it is difficult to provide any critical analysis on the corpus techniques employed in his study, although it is worth noting that this is the only study mentioned in this chapter that looked at a British sitcom.

The next significant study in the field was carried out by Mittmann (2006) who looked at fourteen episodes from three television series (see table 3.2) to determine the lexico-pragmatic characteristics of original and dubbed television dialogue. The study consisted of two stages, with the first being relevant to this study. The first part of the study comprised of two main corpora – OES and GDS.⁵⁰ Using WordSmith, a keyword comparison was carried out between the OES and a reference corpus – The Longman Spoken American Corpus

⁴⁹ Both of these episodes were broadcast in 1972.

⁵⁰ The first corpus consisted of the original English scripts (OES) for the fourteen episodes and the second contained the German dubbed scripts (GDS) for the same episodes.

(LSAC). It was identified that the television dialogue contained words related to specific communicative situations, such as greetings (*hi, hey, hello*). Another salient related category was *imperatives* such as *wait, listen, look* and *come on* and the frequency of these terms was compared between the OES and LSAC and a similar analysis was carried out when investigating occurrences of *expletives* such as *god, hell, gosh, fucking* and *fuck*. It was found that all the imperatives under investigation appeared more frequently in the OES than the LSAC. However, it is unclear as to how the imperative and expletive categories were selected, as well as the terms investigated within them.

The next part of the study consisted of a comparison of two corpora – a German film corpus and 25 conversations from the Freiburger Korpus. These corpora contained German language usage and were first compared against one another to identify differences and then against the dubbed German in the GDS. It was found that the language used in the GDS differed from that found in the other two German corpora and this could potentially lead to changes in German language usage by viewers of these dubbed programmes.

A few years later Quaglio (2009) investigated whether the conversational dialogue used in the sitcom *Friends* was comparable to the linguistic characteristics of everyday conversation. In order to do this a corpus of 604,767 tokens was constructed which consisted of 206 episodes of the sitcom spread across 9 seasons (1994-2003). This corpus was then compared against a reference corpus, entitled the Conversation Corpus (CC1).⁵¹

The first part of the study uses Biber's (1988) *multidimensional framework* to compare language usage in *Friends* with *Dimension 1* (involved vs. informational production – D1) of

⁵¹ The American conversation subcorpus of the Longman Grammar Corpus (LGC), which consists of 4,000,000 words of unscripted conversation was scaled down to a more manageable Conversation Corpus (CC1) consisting of approximately 600,000 words.

Biber's '5 major dimensions of English'.⁵² The results found that the data from the *Friends* corpus (FC) had the same mean score for D1 as Biber's 1988 study, although Quaglio (ibid:69) stressed that this did not mean '*Friends* is the same as conversation', as the differences in standard deviation between the two sets of data indicated that '*Friends* presents much less variation than conversation.'

The next four stages of the study used a similar methodological approach to analyse *vague*, *emotional*, *informal* and *narrative* language usage in *Friends*. Firstly terms which were commonly used in everyday language were identified by looking at frequency data from the reference corpus and then these were compared against the number of occurrences in the FC. These usage patterns were then further analysed by looking at concordance lines using the concordancer MonoConc Pro 2.2. For example, when looking at instances of vague language, the frequency of hedges was compared by looking at the number of occurrences in both the FC and CC1. However, it is not clear how these frequencies were compared, were words from the corpora automatically placed into categories or were they done manually? Additionally, it is unclear as to how these concordance lines were selected, as only a small number of concordances were analysed and it is unlikely that such few instances occurred in CC1. Therefore, if there was a cut-off point, what was it, and if there was not one, then how were the concordances selected?

In the first of a series of related studies Bednarek (2010) investigated the language of fictional television by compiling a 1.1million word corpus (GiGi) consisting of all 153 episodes from the show *Gilmore Girls* between 2000 and 2007 to analyse the differences between TV dialogue and naturally occurring conversation. Using WordSmith, a frequency analysis was carried out by comparing the top 20 individual word forms in the corpus and

⁵² This was done by grammatically annotating the corpus using the *Biber Tagger* and then using a feature of the software which calculates frequency data for each of the different dimensions.

comparing these with the top 20 within a reference corpus (SB).⁵³ As both corpora were available electronically alongside the WordSmith corpus software, it would have provided further objectivity to the study by comparing both frequency lists electronically using the KeyWords feature in WordSmith, as opposed to the manual comparison of frequency lists.

As well as looking at individual words, n-grams were also analysed by comparing frequency data from the GiGi with a second reference corpus (LSAC).⁵⁴ This corpus was not available electronically, but rather the list of n-grams was compared manually against data provided in a study by Mittman (2004). With such high levels of manual interpretation present, many of the advantages of using corpus software are nullified, and it could be argued that a powerful corpus software tool such as WordSmith has been reduced to a ‘bean-counter’ in this part of the study. This pattern of manually comparing statistical data from previous studies was once again used to compare the frequency list of n-grams from GiGi with those identified in studies by Mittmann (2006) and Quaglio (2009) when analysing similar fictional programming – *Friends*, *Dawson’s Creek* and *Golden Girls*.

The next part of the study analysed character identity by splitting the GiGi into sub-corpora containing the dialogue for each character in the series. Frequency information for each character was identified, with the lead character Lorelai having a significantly larger number of tokens and turns than other characters. In order to establish the number of turns a second corpus (TS-GiGi) was used that consisted of the unedited fan transcripts for all the episodes and consisted of 1.3million tokens.⁵⁵ As well as looking at the frequency information for each of the characters, a keywords/n-grams analysis was carried out by comparing Lorelai’s speech against all the other characters and then by comparing the speech of individual

⁵³ Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English.

⁵⁴ Longman Spoken American Corpus (LSAC).

⁵⁵ This corpus was more detailed than the GiGi, as it also contained additional information such as stage directions and the names of characters next to each utterance.

characters against Lorelai's. The keywords/n-grams for Lorelai were then placed into 'potential discourse functions' in order to highlight how characters may distinguish from one another. This brief analysis of Lorelai's speech found that context plays a significant role in determining language usage, with many references to family relationships and her immediate environment. Additionally, when analysing the speech of the other characters, Bednarek also identified that keywords/n-grams can also help in highlighting the levels of formality used in the speech of individual characters – for example, Lorelai's parents' speech is a lot more formal than the other characters'.

The next part of the study analysed how linguistic resources are used to express character identity, for example, paralinguistic features such as pitch, voice quality and loudness, as well as visual features like facial expression and posture were analysed. In order to examine characterization further, a corpus analysis of 'emotive interjections' was conducted. The analysis found that the interjections used by characters were shaped by other aspects of their identity such as age and gender – for example, 'Luke's interjections seem more negative, stronger, more expletive and perhaps more "male"' (ibid:131).

The final part of the study looked at the ideology of eating-meat by identifying frequency data for terms related to various meats (*bacon, beef, chicken, fish* etc.), as well as opposing terms such as *vegetarian* and *vegan*. However, it is not clear as to how these terms were identified and if they were searched for individually, it leaves open the possibility that other relevant lexical items may have been missed. Although the findings contained some interesting observations regarding the portrayal of food within the programme, apart from Bednarek (ibid:85) mentioning that food is 'an important aspect in *Gilmore Girls*', there does not seem to be any methodological or theoretical explanation as to why this particular category was evaluated in preference of another such category.

Aside from the corpus analysis, the study also contained a multimodal analysis of one scene, where nonverbal behaviours such as hand and facial gestures are analysed. It appears that this scene was ‘cherry-picked’ and had no relation to the corpus analysis in itself.

Following on from that study, Bednarek (2011) used the ‘dialogue-only’ corpus (1.1million tokens) from the above study to investigate the stability of the televisual character in *Gilmore Girls*. The first part of the study investigated changes in language usage for the lead character Lorelai across seasons. In order to do this, sub-corpora were created consisting of her speech for each season, the corpus for each season was then compared against a reference corpus comprising of her speech across all 7 seasons. The second part of the study then analysed changes in language usage between Lorelai and the other main characters. Sub-corpora were created of Lorelai’s conversations with 6 characters and these were compared against the same reference corpus as above.

After both of these stages of investigation it was found that Lorelai’s character remained relatively stable across all the seasons. Additionally, her language usage did not change drastically when addressing different characters within the program, even though the persona and her relationship with each of these characters differed. For example, she does not change her informal style of speaking even when addressing her ‘proper’ father, Richard, with Bednarek (ibid:193) suggesting this shows ‘a particular aspect of her identity in that she does not ‘accommodate’ much.’ Although it is possible to gauge an overview of language usage patterns by purely looking at frequency data for keywords/clusters, a more detailed concordance analysis would have provided a clearer picture of the stability of Lorelai’s character, particularly in relation to changes in language usage between characters.

Bednarek (2012) conducted a further study which explored ‘the usage of key words and trigrams’ for 32 episodes in seven different TV series, which were spread across 5 genres (see

table 3.2). The transcripts of these 32 episodes formed a corpus of 128,289 words and the keywords and key-trigrams were then identified by comparing the corpus against a reference corpus.⁵⁶ The top 30 positive and negative keywords were identified, alongside the top 39 positive trigrams and all 39 negative trigrams. However, it is not exactly clear why 30 was used as the cut-off for the keywords, and 39 was the cut-off point for the trigrams.

After identifying the keywords and trigrams, Bednarek compared her findings with those of Mittmann (2006) and Quaglio (2009) by determining which of her keywords/trigrams were also deemed to be key in the other two studies. Although it is unclear whether this comparison was limited to the ‘top 30 or 39’ terms of each category within those studies, or if she merely identified them as being keywords in those studies. Additionally, the usefulness of comparing the keywords/trigrams between these studies is questionable as different reference corpora were employed – for example, Quaglio (2009) used the Longman Grammar Corpus.

Although this study is unique in drawing upon language usage across an unprecedented amount of genres, the method (or lack) of constructing the corpus undermines the saliency of this research. There is no explanation as to firstly why these genres were selected and then why those particular series were selected within those genres (except for mentioning because they hadn’t been investigated previously). Furthermore, even if there proved to be a valid justification to study those specific programmes, it still does not justify why the episodes were randomly selected and in all but one of the programmes, only the first season was analysed. Furthermore, there is no clear pattern as to which episodes were selected within each series and also the number of episodes from each programme was not consistent (some having 3, 4 or 5 episodes a piece).

⁵⁶ The reference corpus that was chosen was the spoken portion of the American National Corpus (ANC), which contained 3,764,279 tokens, although a large majority of the corpus contained unscripted telephone conversations, which is unlikely to be reflective of the speech found within fictional TV programming.

In sum, CL has been used sparingly to investigate fictional television, with only a handful of studies in existence. From these studies, the majority have focussed on the sitcom genre, and more specifically US sitcoms. With the use of corpus software, it was possible to analyse a large number of episodes from a particular programme (Baker 2005, Quaglio 2009, Bednarek 2010), that would have not have been possible to do using a manual analysis of the transcripts, thus, further emphasising the need to use CL when analysing television dialogue.

Despite these positive aspects, there are several limitations to these studies, many of which contradict the obvious benefits of using corpus software - i.e. counteracting accusations of cherry-picking. There were instances where it was not clear how concordance lines were selected prior to be analysed (Quaglio 2009), as well as how categories of keywords were selected (Bednarek 2011). Additionally, there were studies that contained sporadic episodes from a programme, or number of programmes, with no clear methodology as to how these episodes were selected (Rey 2001, Mittman 2006, Bednarek 2012) or in some instances specific episodes were omitted by the researcher to suit their research goals (Rey 2001). Other such discrepancies included comparing groups of keywords that had used different reference corpora (Bednarek 2012) and overall there seemed to be an ‘under-utilisation’ of the available corpus software, with few of the available features being properly utilised in the majority of these studies.

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter began by exploring the term ‘genre’ and found that it was first used in the field of literature, before being used in the field of film and television. However, these pre-defined genres were not able to encompass all kinds of programming, with many programmes encompassing aspects of various genres. The situational comedy genre was identified as having a number of distinguishable characteristics, although it was mentioned that some

programming contained these characteristics and was not deemed to be a sitcom, likewise, not all sitcoms contained these characteristics. Additionally, regional variations within sitcoms meant that British sitcoms were considered a genre within itself and differed in its comedic type compared to American sitcoms, despite both clearly containing the attributes associated with sitcoms.

The next section looked at the representation of various sub-groups within sitcoms and found that from a gender perspective. The portrayal of males and females changed drastically from early sitcom representations. Women moved away from domesticated roles and male sitcom stars started to be portrayed as ever more foolish. Additionally, the sitcom family had evolved from the conventional nuclear family to encompass non-conventional family types such as single parents. Moreover, the current trend of co-habiting friends has further altered the domestic setting of sitcoms.

It was found that ethnic minorities are under-represented in sitcoms and the majority of those that are given screen time, possess out-dated stereotypes that cater for mainly mainstream white audiences. As opposed to African-American representations, there has been no in-depth independent study that has looked at representations of characters from the Indian subcontinent within sitcoms, or even other genre types. Furthermore, studies examining Muslims within sitcoms is pretty much non-existent. However, Jewish sitcoms and sitcom characters are becoming ever more popular.

When analysing the current body of literature that has analysed fictional television using CL or CDA, it was found that none of the studies investigated British programming in any depth (with McEnery only looking at instances of swearing). Even British based academics (e.g. Baker, Wodak) chose to analyse American television shows, with the majority of studies focussing on US sitcoms. Additionally, none of the studies focused on characterisation or

representation of characters from a specific ethnicity or religion. There were some gender-based studies but as they were from the animation and sci-fi genres, the characters were not expected to be accurate real-life representations of women.

From a methodological standpoint, there were significantly more CL than CDA studies.

However, studies using either of these methodologies are still relatively few. Furthermore, there were no studies that used CL alongside a specified CDA framework. The majority of fictional television data that was analysed using either of these methods was ‘cherry-picked’. In most instances there was not a clear methodological reasoning as to why that specific episode, utterance, keyword, etc. was chosen to be analysed. Studies that used conversational analysis and multimodal analysis were lacking in both quantity and quality, with limited data sets and little to no justification for analysing particular extracts/visuals.

After examining previous CL and CDA research on fictional television, as well as investigating the representation of ethnic minorities within sitcoms and more broadly fictional television, it is evident that this study will play a role in adding to the current body of literature. There is a need to investigate British sitcoms in their own right and acknowledge how they differ from American sitcoms. Additionally, there is scant research on Muslim or Pakistani television characters and/or families, be it in sitcoms or other genres. The previous chapter established the need for further research on MROIM from a television perspective. This chapter has gone on to establish that the sitcom under observation in this paper does not only add to the existing research on MROIM, but also adds to the current body of literature within the field of fictional television.

4. Data and Methodological Approaches

4.1 Introduction

This chapter commences in section 4.2 by exploring *Corpus Linguistics* (CL), which was the primary methodological approach used in this study. A brief description of CL is provided, alongside a discussion of the steps that I took in building, transcribing and annotating my corpus. I first explain why the television programme *Citizen Khan* was selected and what data was used to form the corpus. A brief summary of the plot of the show and main characters is given, alongside other relevant features of the programme – i.e. method of filming, television audience. The next part of the section will mention the corpus software that will be used in this study, as well as some of the key corpus techniques that can be employed using such software.

This study draws upon some aspects of *Critical Discourse Analysis* (CDA) but does not adopt a wholesale CDA approach. Therefore, in section 4.3, an overview of some of the common analytic approaches within CDA are provided, followed by a more in depth discussion of Fairclough's 3 stages of CDA framework, which was drawn upon to shape the analytical framework of this study. Section 4.4 provides justifications for using CL and CDA together, as well as exploring the benefits and possible limitations of combining these approaches.

Section 4.5 discusses *Conversation Analysis* (CA) and *Multimodal Analysis* (MMA) and some of the key concepts and techniques within these fields are explored. In 4.6, a framework of analysis where CL is used alongside CDA, CA and MMA is proposed. The chapter concludes by providing an initial corpus analysis, which determined how the themes and topics for each chapter of analysis were selected.

4.2. The CK Corpus

4.2.1 Corpus Linguistics

Corpus linguistics is normally used in conjunction with other fields of linguistics (i.e. phonology, grammar, syntax) to uncover language usage by creating and analysing a corpus of data. Baker (2006:2) offers the following definition of corpora (plural of corpus):

‘Corpora are generally large (consisting of thousands or even millions of words), representative samples of a particular type of naturally occurring language, so they can therefore be used as a standard reference with which claims about language can be measured. The fact that they are encoded electronically means that complex calculations can be carried out on large amounts of text, revealing linguistic patterns and frequency information that would otherwise take days or months to uncover by hand, and may run counter to intuition.’

Although the above provides a broad definition, it should be noted that not all corpora are the same and a number of factors need to be considered prior to constructing a corpus. McEnery and Hardie (2011:3) identify a number of features, which they believe ‘most typically distinguish the different types of studies in corpus linguistics’. In the sections below, I discuss the ones which are most relevant to my corpus – the ‘CK corpus’.

Two features that McEnery and Hardie (2011:6) refer to as differentiating corpus studies are the *data collection regime* and *the use of annotated versus unannotated corpora*. These are discussed in the next section that looks at the data used in the CK corpus.

4.2.2 Data

Citizen Khan (CK) is a British sitcom (situation comedy) that was first broadcast in August 2012 on BBC1 and at the time the data had been completely gathered (January 2014), two

seasons had been shown. Season one consisted of six thirty minute episodes and season two was only slightly larger, with seven thirty minute episodes. Due to the relatively small number of episodes, all episodes of *Citizen Khan* were included in their entirety within the corpus. McEnery and Hardie (2011:15) mention that ‘when approaching the corpus with a hypothesis, one way of satisfying falsifiability is to use the entire corpus.’

The series is filmed on set in front of a live audience⁵⁷ at the BBC studios in Salford, Manchester. However, the programme is set in Sparkhill, Birmingham - the UK’s second largest city and one which is culturally diverse.

The sitcom is constructed around a British Pakistani family⁵⁸ called the Khans, which consists of middle-aged Mr and Mrs Khan, their two daughters - Shazia and Alia,⁵⁹ as well as Mrs Khan’s elderly mother Naani, who is visiting from Pakistan. Outside the Khan family, the main supporting characters are those most heavily involved in their lives: Shazia’s fiancé (Amjad) and his mother (Mrs Malik), and members of the local mosque, such as Dave (a Caucasian revert,⁶⁰ who manages the local mosque), Riaz and Mohammed. Vorhaus (1994:120) proposes that ‘audiences return to a sitcom each week precisely to see their favourite characters doing pretty much the same thing that they did last week and the week before that.’

On the face of it, a sitcom which is centred around the lives of a British family, seems not to be different to any other sitcom. However, what makes *Citizen Khan* unique is that it was the

⁵⁷ See https://www.comedy.co.uk/tv/citizen_khan/details

⁵⁸ It is not clear as to when exactly Mr and Mrs Khan immigrated to the UK. However, there is reference to them meeting on a bus in Pakistan before they got married.

⁵⁹ The exact ages of the daughters hasn’t been revealed, although Shazia appears to be in her mid twenties, with her younger sister Alia being approximately 18, as she applies for a scholarship in the second season.

⁶⁰ Muslim converts, are normally referred to as reverts, as it is the Islamic belief that every child is born a Muslim according to its more general meaning (i.e. in a monotheistic state), so when a person becomes Muslim, they are ‘reverting’ to that state.

UK's 'first Muslim sitcom' (Theweek, 2012). The need to study a sitcom such as *Citizen Khan* has been highlighted in some detail the previous two chapters.⁶¹

The process of how the data for each of the 13 episodes was transcribed and turned into a corpus-readable format is detailed in the subsequent section.

4.2.2.1 Transcription

McEnery and Hardie (2011:3) note that one of the characteristics which distinguishes one corpus from the next is the *mode of communication* – i.e. the form of the language prior to being documented within the corpus (e.g. written, spoken, etc.). Most corpora incorporate written text, which is relatively straightforward to use, especially if it was already stored in electronic format, as it can be easily transferred into a format which is compatible with corpus analysis software.

On the other hand, documenting spoken or visual corpora (as is the case in this study) can be more complicated, as it usually requires researcher interpretation, especially when it comes to transcribing unclear speech. McEnery and Hardie (2011:4) state that a spoken corpus 'is time-consuming to gather and transcribe.' In similar studies that have looked at fictional television programmes (Baker 2005, Quaglio 2009, Bednarek 2011), 'fan-transcripts' have mainly been used instead of subtitles. Bednarek (2011:189) explains this preference by mentioning that 'while these transcripts are not 100% accurate, they are much more accurate than the subtitles.' Quaglio (2008:191-192) illustrates the benefits of using such transcripts by stating that they are 'fairly accurate and very detailed, including several features that scripts are not likely to present: hesitations, pauses, repeats, and contractions.'

⁶¹ From the perspective of Islamic related studies, there is no existing CL/CDA research that has analysed fictional programming involving Muslims. Additionally, studies looking at the *media representations of Islam/Muslims* (MROIM) on television, and in particular fictional television are lacking. From a fictional television standpoint, British sitcoms have scarcely been the subject of any academic enquiry and CL/CDA research in this field is non-existent. Furthermore, studies analysing the representation of Muslims and/or Pakistanis on fictional television and in particular sitcoms, is also an untouched research subject.

However, linguists such as Mollin (2007:188), argue that there are ‘serious hazards involved if transcripts that were made by non-linguists for purposes of their own are to be used for linguistic analysis.’ Especially, in studies that incorporate CL or CDA, the accuracy of the transcription is vital, as any errors may result in an incorrect analysis.

As Citizen Khan is still relatively new and has yet to be exposed heavily to the wider global television audience, such transcripts were not available for this programme.⁶² However, I was able to obtain the subtitles for each episode via the website subtitleseeker.com.

This section will illustrate how the raw data changed in state from the original subtitles, to one which was fully compatible with corpus software such as WordSmith and Wmatrix.

Figure 4.1 below is an example of an extract from a Citizen Khan episode, in the original subtitled format:

```
216
00:12:36,240 --> 00:12:39,640
You can take her to the shops for me.
Oh, er, I don't think I can.

217
00:12:39,640 --> 00:12:43,280
Why not? She's no trouble.
You've got the other ones in anyway.

218
00:12:43,280 --> 00:12:46,120
Yes, but they're planning a day
of reading from the Qur'an.

219
00:12:46,120 --> 00:12:47,720
There's plenty of time for that.

220
00:12:47,720 --> 00:12:50,280
You want to get these old birds
some retail therapy.
```

Figure 4.1: Original subtitled data

One of the main differences between subtitled data and fan-transcripts is that the subtitled data does not attribute the utterances to a specific character. Therefore, the first part of the transcription process involved watching the episode and assigning utterances to the relevant

⁶² At the time of commencing the study (January 2013), the first season of Citizen Khan had just ended and no transcripts were available. As many years have since passed, there are some transcripts of these episodes currently available.

character. Additionally, as the subtitles were not always 100% accurate, each utterance was analysed to correct any errors in the original data. The transcripts then needed to be formatted in order to remove any irrelevant data, such as the number of each utterance and the timings.

After the removal of the irrelevant data from the transcripts, the utterances needed to be assigned to the relevant characters within the show. In order to do this, XML tags⁶³ were used as is shown in figure 4.2:

```
<u=mr khan>There's plenty of time for that.You want to give these old birds some retail therapy.</u>
```

Figure 4.2: Example of XML tagging

The tags are indicated by angled brackets (<>), as any data between angled brackets is not normally taken into consideration by corpus software (unless the default settings are altered). It is important to insert a tag which indicates the end of an utterance (</u>) to avoid inaccurate parsing of the corpus by the software. Once the utterances are assigned to the relevant characters, each utterance is separated by a blank white line, as this better allows the Wmatrix software to read the corpus tagged files, as mentioned on its website. After completing this process, the data appears as illustrated in Figure 4.3:

```
<u=mr khan>You can take her to the shops for me.</u>
<u=dave>Oh, er, I don't think I can.</u>
<u=mr khan>Why not? She's no trouble. You've got the other ones in anyway.</u>
<u=dave>Yes, but they're planning a day of prayers and reading from the Qur'an.</u>
<u=mr khan>There's plenty of time for that.You want to give these old birds some retail therapy.</u>
```

Figure 4.3: Examples of a passage that had been XML tagged

After XML tagging had been carried out and all episodes were fully transcribed and rechecked for errors, the episodes were put together in one single .txt document, which formed the 'CK corpus'.

⁶³ See http://www.w3schools.com/xml/xml_what_is.asp for further information regarding this tagset.

4.2.2.2 Sub-corpora

Alongside the CK corpus, individual files were created for season one and two, which served as sub-corpora. Sub-corpora are extracted from the main corpus and enable researchers to answer specific questions by looking at a limited dataset from within the main corpus. They can be especially useful when making comparisons of different variables from within a corpus, for example when comparing language usage differences between males and females, or looking at differences in language on a year-by-year basis.

This method was successfully implemented by Bednarek (2011), in her study of character stability in the television ‘dramedy’ *Gilmore Girls*. The main corpus contained all the dialogue of the episodes under observation, a sub-corpus then contained all utterances of the character under study (Lorelai) from within the main corpus, with six further sub-corpora being created that looked at conversations between Lorelai and other characters within the show.

With regards to the CK corpus a similar method was followed, where sub-corpora were created for each season, as well as corpora that would incorporate the speech of each of the main characters. Such sub-corpora will aid the researcher in observing usage patterns of salient terms across episodes/seasons, as well as individual characters. This can also help in determining whether keywords are well-dispersed across episodes or are isolated to the events of one specific episode. Table 4.1 provides a detailed breakdown of the sub-corpora created for each episode used within this study, as well as the token count for the complete CK corpus:

Table 4.1: Breakdown of token count for CK corpus and sub-corpora for each episode/season

	SEASON ONE						
	Episode1	Episode2	Episode3	Episode4	Episode5	Episode6	
Number of tokens:	3,359	3,211	3,445	3,279	3,171	3,423	
Total Number of tokens for season one:	19,888						
	SEASON TWO						
	Episode1	Episode2	Episode3	Episode4	Episode5	Episode6	Episode7
Number of tokens:	2,929	2,804	3,095	2,860	2,817	3,229	2,924
Total Number of tokens for season two:	20,658						
CK CORPUS							
40, 546 TOKENS							

As well as creating sub-corpora for each episode and season, using a tool in WordSmith that allows for individual character tags to be extracted from the main corpus, further sub-corpora were created for twelve of the characters in the programme. These characters were chosen as they were all Muslims and they appeared in more than one episode. All together 24 further sub-corpora were created and the number of tokens for each of them is mentioned in table 4.2 below:

Table 4.2: Breakdown of token count for each character across the two seasons

CHARACTERS	Total Number of Tokens:		
	Season One	Season Two	TOTAL
Mr Khan	10,269	9,764	20,033
Mrs Khan	2,908	2,484	5,392
Alia	405	556	961
Shazia	1,368	1,272	2,640
Amjad	1,348	868	2,216
Dave	1,898	n/a	1,898
New Dave	n/a	1,190	1,190
Mrs Malik	524	245	769
Mrs Bilal	77	73	150
Naani	89	68	157
Riaz	223	547	770
Omar	322	464	786

Once the CK corpus and sub-corpora files had been created, these were then uploaded into the online tool Wmatrix, which carried semantic and part-of-speech tagging. The motivation for annotating the corpus is discussed in the next section.

4.2.2.3 Annotation

McEnery and Hardie (2001:13) state that when building a corpus, the creator needs to decide whether it will be *annotated* or *unannotated*. An *unannotated corpus* would consist of the raw text, without any additional information added to it. Sinclair (2004:24) suggests that we may purposely leave a corpus unannotated as he advocates that ‘we should trust the text’ and not ‘impose our own ideas on it.’ However, others have argued that annotation is a useful way at enabling analysts to spot patterns above the level of word or sequence of words (see e.g. Garside et al. 1997).

Corpus annotation can be a time consuming activity (especially when done manually) and should not be carried out without there being a specific objective for annotating the corpus. Baker (2006:42) states that ‘corpus builders need to think about what sort of research questions they intend to ask of their corpus, and then decide whether or not particular forms of tagging will be required.’ If during your research it is determined that further tagging is required, to answer a specific question[s], ‘it is always possible to go back to the building stage at a later point in order to carry out new forms of annotation, once the need has been established’ (ibid.).

If it is decided that a corpus needs to be annotated, then McEnery and Hardie (2011:30) identify three approaches to linguistic annotation – purely automatic annotation, automated annotation followed by manual correction and purely manual annotation, [although] none of these approaches is currently error free.’ There are automatic taggers available on the market

such as CLAWS⁶⁴, which gives part of speech annotation, and USAS⁶⁵ and SEMTAG, which semantically tag the corpus. CLAWS and USAS are both integrated into Wmatrix, which is one of the corpus software programs that was used in this study (see section 4.2.3). However, Hunston (2002:18) comments on areas of consideration when deciding between a manual and automatic tagger, she states that ‘adding information automatically is a fast and easily repeated process, but often of limited accuracy; adding information manually is a relatively slow process, and needs to be repeated if the corpus is changed or enlarged, but the results are more accurate.’

With regards to the this study, once the full CK corpus and sub-corpora files had been created, they were then ready to be semantically tagged, using the Wmatrix tagging software. Wmatrix is a software tool for corpus analysis and provides a web interface to the USAS and CLAWS taggers. Wmatrix also allows its users to compare their data against pre-loaded tagged reference corpora. This study utilises Wmatrix to semantically annotate the data according to the USAS category system⁶⁶ developed at Lancaster University in 2002. Rayson et al. (2002:1) provide the following description of how the semantic tags are composed in USAS:

1. an upper case letter indicating general discourse field.
2. a digit indicating a first subdivision of the field.
3. (optionally) a decimal point followed by a further digit to indicate a finer subdivision.
4. (optionally) one or more ‘pluses’ or ‘minuses’ to indicate a positive or negative position on a semantic scale.
5. (optionally) a slash followed by a second tag to indicate clear double membership of categories.

⁶⁴ CLAWS stands for Constituent Likelihood Automatic Word-tagging System.

⁶⁵ USAS stands for UCREL Semantic Analysis System.

⁶⁶ See ucrel.lancs.ac.uk/usas.

6. (optionally) a left square bracket followed by ‘i’ to indicate a semantic template (multi word unit). Figure 4.4 provides an example of a sentence that was semantically tagged by Wmatrix:

Example sentence after USAS tagging (horizontal format)	
<code><u=mr khan>_PUNC You_Z8mf can_A7+ take_A9+ her_Z8f to_Z5 the_Z5 shops_I2.2/H1 for_Z5 me_Z8mf ._PUNC </u></code>	
Breakdown of USAS categories used in above example	
Z8mf	Pronouns – male or female
A7+	Definite (+ modals) – positive
A9+	Getting and giving; possession - positive
Z8f	Pronouns – female
Z5	Grammatical Bin
I2.2	Business: Selling
H1	Architecture & kinds of houses & buildings

Figure 4.4: Example of a sentence after USAS tagging with breakdown of USAS categories

The word *You* has been categorised as ‘Z8mf’, according to the USAS category system, the upper case ‘Z’ signifies ‘names and grammar’, with the subdivision ‘Z8’ being the ‘pronouns’ category, ‘mf’ signifies that this pronoun can be used for either males or females. For example, in this same sentence the token *her* has been categorised as ‘Z8f’ this indicates that it is a pronoun that can only be used for females, whereas, the token *me* has also been categorised as ‘Z8mf’, which similarly to the word *you* indicates that this pronoun could be used to refer to either gender.

When looking at the term *shops* it is categorised as ‘I2.2/H1’, I2 is the general category ‘Business’, with the further digit signifying a further subdivision, in this case I2.2 being ‘Business: Selling’. Additionally, a slash (‘/’) is used to signify this word belong to more than one category – i.e. H1 – Architecture and kinds of houses & buildings. The USAS system also uses pluses and minuses to indicate the position of the term on the semantic scale. For example, *can* is classified as ‘A7+’ to indicate that it is a modal verb in the positive form.

4.2.2.4 Reference Corpus

A reference corpus is used to identify key words (see 4.2.4) and/or semantic categories in a corpus by comparing the two corpora together. The choice of a reference corpus needs to be carefully thought through, as it needs to take into consideration the language variety of the main corpus. For example, if the two corpora are from different time periods, then keywords that are time-specific are likely to be elicited. If the two corpora are from different registers, then register-specific keywords are likely to appear. Additionally, the reference corpus needs to be large enough, so that it contains enough examples of the particular language variety under investigation. If the reference corpus is not correctly selected, this will significantly impact the findings when conducting an analysis of key words or key semantic categories.

The reference corpus that was chosen for this study was the BNC Spoken Sampler Corpus (BNC-SSC). The BNC-SSC is a sub-corpus of the British National Corpus and consists of 990,704 words, approximately one-tenth of the full BNC Spoken Corpus. The BNC-SSC was one of the pre-loaded reference corpora in the WMatrix interface, and it was felt to be the best comparator to the CK corpus because both contain spoken English. A potential issue is that the CK corpus contains scripted language, as opposed to language that is used in naturally occurring conversation. It could have been possible to use a reference corpus of sitcom language – e.g. one which had been used in previous sitcom studies (e.g. Baker 2005, Quaglio 2009, Bednarek 2011). However, those studies investigated US sitcoms and the results would have also reflected differences in American and British English, which is not the focus of the study. I do need to acknowledge, however, that the reference corpus is likely to elicit some keywords that are more typical of actual spoken language, as opposed to the scripted ‘written-to-be-spoken’ language, and again, these may be less helpful in answering my research questions than other types of keywords.

4.2.3 Corpus Software

The emergence of powerful corpus software has allowed for the field of CL to become more appealing to budding corpus linguists, due to the ease-of-use and accessibility of such software. For my analysis, WordSmith Tools (version 5) and Wmatrix were the most appropriate software to be used, as they best helped in answering RQ1 and RQ3.

WordSmith Tools is a corpus software suite developed by Mike Scott. It is divided into three main programs that allows corpus linguists to use a variety of different tools to analyse a text: The *Concord* program allows users to find all instances of a word or phrase and these are then arranged into concordances, collocates, clusters and patterns; The *KeyWords* program is able to find salient words in the corpus by comparing it against a reference corpus; The *WordList* program helps arrange the words in a corpus either alphabetically or by frequency. Some of the tools available within these three programs will be discussed further in section 4.2.4.

Wmatrix, a web-based corpus application that can perform multiple corpus-related tasks and was developed by Paul Rayson at Lancaster university. ‘Texts uploaded into WMatrix are automatically run through two programs which apply grammatical and semantic annotation, and then within WMatrix one can retrieve keyness lists’ (Culpeper, 2009:42). Although The CLAWS tagger used by Wmatrix, like other available taggers, is not a hundred percent accurate, the accuracy level it provides, as well as the time saving element is sufficient enough to justify its use.

I used Wmatrix to identify key semantic categories in my corpus using the USAS categorisation system (see section 4.2.2.3) by comparing it against a reference corpus. This tool was particularly helpful in answering RQ1 and also provided the foundations for the construction of the analysis chapters (see section 4.7). The two software packages mentioned

above will be used in conjunction with one another to best suit the needs of the research.

Wmatrix allows me to identify key semantic categories, a feature not available in WordSmith. Likewise, using WordSmith I am able to create sub-corpora for the individual characters in CK, as I am able to extract parts of the corpus, by identifying particular XML tags, which is not possible in Wmatrix.

4.2.4 Corpus Techniques

Another distinguishing feature of a corpus study is whether it is *corpus-based* or *corpus-driven*. These terms were first introduced by Tognini-Bonelli (2001:65) who offers the following definition of the corpus-based methodology:

‘The term *corpus-based* is used to refer to a methodology that avails itself of the corpus mainly to expound, test or exemplify theories and descriptions that were formulated before large corpora became available to inform language study.’

In corpus-based studies the researcher normally approaches a corpus intending to verify certain hypotheses about language and therefore the corpus is the resource which will enable them to provide evidence for/against particular aspects of the theory in question.

Contrastingly, in corpus-driven studies, the corpus is approached without any prior hypotheses and the corpus itself is utilised to establish new theories of language, as is explained in the following definition:

‘The *corpus-driven* approach is a methodology whereby the corpus serves as an empirical basis from which lexicographers extract their data and detect linguistic phenomena without prior assumptions and expectations.’ (Storjohann, 2005:5)

Scholars such as McEnery and Hardie (2011:6) reject ‘the binary distinction between corpus-based and corpus-driven linguistics’ and deem that ‘all corpus linguistics can justly be

described as corpus-based.’ This rejection stems from the corpus-as-theory⁶⁷ versus corpus-as-method⁶⁸ (see *ibid*:147) dichotomy, as they (*ibid*:6) reject ‘the notion that the corpus itself has a theoretical status.’

My study in its essence is corpus-based as my corpus has been semantically tagged by Wmatrix and corpus-driven studies use unannotated corpora. However, by using a keyness analysis to identify the key semantic categories within the corpus, the study still possesses some traits of a corpus-driven study.

A key word is simply a word which is statistically significant more frequent in one corpus, when compared against a reference corpus. Baker (2006:125) highlights that a ‘keyword list therefore gives a measure of saliency, whereas a simple word list only provides frequency’ (i.e. the most frequent words in a corpus like *the* and *to* are rarely keywords). They can therefore help to direct analysts to salient lexical aspects of a corpus, which may have been otherwise overlooked. Both WordSmith and Wmatrix enable the production and analysis of keywords. This is done by generating a word list containing frequency information of all words from the corpus and then comparing it against the reference corpus’ word list. The figures from both lists are cross-tabulated and a log-likelihood score is generated, which indicates if the differences across the corpora are deemed to be statistically significant – i.e. it tests whether these words occur by chance or design. The cut off points that were used to identify keyness in this paper are mentioned in sections 4.6.2.⁶⁹

By themselves, keywords are simply a list of words and while we may try to guess why they have appeared, it is only by studying their use in context that we can properly interpret and

⁶⁷ Researchers such as Teubert (2005:2) identify corpus linguistics as a ‘theoretical approach to the study of language’ and Tognini-Bonelli (2001:1) holds that the corpus has a ‘theoretical status’ in itself.

⁶⁸ McEnery and Hardie (2011:148) state that ‘corpus-as-method’ considers corpora and corpus techniques to be sources of empirical data that may be deployed in support or refutation of any explanatory theory of language.’

⁶⁹ My study does not directly create a keyword list but instead uses semantically tagged corpora in order to identify key semantic categories in the CK corpus. This is described in more detail in section 4.6.

explain them (ibid:128). Thus, a keyword list is analysed through more contextual techniques – collocation/cluster and concordance analyses (see ibid:128-137 for examples of how to use these techniques to analyse keywords)

The study of *collocation* examines two words which frequently appear directly next to one another or in close proximity to each other. A closely related area of corpus analysis is also *clusters* (sometimes referred to as n-grams or lexical bundles), which looks at commonly occurring fixed sequences of words that are directly next to one another. The importance of analysing collocations/clusters is highlighted in a famous quote by Firth (1957:11), where he stated that ‘you shall know a lot about a word from the company it keeps.’ Analysis of collocations and clusters are a prominent feature in many corpus studies. However, due to the relatively low corpus size in this study, I only investigate the collocates/clusters of some of the higher frequency keywords.

Concordance analysis allows an analyst to examine instances of a *node* – search word or phrase, by searching through concordance lines. One view as to why this technique was developed is provided by Hunston (2011:5), who states it ‘was developed because words were considered to be more important than grammatical categories, and the immediate context of a word, including its significant collocations, was considered to offer the most information about it.’ The node word is normally displayed in a KWIC (key word in context) view, which places the node word at the centre of the results and displays the words which immediately precede and follow it. In cases where there are numerous concordance lines, it is advisable (see Sinclair 1991) that you look at a selected number of lines at a time (e.g. 30), and you keep repeating this, until there are no more observable patterns. The concordance lines will be examined in greater detail using techniques found in CDA and this methodology is discussed in detail in the next section.

4.3 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

The term ‘Critical Discourse Analysis’ (CDA) refers to ‘a form of discourse and text analysis that recognize[s] the role of language in structuring power in society’ (Wodak, 2001:5). CDA is a multidisciplinary approach and is heavily influenced by Critical Linguistics which was formed in the 1970s by a group of scholars working at the University of East Anglia and it was not until ‘the 1990s that the label CDA came to be used more consistently with this particular approach to linguistic analysis’ (ibid.). The distinguishing factor between Critical Linguistics and CDA is that CDA goes beyond a purely linguistic analysis of a text and looks at discourse from a contextual perspective as well as assessing what implications its production has on a societal and political level.

Fairclough (1989:4), who is one of the major advocates of the CDA approach, highlights the distinguishing factor between CDA and Discourse Analysis:

‘Critical is used in the special sense of aiming to show up connections which may be hidden from people – such as the connections between language, power and ideology.’

Other scholars such as Gee (2011:9) identify two forms of discourse analysis, ‘descriptive’ and ‘critical’. ‘Descriptive discourse analysis’ aims ‘to describe how language works in order to understand it’, although it stops there and does not look further into the area of language use, nor does it try to establish the ‘connections between language, power and ideology, something which a ‘critical discourse analyst’ would look into. However, Gee (ibid.) later goes on to assert that ‘all discourse analysis needs to be critical...because language itself is, as we have discussed above, political’.

One of the criticisms that is consistently levelled at CDA is that ‘it lacks a clear methodological structure’⁷⁰ and this is acknowledged by some of the major proponents of CDA, such as Wodak (Wodak and Meyer, 2009:27) who states that:

‘We concluded above that CDA does not constitute a well-defined empirical methodology but rather a bulk of approaches with theoretical similarities and research questions of a specific kind. But there is no CDA way of gathering data, either.’

This acknowledgement that ‘there is no CDA way of gathering data’ illustrates the difficulties many researchers and students face, when struggling to grasp how exactly to carry out their analysis and some of the issues faced within this research project due to a similar issue will be discussed later in this chapter. Widdowson (2004:173) highlights a similar concern:

If students are not taught principles and procedures that they can apply for themselves, they have no means of questioning the ideas and interpretations they are presented with, and these then, carrying the imprimatur of higher authority, simply become ‘naturalized,’ confirmed as unquestionably valid... To the extent that CDA does not provide for independent initiative, its practices as discourse analysis are not only incompatible with its ideological purpose, but flatly contradict it.

Widdowson (1998:148) also implies that CDA researchers may be tempted to ‘cherry-pick’ which pieces of data to analyse and their interpretation of this data will be determined by a prior ‘agenda’, he argues that any ‘analysis will be the record of whatever partial interpretation suits your own agenda.’

⁷⁰ For a detailed overview of criticisms that have been made about CDA, see Stubbs 1997, Titscher, et al. 2000, Widdowson 1995, 2004.

Van Leeuwen (2009:278) downplays the significance of critical discourse analysts using different methodological procedures when carrying out their analysis, as he believes that having a united ‘common goal’, supersedes any differences between them:

What unites Critical Discourse analysts is neither methodology nor theoretical orthodoxy, but a common goal: the critique of dominant discourses and genres that effect inequalities, injustices and oppression in contemporary society.

Although it has been affirmed that ‘there is no CDA way of gathering data’, Wodak and Meyer (2009:27) state that discourse analysts use ‘a bulk of approaches with theoretical similarities’. One approach that has heavily influenced CDA from its inception is Halliday’s (1985) ‘systemic functional grammar’ (SFG), which asserts that grammar is based on systems rather than rules, thus implying grammar usage is dictated by choices. Linguists such as Fairclough (1995, 2001) have expanded on Halliday’s SFG and identified the ‘agent-patient’ relationship within sentences as being instrumental in showing how language choices made by the writer of a text can influence the reader’s perception of an event. Van Leeuwen (2009:280) identifies ‘three ways in which agency, responsibility for an action can be obscured’, by using an example for the following event:

Rhodesian police / killed / thirteen unarmed Africans
Agent Action Patient

■ By representing what is going on as an event, something that just happens, rather than as an action done by someone or something:
 Thirteen demonstrators / died / when police opened fire
Patient Event Circumstance of time

In this example, the action of the police is represented as a "circumstance," something that just happened to go on at the same time, rather as the cause of death.

■ Through *passive agent deletion*. In passive clauses, the agent in fact becomes a circumstance, and circumstances can be left out without making the sentence ungrammatical — "Thirteen demonstrators were killed" is, grammatically, a perfectly acceptable clause, even though it has no Agent.
 Thirteen demonstrators / were killed / by the police
Patient Action Passive Agent

■ Through *nominalization* and the use of "process nouns." In nominalizations, actions are made into nouns, represented as things. Neither Agent nor Patient are grammatically required (although they may occur, in the form of pre- or postmodification), and the nominalization can then be used to make all kinds of assertions about the event. The nominalizations below are italicized:

The *rioting* in Salisbury townships on Sunday, and the *shooting* by police, were typical of dozens of such incidents.

Figure 4.5: Three ways in which agency can be obscured – adapted from Van Leeuwen (2009:280)

In the examples above, the way the agent/patient is used within a text can radically affect a reader's understanding of an event and that is why this has been such a popular area of research for scholars such as Fairclough. In the first example, it is explicit that a group of unarmed Africans had been killed by the Rhodesian Police. However, in the latter examples, with the use of word-play and different sentence structures, the agency has been obscured by either not clearly stating the cause of death or by using a passive agent.

Another framework that is used by CDA practitioners is Van Leeuwen's (1996:32) 'representation of social actors', which draws up a 'socio-semantic inventory of the ways in which social actors can be represented'. Van Leeuwen (2009:281) claims to have 'tried to extend CDA' by moving away from analysing 'specific grammatical processes such as 'passive-agent deletion' and 'nominalization' and instead focusing on 'broader semantic

issues such as ‘exclusion’ - the exclusion of social actors from the representation of actions and events in which they took part.’ This is similar to his earlier assertion (1996:34) where he stated that his ‘primary focus is on sociological categories rather than linguistic categories’.

This study will employ Fairclough’s ‘3 stages of CDA model’, which will be discussed further in the next section.

4.3.1 Fairclough’s 3 Stage Model

Fairclough (2001:91) states that ‘text analysis is just one part of discourse analysis’ and thus identifies ‘text, interaction and social context as three elements of a discourse.’ In light of this, he designed a procedure for discourse analysts when analysing texts that would take into consideration all three of these elements. The procedure outlined by Fairclough (2001:21) is commonly referred to as the ‘three stages of CDA’ and consists of the following steps:

1. *Description* is the stage which is concerned with formal properties of the text.
2. *Interpretation* is concerned with the relationship between text and interaction.
3. *Explanation* is concerned with the relationship between interaction and social context.

The first stage is *description* and comprises of a textual analysis. In order to carry out this analysis, Fairclough lists ten questions (see *ibid*:92) which can be used to carry out a comprehensive analysis. These questions are broken down into the following three categories: vocabulary, grammar, and textual structures. The questions pertaining to vocabulary and grammar were particularly focused on the *experiential*, *relational* and *expressive* values (see *ibid*:93) of words/grammatical features of a text.

The next stage is *interpretation*, which is ‘generated through a combination of what is in the text and what is ‘in’ the interpreter’ (*ibid*:115). Therefore, the same piece of text could be interpreted completely differently by two different analysts due to their ‘member resources’

(MR) – the method of interpreting that is shaped by an analyst’s existing knowledge and ideology. For example, in the case of this study, the items in the script relating to Islamic terminology, are likely to be interpreted in a particular manner by myself (being a Muslim), and most likely in a completely different manner by a non-Muslim researcher.⁷¹ Fairclough divides the process of interpretation into six domains, with two of these relating to context and the other four concerned with the text. From a contextual perspective, the *situational context* and *intertextual context* is analysed, whereas the textual analysis consists of interpreting the *surface of utterance*, *meaning of utterance*, *local coherence* and *text, structure & point*.

The final stage of Fairclough’s model is *explanation*. This stage considers the reproductive effects of this discourse. At the stage of interpretation MR is called upon to help interpret the text. Contrastingly, the explanation stage determines if the MR has changed or not. If the analysis of the discourse did not result in a change of MR, the discourse would further reinforce the existing MR and thus, would be unproblematic, as the status quo would remain. However, if the MR happened to change, the analyst needs to assess the impact of such change on a societal, institutional and situational level, as it could result in struggles for power.

In sum, sections 4.2 and 4.3 have identified some of the existing approaches and techniques used by corpus linguists and critical discourse analysts. In the next section I will explore the benefits of combining CDA and CL before a more detailed framework is given in section 4.6 describing how these methodologies will be used in conjunction with one another.

⁷¹ A vivid example of this is provided in section 5.2, when looking at religious salutations. It is very unlikely that a non-Muslim researcher would have identified that Khan’s usage of ‘hello’ was problematic from an Islamic standpoint.

4.4 Combining CL and CDA

This study is a corpus-based study that will employ CL techniques and integrate them with components of Fairclough's 3 stages of CDA model (see section 4.6). Baker et al. (2008:285) mention that corpus linguists can 'utilise a CDA theoretical framework in the interpretation of the findings.' Although, CL and CDA have predominantly been used as standalone methods, an increasing number of studies have integrated the two. A possible reason for this is put forward by Baker et al. (ibid:283) who state that 'a combination of the two would help to exploit their strong points, while eliminating potential problems.'

Baker and McEnery (2005:198) underline the benefits of combining CDA with CL, as they argue that it allows 'researchers to objectively identify widespread patterns of naturally occurring language....which may be over-looked by a small-scale analysis. Such language patterns can help to illuminate the existence of discourses that may otherwise be unobserved.' Maunter (2009:34) supports this by stating that when you combine CDA with CL, it helps in 'counteracting one of the most fundamental and persisting criticisms levelled against CDA, namely that it supposedly cherry-picks small and unrepresentative data samples in order to suit researchers' preconceived notions about hidden ideological meanings.'

4.5 Supplementary Methodological Techniques

As well as integrating CDA with CL, this study will also use some techniques from Conversation Analysis and Multimodal Analysis. A brief overview of these two methodologies has been provided in the subsequent sections (4.5.1 and 4.5.2).

4.5.1 Conversational Analysis

As mentioned earlier, in this thesis I employ some techniques from Conversation Analysis (CA), but I am not doing a complete CA analysis. CA can be simply defined as the analysis

of pieces of conversation either scripted or naturally occurring. Ten Have (1999:5) states that ‘the expression ‘conversation analysis’ can be used in both wider and more restricted senses. As a broad term, it can denote any study of people talking together...But, in a restricted sense, it points to one particular tradition of analytic work that was started by the late Harvey Sacks and his collaborators.’ Sacks delivered a series of lectures at the University of California and the contents of those lectures are considered to be the foundations that formed many of the principles used in current day CA. An important aspect of CA is that interpretation is based solely on the surface features of the transcription of the conversation. Thus a key element of CA is interpreting how speakers orient towards one another’s previous utterances. The pure form of CA does not allow for interpretations to be made about the interactions which are external to the participants’ own reasoning and understanding about their circumstances and communication. That is not to say that consideration of context plays no role in all forms of CA. As Arminen (2005: 9) writes: ‘CA inquiries suspend knowledge about the external context of interaction, and study the way participants make the context relevant for themselves in the course of an ongoing interaction.’ Moreover, CA has also been employed as a complement to other kinds of research e.g. feminist linguistics (Stokoe 2006), or combined with other theories like Membership Categorisation Analysis.⁷² Below, I outline some of the main phenomena, which are identified in CA literature.

The term *adjacency pair* was coined by Sacks during the lecture series referred to above. This concept was further developed by Schegloff and Sacks (1973), who used it to refer to two related utterances made by different speakers during a conversation. Ten Have (1999:20) states that ‘adjacency pairs consist of sequences which properly have the following features: (1) two utterance length, (2) adjacent positioning of components utterances, (3) different

⁷² A sub-set of CA based on Sack’s (1972) *Membership Categorisation Devices (MCD)*, which analyses how categories are used to position people within a conversation. For example, the activity crying is most commonly associated with the category *baby*.

speakers producing each utterance.’ For example, if speaker A asks a *question*, speaker B is likely to respond with an *answer*.

Aside from the question-answer scenario, other commonly used adjacency pairs include: greeting-return of greeting, invitation-acceptance/rejection, request-acceptance/denial.

However, the term can be somewhat misleading, as it is not an absolute requirement that both parts of the pair are directly adjacent to one another. Hutchby and Wooffitt (2008:43) explain that ‘there are systematic insertions that legitimately come between first and second pair parts...[and] the second part becomes relevant and remains so even if it not produced in the next serial turn.’

The notion of *preference* is closely related to the study of adjacency pairs and takes into consideration the fact that the second pair may or may not be the appropriate response for the first pair. Building on the early work of Sacks, Pomerantz(1984:65) differentiated between a ‘preferred’ and ‘dispreferred’ response when looking at adjacency pairs that dealt with agreeing and disagreeing with assessments. She found that ‘some features of turn/sequence organization operate with respect to the preference/dis-preference status of actions – that diverse actions, by being preferred or dispreferred, may be performed in turn/sequence shapes specific to that status.’

Turn-taking is probably the most commonly known aspect of CA and a model for turn-taking was initially proposed by Sacks et al.(1974). After hearing a number of naturally occurring conversations that had taken place over half a dozen years, they identified 14 features that were observable in conversation (ibid:700-1). Hutchby and Wooffitt (2008:49) summarised these points into the following ‘three very basic facts about conversation: (1) turn-taking occurs, (2) one speaker tends to talk at a time, and (3) turns are taken with as little gap or overlap between them as possible.’

Conversations which follow the basic rules of turn-taking tend to function successfully as interactions. However, in some instances turns are not deemed to be successful and in order for this to be rectified one or both speakers may try to make a *repair*. This phenomenon has been discussed in detail by both Schegloff (1979, 1987, 1992) and Jefferson (1972, 1974, 1987) in particular. Ten Have (1999:116) states that ‘a *repair sequence* starts with a *repairable*, an utterance that can be reconstituted as the *trouble source*. The different types of repair sequences are mentioned by Hutchby and Woofitt (2008:60), who provide a detailed summary of the paper by Schegloff et al. (1977) by outlining the following four categories of repair sequences:

- Self-initiated self-repair: Repair is both initiated and carried out by the speaker of the trouble source.
- Other-initiated self-repair: Repair is carried out by speaker of the trouble source but initiated by the recipient.
- Self-initiated other-repair: The speaker of a trouble source may try and get the recipient to repair the trouble – for instance if a name is proving troublesome to remember.
- Other-initiated other-repair: The recipient of a trouble-source turn both initiates and carries out the repair. This is closest to what is conventionally understood as ‘correction’.

As previously mentioned, some techniques from CA will be employed in this study.

However, as this is not a CA study in its essence, not all parts of the script will undergo CA. Therefore, if whilst carrying out a detailed analysis of concordance lines, if it is apparent that CA can be used to further aid the analytical process, at that stage techniques from CA will be employed. For example, when analysing greetings (see section 5.2), it

was determined that two of the salutation terms identified in the keyword analysis formed an ‘adjacency pair’ and thus an approach which used CA was most appropriate when analysing these keywords in order to determine how they were used to construct aspects of the identity of the speakers.

4.5.2 Multimodal Analysis

This study also uses some techniques from Multimodal Analysis (MMA), without undergoing a complete MMA. MMA explores various forms of communication, but pays a particular focus on texts and how they interact with other *modes* (of communication) to enhance the overall understanding of those being communicated to. Jewitt (2009:14) states that ‘multimodality describes approaches that understand communication and representation to be more than about language, and which attends to the full range of communication forms people use – image, gesture, gaze, posture and so on – and the relationships between them.’ While I am primarily analysing the language spoken by the characters in *Citizen Khan*, it is important to take into account that the texts I analyse are not simply words on a page but were performed by actors, who could be seen by an audience and used different tones of voice, facial expressions and actions while they spoke.

Images or *visual accompaniments* to a text can alter the understanding the audience may have had if they had read a purely written piece of text. Machin and Mayr (2012:30) state that ‘authors will use combinations of visual and linguistic elements depending on their affordances, to best accomplish what they wish to communicate.’ When analysing images, it is important to be able to identify ‘which visual features and elements are foregrounded and which are backgrounded or excluded’ (ibid:31), as what has been omitted from the audience’s sight may be as, if not, more significant than what is displayed.

Another element of visuals that needs to be considered are body movements such as *gestures* and *gaze*, and these all fall under the umbrella term *kinesics*. The gestures of a participant - i.e. hand, face and/or bodily gestures, can drastically alter a reading of a text. For example, if while saying an apparently offensive statement, a character is seen to be smiling, this could lead the audience to understand that there was an element of joking in the speech, as opposed to it being rude. The function of gaze within visual imagery is highlighted by Machin (2007:110) who states that ‘depicted people can look at the viewer so that there is symbolic ‘contact’ or ‘interaction’ between the viewer and the people depicted. In relation to this study, the positioning of the camera and the different camera angles used in a scene within a television series may also play a role in helping television executives add extra meaning to an utterance.

In relation to this study specifically, when employing MMA in conjunction with CL to analyse television data, previous studies have done this in a somewhat haphazard and subjective manner (see chapter 3). However, McGlashan (2015:219) proposed the usage of what he referred to as *collustrations*,⁷³ which he describes as ‘a form of corpus-driven multimodal discourse analysis.’ In his study of children’s picturebooks which contained same-sex care-giving couples, he looked at clusters such as *love each other*, as well as individual words such as *rainbows* and then paired these instances in the corpus, with the illustration that accompanied it.

Therefore, in this study, I propose a similar method, which I refer to as Multimodal Concordance Lines (MCLs). McGlashan’s term *collustration*, is problematic on a number of fronts, as firstly, there can be some confusion as to whether the term is referring to the collocation of the text and the illustration, or whether it refers to collocates within the corpus

⁷³ McGlashan (ibid) defines collustration as ‘a portmanteau (‘blend word’) combining the words ‘collocation’ and ‘illustration’ hence fusing meanings evoked by ‘collocation’ – stable co-occurrence of linguistic items – with that of ‘illustration’ – depiction, visual representation.’

that are accompanied by an illustration. Secondly, the term is restrictive in the sense that it confines the multimodal analysis to only a visual element – i.e. illustrations.

When looking at televisual data specifically, outside of the visual still itself, there may be many other paralinguistic features which accompany the textual element of the corpus. For example, concordance lines can highlight instances of audience laughter, as well as other sound elements that may not be incorporated within the script. Therefore, as technological advances are made and the interpretation of textual data is no longer confined to the text itself, new strands of multimodal analysis would need to accompany this and thus, a term such as MCLs would be more suitable to allow for such developments. For example, a new feature on WhatsApp, allows users to accompany the textual element of their status with a video. An analysis of such data, would not fall within the parameters of a collustration analysis.

In sum, principles found in MMA and CA can aid an analyst when investigating the textual and non-textual features of a discourse. However, in most instances where these two disciplines have been used in conjunction with discourse analysis, the data is pre-selected to help the analyst clearly pinpoint instances to support their argument. In relation to this study, the data used when carrying out techniques found in MMA and CA will only be as a result of an initial corpus analysis. The corpus will determine the areas that are deemed to be salient and MMA/CA will be used to supplement CDA in analysing such phenomena.

4.6 Step by Step Methodology (Framework of Analysis)

In this section the framework of analysis that will be used for this study will be broken down in a step by step manner. This study combines CL with CDA, CA and MMA approaches and how exactly they have been incorporated within the framework of this study are clearly visible in Figure 4.6:

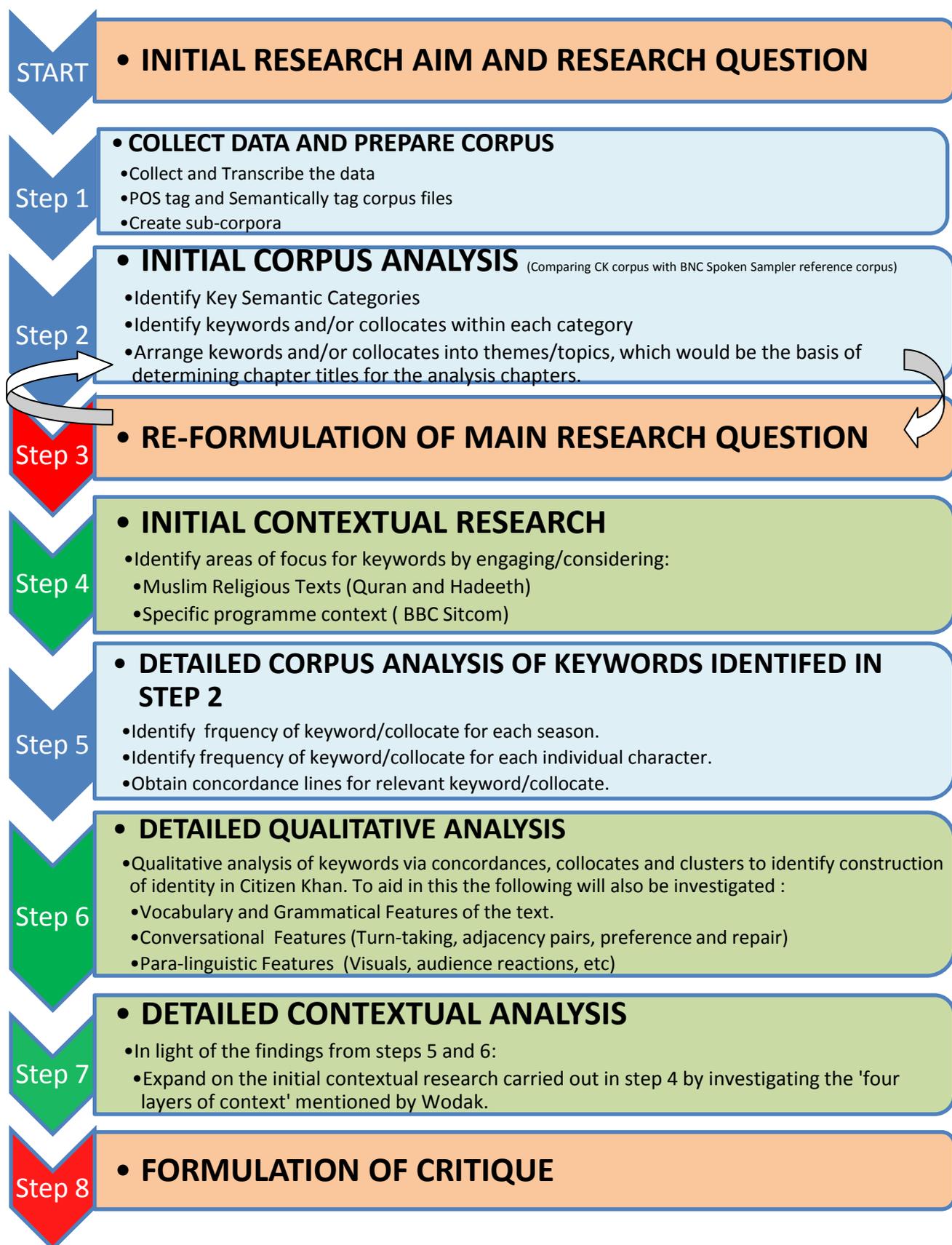


Figure 4.6: Step by Step Methodology for this study (Framework of Analysis)

As is illustrated in Figure 4.6, at the starting point of the research, prior to any collection of data or viewing of the episodes, an initial research aim had been established. The aim of the research was to build upon the existing body of literature that had investigated media representations of Islam/Muslims by examining how the identities of characters within *Citizen Khan* had been constructed.

As the BBC had already received complaints regarding the sitcom (see section 1.2), my initial research questions were focused around changes in the construction of their identities across the two seasons, in order to determine if the writers had decided to ‘play-safe’ after the initial criticisms they received in the first season and thus my research questions at the proposal stage of the thesis, were the following:

Main Question:

- Have the writers of *Citizen Khan* significantly changed the language content and style of their transcripts for the second series of the programme, if so how and/or why?

Sub-Questions:

- Is there a difference in the language styles employed by the various demographics present within the show (i.e. do the males speak differently from the females, do the younger generation speak differently to their elder counterparts, etc) and are these usage patterns consistent over both series?
- Has the language usage of any of the main characters changed dramatically (positively/negatively) from series one to two?
- Has there been a significant decrease (in series two) of language usage (either overtly/covertly) that could have been perceived as being disrespectful to, or stereotypical of Muslims/Asians/Pakistanis, the Qu’ran or Islam in general?

After collecting the data for all the episodes (as described in section 4.6.1) and comparing wordlists for individual characters between the two seasons, it was determined that this did not prove to be an enlightening line of enquiry. Therefore my subsequent analyses did not look at difference amongst seasons, but rather looked at specific facets of identity, as is detailed in the subsequent sections.

4.6.1 Step One: Collect Data and Prepare Corpus

The first step of the methodology used in this paper, involves collecting the data and then preparing it so it is suitably formatted for corpus software. A detailed breakdown of how this procedure was carried out (including the transcription and annotation of the data, alongside how it was divided into sub-corpora) is provided in section 4.2.1.

4.6.2 Step Two: Initial Corpus Analysis

As is illustrated in Figure 4.6, there is a loopback mechanism between steps two and three and thus, after an initial analysis of the corpus it would be determined what would be the best way to engage the corpus. Thus, after comparing data between the two seasons, as well as an initial keyword analysis, it was determined that identifying the key semantic categories in the CK corpus would help in better serving the initial research aims (see section 4.7). Using Wmatrix, I identified a list of such categories by comparing the CK corpus against one of the pre-loaded reference corpora in Wmatrix. I identified the BNC spoken sampler corpus to be an appropriate reference corpus, although it should be noted that the CK corpus contains scripted speech, as opposed to naturally occurring utterances. Using log-likelihood tests, Wmatrix identifies the semantic categories which are most frequent in the CK corpus compared to the reference corpus and sorts them in accordance with their log-likelihood values, as is illustrated in Figure 4.7 below:

		Item	O1	%1	O2	%2	LL	
1	List1	Concordance Z99	1212	2.71	5684	0.58 +	1692.27	Unmatched
2	List1	Concordance S9	515	1.15	1106	0.11 +	1300.40	Religion and the supernatural
3	List1	Concordance S4	502	1.12	3699	0.38 +	401.86	Kin
4	List1	Concordance Z1	782	1.75	9430	0.96 +	220.48	Personal names
5	List1	Concordance Z2	377	0.84	3541	0.36 +	196.90	Geographical names
6	List1	Concordance A13.3	450	1.01	5457	0.56 +	124.74	Degree: Boosters
7	List1	Concordance W2	16	0.04	0	0.00 +	100.31	Light
8	List1	Concordance T1.1	29	0.06	35	0.00 +	96.76	Time: General
9	List1	Concordance S3.1	109	0.24	752	0.08 +	96.13	Personal relationship: General
10	List1	Concordance Z8	8739	19.55	172345	17.54 +	94.62	Pronouns
11	List1	Concordance A13	15	0.03	0	0.00 +	94.04	Degree
12	List1	Concordance Z6	1214	2.72	19932	2.03 +	89.45	Negative
13	List1	Concordance E2+	216	0.48	2255	0.23 +	89.44	Like

Figure 4.7: Wmatrix: Key semantic categories

In Figure 4.7, the log-likelihood value was used to determine keyness, as opposed to a more appropriate measure of keyness, such as an effect size metric.⁷⁴ However, at the time the analysis was conducted, Wmatrix did not currently have this alternative metric, as it was only introduced in July 2015. The preference of using effect size metrics are outlined by Rosenfeld and Penrod (2011:84), who state that tests such as log-likelihood, which measure ‘statistical significance are dependent on the sample size used to calculate them. Contrastingly, ‘effect size estimates are not dependent on sample size’ (ibid).

As many of these categories may not have relevance to the aims of the research, the categories that would be investigated further were selected by employing a set of criteria that were designed in order to ensure the relevance and objectivity of the study.

1. The semantic category needs to be relevant to the main area of investigation of the research. (i.e. The construction of Muslim identities in Citizen Khan.)
2. The semantic category must not be a purely grammatical category.
3. There must be a sufficient number of occurrences (i.e. over 100) of words belonging to this category in the CK corpus.

⁷⁴ The effect size metric can be defined as ‘the percentage difference of the frequency of a word in the study corpus when compared to that in a reference corpus.’ (Gabrielatos and Marchi, 2011)

Due to the relatively small corpus size, these criteria were only employed upon the first twenty categories rather than specifying a cut-off point using the log-likelihood score. The first criterion required that the category fell under the area of investigation for this study. It is acknowledged that by employing this criterion, there is an element of subjectivity to this study. However, I believe this criterion is essential in maintaining the initial research aims of the study, as it is important to remember that this research was examining the construction of Muslim identity in Citizen Khan, as opposed to looking at more general use of language within television programmes.

The second criterion ensured that search terms were not examined from a purely linguistic point of view, as there is a high possibility of diverging from the overall objectives of the study by examining grammatical keywords on a standalone basis. However, this does not mean grammatical terms will not be examined over the duration of the analysis, but they will be investigated within the relevant sections of a chapter, rather than being the focus of a chapter in itself. Thirdly, there needed to be a sufficient number of occurrences of words belonging to the category (over 100), otherwise there would be little value in making conclusions based on a minimal number of examples.

After determining which semantic categories met the criteria and would be suitable for further investigation, the remaining categories would need to be explored further by looking at the ten most frequently occurring words/collocates within each category. Once these words had been explored, they were arranged into themes/topics (see section 4.7), which would then be used as the basis of forming the chapters of analysis, as well as the sections found within those chapters.

4.6.3 Step Three: Re-formulation of Main Research Questions

As is detailed in the preceding sections, the formulation of research questions was an evolutionary process. Therefore, once the keywords/collocates had been arranged into themes/topics, I reformulated the main research questions based upon those themes and topics, keeping in line with the initial theme of the research (construction of Muslim identity).

The three main research questions that this study will address are:

- RQ1. a) What are the most salient aspects of identity in Citizen Khan, and b) how can a corpus driven analysis identify them?
- RQ2. a) How are the identities of Muslim characters constructed within the BBC sitcom Citizen Khan, and b) how can such constructions be explained in terms of reference to wider social context?
- RQ3. When considering language use in a sitcom, how can different analytical approaches be combined in order to answer RQ2 (e.g. concordance analysis, conversation analysis, discourse analysis, multimodal analysis)?

4.6.4 Step Four: Initial Contextual Research

Once the themes/topics of the analysis chapters have been confirmed, alongside a main research question, contextual research needs to be carried out in order to establish areas of focus for the keyword analysis. When identifying these areas of focus, it needs to be considered that the study is exploring two very distinctive contexts, one being ‘a sitcom that is being broadcast on BBC’ and the second being that ‘the characters are Muslim’. It should also be acknowledged whilst examining the television context that two areas need to come under consideration: the ‘sitcom’ genre and the ‘BBC’ as an organisation.

When exploring the Muslim context, it is necessary that the religious texts which govern the behaviour of Muslims are explored in order to properly understand the represented identities

of the characters within Citizen Khan. Therefore, passages from the Quran, as well as prophetic narrations (hadeeth) will be investigated, as these are the two most important sources to people of the Muslim faith (see section 1.4.1).

4.6.5 Step Five: Detailed Corpus Analysis

Once the contextual research has been carried out and areas of focus have been established, a detailed corpus analysis is needed to be carried out, in order to obtain the concordance lines for step 6. Prior to obtaining the concordance lines, frequency information for the occurrences of a specific word/collocate for each episode needs to be established. This is then followed by ascertaining the frequencies for each character across the two seasons.

After the information that will assist in answering the sub-questions has been gathered, concordance lines for each of the terms need to be obtained. In cases where there are few concordance lines, all of the lines can be examined. However, in some instances it could be possible that there are numerous concordances and therefore, it was important to have identified the areas of focus prior to selecting the concordance lines.

4.6.6 Step Six: Detailed Qualitative Analysis

Once the concordance lines that will be analysed had been selected, qualitative analysis needs to take place. This analysis is carried out loosely around the ‘three stages of CDA’ framework identified by Fairclough (2001:21):

- Description is the stage which is concerned with formal properties of the text.
- Interpretation is concerned with the relationship between text and interaction.
- Explanation is concerned with the relationship between interaction and social context.

In the *description* stage, the vocabulary used in a text, its grammatical features, as well as the structure of the text are examined. The structure of the text will be investigated by examining

the conversational features present when characters are interacting with one another. Where relevant, features such as turn-taking (Sack et al., 1974), adjacency pairs (Schegloff and Sacks, 1973), repair (Schegloff et al., 1977) and preference (Pomerantz, 1978) will be identified to determine what effect (if any) they have in constructing identity within CK.

As well as carrying out a qualitative analysis of the scripted speech from CK, paralinguistic features such as audience reactions and visual data will also be analysed. Van Leeuwen and Kress (2011:108) state that ‘discourse can no longer be adequately studied without paying attention to non-verbal aspects of communication.’

4.6.7 Step Seven: Detailed Contextual Analysis

After the qualitative analysis has been carried out on the keywords, further contextual analysis needs to be carried out, in light of the findings at step six. The findings will be examined further by firstly revisiting the information gathered in step four and then by taking into consideration the ‘four layers of context’ mentioned by Wodak (2010:46):

- the *intertextual and interdiscursive relationships* between utterances, texts, genres and discourses.
- the extralinguistic social/sociological variables
- the *history and archaeology of texts and organizations*
- the institutional frames of the specific *context of a situation*

For example, if after analysing the concordance lines, it is determined that Muslim men are constructed as being chauvinistic within CK and overpower their women, these findings will be considered in light of the four layers of context above. Firstly, how does this representation of Muslim men within CK compare with existing representations of Muslim men? Secondly, is this chauvinistic behaviour in line with Islamic teachings specified within

the Quran and Hadeeth? Finally, is this representation of men, a normal feature of British family sitcoms?

4.6.8 Step Eight: Formulation of Critique

The final step of the methodology requires the formulation of a critique. Fairclough (2010:7) states that a 'critique assesses what exists, what might exist and what should exist based on a coherent set of values.' Baker (2014:154) highlights the analyst's position in setting these values and states that as critical discourse analysts we need to 'critically engage with our research in order to instigate social change. Such a critical perspective would require us to signify commitment to a set of values which might be based on political, moral, ethical or religious ideals.'

Therefore, in order to instigate social change, the critique needs to consider to what extent are the constructions of identity within Citizen Khan empowering or not for different categories of people and for those groups of people who may be disempowered, recommendations can be made on a societal level in order to re-empower that group.

4.7 Initial Corpus Analysis

As is described in 4.6.2, prior to concordance analysis, an initial corpus analysis needs to be conducted, in order to address RQ1. This section will aim to illustrate how the initial steps of the methodological process were carried out in order to firstly determine the key semantic categories present within the corpus and then identify the most frequently appearing and relevant terms within those categories. This allows for these terms to determine the focus for each analysis chapter, by dividing the chapters into topics, which ultimately leads to a more qualitative analysis of concordance lines by placing the findings within their relevant social or historical context.

As discussed in section 4.6.2, the initial corpus analysis involved looking at the keywords by creating a ‘keyword list’,⁷⁵ which compared the corpus against the reference corpus (BNC Spoken Sampler), the results of which are shown in Table 4.3:

Table 4.3: List of Keywords found within the CK Corpus

Keywords	Amjad, Mr Khan, ok, mosque, Shazia, Dave, Pakistan, all right ⁷⁶ , Alaikum, Asalaam, sweetie, Muslim, Mrs Khan, my God, Pakistani, Alia, my, hello, God, wedding.
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As can be seen in Table 4.3, due to the relatively small size of the corpus, this method mainly returned results containing a broad variety of different words, many of which were the names of characters. The organisation of these words into categories would have been a highly subjective process. Therefore, in order to ensure that the corpus drives the direction of the investigation, it was decided that this study would not directly engage with the WordList (which detailed word frequencies), keywords or collocates.

Consequently, it was decided that the placing of the lexical items into semantic groups would be done electronically using a feature within the Wmatrix software (see section 4.2.3). The list in Figure 4.8 was created using Wmatrix, which identifies the ‘key’ semantic categories found within the CK Corpus by comparing it with the ‘BNC Spoken Sampler’ reference corpus:

⁷⁵ The list was generated using the following settings: LL cut off (6.63), Frequency cut off (5).

⁷⁶ Some of the keywords here are actually 2 words. This is due to the tokenisation system in Wmatrix which treats certain 2 or 3 word units as a single unit of meaning.

USAS Code	Occ1	%1	Occ2	%2	Log-L	USAS Category Name
Z99	1212	2.71	5684	0.58 +	1692.27	Unmatched
S9	515	1.15	1106	0.11 +	1300.40	Religion and the supernatural
S4	502	1.12	3699	0.38 +	401.86	Kin
Z1	782	1.75	9430	0.96 +	220.48	Personal names
Z2	377	0.84	3541	0.36 +	196.90	Geographical names
A13.3	450	1.01	5457	0.56 +	124.74	Degree: Boosters
W2	16	0.04	0	0.00 +	100.31	Light
T1.1	29	0.06	35	0.00 +	96.76	Time: General
S3.1	109	0.24	752	0.08 +	96.13	Personal relationship: General
Z8	8739	19.55	172345	17.54 +	94.62	Pronouns
A13	15	0.03	0	0.00 +	94.04	Degree
Z6	1214	2.72	19932	2.03 +	89.45	Negative
E2+	216	0.48	2255	0.23 +	89.44	Like
A2.2	187	0.42	1891	0.19 +	83.36	Causes&Effect / Connection
S2.1	109	0.24	875	0.09 +	76.09	People: Female
X2.6-	25	0.06	39	0.00 +	74.57	Unexpected
S6+	397	0.89	5698	0.58 +	59.71	Strong obligation or necessity
S2.2	164	0.37	1829	0.19 +	57.60	People: Male
L1+	21	0.05	51	0.01 +	49.27	Alive
A3+	2288	5.12	43253	4.40 +	47.21	Existing
KEY: Occ1 = Occurrences in CK Corpus, Occ2 = Occurrences in reference corpus. %1=Percentage of occurrence in CK Corpus. %2=Percentage of occurrence in reference corpus. Log-L = Log Likelihood rating.						

Figure 4.8: Key Semantic Categories found within the CK Corpus

As is evident in Figure 4.8, lexical terms which were unable to be matched according to the USAS categories were deemed to be most salient by Wmatrix and the Z99 unmatched category⁷⁷ had a log-likelihood (LL) score of 1692.27, which is high when compared with the other semantic categories listed above. Table 4.4 shows the words that were most frequent in the Z99 semantic category:

Table 4.4: Words found within the Z99 Semantic Category (Frequencies in brackets)

Keywords: Z99 USAS Category	Amjad (176), Shazia (103), Alaikum (54), Asalaam (54), Alia (45), Naani (34), Sajid (34), papaji (31), hai (26), beti (22), twaddi (18), jalebis (15), zindabad (15), budhoo (13), chup (12), Riaz (12), haan (12), Naanijaan (10), akbar (10), tang-tang (10), challow (10).
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⁷⁷ This is a category Wmatrix uses when it does not recognise a word in its lexicon.

When looking at these lexical items, a clearer picture is formed as to why Wmatrix identified Z99 to be the most salient category. The majority of words in Z99 are in Urdu and naturally when comparing them to the BNC Spoken Sampler reference corpus, it is understandable that the number of unmatched items in the CK Corpus would generate a high keyness score. The BNC Spoken Sampler undoubtedly contains lexis almost exclusively derived from the English language which could more than likely be categorised by Wmatrix into USAS categories other than Z99.

It would be interesting to look at the usage of Urdu and instances of code-switching within the CK Corpus. Although, code-switching is not the direct focus of this research, it is important to investigate why the writers have used languages other than English in a British TV show where the vast majority of the audience would be unfamiliar to them. Therefore, any lexical terms found within Z99 in either Urdu or any other language (i.e. Arabic) which relate directly to the topics mentioned within the four analysis chapters, will be placed within the relevant chapter (this will be discussed in detail towards the end of this section).

From the above discussion it is evident that the Z99 category cannot be a standalone chapter of analysis, therefore the other USAS categories within the key semantic category list generated by Wmatrix were examined in order to determine the four chapters of analysis.

When establishing which categories will be analysed within the paper, the criteria mentioned in section 4.6.2 were used.

Table 4.5 lists the first twenty key semantic categories generated by Wmatrix when comparing the CK Corpus with the BNC Spoken Sampler reference corpus and notes which criteria (if any) the category is contravening with and also takes into consideration that category Z99 was deemed to be unsuitable for analysis:

Table 4.5: Which of the Key Semantic Categories found within the CK Corpus meet the required criteria?

No.	USAS Category Code	USAS Category Name	Occurrences in CK Corpus	Criterion not met (if any)
1	Z99	Unmatched	1212	1
2	S9	Religion and the supernatural	515	Criteria met
3	S4	Kin	502	Criteria met
4	Z1	Personal names	782	Criteria met
5	Z2	Geographical names	377	Criteria met
6	A13.3	Degree: Boosters	450	2
7	W2	Light	16	1, 3
8	T1.1	Time: General	29	1, 3
9	S3.1	Personal relationship: General	109	1
10	Z8	Pronouns	8739	2
11	A13	Degree	15	2
12	Z6	Negative	1214	2
13	E2+	Like	216	1
14	A2.2	Cause & Effect / Connection	187	2
15	S2.1	People: Female	109	Criteria met
16	X2.6+	Unexpected	25	3
17	S6+	Strong obligation or necessity	397	2
18	S2.2	People: Male	164	Criteria met
19	L1+	Alive	21	3
20	A3+	Existing	2288	2

From the twenty categories listed above, six met the criteria and fourteen did not. The USAS categories which did not meet the required set of criteria were ignored and the remaining categories were considered for the next phase of the methodological process (as outlined in section 4.6).

When looking at Table 4.5, it may not be clear to the reader as to how some of the categories met the specified criteria, especially the first criterion which requires the category to be relevant to the area of research investigation for this paper. For example, a category such as ‘Geographical names’ (Z2) does not overtly seem to be relevant to a study investigating the representation of Muslims/Islam. However, when taking a closer look at the most frequently occurring words within this category (i.e. *Pakistani, British, Indian*, etc), it becomes apparent that this category is relevant to the study as it relates to how characters in *Citizen Khan* may identify themselves with certain national identities to go alongside their religious identity.

The example mentioned in the above paragraph describing the close scrutiny of all the terms within each category is directly related to the next step of the methodology which necessitates that the remaining categories need to be investigated further by examining the ten most frequent words within these categories (see Table 4.6):

Table 4.6: Top 10 most frequent words for each USAS category which met criteria

No.	USAS Category Code/Name	Most frequent 10 words in this category:
1	S9 - Religion and the supernatural	mosque, God, Muslim, Christmas, praying, prayers, Muslims, prayer, pray, Islam.
2	S4 – Kin	dad, wedding, family, mother, mum, daughter, husband, father, wife, married.
3	Z1 - Personal names	Mr Khan, Dave, Mrs Khan, Mrs Malik, Waleikum Asalaam, Mr Malik, Imran Parvez, Allah, Mr Javed, Debbie.
4	Z2 - Geographical names	Pakistan, Pakistani, Sparkhill, Birmingham, India, British, Mecca, Pakistanis, Somalia, Asian.
5	S2.1 - People: Female ⁷⁸	woman, girl, women, lady, ladies, womens, girls, Madame, madam.
6	S2.2 - People: Male	man, men, boys, boy, guy, guys, fella, Mr, mans, bloke.

⁷⁸ This category has 9 words, as forgetful was incorrectly placed as a female term. Additionally, it is worth noting that *Madame* was mentioned in the corpus in relation to *Madame Tussauds*, as opposed to a specific female.

Following the examination of the above terms, it needed to be established if any of the words and categories were inter-related and/or could be grouped together under a broader topic title. For example, the terms *dad* in category Z4 and *Mr Khan* in category Z1 are related due to the fact that they relate to the same individual, although that does not necessarily mean they could be grouped within the same topic. Additionally, some keywords were misplaced such as *Allah* and *Waleikum Asalaam* (both classed as Z1: Personal names) and these would be better placed in the S9 (Religion) category. Once relationships between these words had been ascertained the following chapter titles were formulated:

- Analysis Chapter One – Identity: Religion
- Analysis Chapter Two – Identity: Nationality
- Analysis Chapter Three – Identity: Family
- Analysis Chapter Four – Identity: Gender

It was determined that Religion, Nationality, Family and Gender all fell under the broader theme of ‘Identity’, which drew parallels with the categories identified by Baker et al. (2013a,b). Therefore, ‘Identity’ was used in each of the chapter titles in order to highlight the over-arching focus of the research, which is the construction of identities within Citizen Khan.

Once the chapter names had been decided upon, the unmatched words within the category Z99 were examined once again to establish if any of these words could be placed within these chapters. For example, the lexical items *beti* (daughter) and *papaji* (father) could be placed within the Family chapter. The words within each chapter were then rearranged into topics, as is demonstrated in Figure 4.9 below:

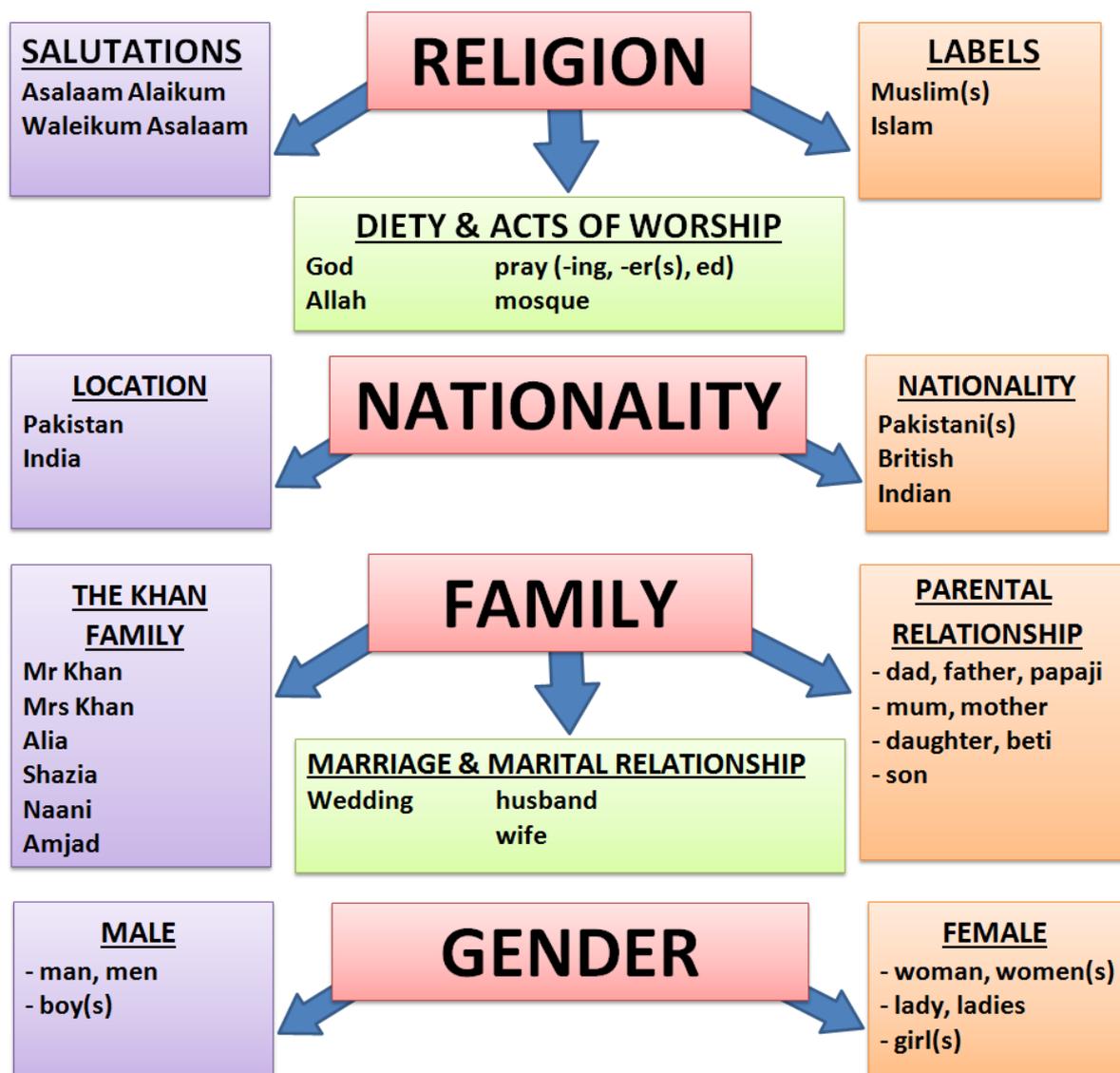


Figure 4.9: Breakdown of the four analysis chapters into topics.

From Figure 4.9 it is apparent that the rearrangement of the words into topics and chapters was not as straightforward as taking the words directly from one semantic category and having that as a chapter title. Considering keywords from the first twenty key semantic categories (as opposed to only the first four) ensures that a broader examination of the corpus is achieved. Additionally, poorly dispersed keywords which appeared relatively frequently in the CK corpus such as *Christmas* were ignored, as all occurrences of that keyword occurred

within one episode. Similarly, the lexical item *Catholic* was also ignored, as it also only appeared in one episode.⁷⁹

To conclude this section, as the chapters, topics and keywords have now been identified, the next steps of the methodological process are to identify if there are any related collocates to each of these keywords and then ultimately determine which concordance lines are to be analysed. These steps, along with the concordance analysis itself, will be discussed in the relevant sections within each chapter of analysis.

4.8 Conclusion

In this chapter I have outlined the main theoretical principles and analytical tools that are utilised in this study. It has been demonstrated that CL allows an analyst to investigate large bodies of data that aid in maintaining the objectivity of a study. A number of factors need to be considered at the stage of corpus creation and these were detailed in section 4.3. RQ1 can be answered by using Wmatrix to identify key semantic fields in the CK corpus, and thus in turn form the basis of answering RQ3 by analysing concordance lines using WordSmith.

Moreover, it was found that CDA had a number of different analytical approaches, although it lacked a clear methodological way of gathering data. By combining CL and CDA it was determined that this would help in maximising the strengths of these two disciplines and minimising the weaknesses. Fairclough 3 stages of CDA model was chosen as the appropriate CDA framework to use and techniques found within CA and MMA were integrated into the

⁷⁹ While it would have been interesting to investigate these two keywords in particular, as they could have given some insight as to how other religions are represented within Citizen Khan, I want to focus on the more well-dispersed keywords to capture a fuller picture of the corpus.

framework and thus, the combination of CDA, CA and MMA further assist in answering RQ3 and ultimately RQ2.

The framework of analysis (see section 4.6) that has been used in this study is unique not only to studies that have investigated MROIM, but also those that have analysed fictional television. As far as I am aware there are no studies in any discipline, that integrate CL, CDA, CA and MMA in the way that I am proposing. The chapter concluded by answering RQ1 and identifying the salient aspects of identity that will be the focus of the analysis chapters. The aspects of identity that were identified were religion, nationality, family and gender, with the religious identity of the characters being analysed in the next chapter.

5. Analysis I – Identity: Religion

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter I analyse terms related to religion which appeared in the two seasons of Citizen Khan. In section 5.2 I look at religious salutations, namely *Asalaam Alaikum* and *Waleikum Asalaam* and how they are used within the sitcom and the significance of their usage (if any).

In section 5.3 terms such as *Muslim(s)* and *Islam* which act as religious labels within the sitcom are analysed. Contextual information regarding the origins of these labels and the meanings behind them are firstly examined, prior to a more detailed analysis of concordance lines.

Section 5.4 considers terms referring to the Muslim deity with the Arabic term *Allah*, as well as its closest English equivalent *God*. The section then goes on to look at acts/places of worship with terms such as *mosque* and the various grammatical forms of *pray* analysed. Moreover, the function of the mosque within the Muslim community, as well as the various components of the Muslim prayer are discussed to assist the analysis.

5.2 Religious Salutations

The phrases *Asalaam Alaikum* and *Waleikum Asalaam* were identified as falling into the overarching themes of identity and religion and more specifically within the topic of Religious Salutations. As these greetings were both in the Arabic language, Wmatrix was not able to correctly categorise them into the relevant semantic categories. For example, *Waleikum Asalaam* was placed into the Z1 category, which refers to Personal names.

5.2.1 Contextual Information

The use of greetings/salutations might not immediately seem to be of much significance to the analysis of identity in Citizen Khan. However, in Islam the importance of Muslims greeting one another has been mentioned in numerous prophetic narrations. For example, Sahih Al-Bukhari (Hadeeth 12) states:

‘A man asked the Prophet (peace and blessing be upon him). ‘Whose Islam is good’ or ‘What (sort) of deeds in (or what sort of qualities of) Islam are good?’ The Prophet replied, ‘To feed others, and **to greet those whom you know and those whom you do not know.**’ (my emphasis)

All cultures and faiths have their own distinctive greetings and Islam is no different. The Islamic greeting is اسلام عليكم ‘As Salaamu Alaikum’ and is derived from the Arabic words اسلام (As Salaam – Peace), على (Alaa – upon) and كم (kum – you [plural form]) and carries the meaning ‘Peace be upon you’. Although the greeting is made up of Arabic words, it is used across the Muslim world, including non-Arab speaking countries such as Indonesia, Pakistan and Nigeria. Moreover, it is used by non-Muslims who are living in Muslim countries and also sometimes by those living in the West in areas which have large Muslim populations.

When greeting one another, Muslims must follow certain protocols, one of which is understanding upon whom is the obligation of initiating the greeting. In an authentic narration mentioned in Sahih Al-Bukhari (Hadeeth 6234), the Prophet Mohammed said:

‘The younger person should greet the older one, and the walking person should greet the sitting one, and the small number of persons should greet the large number of persons.’

It is thus evident that the matter of a Muslim greeting another Muslim is not as simple an issue as might be first perceived. There are numerous other narrations and Quranic passages that regulate how Muslims must greet one another and they will be discussed whilst analysing the keywords below (section 5.2.2).

At present, the discussion within this section has been limited to the broader historical context of Islamic greetings. However, it is pertinent to also consider the specific context in which this language will be produced (i.e. within a BBC sitcom) and the significance of this specific language usage.

Based on BBC viewership demographics,⁸⁰ it can be presumed that *Citizen Khan* has a predominantly non-Muslim audience, which raises a number of questions. Firstly, knowing that the majority of the audience would be non-Arabic speakers or non-Muslims, why did the scriptwriters⁸¹ use the Islamic greetings mentioned above within the episodes?⁸² Secondly, have the scriptwriters exclusively used these Islamic greetings within the episodes or have they also used greetings/closings conventionally used in English speaking countries in The West (i.e. *hello, good morning, goodbye, see you, etc.*). Additionally, if such greetings have been used, how do their usage patterns compare with those of the Islamic greetings?

In order to properly analyse the words from the CK corpus which fell under the topic of ‘Religious Salutations’, the contextual information mentioned within this section was used as the basis of focussing the analysis further.

⁸⁰ Organisations such as BARB that monitor viewing demographics do not publically release viewership data based on religion or ethnicity. However, a survey conducted by the BBC, which they weighted based upon their viewership demographics, contained 114 people from Ethnic minorities from a total of 1,059 participants. Further information on this study can be found at: http://downloads.bbc.co.uk/bbctrust/assets/files/pdf/regulatory_framework/service_licences/service_reviews/one_two_four/audience_research.pdf

⁸¹ The scriptwriters for *Citizen Khan* are Adil Ray, Anil Gupta and Richard Pinto, who are all ethnically from the Indian Subcontinent, with Adil Ray being the only Muslim amongst them.

⁸² This point is especially valid, as they had not consistently used Islamic terminology within the series. For example, when referring to the Islamic prayer, they used the Urdu term ‘namaaz’ as opposed to the Arabic term ‘Salaah’. Moreover in most instances, they used English terms, as opposed to those from any other language.

5.2.2 *Asalaam Alaikum* and *Waleikum Asalaam*

This section investigates the usage of the expressions *Asalaam Alaikum* and *Waleikum Asalaam* in the BBC sitcom *Citizen Khan*. As highlighted in Table A1 (see Appendix A), *Asalaam Alaikum* occurs 55 times in the sitcom (26 in S1 and 29 in s2) and appears in all episodes except the first episode of the second season (S2E1).

This term forms the first turn of what is referred to in Conversation Analysis as an adjacency pair (See Schegloff and Sacks 1973). Baker and Ellece (2011:3) state that ‘the first turn of the pair requires a relevant response’ and that ‘the response in the second part of the turn can be categorized as preferred or dispreferred.’ The preferred response to *Asalaam Alaikum* would be *Waleikum Asalaam* or the other two variations which are detailed in the following hadeeth that is reported by Al Bukhari in his book ‘*Adab Al-Mufrad*’ (Hadeeth 586):

‘A man passed by the Messenger of Allaah whilst he was sitting with some companions, and said ‘**As Salaamu Alaikum.**’ The Prophet said, ‘[He will have] ten rewards (hasanaat).’ Another man passed by and said ‘**As Salaamu Alakium wa rahmat-Allaah** (peace be upon you and may Allah bestow his mercy upon you).’ The Prophet said, ‘[He will have] twenty rewards.’ Another man passed by and said ‘**As Salaamu Alaikum wa rahmat-Allaah wa barakaatuhu** (peace be upon you and may Allah bestow his mercy and blessings upon you).’ The Prophet said, ‘[He will have] thirty rewards.’ (my emphasis)

Assuming that the scriptwriters had followed ‘Islamic protocol’, it is expected that the number of occurrences of the expression *Waleikum Asalaam* would be at the very least equivalent to the number of *Asalaam Alaikum*’s present within the CK corpus. Taking into consideration that *Waleikum Asalaam* is not only the preferred second turn but it is also an

Islamic obligation for a Muslim to reply in a manner equal to the initial greeting, based on the following Quranic verse (4:86):

‘And when you are greeted with a greeting, greet [in return] with one better than it or [at least] return it [in a like manner].’

Referring back to Table A1, *Waleikum Asalaam* occurs only twenty-four times across both seasons (twelve in each), compared to the fifty-five utterances of *Asalaam Alaikum*. There is not a single instance where *Waleikum Asalaam* appeared more times in a single episode than *Asalaam Alaikum*. It would have been expected that *Waleikum Asalaam* would have appeared more frequently than *Asalaam Alaikum*, as only one person would ever initiate a greeting, whereas if there is a group of people, many of them are likely to reply with the second turn.

However, apart from the preferred response (*Waleikum Asalaam*), it is possible that other dispreferred responses may have been used. Table 5.1 gives a frequency breakdown of all the responses to the greeting *Asalaam Alaikum* and the number of times each turn occurred:

Table 5.1: Second turns responding to *Asalaam Alaikum*

Second Turn	No. of occurrences
Waleikum Asalaam	24
Hello	11
How can I help you?	1
What are you doing?	1
Who are you?	1
Very good	1
You all right.	1
What’s wrong with him?	1
No response/not directed at specific person	14

As can be seen from the table, the most common second turn after *Waleikum Asalaam* is *hello*. For the majority non-Muslim audience this would appear to be an acceptable second turn. However, as was mentioned previously, if a Muslim initiates the greeting of *Asalaam Alaikum* to another Muslim, it is their right to be responded to in an equal or better manner. Therefore, from an Islamic perspective, this is a dispreferred turn.

From the eleven turns which contain the response *hello*, Mr Khan uses this as a response on ten occasions and Riaz on one. In all ten instances where Mr Khan used *hello* as a second turn, he was responding to the initial *Asalaam Alaikum* of either Dave from season one or the new Dave from season two. Mr Khan responds to both characters with *hello* five times each, with each Dave appearing in six episodes apiece. Mr Khan is the main character in the series (the titular Citizen Khan), he is of a Pakistani origin and was raised as a Muslim. The two characters called Dave are Caucasian characters who reverted to Islam as adults and are encountered in the mosque that Mr Khan attends.

It is clear that the scriptwriters have highlighted Mr Khan's response to Dave's greeting by making it a running gag, (a comic device which appears repeatedly, see Brunvand 1998: 719), posing the question as to why they would do this, especially as the majority non-Muslim audience would not pick up on such an issue. However, a large portion of the audience are Muslim viewers who would understand the seriousness of Mr Khan's actions and the possible implications of them. Bearing in mind the 'sitcom' genre of Citizen Khan, Mr Khan's dispreferred response to both characters is intended as comedic, although this appears to be a joke meant for Muslim viewers.

One reading of Mr Khan's reply of *hello* implies that he does not consider either of the Daves to be fully-fledged Muslims or that he does not consider them to be Muslim at all. This view is supported by my later analysis of Mr Khan's usage of the term *proper Muslims* (see section 5.3.2), where he indicates to both the new and old Dave that he doesn't consider them to be proper Muslims.

Further weight is added to this argument, when examining Mr Khan's response to Keith, his non-Muslim neighbour. Keith also attempts to use the Islamic greeting, and Khan responds on one occasion by saying 'very good' and on another with 'not today Keith'. These were the

only instances in the corpus where a non-Muslim character used the Islamic greeting and it was dismissed by Mr Khan in the same manner he had done with both Dave characters, who are Muslims.

In comparison, when Omar and Riaz greet Mr Khan, he responds by saying *Waleikum Asalaam*. In S2E5 he responds by saying *Waleikum Asalaam boys*, while in S2E4 he initiates the greeting to Omar and Riaz by saying *Asalaam Alaikum, boys*. These responses show an element of warmth or respect towards both characters and is the behaviour Muslims should show to their brethren in faith. They also show Mr Khan's acceptance of Omar, who is ethnically Somali, thus ruling out the possibility that Mr Khan's behaviour towards either Dave was due to them being non-Pakistani or the fact they were a different colour.

Baker et al. (2013a:1) argued that the British tabloid newspaper the Daily Star had 'intended to create an 'us' and "them" distinction' between British Muslims and the rest of the British public. It could be argued that the writers of Citizen Khan were trying to demonstrate the existence of a similar 'us' and 'them' culture that possibly exists within parts of the Muslim community by drawing attention to Mr Khan's lack of acceptance for either Dave character. The 'us' in this instance being those who were born and brought up Muslim and the 'them' being everyone else, including those who embraced the Islamic faith at a later stage in their life. This mindset is not unique to Khan and tends to be more prevalent amongst older members of the British Muslim community, who can be less open-minded than younger British Muslims.

Zebiri (2008:62) highlights this issue further by mentioning that 'converts are sometimes dismayed to discover that they have to cope with prejudice not only from British society but also from born Muslims.' Mr Khan is implied to be prejudiced against Muslim reverts or non-Muslims, as he employs a dispreferred response when such characters greet him using the

correct Islamic form. His greeting behaviour thus renders Mr Khan's character to be somewhat unsympathetic or even intolerant. Indeed, as later analysis shows, Khan is represented as (comedically) flawed, with his claims of being a good Muslim often shown to be at odds with his behaviour. While having a flawed central character is a staple of British sitcoms, the fact that Mr Khan is one of the few representations of Muslim identity in the UK context perhaps explains the reason why some people complained about the programme (see section 1.1).

As well as identifying the frequencies of the two greetings for each episode, the methodology (see section 4.6.6) requires that frequencies are also determined for each character within the programme. Table A2 (see Appendix A) shows these frequencies for all reoccurring Muslim characters in Citizen Khan for both seasons one and two:

As is highlighted in Table A2, Mr Khan has the highest total number of occurrences for either term across both season one and two. This should be expected, as Mr Khan's speech accounts for almost half of all tokens found within the CK corpus (20,033 from a total of 40,546 tokens). However, what is interesting to note is how in the first season he was mainly responding to an initial greeting, whereas in the second season, he was mostly initiating the greeting, which possibly implies that Khan was more pro-active in initiating conversations than he had been previously.

What is also clear from Table A2, is that the usage of Islamic greetings within the two seasons of Citizen Khan has been almost monopolised by the male characters. In season two, there was not even a single instance of either of the two greetings being used by any of the female characters. Additionally, *Waleikum Asalaam* had only been used on one instance by a female character in the two seasons.

Muslim women are commonly portrayed in the media as being subjugated by their male relatives and being forced into showing signs of religious adherence (see Baker et al. 2013a, Al-Hejin 2012, Richardson 2004). Could it be possible that the writers of *Citizen Khan* are trying to suggest that within a closed family environment, where the social pressures of showing your ‘religiousness’ do not exist, the reality is that females have little interest in adhering to Islamic practices, thus reinforcing the notion that the image of Muslim women that is publically visible is not the true reality? A clearer answer to this question is provided in section 8.4.3.1, where a visual analysis of Alia’s wearing of the hijab suggests her motives behind wearing the hijab are not informed by her religious beliefs.

As well as the clear gender divide, another distinct pattern also emerges, namely the almost negligible usage of the Islamic greetings by the young Muslim characters. The two younger female characters (Shazia and Alia) did not use either greeting in either season. On the other hand, Amjad, the younger male, used *Asalaam Alaikum* three times in total, although there are no instances of him using *Waleikum Asalaam* in either season.

If the usage patterns of these Islamic greetings by the younger characters was done consciously, a possible motivation could have been to portray the image that the younger generation of Muslims have removed themselves from cultural/religious attachments and are more ‘British’ than ‘Muslim’. In order to further investigate this possibility, frequency data containing the usage patterns of conventional British greetings and salutations for both the seasons (first season + second season) was examined for the relevant characters (see Table 5.2):

Table 5.2: Frequency (per 1000 words) data of conventional British greetings and salutations

	Mr Khan	Mrs Khan	Amjad	Shazia	Alia
Hello	32(3.12) + 23(2.36)	3(1.03) + 1(0.4)	14 (10.39) + 5(5.76)	0	1(2.47) + 1(1.8)
Hi	1(0.1) + 0	0	0	0 + 1(0.79)	0 + 1(1.8)
Hey	5(0.49) + 4(0.41)	0	3(2.23) + 0	1(0.73) + 0	1(2.47) + 0
Goodbye	12(1.17) + 3(0.31)	1(0.34) + 0	0	0	0
Bye	5(0.49) + 4(0.41)	0	3(2.23) + 0	1(0.73) + 0	1(2.47) + 0

The table indicates that Mr Khan’s daughters do not frequently use any form of greetings, be they Islamic or British. However, what is of interest, is that Mr and Mrs Khan actually have a preference for using *hello* and *goodbye*, as opposed to the other greetings. Due to the relatively low occurrences of these terms, it would be naïve to make any conclusive remarks upon this. Although it does seem to suggest a similar pattern to the usage of *father* and *mother*, as opposed to *dad* and *mum* (see sections 7.3.2 and 7.3.3), where there was a distinct difference in usage of terminology between the elder and younger generation.

5.3 Religious Labels

Another key category was S9: ‘Religion and the supernatural’. After further investigation of this category, the terms *Muslim*, *Muslims* and *Islam* were selected for further concordance analysis. It was subsequently determined that these terms fell into the overarching themes of identity and religion and more specifically within the topic ‘Religious Labels’.

5.3.1 Contextual Information

The use of religious labels is not alien to the Islamic world and the label ‘Muslim’ is one that is divinely ascribed according to Muslims based upon the following verse:

‘It is He (Allah), who has named you Muslims both before and in this (the Quran).’

(Quran, 22:78)

The meaning of ‘Muslim’ in its general sense is ‘one who has submitted his will to God (Allah)’ and there are numerous verses in the Quran where previous prophets have referred to their followers as Muslims. For example, in the following verse the Prophet Moses refers to his followers as Muslims:

‘And Musa (Moses) said: ‘O my people! If you have believed in Allah, then put your trust in Him if you are Muslims (those who submit to Allah's Will).’ (Quran, 10:84)

As is indicated by this verse, in the era prior to the coming of the Prophet Mohammed, a person who submitted their will to God and followed the monotheistic call of their Prophet was considered a Muslim. However, the term *Muslim* in its current sense refers to a person who has submitted their will to God and follows the teachings of Islam, as revealed to the Prophet Mohammed. The definition of Islam is provided in a famous prophetic narration, commonly referred to as the ‘Hadeeth of Jibreel’:

While we were one day sitting with the Messenger of Allah there appeared before us a man dressed in extremely white clothes and with very black hair. No traces of journeying were visible on him, and none of us knew him. He sat down close by the Prophet rested his knees against the knees of the Prophet and placed his palms over his thighs, and said: ‘O Muhammad! **Inform me about Islam.**’ **The Messenger of Allah replied: ‘Islam is that you should testify that there is no deity worthy of worship except Allah and that Muhammad is His Messenger, that you should perform salah (ritual prayer), pay the zakah (obligatory charity), fast during Ramadan, and perform Hajj (pilgrimage) to the House (the Ka`bah at Makkah), if you can find a way to it (or find the means for making the journey to it).**’ He said: ‘You have spoken the truth.’ We were astonished at his thus questioning him and then telling him that he was right, but he went on to say, ‘Inform me about Iman

(faith).’ He (the Prophet) answered, ‘It is that you believe in Allah and His angels and His Books and His Messengers and in the Last Day, and in fate (Qadr), both in its good and in its evil aspects.’ He said, ‘You have spoken the truth.’ Then he (the man) said, ‘Inform me about Ihsan.’ He (the Prophet) answered, ‘It is that you should serve Allah as though you could see Him, for though you cannot see Him yet He sees you.’
.....to the end of the hadeeth. (Arbaeen Al-Nawawi, Hadeeth 2) (my emphasis)

In the above narration, a definition is provided for ‘Islam’, ‘Iman’ and ‘Ihsan’. If a person falls under the definition of Islam, he is considered a ‘Muslim’, likewise if he falls under the definition of Iman, he is a ‘Mumin’ and if he falls under the definition of Ihsan, he is a ‘Muhsin’, which is the highest degree of faith a Muslim can obtain. If a person is a Muhsin, then they are also considered to be a Mumin and Muslim. However, if you are a Muslim, it does not automatically mean that you are a Mumin and Muhsin. Additionally, in the above narration five things are specified as the components of Islam – The testimony of faith, performing the obligatory prayers, paying the obligatory charity, fasting the month of Ramadan and performing the Hajj pilgrimage, these five components are commonly referred to as the ‘five pillars of Islam’.

5.3.2 *Muslim* and *Muslims*

This section explores the usage of the terms *Muslim* and *Muslims* (will from now be referred to as *Muslim(s)*) by examining the CK corpus. As is highlighted in Table A3 (see Appendix A), *Muslim(s)* occurs 76 times in the series (33 in S1 and 43 in s2) and appears in all episode across both seasons. Table A4 (Appendix A) highlights that these terms are mainly used by Mr Khan (27 times in S1 and 31 in S2), which would not be surprising as the majority of the CK corpus comprises of his speech (see section 4.2.1.2). However, when looking at the

frequency per 1000 words, Mr Khan also uses this term more frequently than any other character in relation to their speech as a whole over each season.

WordSmith identified that a common collocate of *Muslim* was ‘a’ (23 occurrences) and in most instances (21) appeared to the left of the node and in 12 of those occasions ‘a’ was directly to the left of *Muslim*. After carrying out a closer examination of the concordance lines, Table 5.3 details some of the adjectival terms that appear between ‘a’ and ‘Muslim’:

Table 5.3 :Adjectival terms that modify the noun Muslim

A	Better	Muslim
	Modern	
	very devout	
	Pakistani	
	nice, normal	
	very well known	
	special type of	
	good	
	proper	

All the utterances from Table 5.3 came from Mr Khan and a closer look at the concordance lines show indications to the judgemental nature of his character. This is highlighted most vividly in the following extract:

```
1 and 2. <u=mr khan>You know what I mean, 'The proper manager'.</u>
<u=dave>'Proper'? </u>
<u=mr khan>The brown one.</u>
<u=dave>Oh, I see what you're saying. It's OK I get this a lot. I am a Muslim. I'm a convert.</u>
<u=mr khan>Right. I'm not trying to be funny, mate, but you can't be a proper Muslim, you see.</u>
<u=dave>Because I'm white?</u>
<u=mr khan>Because you're ginger. </u>
```

Figure 5.1: MUSLIM(S) - Expansion of concordance lines 1 and 2

In figure 5.1, Mr Khan states that Dave ‘can’t be a proper Muslim’. On the surface level itself, this statement is problematic, as it creates the illusion that there is a state of existence somewhere between being ‘a proper Muslim’ and a ‘non-Muslim’. Rather, there is simply, only the state of being a Muslim and what defines a Muslim is indicated in the hadeeth that was narrated by Uthmaan (see 5.3.1 above). Therefore, anyone who abides by what is

commonly referred to as the ‘five pillars of Islam’ is considered to be a Muslim. This is the line of argument also pursued by Dave, when responding to Mr Khan further in the conversation:

3. <u=dave>Look, I've made my declaration of faith. I observe the five pillars. And anyway, doesn't the Koran teach us that everybody is born a Muslim and so, in fact...</u> <u=mr khan>All right, don't take it SO seriously!</u>

Figure 5.2: MUSLIM(S) - Expansion of concordance line 3

When confronted with an Islamically sound justification as to why Dave is in fact to be considered ‘a [full] Muslim’, Mr Khan dismisses Dave’s argument by telling him ‘don’t take it so seriously’.

Mr Khan’s lack of awareness or disregard of many Islamic principles, is further highlighted if we refer back to figure 5.1, where he wants to speak to the ‘proper manager’ – ‘the brown one’. When Dave goes on to challenge Khan on whether his discrimination is due to him being ‘white’, Khan dismisses this by claiming that it is due to him being ‘ginger’. Thus, inferring that Khan acknowledges it may be problematic to discriminate based upon skin colour, but hair colour is not seen as an issue to him. Khan’s behaviour seems to reflect a wider trend in society, where victimisation of redheads is passively accepted. A study by Regan (2014:2) found that ‘people with red hair are at high risk of bullying, victimisation and are depicted using negative stereotypes in popular culture.’ By Khan mocking people with red hair, which is common with popular culture (as is alluded to by Regan), it could be plausible that the writers incorporated this in to the script to make his character more palatable to the audience, than if he had been prejudiced against white people.

However, as Mr Khan had brought up colour (i.e. the ‘brown one’ being the ‘proper manager’) as the initial reasoning behind Dave not being a proper manager, it can be inferred that his colour is also the cause of him not being ‘a proper Muslim’. This contravenes with

the following statement of the Prophet that was delivered in a speech, commonly referred to as his ‘last sermon’:

The Prophet Said: ‘O people! Verily your Lord is one and your father (Adam) is one. An Arab is no better than a non-Arab, and a non-Arab is no better than an Arab, a red man is no better than a black man and a black man is no better than a red man – except if it is in terms of Taqwa (piety/God consciousness).’ (Musnad Imam Ahmad, Hadeeth 22,391)

In the above narration, it is clear that a person’s race or skin colour plays no part in determining if one person is better than another in the sight of God, rather it is your God consciousness that sets one person apart from another. Thereby, indicating that according to Islam, God is the ultimate determiner in deciding a person’s status and it is not something to be debated amongst the people. Mr Khan believing he is a superior Muslim to Dave due to his skin colour (he refers to the proper manager as ‘the brown one’) and also his nationality (discussed in chapter 8) is therefore un-Islamic and in turn questions Mr Khan’s self-perceived status as a ‘good’ or ‘devout’ Muslim, which will be discussed later in this section.

The character of Dave is replaced in the second series by a new mosque manager, who is also Caucasian, red-haired and called Dave. In keeping with type, Mr Khan also questions whether the new Dave character is a ‘proper’ Muslim:

```
58. <u=dave2>Not tired, Mr Khan?</u>
<u=mr khan>No, Dave. All night prayers is easy-peasy for us proper Muslims.
We can do it in our sleep.</u>
<u=dave2>Right.</u>
<u=mr khan>The trick is to prepare properly. Like, I've got dodgy knees, so I wear these. </u>
```

Figure 5.3: MUSLIM(S) - Expansion of concordance line 58

In the above extract, Mr Khan is indicating that Dave would find certain acts of worship difficult because he is not a ‘proper Muslim’. Also by using the plural pronoun ‘us’, he has

included himself into a particular group, and, consequently, excluded Dave. As was mentioned in the discussion regarding Mr Khan’s dispreferred response ‘hello’ (see section 5.2.2), the usage of the phrase ‘proper Muslim(s)’ in Citizen Khan seems to have been used by the scriptwriters to further represent Khan as holding an ‘us’ and ‘them’ mindset, which implies a somewhat unsympathetic characterisation.

As previously mentioned, in the same manner that Mr Khan excludes Dave from the ‘in-group’, he conversely includes the likes of Riaz, as is highlighted in the following extract:

<p>61. <u=riaz>OK.</u> <u=mr khan>Great! You see, Dave? This is how real Muslims look out for each other. Now, exactly how much are we talking about?</u> <u=riaz>I don't really know.</u> <u=mr khan>Oh, you must have some idea. </u></p>

Figure 5.4: MUSLIM(S) - Expansion of concordance line 61

In this example, Riaz offers to loan Mr Khan some money, and Mr Khan uses the opportunity to again indirectly label Dave as not a real Muslim, by labelling himself and Riaz as ‘real Muslims’. However, there are some instances in the corpus, where Mr Khan does acknowledge the Daves as being Muslim:

<p>24.<u=dave>It's a new thing, my idea actually. I thought it'd be a good way of attracting in new members.</u> <u=mr khan>New members? This is a mosque, Dave. Not LA Fitness. And THIS is no good. The Three Little Pigs? We're Muslim, Dave, remember?</u></p>
<p>28. <u=dave>Right. I am English, though, so...</u> <u=mr khan>You are Muslim now, Dave. You have to support Pakistan. It's God's team.</u></p>
<p>33. <u=dave>It is MY office.</u> <u=mr khan>Dave, we are Muslims. This is a mosque. It's not about ‘my this’ or ‘my that’, it's open to everyone. Now get out. </u></p>

Figure 5.5: MUSLIM(S) - Expansion of concordance lines 24, 28 and 33

In two of the instances highlighted in figure 5.5, Mr Khan conveniently decides to accept Dave as a Muslim, as it directly or indirectly benefits him – i.e. having Dave support the Pakistani cricket team and being able to use Dave’s office. In the first two instances, ‘now’

and ‘remember’ are used to remind Dave that he is no longer a non-Muslim. The following two extracts in Figure 5.6 provide further examples that due to Dave recently becoming Muslim (‘you’re new to this game’ and ‘it’s not your fault you’re new’), according to Mr Khan he is deficient in his understanding of Islam:

8.<u=dave>I'm afraid I don't follow. </u> <u=mr khan>Ah, well, you're new to this game. What you have to remember, Dave, is that God, Muslim God, he's a very nice fellow. He sees all men the same. Man with one leg, one arm. Those ones with the really big head. He doesn't care. We're all equal, you see? </u> <u=dave>Right. </u>
19 and 20. <u=dave>But the Azaan is actually quite important.</u> <u=mr khan>Yes, but in the middle of the night? It wakes you up.</u> <u=dave>It's supposed to wake you up, it's the call to prayer.</u> <u=mr khan>Look, all these gimmicky things, it's not what being a Muslim is all about. It's not your fault, you're new. You're on this sort of Muslim YTS scheme.</u> <u=dave>Oh, right? </u> <u=mr khan>You're not expected to understand everything straightaway.</u> <u=dave>Look, it's a big issue, a lot of our young people are quite worked up about it. </u>

Figure 5.6: MUSLIM(S) - Expansion of concordance lines 8, 19 and 20

Mr Khan also mentions that Dave is ‘on this sort of Muslim YTS scheme’. The Youth Training Scheme (YTS) was introduced by the Thatcher government in the 1980s, as a way of providing on-job-training opportunities for school leavers aged 16 and 17. This contextual reference would only likely be understood by the older UK-based BBC audience and poses the question as to why it appeared in the script. One possible reading of why the scriptwriters chose to put such an outdated reference into a programme which aired in 2012, was that they were trying to highlight how outdated Mr Khan’s views may be compared to the younger Muslim generations.

Referring the discussion back to table 5.3, Mr Khan uses the adverbial *very* to positively label his family – i.e. ‘a very devout Muslim family’, ‘a very well-known Muslim family’. As will be evident from the discussion in the later chapters of analysis, there is nothing that indicates the devoutness or religious adherence of the Khan family over the duration of the two

seasons. Therefore, Mr Khan’s positive labelling is either due to self-delusion or is an attempt to present his family as being something he knows they are truly not, and it is more than probable the latter. These two instances were used when convincing the headmaster of a Catholic girl’s school to accept his daughter onto their scholarship programme. Likewise, in the following extract, he instructs his family to go the mosque, so he can impress a business contact:

31. <u=mr khan>We got to go to mosque.</u>
 <u=shazia>Oh, what? Why do we have to come?</u>
 <u=mr khan>To pray, of course. And I want you to meet the new President of The Sparkhill Pakistani Business Association, Mr Javed. I want him to see what a nice, normal **Muslim** family we are. You see, your mother's all ready to go. </u>

Figure 5.7: MUSLIM(S) - Expansion of concordance line 31

This is the only instance in the two seasons where Mr Khan has asked his family to come to the mosque with him. A closer examination of the concordance lines for *Muslim(s)* found that *very* collocated with *Muslim* in the following way:

Table 5.4: Instances where *very* collocates with Muslim

not	very (x2)	
	devout	Muslim
	well-known	
	unbecoming of	
	interested in	
very		

As is illustrated in table 5.4, when *very* is directly to the left of *Muslim* it is always used within a negative statement. Both of these instances occurred in the same scene and were directed at Dave, further reinforcing the notion discussed above that Mr Khan sees a deficiency in Dave’s understanding of Islam:

6 and 7. <u=dave>I couldn't help noticing you're parked in the disabled bay.</u>
 <u=mr khan>Mr Qureshi never minded.</u>
 <u=dave>Yes, well, Mr Qureshi is in a retirement home in Balsall Heath and those bays are only for people with genuine disabilities.</u>
 <u=mr khan>That's not very **Muslim**, is it? </u>
 <u=dave>Sorry?</u>
 <u=mr khan>Well, this kind of discrimination, not very **Muslim**.</u>
 <u=dave>I'm afraid I don't follow. </u>
 <u=mr khan>Ah, well, you're new to this game.</u>

Figure 5.8: MUSLIM(S) - Expansion of concordance lines 6 and 7

However, Mr Khan's negative labelling using the term *Muslim* is not restricted to Dave, as is illustrated in the following passage:

68 and 69. <u=sajid>No, I don't really bother with all that.</u>
 <u=mr khan>But surely, as a good **Muslim**, you shave your... downstairs.</u>
 <u=sajid>No, I don't really like it. It's too itchy.</u>
 <u=mr khan>Oh. Really? Did you hear that, Dave?</u>
 <u=dave2>What?</u>
 <u=mr khan>Sajid's dingly-danglies aren't halal!
 Maybe he's not such a great example of a modern **Muslim** man after all!</u>
 <u=dave2>I don't think you can say that. </u>

Figure 5.9: MUSLIM(S) - Expansion of concordance lines 68 and 69

Prior to examining the concordance lines, it would be presumed that occurrences of 'a good Muslim' or 'a modern Muslim man' would have been uttered in a positive light. However, Mr Khan uses these seemingly positive phrases in a negative sense, to discredit Sajid. His perception of Sajid is not only that he is deficient as a Muslim, but also as a man:

66. <u=mrs khan>Why can't you be more like Sajid?</u>
 <u=mr khan>What you have to understand, sweetie, is that Sajid and I are very different. I'm the quintessential **Muslim** man. Pakistani pin-up. Sajid is doing the ladies' talking, has funny stuff in his hair and he has a very small beard. Not like a proper man at all.</u>
 <u=sajid>You're right, Mr K. I'm more your metrosexual kind of guy.</u>
 <u=mr khan>Don't worry. We welcome all sorts in this house. I'm going to the mosque. </u>

Figure 5.10: MUSLIM(S) - Expansion of concordance line 66

One of the reasons Mr Khan that sees Sajid as being deficient in his manhood, is due to his 'very small beard'. The importance that Mr Khan places on the beard is further emphasised in

the following extract, where he describes himself as the ‘perfect embodiment of a Muslim man’:

64. <u=amjad>Are you in it? </u>
<u=mr khan>I'm in it every year. You see, the person who represents the mosque must be perfect embodiment of a **Muslim** man. I got big beard. Nice hat. Classic suit.
Tradition never goes out of fashion, Amjad. You young people spend too much time on the Spacebook, Hotmails, watching videos on Boobtube. This is what it's really about. You want to feel it?</u>
<u=amjad>No, thank you, sir. </u>

Figure 5.11: MUSLIM(S) - Expansion of concordance line 64

Mr Khan’s self-recognition of himself as the ‘perfect embodiment of a Muslim man’ is purely based around his physical appearance – ‘I got big beard. Nice hat. Classic suit.’. There is scholarly consensus amongst the early generation of Islamic scholars that the beard is mandated for Muslim men based on the following prophetic narration:

‘Be different from the polytheists, cut the moustache and let the beard grow.’

(Sahih Al-Muslim, Hadeeth 602)

Apart from this narration, there are numerous other instances, where the Prophet commanded the Muslim men to grow their beards. However, having a beard does not automatically classify someone a good Muslim, as physical characteristics do not determine piety and the strength of one’s belief.

Furthermore, although Mr Khan may embody the physical traits he associates with a ‘perfect Muslim’, as is evident in these analysis chapters, his own level of religious adherence is highly questionable. This is most vivid, when he creates an imaginary Muslim sect – ‘OhTwaddis’, to aid his daughter getting a scholarship and goes onto proclaim a rabbit as sacred:

46 and 47 . </u><u=mr khan>I mean... We are very persecuted. No-one likes us.
 Not even the other **Muslims**. We're different, you see.</u>
 <u=prof stevens>In what way?</u>
 <u=mr khan>Well, it's the praying, for starters. We do it ten times a day.
 Twice as many as your normal **Muslims**... and we have to do it standing on one leg...
 whilst eating a carrot. The rabbit is very sacred to us OhTwaddis, you see.</u>
 ><u=prof stevens>Remarkable! Right, right... Well, let's fill this in.</u>
 <u=mr khan>Great! </u>

Figure 5.12: MUSLIM(S) - Expansion of concordance lines 46 and 47

Mr Khan mentions that the OhTwaddis pray ‘standing on one leg... whilst eating a carrot’, which would be a ridiculous concept to any of the watching Muslim audience and most likely the majority of the non-Muslim audience also. Thus, by Khan telling such ludicrous lies and hoping to get away with them, he is further constructed as a fool to the viewers. A further example of ascribing strange concepts to Islam is found in the following passage:

29 and 30. <u=keith>What are those then?</u>
 <u=mr khan>Prayer pads. Protect your knees whilst your praying.</u>
 <u=keith>Oh, right. And that?</u>
 <u=mr khan>This is a **Muslim** religious artefact.</u>
 <u=keith>It looks like a cricket bat.</u>
 <u=mr khan>That proves you are ignorant of **Muslim** culture, and therefore a bloody racist! Thank you! Goodbye!</u> [end of scene]

Figure 5.13: MUSLIM(S) - Expansion of concordance lines 29 and 30

Although it is acknowledged that Citizen Khan is a comedy and the above examples have been designed for comedic purposes, as well as to construct Khan as a fool, it still poses the question as to why the scriptwriters chose to ascribe such ridiculous concepts (‘a sacred rabbit’ and ‘religious cricket bat’) to Islam, especially to a large mainstream prime-time audience, with such scenes potentially explaining the position of those who complained (see section 1.1).

5.3.3 *Islam*

The term *Islam* is comparatively less frequent than *Muslim(s)* in the CK corpus, with only 12 occurrences in total (7 in S1 and 5 in S2, see Table A4 – Appendix A). With such a negligible

amount of occurrences it would be difficult to base any conclusive remarks on those instances alone. However, when looking at the usage of *Islam* in the series, it fits into the analysis of the other terms discussed in this chapter, where it appears that elements of the religion are possibly being misrepresented to the wider non-Muslim audience. In half of all instances, the preposition *of* appeared directly to the left of the lemma *Islam* and a breakdown of all these instances is illustrated in table 5.5:

Table 5.5: Instances where *of* collocates with Islam

the teachings	of	Islam
the history		
the five pillars (x 2)		
holy parts		
the attractive, modern face		

‘The five pillars of Islam’ is the most commonly used phrase in table 5.5 and this builds on from the discussion in the previous section, where it was established that if an individual observes the five pillars of Islam, he is considered to be a Muslim. Figure 5.14 illustrates the two instances where this phrase was used:

<p>5. <u=dave>A late addition, a charity auction.</u> <u=mr khan>Oh, come on!</u> <u=dave>As you all know, Mr Butt, proprietor of Butt's Luxury Carpet Emporium and Travel Agency has made a very generous donation to the mosque.</u> <u=ALL BESIDES MR KHAN>Oooh!</u> <u=dave>All proceeds going to the charity appeal fund.</u> <u=all><vocal=APPLAUSE></u> <u=mr khan>Can't we have this later? We've got more important things to do.</u> <u=dave>Well, charity is one of the five pillars of Islam.</u> <u=mr khan>Yeah, one. There are four more</u></p>
<p>12. <u=mr khan>Please accept my generous donation...your holiness. Thank you. So, what you going to do with them?</u> <u=reverend>Well, we'll sort through it all, put some stuff with the bric-a-brac. Anything really good will be wrapped for Santa's grotto. </u><u=mr khan>No need to sort it. This is all top quality. You want to stick it straight up your grotto.</u> <u=reverend>It's very generous of you.</u> <u=mr khan>You're welcome, Revy. You know, charity is one of the Five Pillars of Islam. You can convert if you want. We'll take anyone. Look at Dave.</u></p>

Figure 5.14: ISLAM - Expansion of concordance lines 5 and 12

In both instances, the pillar of Islam that is under discussion is charity. However, taken together, Mr Khan's statements about this pillar are contradictory. In the first instance, Mr Khan downplays the importance of charity by reminding Dave that there are four other pillars. However, when Mr Khan performs an act of charity, he reinforces the importance of charity, by stating that it is one of the five pillars. These two examples further highlight the contradictory nature of Mr Khan's character and his acceptance and/or rejection of parts of his faith, as and when it is convenient to himself.

Furthermore, in both instances, the acts of charity that are in question do not actually fall into the type of charity that is obligatory for every Muslim and thus, they do not fall within the 'five pillars of Islam'. Charity in Islam can be divided into two broad categories – Zakah⁸³ (the obligatory charity that is specified when defining Islam in 5.3.1) and Sadaqah (any other form of charity – not considered to be obligatory). Therefore, taking part in a charity auction or giving some old items of clothing to the local mosque (as in the two instances above) does not fall into the category of Zakah, but is rather considered as Sadaqah.

In another example, Mr Khan goes on to state that Dave's actions are going against the teachings of Islam:

1. <u=mr khan>So you giving a special parking space to disableds is going against the teachings of Islam.</u>
<u=dave>I don't think that's what I'm...</u>
<u=mr khan>We're all the same in God's eyes, Dave. And if I have to park in the disabled space to prove it, then I will. </u>

Figure 5.15: ISLAM - Expansion of concordance line 1

In this instance, Mr Khan again makes up religious rulings for his own convenience. When looking at this example, as well as the numerous ones mentioned above (i.e. Khan claiming his cricket gear is related to Islam), it could be argued, that Khan uses his religious identity,

⁸³ Zakah is a specified amount (2.5%) that a Muslim needs to pay from his wealth on a yearly basis [as long as they reach the minimum threshold of wealth] and there are restrictions as to who this charity can be paid to.

as a metaphorical-shield⁸⁴ to justify his foolish behaviour and thus, when he is called to account, he mitigates his behaviour by attributing it to his religion. He thus behaves in a similar manner to those African Americans of using ‘the race card’ (see Mendelberg, 2001) to justify aspects of their behaviour. Khan knows that by attributing his behaviour to his religion, he is less likely to be challenged, especially by the non-Muslim characters such as Keith and Professor Stevens.

The term *Islam* is also used by Mr Khan to refer to it as *the fastest growing religion in the world*:

<p>3. <u=mrs khan>It's a Muslim religious study camp.</u> <u=mr khan>So what, do you think Muslims don't do tang-tang? Because let me tell you, Mrs Khan, they certainly do. Islam is not the fastest growing religion in the world for nothing. Muslims all over the world are doing tang-tang left, right and centre.</u> <u=mrs khan>Maybe some of them. </u></p>
<p>7. <u=mr khan>Still shouldn't be surprised - Islam is the fastest growing religion in the world. Do you know Tesco now serves halal meat? ‘Every little helps!’</u></p>

Figure 5.16: ISLAM - Expansion of concordance lines 3 and 7

A study by the Pew Research Center (2015) found that Muslims are the world’s fastest growing religious group and predicted that ‘Muslims will grow twice as fast as the overall world population between 2010 and 2050.’ One of the key reasons they present for this significant increase in the Muslim population is due to the substantially higher birth rate within the Muslim regions of the world, which aligns with what Mr Khan mentions in the first extract. Mr Khan’s usage of the euphemism *tang-tang*, which he uses as an alternative to sexual intercourse, as is discussed in section 8.3.1 In this example, Mrs Khan also subtly implies the lack of sexual relations between her and Mr Khan, and the discussion of how such a narrative plays on clichés found in earlier British sitcoms, as mentioned in section 7.2.1.

⁸⁴ I have used the term metaphorical shield, to signify that Khan uses his religious identity as a shield, so that any criticisms of his behaviour cannot impact him or be attributed to him directly.

In the second extract, after Mr Khan states that Islam is the fastest growing religion, he goes on to state that Tesco is now selling halal meat. He thus implies that by a national chain such as Tesco adding products catered for Muslims on their shelves, this acts as an indicator of how popular Islam has become. He goes on to use the phrase ‘every little helps’, an intertextual reference to the Tesco brand slogan which elicits laughter from the audience.

5.4 Religious Deity and Acts/Places of Worship

Another one of the key USAS semantic categories was S9, ‘Religion and the supernatural’. After further investigation of this category and employing the criteria mentioned within section 4.6.2, the terms *God, Allah,*⁸⁵ *Mosque, Pray, Praying, Prayer(s) and Prayed* were selected for further concordance analysis. It was subsequently determined that these terms fell into the overarching themes of identity and religion and more specifically within the topics of ‘Religious Deity’ and ‘Acts/Places of Worship’.

5.4.1 Contextual Information

The term *Allah* is the Arabic term for God and its usage is also found in Arabic translations of the Bible when referring to God. Islam is a monotheistic religion and its adherents believe that God should be worshipped alone without any partners. Islam, alongside Judaism and Christianity are commonly referred to as the Abrahamic faiths, as they all acknowledge Abraham as a prophet. Muslims are also of the belief that the Bible and Torah were sent down to the prophets Jesus and Moses. Moreover, it is explicitly stated within the Quran that Muslims believe in Judeo-Christian scriptures and that all three religions worship the same God:

And argue not with the people of the Scripture (Jews and Christians), unless it be in (a way) that is better (with good words and in good manner, inviting them to Islamic

⁸⁵ The term Allah was identified by Wmatrix as a ‘personal name’ and placed in the Z1 USAS category.

Monotheism with His Verses), except with such of them as do wrong, and say (to them): **‘We believe in that which has been revealed to us and revealed to you; our Ilah (God) and your Ilah (God) is One (i.e. Allah), and to Him we have submitted (as Muslims).** (Quran, 29:46) (my emphasis)

When examining the Muslim prayer, it should be established that the obligation of the prayer is mentioned in numerous instances in the Quran. For example one of these verses states:

Verily, the prayer is enjoined on the believers at fixed hours. (Quran, 4:103)

As the above verse indicates, not only is the prayer enjoined upon the followers of Islam but these prayers are restricted to ‘fixed hours’. The times of the prayers were mentioned by the Prophet Mohammed in the following hadeeth narrated in Sahih Al-Muslim (Hadeeth 612):

‘The time for Dhuhr is from when the sun has passed its zenith and a man’s shadow is equal in length to his height, until the time for ‘Asr comes. The time for ‘Asr lasts until the sun turns yellow. The time for Maghrib lasts until the twilight has faded. The time for ‘Isha’ lasts until midnight. The time for Subh (Fajr) prayer lasts from the beginning of the pre-dawn so long as the sun has not yet started to rise. When the sun starts to rise then stop praying.’

In the above hadeeth, the timings of the five daily prayers are outlined, as well as the names for each prayer: Dhuhr (4), Asr (4), Maghrib (3), Isha (4) and Fajr (2). The numbers in brackets, specify the number of units in each of these prayers as narrated in other hadeeth, with one unit of prayer (called a rak’ah) consisting of an initial standing position, followed by bowing, then standing upright once more, before entering into the prostration position, followed by briefly sitting and then entering into prostration once more. In the second and final unit of each prayer, after the two prostrations, there is a period of sitting called the

tashahud and in the final unit, it is required to turn to each side (the *taslim*) to conclude the prayer.

There are a number of hadeeth which outline how the prayer should be precisely performed, with certain posturing within the prayer, as well as what is recited varying slightly according to the different schools of thought. However, the basic principle in regard to how the prayer is performed is outlined by the Prophet in a hadeeth found in Sahih Al-Bukhari (Hadeeth 631), where he states:

‘Pray as you have seen me praying.’

Therefore, it is obligatory upon a Muslim to conduct their prayer based upon the description found in the authentic books of hadeeth, rather than implementing any additional cultural practices into their prayer.

5.4.2 *God* and *Allah*

The term *God* appears 128 times in the corpus (Table A5/A6, Appendix A), with Mr Khan using it on 72 occasions (56%). However, Mrs Khan’s (7.57) and Shazia’s (6.58) usage of the term is more frequent in season one than Mr Khan’s (3.12) when looking at the frequency per 1000 words. From these 128 occurrences, the phrase *oh my God* is used 49 times:

18. <u=alia>Naanijaan's on the sofa and now she can't get up again! </u> <u=mrs khan>Oh, my God ! Be careful! She's an old lady! </u>
30 - 31. <u=shazia>The place where we're going, does it begin with 'M'? </u> <u=mr khan>Yes. </u> <u=shazia>Oh, my God ! Oh - my - God ! </u>
109. <u=jackie>Oh, my God . That's him! That's the man who pushed me out of a window!</u> <u=mr khan>Stay away from me! I'm a married man! </u>

Figure 5.17: GOD - Expansion of concordance lines 18, 30 and 109

As can be seen from the above examples, *oh my God* is used in a variety of different ways within the series, such as panic, excitement, surprise and realisation. However, one of the

most frequent ways it was used during the show was to display hysteria and this was most commonly done by Mrs Khan:

<p>7. <u=mrs khan>You haven't got time to think! The invitations will go out. People will book their flights. Oh, my God! The wedding will be postponed and the shame will destroy us all! </u></p>
<p>9-11. <u=mrs khan>Oh, my God! </u> <u=mr khan>He'll come round! </u> <u=mrs khan>Oh, my God! </u> <u=mr khan>It'll be OK. </u> <u=mrs khan>Oh, my God! </u> <u=mr khan>You know, it's very difficult to have a conversation with you when you're talking to someone else. </u></p>
<p>12-13. <u=mrs khan>Well?! </u> <u=mr khan>The wedding is off. </u> <u=mrs khan>Oh, my God! Oh, my God! </u> <u=mr khan>Don't start that again. </u></p>
<p>55 and 59. <u=mrs shafiq>My husband has just died and you've brought shame on me, on his memory, and on your entire family. </u> <u=mrs khan>Oh, my God! </u> <u=mrs shafiq>Your family already has a name. Your younger daughter is out all the time! </u> <u=mrs khan>No, no, no! She isn't, she's here, helping me! Where's Alia? </u> <u=mr khan>I let her go out. </u> <u=mrs khan>Oh, my God! You've ruined me! </u></p>
<p>71-72. <u=shazia>What's going on? </u> <u=mrs khan>Nothing, Beti, I'm just full of happiness because it's our anniversary. Oh, my God! don't let her suffer. Please, God! don't let her suffer! </u></p>

Figure 5.18: GOD - Expansion of concordance lines 7, 9-13, 55, 59, 71 and 72

Aside from Mrs Khan's hysterical behaviour, there were other instances in the series, where other characters also displayed such conduct:

<p>60 – 64. <u=amjad>Oh, my God! Shazia! </u> <u=mr khan>Amjad! People are praying. Try not to make a scene. </u> <u=amjad>Oh, my God! Shazia! Oh, my God! Oh, my God! Oh, my God! </u> <u=mr khan>Careful Amjad, it's a mosque, he can hear you. </u> <u=amjad>How could she do this to me? How?! </u></p>
--

Figure 5.19: GOD - Expansion of concordance lines 60 – 64

As well as *oh my God*, other clusters containing *God* were also prevalent in the corpus:

1. <u=shazia>No, they actually can't come. Her husband died.</u> <u=mrs khan>Oh. Thank God .</u>
14. <u=shazia>It's not even about the mosque. That's not even important. </u> <u=mr khan>Thank God for that! </u>
16. <u=naani>Hanh? </u> <u=mr khan>You're facing the wrong way! Galat hai! Oh, God ! </u>

Figure 5.20: GOD - Expansion of concordance lines 1, 14 and 16

The most common of these other clusters was *oh God*, which appeared 41 times in the corpus, followed by *oh thank God* (7 occurrences) and *thank God* (4 occurrences). These three clusters, alongside *oh my god* equate to 101 occurrences in total, meaning that the term *God* only appeared 27 times (21%) in the corpus when excluding these four phrases. The usage of such expressions would be considered from a Christian perspective as ‘using God’s name in vain’, which is the fourth of the Ten Commandments. From an Islamic perspective, there is not any explicit Quranic verse or hadeeth that forbids using God’s name in vain, although one verse which is used by those within the field of comparative religion, which they hold to possess a similar meaning is:

And make not Allah's (Name) an excuse in your oaths against your doing good and acting piously, and making peace among mankind. And Allah is All-Hearer, All-Knower (i.e. do not swear much and if you have sworn against doing something good then give an expiation for the oath and do good). (Quran, 2:224)

The verse above is referring to those who use Allah’s name when making oaths and more specifically people who take oaths that they will not do a good action and then use that oath as an excuse not to do good.⁸⁶ McEnery (2006:32-43), when investigating how British people swear in the spoken demographic section of the BNC, found that religious oaths (e.g. *by God*)

⁸⁶ For example, somebody may take an oath that they will only perform the pilgrimage (Hajj) with their mother and then their mother passes away before they had a chance to perform it. He then uses that oath as an excuse to never perform the pilgrimage.

were commonly used as a ‘very mildly offensive’ term and similar to the CK corpus, the usage of *God* in the BNC was more frequent among females.

Aside from these phrases, *God* collocates with *Muslim*, when Mr Khan uses the phrase *Muslim God* when addressing Dave:

```
19-20. <u=dave>I'm afraid I don't follow. </u>
<u=mr khan>Ah, well, you're new to this game.
What you have to remember, Dave, is that God, Muslim God,
he's a very nice fellow. He sees all men the same. Man with one leg, one arm.
Those ones with the really big head. He doesn't care. We're all equal, you see? </u>
<u=dave>Right. </u>
```

Figure 5.21: GOD - Expansion of concordance lines 19 and 20

His usage in this instance could have been to draw a distinction between the ‘Muslim God’ – Allah and whatever God he believed Dave had previously worshipped. Assuming Dave was Christian prior to accepting Islam, then Mr Khan would be incorrect in creating a distinction between the ‘Muslim God’ and the ‘Christian God’. Muslims believe that the Torah and the Bible in their original forms were both also sent down by Allah and differences in belief are due to the revisions made to these scriptures, as well as the Muslim rejection of the concept of the Trinity. Despite this, Muslims still consider that the God mentioned in the Bible and Torah, is the same as the God which the Muslims worship and that is also why the followers of Christianity and Judaism are referred to as ‘The People of the Book’ in numerous instances within the Quran. When looking at the Arabic equivalent of God - *Allah*, then this word only appears 18 times in the two seasons and eight of these were part of the string *Allah hu Akbar*:

```
2-4. <u=mr khan>Right... Away you go.</u>
<u=extra>Allah hu Akbar. Allah hu Akbar. Allah hu Akbar.</u>
<u=mr khan>Next!</u>
<u=omar>Aaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaa...</u>
<u=mr khan>Next! </u>
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Figure 5.22: ALLAH - Expansion of concordance lines 2 – 4

Allah hu Akbar could be translated as ‘God is Greater’ or ‘God is the Greatest’, as *Akbar* can operate as both a superlative and a comparative within the Arabic language. In the above example, it was being used in the context of the call to prayer (Adhaan) and this usage is discussed further in section 5.4.4. However, *Allah hu Akbar* can also be used in other contexts, as is illustrated below:

<p>13. <u=mr khan>You want biscoot?</u> <u=naani>Eh? </u> <u=mr khan>You like that, don't you? It's your favourite. Custard creamy.</u> <u=naani>Haan.</u> <u=mr khan>It's right here. You just have to reach out and take it. It's OK. I'll stand all the way over here. Yes! Get in! Allah hu Akbar! </u></p>
<p>14. <u=prof stevens>Well, if you're suffering persecution on religious grounds, then perhaps we should try and find a way to help.</u> <u=mr khan>Yes! Get In! Allah hu Akbar!</u></p>

Figure 5.23: ALLAH - Expansion of concordance lines 13 and 14

In these two examples, Mr Khan uses the phrase to express joy. In the first extract he tricks his mother-in-law to get up, so he can sit on his favourite chair and in the second example, he is given hope that Alia will be accepted onto a scholarship program. Aside from its usage during the call to prayer and as an expression of joy, other usages include mentioning it in times of distress, on the days of Eid and to express gratitude. However, in the past few years, it is most commonly mentioned within the western media in the context of jihad and terrorism, with witnesses claiming to have heard the phrase by perpetrators of acts of terrorism.⁸⁷ Considering that many of these incidents took place after the filming of these two seasons, it is highly unlikely that the scriptwriters had considered the usage of this phrase in the sitcom as being significant. However, by portraying instances where *Allah hu Akbar* can be used in normalised everyday circumstances, Citizen Khan is indirectly helping to normalise its usage to the British audience, which helps in removing its negative association with terrorism.

⁸⁷<http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/louvre-evacuated-soldier-attack-armed-police-paris-art-gallery-gunfire-france-attack-terror-a7560721.html>

Aside from *Muslim God*, the phrase *house of God* appeared four times in the corpus:

<p>3. <u=dave>You know you can drop in anytime and use the facilities here.</u> <u=mr khan>Yes. </u> <u=dave>This is the house of God, open to everyone.</u> <u=mr khan>Yes, that's very nice. Can I just ask one thing?</u> <u=dave>Shoot. </u> <u=mr khan>Who the hell are you? </u></p>
<p>36. <u=dave>Surely an even more important thing would be to have the Azaan 24 hours a day? We should be lobbying the council to let us. </u> <u=mr khan>24 hours a day? This isn't an all-night petrol station. This is the house of God. </u></p>
<p>65<u=mrs khan>I don't believe it. How could you do this? My own husband lying to me and in the House of God of all places! The shame of it! </u> <u=mr khan>What, it's only an invitation. We never see the Parvezes anyway... </u></p>
<p>105. <u=jackie>Do you think I could have a little tour before we go? I've always wanted to see inside a mosque. </u> <u=mr khan>What?! This is the house of God, not flipping Madame Tussauds!</u></p>

Figure 5.24: GOD - Expansion of concordance line 3, 36, 65, 105

In the extracts above, in an attempt to signify the status of the mosque Mr Khan indirectly compares it to a petrol station and Madame Tussauds. Apart from these four instances, which use the expression *house of god*, the mosque is mentioned in numerous other instances, as will be discussed in the subsequent section.

5.4.3 Mosque

The term *mosque* was used 124 times in the two seasons, with Mr Khan's usage accounting for 54% of these occurrences (Table A6, Appendix A). It would be assumed that a term referring to a place of worship, would mainly be mentioned in the context of acts of worship being performed within the mosque. However, in most cases *mosque* was used to refer to the building and its facilities, and in particular the booking of the mosque for Shazia's wedding:

<p>13. <u=shazia>Amjad forgot to book the mosque!</u> <u=mrs khan>I don't believe it.</u> <u=alia>It's probably for the best, Papa. Now you can hire somewhere less expensive. </u></p>
<p>16 - 19. <u=mrs khan>You didn't forget to book the mosque, did you?</u> <u=mr khan><vocal=SIPS LOUDLY> Ahhh. Hmm?</u> <u=mrs khan>The mosque. It's booked, isn't it?</u> <u=mr khan>You know, when you think about it, is the mosque really the right place to have your wedding?</u> <u=mrs khan>What have you done?</u> <u=mr khan>I just thought, wedding, mosque, something didn't feel right.</u> <vocal=audience laughter><u=shazia>We're Muslim! </u></p>
<p>21 and 22. <u=mr khan>This is all your fault in the first place. If you'd let us book the mosque, none of this would've happened.</u> <u=amjad>Is that why Shazia's gone off me? Because you didn't book the mosque?</u> <u=mr khan>No! </u></p>

Figure 5.25: MOSQUE - Expansion of concordance lines 13, 16 – 19, 21 and 22

In the above extracts, the discussion around booking the mosque for Shazia’s wedding is centred around Mr Khan forgetting to book the mosque and then proceeding to blame Amjad for the mishap. In the second example, when Mr Khan questions if the mosque is the right place to have the wedding. This elicited audience laughter, with Shazia then responding by saying ‘We’re Muslim!’. The scriptwriters incorporated this line to produce humour, thus insinuating that as a Muslim, your wedding should take place in a mosque. It could be argued that many of the non-Muslim viewers would assume Muslims are required to marry in the mosque, in the same way that a Christian would presumably marry in a church. However, from an Islamic perspective this is incorrect, as there is no authentic textual evidence that stipulates that a marriage should be conducted in the mosque or for it even to be preferable to do so.

Aside from the area in the mosque that holds wedding functions, another part of the mosque which was regularly mentioned was the mosque office:

4 and 5. <u=mr khan>Mrs Bilal! What are you doing in the mosque office?</u> <u=mrs bilal>I wanted to talk to you. </u>
37 and 39. <u=mr khan>Come on, this way. What do think of the mosque ? Good, eh?</u> <u=naani>Mujay lagra hai doctor waiting room. </u> <u=mr khan>All right. All right. This is just the mosque office. Prayer room is down the corridor. </u>
102. <u=jackie>Er, I don't understand.</u> <u=mr khan>Look, this is the mosque office. You've got to tick two boxes to get in here. One - Muslim. Two - mans. You got no tick so far. </u>
105. <u=mr khan>Oh, my God!</u> <u=dave2>It'll be OK. It's a woman in the mosque office. We've had women in the office before.</u> <u=omar>Yes, it's only a woman who's inappropriately dressed, who you met on the internet. </u>

Figure 5.26: MOSQUE - Expansion of concordance lines 4, 5, 37, 39, 102 and 105

When looking at the instances where the *mosque office* was mentioned, it is interesting that women are present in all these interactions, and the final two extracts explicitly discuss women being in the mosque office. In concordance line 102, Mr Khan states two conditions for entering the office – being a man and a Muslim. It could be possible that the scriptwriters chose this office environment as a means to reinforce a common discourse around Muslims and Islam, namely, the subjugation of women.

However, it needs to be stressed that having an office within a mosque environment is mostly a trend found within the western countries and does not have any Islamic basis. Therefore, the way mosques are run are normally informed by cultural practices and in Britain specifically, many of the mosques within Britain are dominated by a specific ethnic group.⁸⁸

Conforming to the theme of the mosque office, another collocate of *mosque* was *manager*.

As discussed in the preceding sections, in the two seasons of the sitcom, the mosque had two managers, both of whom were named Dave. In the extracts in Figure 5.27, Mr Khan shows an element of disregard for Dave and also questions how he managed to get the job, his actions stemming from his belief that Dave is not the proper manager.

⁸⁸ For example, one of the largest mosques in Europe, the East London mosque has mainly Bangladeshi worshippers and a predominantly Bengali administration.

<p>6. <u=mr khan>Who the hell are you?</u> <u=dave>Sorry, I'm Dave. I'm the new mosque manager.</u> <u=mr khan>What happened to Mr Qureshi? </u></p>
<p>36. <u=mr khan>I'm making a phone call. Can you wait outside?</u> <u=dave>It is my office. I am the mosque manager.</u> <u=mr khan>All right. All right. I still don't know how you got this job.</p>
<p>42. </u><u=naani>Yeh kaun hai?</u> <u=mr khan>This is Dave, Naani. The mosque manager. I know, I can't get my head round it either.</u> <u=dave>Asalaam Alaikum. </u></p>

Figure 5.27: MOSQUE - Expansion of concordance lines 6, 36 and 42

As is evident from Figure 5.1 in the preceding section, Mr Khan's main objection to Dave as a manager, is due to him not being brown. In the instances in the series where the mosque worshippers are shown, it is apparent that the overwhelming majority of them are Pakistani and thus, it would be expected in such instances that a Pakistani would also be running the mosque. In a similar manner to the East London Mosque, where the majority ethnic group controls the administration, in order not to appear racist, Mr Khan states that his issue is with Dave being ginger and there appears to be an association between the term *ginger* and mosque manager in the corpus:

<p>47 and 48. <u=mr khan>I thought I was chairing the meeting. I always chaired the meeting when Mr Qureshi was here.</u> <u=dave>But I'm the mosque manager now.</u> <u=mr khan>Look, Dave, this is the mosque AGM. It stands for Annual General Meeting, not Association of Ginger Muslims. </u></p>
<p>76. <u=mr khan>No! There must be some kind of mistake. We've already had a ginger manager, you see.</u> <u=dave2>Sorry, I'm not with you.</u> <u=mr khan>The last mosque manager, Dave - he was also a ginger so we've done our bit for equal opportunities. </u></p>
<p>77 and 78. <u=mr khan>Don't get me wrong. I got nothing against ginger peoples in the mosque, but once you let one in, then the floodgates open. We got to guard ourselves from this creeping gingerfication. I'm like the brown finger in the ginger dyke.</u> <u=dave2>Asalaam Alaikum.</u> <u=mr khan>Aie! Who are you?</u> <u=dave2>I'm the new mosque manager.</u> <u=mr khan>Not again! I thought you said he was one of us? </u></p>

Figure 5.28: MOSQUE - Expansion of concordance lines 47, 48, 76, 77 and 78

In the above examples, Mr Khan clearly discriminates against red-haired people and it could be argued that the scriptwriters have used Mr Khan's discrimination of people with red hair to highlight how Muslims and Islam are discriminated against by some sections of society.⁸⁹ At the time that the programme aired, the phrase 'Islamification of Britain'⁹⁰ was relatively common in certain quarters of the British press, and looking at concordance lines 77 and 78, if we replaced *ginger* with *Muslim*, *mosque* with *Britain* and *gingerfication*⁹¹ with *Islamification* then the resulting statement would not be too out of a place within a right-wing British newspaper:

I got nothing against Muslim people in Britain but once you let one in, then the floodgates open. We got to guard ourselves from this creeping Islamification.

Mr Khan thus parodies tabloid discourse around Muslims, reworking it for comedic purposes, although there is also a more serious interpretation of his language here, with the script writers indirectly acknowledging Islamophobia in the press.

Khan goes on to state that he is 'the brown finger in the ginger dyke', which is a further intertextual reference to the term *finger in the dyke* popularised by a story of a Dutch boy who stopped water penetrating a dyke (embankment) by putting in his finger to plug the hole. This phrase could also be a metaphorical reference to Muslims entering into Britain, which the media have identified as a hole that needs to be plugged. The reference to floodgates and the implication that red haired people are coming through a dyke, also accesses a well-described tabloid water metaphor which is regularly used in negative representations of out-groups, including immigrants (Baker et al 2013a).

⁸⁹ I.e. Khan's prejudiced and bigoted speech towards red haired people resembles the speech of far-right groups such as the EDL and Britain First use when referring to Muslims.

⁹⁰ e.g. <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/the-islamification-of-britain-record-numbers-embrace-muslim-faith-2175178.html>

⁹¹ The term *gingerfication* is also an intertextual reference to an episode of South Park (S2E15) which had a *gingerfication gun*.

Dave does not actually hold much power as the mosque manager, with the major decisions concerning the mosque normally decided upon by the mosque committee, which the mosque manager most likely will be a member of. In regards to this committee there seems to be a contradiction within the series, as to whether or not Mr Khan is a part of it:

9 - 11. <u=mrs malik>It's going to be a wonderful occasion. The mosque is so lovely.</u> <u=mr khan> Mosque , shmosque.</u> <u=mrs khan>Of course my husband is on the mosque committee.</u> <u=mr khan>Stop it now, Mrs Khan. </u>
54. <u=mr khan>No, I'm going to have auditions like on the X Factor! That's what this is for. You know...if this works out, the mosque committee might even make me a trustee.</u>
80. <u=mr khan> I'm going to see the new mosque manager. He's going to put me on the committee. </u>

Figure 5.29: MOSQUE - Expansion of concordance lines 9-11, 54 and 80

In the first extract Mrs Khan states that Mr Khan is on the mosque committee. However, in the other two extracts, which appeared in later episodes, Mr Khan expresses a desire to become a trustee, as well as a committee member, thus signifying, that Khan is lying to Mrs Khan, to further construct himself as a person of importance to his family. The term *mosque business* is also used on four occasions in the corpus:

69 and 70. <u=mr khan>I didn't say I could solve the problem.</u> <u=dave>You know this computer should really only be used for mosque business, Mr Khan.</u> <u=mr khan>Well, I go to the mosque , and this is my business. </u>
71. <u=dave>There's no stamp on it.</u> <u=mr khan>So? </u> <u=dave>Again, it's not really mosque business, is it, Mr Khan?</u> <u=mr khan>You know, Dave, all this penny pinching, it's a very unattractive trait. </u>

Figure 5.30: MOSQUE - Expansion of concordance lines 69 - 71

In the two instances above, Mr Khan makes use of mosque property for his own use and when challenged by Dave, he tells him not to 'penny pinch'. Irony is a commonly used comedic device and Mr Khan's statement is particularly ironic considering his characterisation as a cheapskate (see section 6.3).

Following on from the analysis of the mosque, the next part of the chapter looks at the usage of terms related to praying within the corpus.

5.4.4 *Pray, Praying, Prayer(s) and Prayed*

The term *pray* and its varying grammatical forms (*praying, prayer, prayers, prayed*) appear 93 times in the two seasons (Table A5, Appendix A). In five instances in the corpus, Mr Khan refers to the number of times Muslims pray in the day:

2. </u><u=amjad>So we are British, not Pakistani? </u><u=mr khan>Look, we work hard, we go to mosque, we pray to Allah five times a day, how much more British can you get?!
4, 5 and 13. </u><u=clive>People like it. That's why we've got a caller. If you're not going to do it... </u><u=mr khan>All right! Chillax! Keep your knickers on! Right, let's see. Number of times we pray . Come on! Number of times we pray ! Five a day, isn't it! Number of times we pray , five a day! Five! Number of prophets named in the Koran. 25! What is it now? </u><u=clive>I'm not sure this stuff is appropriate.
7. </u><u=mr khan>Oh, not Matt and Debbie! We Muslims don't need to go to the gym. If you pray five times a day, you get plenty exercise. It's all that bending down, isn't it? </u><u=alia>That's why I'm so slim, Papaji.

Figure 5.31: PRAY(-ING, ER(S), ED) - Expansion of concordance lines 2, 4, 5, 7 and 13

It is presumed that the scriptwriters chose to incorporate this information into the programme, as it is something which is commonly associated with Muslims and Islam. However, the visual representations of the prayer in the series are not accurate representations of the Muslim prayer. On many occasions the characters immediately enter into the prostration position once entering the prayer (see figure 5.32). Also the same scene shows Mr Khan flinging his mother-in-law around on the prayer mat and such scenes which mock the prayer were highlighted for particular criticism by audience members.⁹²

⁹² <https://mybeliefs.co.uk/2012/09/05/bbc-1-citizen-khan-ep-2-has-gone-to-far/>



Figure 5.32: Screenshot of Khan flinging his mother-in law around on a prayer mat

The usage of *prayed* also indicates a further misrepresentation of Muslim acts of worship:

14 - 17. <u=omar>What did you pray for?</u>
 <u=mr khan>It's a difficult one. You don't want to waste Allah's time with anything frivolous, so I **prayed** I could jump NHS queue for my knee operation. I've been waiting bloody ages.</u>
 <u=dave>I **prayed** for world peace and an end to all hunger and suffering.</u>
 <u=mr khan>Obviously, I **prayed** for that too.</u>
 <u=omar>So did I, but I sometimes wonder if it does any good.</u>
 <u=dave>Praying works. </u>
 <u=riaz>Definitely. If you have the faith, it can achieve the most amazing things, like the other day, I **prayed** that I will come into lots of money without having to do any work, and now I have.</u>

Figure 5.33: PRAY(-ING, ER(S), ED) - Expansion of concordance lines 14-17

In the above extract, Khan and three other characters are seen concluding their prayers, then they proceed to ask one another what each other had prayed for. To the casual observer, there would not be anything problematic about this scene. However, the characters' misunderstanding of Islamic practices is once again highlighted in this interaction. As in Islam, there is a distinction between the obligatory prayer (Salah) which is composed of various actions including bowing and prostrating and a supplication (Du'aa), where a person would raise their hands and ask for that which they desired from God. In the extract above,

asking for money, world peace or even skipping the NHS queue would be more befitting to be done whilst supplicating.⁹³

The significance of such discrepancies, if any, may be questioned by the reader. However, I am of the belief that such occurrences may have been inserted into the script (whether intentionally or unintentionally) to draw similarities between the way Christians and Muslims perform their worship. When looking at the prayer specifically, ‘the Lord’s prayer’, which is the most common prayer among Christians, involves supplication and thus, it could be argued that for churchgoers to ask another what they had prayed for may not be uncommon.

However, after the completion of any of the five obligatory prayers, it would be extremely unusual for Muslims to ask one another, what they had prayed for, in the manner depicted within the above extract.⁹⁴

Further indication that the scriptwriters are using practices found in some denominations of Christianity and other religions and attributing them to Islam, is found in the following example:

<p><u=mr khan>Right, come on, I'm starving. Let's have some breakfast.</u> <u=riaz>But the Imam's called a fast for today. Are you not doing it?</u> <u=mr khan>No way! He's always calling a fast. We don't need to starve ourselves all the bloody time. We're Muslims, not supermodels.</u></p>
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Figure 5.34: Example of a made up act of worship in the script

In the instance above, Riaz states that the ‘Imam’s called a fast for today.’ In relation to fasting, the obligatory fasting is restricted to the month of Ramadan - outside of this there is supererogatory fasting, which is prescribed in the prophetic traditions.⁹⁵ In Islam, an Imam cannot legislate any act of worship – i.e. how and when to fast, pray, make pilgrimage etc.

⁹³ A Muslim can also supplicate within the Salah in specific parts of the prayer, but this can only be done in Arabic and it is unlikely that the scriptwriters are aware of the specifics behind such rulings.

⁹⁴ I have been going to numerous mosques around the world for over 25 years and have never come across this on a single instance.

⁹⁵ These include fasting Mondays and Thursdays, the three ‘white days’ of every month, six days in the month of Shawwal, the first ten days of the month of Dhul Hijjah, the days of Ashoorah and Arafat and a few others.

These acts are only prescribed through the Quran and Sunnah. The concept of the Imam ordering a fast or any other form of worship is a concept alien to Islam and this ideology draws upon the power held by religious leaders within other religions – i.e. the Pope who has the authority to legislate and abrogate parts of Catholicism.

When looking at the usage of *prayer*, a further example is found where cultural practices are attributed to Islam, as acts of worship, namely the mention of prayer meetings or funeral prayers:

35. <u=mrs malik>Hmm, Asda. Aaacha. Of course, Mr Malik was very good friends with him. Just as I am with poor Mrs Shafiq. I must say, I always assumed that I would arrange the prayer meeting if either of them should pass away. </u>
46. <u=shazia>Not again. What is it this time?</u> <u=mrs khan>I told you, Mrs Shafiq's husband died, and I'm holding a prayer meeting for her, and I'd appreciate a bit of help.</u>
49. <u=mr khan>It just so happens I don't want to spoil the cricket with funeral prayers . Dead people can be a real downer. </u>
50. <u=mrs khan>You're not watching cricket. We're holding funeral prayers . Women only, no men allowed.</u> <u=mr khan>You think you have control of this house, don't you? I'll tell you who's in control. Me, that's who. Your husband, Mr Khan. </u>

Figure 5.35: PRAY(-ING, ER(S), ED) - Expansion of concordance lines 35, 46, 49 and 50

The holding of these ‘prayer meetings’ after somebody has passed away, where normally the attendees gather together and read passages of the Quran, is a practice done in some cultures but is not legislated in any religious text. In regards to the legislated funeral prayer, this is performed in the mosque and is conducted in a similar fashion to the Salah, albeit without any prostration or bowing, it is conducted in its entirety in the standing position.

Aside from the instances where non-legislated acts of worship are ascribed to Islam or legislated ones are misrepresented, there are also occasions where aspects of Islamic practice are mocked, with one vivid example being the call to prayer:

<p>19. </u><u=mr khan>I need to use the office for my call-to-prayer auditions. </u><u=dave>You're having them in here? This is my office. </u><u=mr khan>Dave, this is the Azaan we're talking about.</p>
<p>21 and 26. </u><u=mr khan>Ah, the mosque committee have decided they need a new person for the call to prayer, and guess who is in charge of finding the right voice? </u><u=shazia>Dave? </u><u=mr khan>Me! I am the figurehead of the call-to-prayer campaign. Like Malcolm X. Or Martin Luther Vandross.</p>
<p>31. <u=mr khan>This is like Sparkhill's Got Talent!</u> <u=dave>Don't I get a chair?</u> <u=mr khan>Yes, you're important too. Just not as important as me. You're like Louis Walsh, and I'm more like Simon Cowell, except he's got browner skin. Right, first one. Now, remember, the Azaan is one of the most beautiful and holy parts of Islam. It's the call to prayer. I want it to sound like a choir of angels summoning the faithful. OK?</u> <u=extra>OK.</u> <u=mr khan>Right... Away you go.</u> <u=extra>Allah hu Akbar. Allah hu Akbar. Allah hu Akbar.</u> <u=mr khan>Next! </u></p>

Figure 5.36: PRAY(-ING, ER(S), ED) - Expansion of concordance lines 19, 21, 26 and 31

The above extracts centre around an episode where Mr Khan is finding a person to conduct the call to prayer (*adhaan*, also referred to as *azaan* in the show) for the mosque. Mr Khan decides to conduct an X Factor / Britain's Got Talent style audition to 'find the right voice' as he puts it and it is highly probable that to the watching audience, such a narrative would bat very few eyelids. However, the equating of the *adhaan* to a song and to conduct auditions to find a *muadhin* (the caller to prayer) would be highly offensive to most Muslims.

Additionally, it should be noted that the position of the *muadhin* is an important one and in many mosques he will cover for the imam when not present. Therefore, the *muadhin* is not chosen based purely upon the beauty of his voice, but rather many other factors are also taken into consideration. In a similar vein to the Britain's Got Talent and Simon Cowell reference, a further example, where an act of worship is compared to a modern fad in a ridiculing manner is the concept of doing your prayers online or using an app:

<p>54 and 56. <u=mr khan>Are you still doing your online prayers, sweetie? What?</u> <u=alia>Oh, yes, Papaji.</u> <u=mr khan>Vah! I can't believe you can do your prayers online these days.</u> <u=alia>Neither can I. </u></p>
<p>87. <u=amjad>Are you texting someone?</u> <u=alia>No, I'm praying to Mecca. There's an app for it now, innit?</u> <u=amjad>Wow. Amazing. </u></p>

Figure 5.37: PRAY(-ING, ER(S), ED) - Expansion of concordance lines 54, 56 and 87

In both of the instances above, Mr Khan's youngest daughter Alia is covering the fact she is playing on her phone by pretending to be engaged in an act of worship. Alia's behaviour is thus similar to Mr Khan's in using 'the religion card' in order to thwart questioning of her behaviour. These examples illustrate that the scriptwriters have constructed Alia's character as one who has no real interest in religion or engaging in acts of worship but uses her 'religious identity' as a camouflage, a point which is discussed further in section 8.4.3.1,

5.5 Conclusion

The analysis around the Islamic greetings *Asalaam Alaikum* and *Waleikum Asalaam* identified that *Waleikum Asalaam* was the preferred response of this adjacency pair and that responses such as *hello* were considered to be dispreferred due to Islamic textual evidences. For most of *Citizen Khan*'s audience it should be obvious that Khan's use of *hello* is a 'running-gag' within the sitcom. However, instances such as this, demonstrate that the show has multiple notions of audience, with the Muslim viewership potentially understanding his behaviour in a different way to the non-Muslim audience.

Additionally, Khan used *hello*, in response to the *Asalaam Alaikum* of the Daves, to act as an 'othering' mechanism to exclude the Daves from the 'in-group' (i.e. born Muslims). This demonstrates that in the sitcom religious identity is not monolithic for all Muslims and that other aspects of their hybrid identity can impact upon their behaviour. For example, Mr Khan being a born Muslim did not consider somebody that embraced the faith at a later stage to be

equal to him. This was further demonstrated in his usage of *proper Muslims* when referring to the Daves, by implying that they were not *real Muslims* and that their behaviour was ‘not very Muslim’. Mr Khan’s understanding of Muslim identity as fixed at birth (and also related to ethnic identity) is a perspective which affords him power over other characters (the Daves) and is thus implied to be for (his) strategic purposes. However, as the writers construct Mr Khan as comedically flawed, the audience would be directed to believe that his perspective is wrong and that the Daves’ religious identity is perfectly valid.

Aside from the negative usage of *Muslim* when referring to others, the label *Muslim* was used by Khan to positively portray himself and his family, by referring to himself as the ‘perfect embodiment of a Muslim man’ and describing his family as a ‘very devout Muslim family’. Despite these statements being ironic on the part of the scriptwriters, Khan’s usage indicates that he sees that being Muslim is something to be proud of. Therefore, despite some of the problematic issues around the usage of *Islam* and *Muslim* within *Citizen Khan* (as discussed in the preceding sections), it can be said that their overall usage is generally positive. This is even more the case when, when these findings are placed in the context of previous media representations (see Baker 2013a, Moore et al. 2008, Richardson 2004), which highlight an association of terrorism and fundamentalism with Islam and Muslims in the British press. This is a sentiment shared by Adil Ray, the creator of *Citizen Khan*, who stated that ‘we desperately need a counter to what’s going on in the world; that shows Muslims in a completely different way to how we normally hear about them, as terrorists’ (Laws, 2014).

The analysis also found discrepancies in relation to the acts of worship Muslims perform. For example, the wrong type of charity was ascribed to belonging to the ‘five pillars of Islam’, the Muslim prayer was depicted in an incorrect manner and there was a reference to the Imam legislating a day of fasting. Without directly questioning the scriptwriters, it cannot be determined whether these were incorporated into the script intentionally or were an oversight

on their part. However, the analysis identified that there seemed to be a routine of confusing or associating practices found in other religions with Islamic ones. Therefore from the perspective of religious identity, if these instances were incorporated into the script on purpose, it appears that the Muslim characters are being constructed to the Muslim audience as being ignorant when it comes to religious practices and thus, due to this ignorance, they can be seen as foolish figures, as opposed to offensive ones. The effect on non-Muslim viewers of Muslim characters engaging in such incongruous practices can only be guessed at – although a potential consequence could be that such viewers would be misled about what being a Muslim actually means.

In sum, what is evident from the discussion within this chapter and through the sheer presence of so many terms related to the Islam is that religion is represented as a central aspect of the characters' lives, albeit to differing degrees. By the characters' frequent use of religious terminology throughout the two seasons, it indicates that all the main characters at the very least identify themselves as Muslims and have some sense of a religious identity. When looking at the Khan family specifically, Mr Khan and Alia are most easily recognisable as Muslims from their outer appearance, with the presence of his beard and her hijab. However, after closer inspection of the script, these two characters in particular appear to use their religion for strategic purposes. By having two flawed characters that appear outwardly religious, but in reality are far from it, it appears that the writers could be subtly trying to insinuate something troubling about the religious adherence of those who appear to be practising Muslims.

Following on from the discussion around religious identities in this chapter, the next chapter looks at the national identities of the characters from the sitcom.

Chapter 6 Analysis II – Identity: Nationality

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, words which appeared in the CK corpus in relation to nationality are examined, in order to assist in answering RQ2 and determine how the national identities of the Muslim characters within Citizen Khan are constructed. One of the categories that was identified within the analysis was the USAS Category Z2, entitled ‘Geographical names’, where *Pakistan*, *Pakistani(s)*, *British*, *India* and *Indian(s)* were identified as being frequently occurring. It was subsequently determined that these terms fell into the overarching themes of identity and nationality and more specifically within the topics of ‘Nationality’ and ‘Location’.

Prior to engaging these terms directly via the concordance lines, section 6.2 provides a contextual background to the analysis, by examining the creation of Pakistan as an independent nation from what had previously been British India. The role of the British empire in seizing power in India to control trade in the region and their subsequent withdrawal are all considered to be significant factors in the formation of Pakistan, as well as the mass migration of Pakistanis to Britain in the post-war era. Additionally, previous representations of ethnic characters in sitcoms are also examined to provide further context to the analysis.

The subsequent sections within the chapter went on to look at the individual instances around the usage of each of the terms (*Pakistan*, *Pakistani(s)*, *British*, *India* and *Indian(s)*) in light of this contextual information.

6.2 Contextual Information

To fully understand the creation of Pakistan as an independent state, there is a need to look back at the first presence of the British Empire in the region. The British Empire at its peak was the largest empire in all history (see Ferguson 2004), first arriving in the region consisting of modern-day India, Pakistan and Bangladesh as early as 1612, with the formation of the East India Company (EIC). The EIC was a company formed to pursue trade in the East Indies⁹⁶ and eventually accounted for half of all trade (see Keay, 1991:170), through dealing with much sought after commodities such as opium, cotton, silk, salt, spices and tea.

Due to the highly lucrative business around such commodities, the French formed the French East India Company to try and wrestle control of the region through a series of proxy wars. The French, as well as the Dutch and Portuguese who had all at one time or the other controlled portions of India, eventually withdrew from most parts of the region and by 1858 Britain now had control over the majority of India, who were now under the rule of the British Crown, with Queen Victoria being eventually proclaimed 'Empress of India' in 1876.

This period of rule, referred to as the British Raj did not pass without incident, as many parts of the society were disenchanted with the British rule. In 1906, the All-India Muslim League was formed, which was a separatist party in India that represented the Muslim minority population in Hindu-majority India and with the return of Mahatma Ghanda to India in 1916, the majority Hindu population were also starting to become ever more vocal against British rule through his campaign of 'non-cooperation' and in 1929 the Indian National Congress (which had Gandhi as a committee member) drafted a declaration which demanded 'complete independence'. However, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the leader of the Muslim League did not

⁹⁶ A region that covered South and Southeast Asia.

feel that Muslims would be treated fairly in a newly formed state and proposed the ‘Two-Nation’ solution, as part of the ‘Lahore Resolution’, which was passed by the League in 1940. With Britain exhausted by the end of the Second World War and deeming the unrest in the region as a real threat, they decided to pull out of the region. Thus, on 14 August 1947, Jinnah and the Muslim League finally realised their goal of creating an independent Islamic state – Pakistan. A day later, India also officially gained independence from the British Raj and Britain officially withdrew from a land they had controlled since 1858. However, prior to their withdrawal, it is alleged that the British had sowed the seeds of discord between the divided Muslim and Hindu population in an effort to keep control of power in British India:

‘Members of the congress party even accused the British of fomenting discord between Hindus and Muslims as part of a ‘divide and rule’ strategy, before withdrawing precipitately under the auspices of a new modus operandi: ‘divide and quit’. It was indeed England, exhausted after six years of war, which started the decolonisation process in 1946.’ (Jaffrelot, 2004:1)

Pakistan, which literally means ‘land of the pure’ and consisted of a stretch of land that encompassed the Punjab and Bengal regions (where the majority of Muslims in pre-partitioned India were settled), started to see an influx of Muslim Indians entering the new state, as Muslims based in areas of India outside of the newly formed Pakistani border moved to join their brethren in faith. Jaffrelot (ibid:2) states ‘that one in every ten Pakistanis was a mohajir (migrant)’ and ‘in total, 6 million Muslims crossed the new frontier’.

However, not all people in that region were migrating between India and Pakistan. Peach (2006:134) states that ‘as the British tide retreated from India, the Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi⁹⁷ waters disturbed by Partition lapped into Britain.’ Post-war British society was

⁹⁷ In 1971, the East of Pakistan separated to form current day Bangladesh.

in desperate need of unskilled working class labour, due to the large number of war casualties from this demographic. In order to make up these labour shortages, Britain opened its borders to unskilled workers from countries that belonged to the Commonwealth⁹⁸, with the vast majority of these new migrants coming from the Indian subcontinent and the Caribbean islands. The majority of immigrants were placed into jobs that were deemed undesirable to the white British population, Anwar (1979:101) states that ‘coloured immigrants were often employed in one type of job as regards low remuneration, level of skill and interest, dirtiness and heaviness, and hours of work or type of shift, and where this was true it was the menial unattractive type of job, for which it had been impossible to attract white labour.’

The majority of Pakistani migrants had no long term ambition to settle down in UK and in most cases only the head of the household migrated to Britain, leaving behind his wife and children. Ghuman (1994:7) states that ‘most thought that they would work really hard for a few years, live frugally, save a lot of money and finally return to their kith and kin.’

However, in the majority of cases, the initial Pakistani migrants not only stayed in Britain but also eventually brought their immediate family over. In 1961, with the incoming *Immigration Bill* that was potentially going to restrict the open migration that was currently taking place, the number of people migrating from the subcontinent ‘increased six-fold’ compared to the previous year (ibid:6).

Muhammed Anwar (1979) in his historic research of the Pakistani community in Rochdale, coined the phrase: ‘myth of return’⁹⁹ –. In an interview with the Guardian newspaper in 1979, Dr Anwar provides a summary of his findings:

⁹⁸ The Commonwealth is an intergovernmental organisation of 52 member states that are mostly former territories of the British Empire.

⁹⁹ The myth of return is the false notion that most Pakistani immigrants held that one day they would eventually return to their homeland.

‘The feeling that Pakistan was the homeland persisted, and kinship networks continued to be active because the migrant planned to return home permanently. It is also clear from the case studies that migration does not necessarily detach the migrant from kin ties and obligations to them in Pakistan. Consequently, the myth of going back to Pakistan helped Pakistanis to maintain ethnic boundaries. My informants did not wish to change their values and adapt to the British ways which they regarded as inferior to their own and in some cases as corruptive.’ (Rusbridger, 2010)

Anwar’s statements above highlighted the desire for early Pakistani immigrants to maintain their values and culture, despite living in Britain. With over 60 years having passed since the first wave of Pakistani immigrants reached British shores and the existence of third and fourth generation British Pakistanis, it is worth considering how these generations of Pakistanis view themselves and if they still hold onto these same sets of values their family elders had hoped they would maintain. A study by Drury (1991:130), albeit over twenty five years old, which analysed the maintenance of culture amongst Sikh girls, found that his respondents ‘were neither fully culturally assimilated into white British culture, nor entirely encapsulated within their parental culture’, and thus could be deemed as ‘bicultural’.

From an Islamic perspective, Muslims are not a monolithic group of people, rather the Muslim world consists of various races, languages and cultures. In relation to the estimated 2.7 million Muslims living in the UK (Census 2011), then as ‘British Muslims’ their identities should not be considered as a single entity but rather as a hybrid of intersecting components including race, religion, nation and culture. Crenshaw’s theory of intersectionality (Crenshaw 1989) views people as holding multiple identities, noting that power relations and inequalities can be compounded due to intersections between different

types of disempowered identities (e.g. a black woman and a white woman will not have the same experience of femininity). Collins' (2015:1) defines intersectionality as:

The critical insight that race, class, gender, sexuality, ethnicity, nation, ability, and age operate not as unitary, mutually exclusive entities, but rather as reciprocally constructing phenomena.

Therefore, in relation to this chapter specifically, the construction of national identity for the characters in *Citizen Khan* and in particular Mr Khan and his British born children, would be of particular relevance, as it would provide an insight into how each of these characters self-identify, and what differences they may have in this regard, due to the multiple components of their identity that had been discussed above.

Another layer of context that needs considering is in relation to the British television audience and their first encounters with characters from the subcontinent. Early representations of Indians and Pakistanis mainly consisted of white actors wearing dark coloured face paint. An early example featured a 'blacked up' Spike Milligan as 'Paki-Paddy' in *Curry and Chips* (LWT, 1969), which was axed in the first year after only six episodes due to its controversial content. However, the character made a cameo appearance in an episode of another sitcom *Till Death Us Do Part* (BBC One, 1965-1975) in 1974. Another example of a Caucasian character being 'blacked up' was Michael Bates as Bearer Rangi Ram in *It Ain't Half Hot Mum* (BBC), which ran from 1974-1981. In the same series Dino Shafeek, a Bengali actor, made his first appearance on British screens in a supporting role as a tea boy.

The first all-ethnic cast on British television was found in a family comedy centred around a West Indian family – *The Fosters* (LWT, 1976-1977). *The Fosters* was seen as a 'breakthrough, if only because it presented an All-black cast in a familiar format which may serve as a palatable means of introducing white Britain to the notion that blacks share many

concerns and interests with ‘ordinary’ people in Britain’ (Husband, 1988:167). A similar assertion could be made about *Citizen Khan*, although in this case, the cast are not all Muslim but the characters which they portray are.

In 1977, the first prominent cast members of a subcontinent background were cast in *Mind Your Language* (LWT, 1977-1986), which was a sitcom that centred around the classroom antics of a group of foreign students who were learning to speak English. Within the class, there were two students of an Indian background, a Sikh male by the name of Ranjeet Singh and a Christian female called Jameela Ranjhat, but most relevant to this research was the Pakistani student Ali Nadeem, who was portrayed by Dino Shafeek. The show was deemed to be highly controversial and politically incorrect, due to the wide array of stereotyped behaviour portrayed during the episodes.¹⁰⁰ Such stereotyping was extremely concerning, considering that many of the mainstream white British audience had little interaction with members of these minority groups and thus, these portrayals acted as socialising agents that helped form prejudiced opinions of people from particular communities. Additionally, the British audience were exposed to the animosity that is held by some members of minority groups towards one another, namely the bickering between Ranjeet and Ali, due to their Pakistani and Indian backgrounds. Despite impressive viewing figures, the programme was eventually cancelled in 1979 by Michael Grade, the LWT Director of Programmes, who considered the stereotyping offensive.¹⁰¹

In the subsequent years following *Mind Your Language*, ethnic sitcoms started to present a more normalised portrayal of minorities. Examples included shows such as *The Fosters* (as mentioned above) and *Desmond’s* (Channel 4, 1989-1994), which was centred around the

¹⁰⁰ <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/tvandradio/11316397/Racist-1970s-comedies-would-be-banned-now-says-head-of-Ofcom.html>

¹⁰¹ <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/culture-obituaries/tv-radio-obituaries/5888240/Vince-Powell.html>

lives of a West Indian family who owned a barber shop. However, these representations were mainly of black characters and there was still little representation of Pakistanis and Indians.

In 1998, *Goodness Gracious Me* (BBC Two, 1998-2001), a sketch comedy show, which included an all Indian cast, once again positioned South Asian characters in front of the mainstream British television audience, occupying a prime-time slot on BBC Two. The show was made up of a number of sketches, which introduced and reinforced a number of stereotypes regarding Indians and/or South Asians in general. However, the show also contained instances of 'reverse racism/discrimination'. For example, one sketch depicted 'a new white English employee in an Indian firm plagued by the miserable failure of his colleagues to pronounce his name (Jonathan) correctly' (Gillespie, 2003:100). The aim of the sketch was to highlight the lax attitude present amongst some of the white British population when trying to pronounce 'foreign' sounding names.

Away from the television screens, but highly relevant to this research, was the hit comedy film *East is East*. The lead character was also coincidentally a Mr Khan, albeit his first name was George, George had married a white British woman of Irish descent and they had 7 children together. The film gave an insight to the British audience of the struggles faced by second-generation British born Pakistani children in maintaining their Pakistani culture and identity, whilst also assimilating into mainstream British society. Set in 1970s Britain, it also highlighted the racial tensions between the existing white population and those who had recently migrated to Britain. This was most vividly portrayed when George's racist neighbour was handing out leaflets relating to an Enoch Powell speech addressing the repatriation of immigrants.

In recent times, ethnic minorities have started to become more widely integrated into mainstream British programming, with more emphasis on the personality of the characters, as

opposed to their ethnic backgrounds. Probably the most well known examples of mainstream South Asian characters include Dev and Sunita from *Coronation Street* (ITV, 1960-present) and the Masood family from *Eastenders* (BBC One, 1985-present). In both instances, these characters go through the same everyday trials and tribulations faced by the other characters and unlike the examples discussed above, there is not an overplay on stereotypes directly related to their ethnic background. In relation to *Citizen Khan*, as it first aired in 2012, it would be assumed that the stereotypes found in the earlier sitcoms are unlikely to resurface, as Britain has become an extremely diverse and multicultural society, when compared to the 1970s.

6.3 *Pakistan* and *Pakistani(s)*

This section investigates the usage of the terms *Pakistan* and *Pakistani(s)* in the BBC sitcom *Citizen Khan*. These appear to be frequent and well-dispersed terms. As highlighted in Table A7 (see Appendix A), the node *Pakistan* occurs 67 times in the sitcom (42 in S1 and 25 in S2) and appears in all episodes across the two seasons under investigation. The term *Pakistani(s)* occurs 60 times in the sitcom (24 in S1 and 36 in S2) and does not appear in only one (S1E4) of the thirteen episodes analysed. Upon closer inspection of the concordance lines, it is observed that a significant number of these occurrences (one occurrence per episode) were within the introductory theme tune of the programme. For the purpose of this analysis, those instances were disregarded, as they were not relevant to the research aims of this study.¹⁰²

In order to maintain uniformity, the terms *Pakistan* and *Pakistani(s)* will be analysed collectively, as the main points of discussion around them are similar. The majority of occurrences containing these words were uttered by Mr Khan and when examining the

¹⁰² It is worth noting, that within the theme tune, the phrase ‘British Pakistan’ was used, and the relationship between these two terms will be mentioned in section 6.4.

concordance lines further, it is evident that he is proud of his Pakistani identity, as is illustrated in the following examples:

10 - 11. <u=mr khan>Oh, yes, of course! What a night that was. Pakistan were playing India! And we listened for two hours on my transistor radio.</u> <u=mrs khan>Yes, and then? </u> <u=mr khan>And then Pakistan won! The best night of my life.</u>
34 - 35. <u=mr khan>Isn't it? You know, I'm always saying the National Health Service is one of our greatest achievements. Did you know there are more Pakistani doctors here now than in the whole of Karachi? That's progress, eh?</u> <u=mp>Really? I-I didn't know that.</u> <u=mr khan>Oh, yes. Pakistani doctors do it all - neurologist, cardiologist, gynaecologist - we've got our fingers in lots of pies.</u>

Figure 6.1: PAKISTAN - Expansion of concordance lines 10 and 11, PAKISTANI(S) - Expansion of concordance lines 34 and 35

Cricket is the most popular sport in Pakistan. Valiotis (2009:1800) notes that the Pakistani cricket team 'inspires pride and confidence' in many Pakistanis and thus, for Khan to proclaim them winning 'as the best night of my life' does not seem so far-fetched and also constructs his character as one who has great loyalty and pride in his Pakistani identity.

Likewise, in the second example Khan's pride in the achievements of Pakistani doctors could be driven by the respect doctors are afforded within the Pakistani community. For example, Shah et al. (2010:1115) found in their study on the career aspirations of young British Pakistanis that many Pakistani 'parents hoped that their children would become doctors, lawyers or accountants.' Apart from the two instances mentioned above, there are numerous other times where Mr Khan boastfully speaks about Pakistan and these are listed in figure 6.2:

2. <u=mr khan> Did anyone watch News At Ten last night? Seven times they mentioned Pakistan , huh?! Twice in a good way! </u>
40 and 42. <u=shazia>I was talking about Mum. You should take her away, somewhere romantic, like The Caribbean, or The Maldives...</u> <u=mr khan>..or Pakistan . Did you know Pakistan is now the 112th most popular tourist destination in Asia? Good, huh?! </u>
51. <u=mrs khan>Oh, no, time's up. You did really well, Naanijaan, really well. She only got two!</u> <u=mr khan>Two's good. In Pakistan , that's an A plus.</u>
31. <u=mr khan>Very special. I'm going to the mobile men's health clinic at the mosque.</u> <u=alia>What?</u> <u=mr khan>They're doing the testing for heart disease. It's very common with us Pakistanis . Did you know, we're in the top three groups most affected? Top three! Good, eh? </u>

Figure 6.2: PAKISTAN - Expansion of concordance lines 2, 40, 42 and 51, PAKISTANI(S) - Expansion of concordance line 31

When looking at the examples mentioned above, a common theme emerges. Although Mr Khan appears to be positively speaking about Pakistan, the achievements he mentions are highly mundane and could be interpreted as indirectly mocking Pakistan for comedic value – i.e. Pakistan does not have any real achievements that Pakistanis could be proud of. Over the duration of this chapter, further examples will be discussed where criticisms of Pakistan/Pakistanis have been incorporated into the script on a consistent basis.

Additionally, many of Mr Khan's claims, which he tries to portray as facts, are highly exaggerated or completely fabricated. For example, he claims that Pakistan is the 112th most popular tourist destination in Asia. However, there are only 48 countries in Asia. His enthusiasm towards such a woeful statistic would be funny to most of the general audience, although to those with a wider geographical knowledge, his statement would be even funnier as it further constructs Khan as a fool. Pakistan is indirectly mocked for comedic value and Khan is further constructed as foolish, when he mistakes Pakistan's position in the 'top three groups most affected' by heart disease, as a positive statement, due to misinterpretation of the ranking scale.

Although Khan is evidently proud of Pakistan and his Pakistani heritage, he still regards himself as British and differentiates between British Pakistani immigrants and other British immigrants:

7, 8 and 10. <u=mr khan>Because I agree with it! There's too many bloody immigrants coming in to this country.</u> <u=shazia>You're an immigrant, Dad.</u> <u=mr khan>I'm not an immigrant, sweetie. I've been here 30 years! Immigrants are the Eastern Europeans, coming over here, taking our jobs. Jobs meant for us Pakistanis! </u> <u=shazia>Dad!</u> <u=mr khan>All right, British Pakistanis! </u> <u=amjad>So we are British, not Pakistani? </u> <u=mr khan>Look, we work hard, we go to mosque, we pray to Allah five times a day, how much more British can you get?! Where's my tea? I've got to go. There's no milk in my chai. </u>
25. <u=mrs khan>Mrs Tawfiq uses a really nice Polish man. Maybe you'll call him?</u> <u=mr khan>No! Not Polish! We need to keep Britain British! I'll get a Pakistani in. </u>
37. <u=dave2>If you could let us see a doctor, we would be very grateful.</u> <u=drec>OK, fine, I'll see what I can do.</u> <u=mr khan>There you are, very good. And make sure it's with a Pakistani doctor, eh? We don't want one of those dodgy foreign ones, you know.</u> <u=drec>Dr Patel could squeeze you in.</u> <u=mr khan>Patel? He's a bloody Indian! </u>

Figure 6.3: PAKISTANI(S) - Expansion of concordance lines 7, 8, 10, 25 and 37

In the examples above, the hybridity of Khan's identity is clearly exemplified, as he clearly identifies himself as British, as well as Pakistani. Moreover, it appears that he has assimilated these two components of his identity, to carry one meaning, thus the markers that Khan uses to define his Britishness include going to the mosque and praying five times a day, which are more befitting to be considered as aspects of his Pakistani identity. Khan's deluded behaviour is further illustrated by his assertion that he is no longer an immigrant, that the Polish are taking the jobs of Pakistanis, and that he needs to 'keep Britain British' by hiring a Pakistani plumber. These scenes have been used by the scriptwriters to generate humour by using Khan's outlandish statements as a further reason for his character to be laughed at.

Additionally, we find that in the first two extracts Khan demonstrates animosity towards Eastern European immigrants, namely those from Poland and this could stem from his belief that he is not an immigrant. His hostility towards Eastern Europeans could also be a result of him being an earlier immigrant, which makes him believe he is more British than later immigrants, as he may be more widely accepted as being British than them. Simon and Lynch (1999:458) point to a similar attitude in the United States, where ‘the American public expresses positive and approving attitudes towards immigrants who came “earlier,” but express negative sentiments about those who are coming [later].’

From a British perspective, a recent report by Blinder and Allen (2016:4) stated that a 2013 survey, which they had conducted for the Migration Observatory at Oxford University, found that 77% of respondents wanted the level of immigration to Britain reduced.¹⁰³ The notion that Khan is prejudiced to only those who migrated to Britain later can be dismissed when looking at the example from concordance line 37, where he discriminates against an Indian doctor, as the majority of Indian and Pakistani immigrants arrived in Britain at roughly the same time (see section 6.2). However, his general dislike of India and Indians (see section 6.5), which most likely stems from the acrimonious separation of Pakistan and India into separate countries, could possibly explain his negative approach to the Indian doctor. Mr Khan’s prejudiced and racist behaviour would possibly strike a note with the elder BBC audience, as his offensive and ignorant comments are similar to those put forward by the Alf Garnett character in *Till Death Us Do Part*. Garnett was portrayed as overtly racist and held anti-Semitic, anti-Catholic and anti-Irish views, being open in his dislike of people who had recently immigrated to Britain. In later episodes of the show, it was put forward that Alf was

¹⁰³ I have not been able to come across any studies that have examined the attitudes of those who migrated to Britain in the 1950s-70s to those more recent immigrants – i.e. Eastern Europeans and thus, this is an area where there is undoubtedly scope for further academic research.

in fact of Jewish heritage (which he denied), and thus his behaviour could be compared to that of Mr Khan's, where he bore animosity to those more recent immigrants, even though he or his family were in Britain, as a result of migration themselves.

As the examples above suggest, Mr Khan sometimes makes inaccurate claims regarding the extent to which his actions or speech are as a result of his British or Pakistani heritage. This is further illustrated in the following extracts:

14. <u=dave>Mr Khan, this is my office!</u> <u=mr khan>All right, Dave!</u> <u=mr khan>As we say in Pakistan , keep your knickers on. </u>
39. <u=mr khan>Look, you don't need to do that. Sometimes women say they want to be in charge, but really they like us to be in charge. It makes them feel all safe and comfortable. As we say in Pakistan , "All snuggly buggly."</u>
5. <u=mr khan>Oh, nothing important. It's just that Shazia is having what we call in the Pakistani community "a bit of a wobble".</u>

Figure 6.4: PAKISTAN - Expansion of concordance lines 14 and 39, PAKISTANI(S) - Expansion of concordance line 5

In the examples highlighted above, the hybridity of Khan's identity is reflected in his language usage and thus, he attributes cases of colloquial English, which are likely to have been coined in the UK, to Pakistan. This could be interpreted in a number of ways. First, that Mr Khan has lost sense of his Pakistani identity and cannot differentiate between the aspects of his identity he developed within Britain and those he inherited in Pakistan. Another reading is that Mr Khan is in (conscious or not) denial about how British he has become and therefore, attributes these phrases to Pakistan. The issue of hybrid identities is discussed in further detail in section 6.4, where it is observed that other British Pakistani characters such as Amjad face some confusion in regards to their identity.

Despite Khan's apparent confusion around aspects of his identity, the prominence of Khan's Pakistani identity is further highlighted in the following extracts:

<p>15. <u=mr khan>Oh, look at this! Prime Minister saying we should do more for our country? I am doing more for my country, I been sending money back Pakistan for the past 30 years! </u></p>
<p>45. <u=prof stevens>Unusual name.</u> <u=mr khan>It's Catholic. We're Catholics... from Pakistan.</u> <u=prof stevens>Oh, I didn't know there was a Catholic community there.</u> <u=mr khan>Well, we get everywhere, don't we? </u></p>

Figure 6.5: PAKISTAN - Expansion of concordance lines 15 and 45

In concordance line 45, Mr Khan was seemingly willing to discard his Muslim identity in order to facilitate the acceptance of his daughter into a Catholic school. However, he consciously keeps hold of his Pakistani identity. It could be argued that Mr Khan is visibly South Asian, so it would be more difficult for him to discard that identity. However, the Christian community in Pakistan is relatively small (1.5m) when compared to the much larger Christian population in India (27.8m). Therefore, it could be argued that he would have better convinced Professor Stevens that he was Catholic if he had claimed to be Indian. However, that scenario would be highly unlikely due to Mr Khan's deep dislike of anything associated with India (see section 6.5). Additionally, Mr Khan is characterized as a bungling foolish individual, so it is highly unlikely that he would know where the majority of Christians are located in South Asia. Instead, most of his speech appears to be off the cuff and devoid of facts, similar to the examples mentioned above in figure 6.2, where he boasts about Pakistan).

Mr Khan's Pakistani identity does not only supersede his Muslim identity but also his British one, as is illustrated in concordance line 15. When Mr Khan refers to Pakistan, he uses the possessive pronouns *our* and *my* before the term *country*, to vividly express his belief that Pakistan is his country, as opposed to Britain. This assertion is made more explicit by him quoting the Prime Minister of Britain stating the need for citizens to do more for their country, but Mr Khan recontextualises the Prime Minister's statement to refer to Pakistan.

There is little doubt that Mr Khan still fully embraces his Muslim and British identities (see 5.3.2 and 6.4) when it suits him, although from what is apparent, his Pakistani identity takes

precedence over all other facets of his identity. Despite this, it should be acknowledged that Mr Khan has a hybrid cultural identity: British, Muslim and Pakistani and thus, he should be considered as ‘tricultural’, as opposed to ‘bicultural’, as aspects of Muslim culture may differ from Pakistani culture. For example, a Pakistani Christian may hold elements of Pakistani culture but not Muslim culture and would thus differ from a Pakistani Muslim.

Additionally, it is highly probable that if scriptwriters put forward earlier portrayals of Mr Khan, his Pakistani identity would have been more prominent. However, as time has passed, his identity has evolved, the longer he has lived in Britain. Maalouf (2003:23) states that ‘identity isn’t given once and for all: it is built up and changes throughout a person’s lifetime.’ Therefore, it is very plausible that Mr Khan’s confusion regarding British and Pakistani phrases mentioned above (see figure 6.4), has stemmed from his lack of acknowledgement that his identity has transformed and he is no longer as ‘Pakistani’ as he believes he is.

Returning to the concordance analysis, a further example of Mr Khan putting Pakistan before Britain, or namely England, is found in the following extract:

```
30-34 and 36. <u=dave>Who should I be cheering for, by the way? England or Pakistan?</u>
<u=mr khan>It's a very interesting question, Dave. On one hand, you have the third world backward
country, home to many millions of poor Muslims, and on the other hand you have Pakistan.</u>
<u=dave>Right. I am English, though, so...</u>
<u=mr khan>You are Muslim now, Dave. You have to support Pakistan. It's God's team.</u>
<u=dave>Ah, what about Bangladesh?</u>
<u=mr khan>Don't be stupid, Dave.</u>
<u=riaz>Pakistan are batting. We need 150 runs to win. Pakistan! </u>
<u=omar>Zindabad! </u>
<u=riaz>Pakistan!</u>
<u=mr khan>Shush! </u>
```

Figure 6.6: PAKISTAN - Expansion of concordance lines 30-34 and 36

Mr Khan refers to England as a ‘third world backward country, home to millions of many poor Muslims’ and contrasts this to Pakistan. This is a commonly used comedic device,

where a description is placed upon something that is commonly associated with the thing that it is being compared against. For example, in this instance, up until the point where Mr Khan had mentioned Pakistan, the audience were under the assumption that he was referring to Pakistan as the ‘third world backward country’, as opposed to England.

Likewise, what is also evident in this extract is that Mr Khan places Pakistan ahead of the remaining Muslim countries by stating that it is ‘God’s team’ and dismisses Dave’s objection, when he reminds Mr Khan that Bangladesh is also a Muslim country that plays cricket. Mr Khan’s allegiance to the Pakistani cricket team and putting it before his British and Muslim identity are not entirely unique to his character. According to Werbner (1996:104), British Pakistanis’ ‘loyalty to the Pakistani national team appears to be natural and instinctive, something, they seem to feel, they imbibe with their mother’s milk, or inherit along with their father’s blood’ and that ‘when it comes to sport, there is no such thing as being British.’

There is a consistent link between cricket and Pakistan, which reinforces a possible stereotype that Pakistanis are obsessed with cricket. Moreover, lines 45-46 contain the view that Pakistanis are only famous for being cricketers:

45 - 46. <u=riaz>Give us a clue. Who is he?</u> <u=mr khan>Well, all I can say, he's very famous and Pakistani .</u> <u=omar>Is it a cricketer?</u> <u=mr khan>Not all famous Pakistanis are cricketers, you know!</u> <u=omar>I know, but you're wearing your cricket shirt. </u>
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Figure 6.7: PAKISTANI(S) - Expansion of concordance lines 45 and 46

The node *Pakistan* most frequently occurred in S1E5 (24 times), which was partly centred around a cricket match involving England and Pakistan. 15 out of the 24 occurrences of Pakistan, were followed by the term ‘Zindabad’ in a similar manner to the example in Figure 6.8:

22, 24 and 27. <u=radio>'Hello, everyone. 'Today's eagerly anticipated 20/20 match here at Trent Bridge between England and **Pakistan** is expected to be a cracker.' 'Stuart Broad will lead out his young side in a must win...'
 <u=mr khan>**Pakistan**!</u>
 <u=riaz>Zindabad!</u>
 <u=mr khan>**Pakistan**!</u>
 <u=riaz>Zindabad! </u>

Figure 6.8: PAKISTAN - Expansion of concordance lines 22, 24 and 27

The phrase ‘Pakistan Zindabad’ is the national slogan of Pakistan and means ‘long live Pakistan’. This slogan was first raised prior to the establishment of Pakistan, as the rallying cry of the Muslim League, as they pushed for independence from India. However, in more recent times, this slogan has found its way into the mainstream, as a way for Pakistanis to demonstrate their patriotism. Werbner (1996:87) states that ‘this is the cry from the terraces by young British Pakistani supporters of their national cricket team. The same cry is to be heard when youngsters drive their cars with horns blaring and green flags waving, in the Manchester Asian shopping district on the eid.’

Another stereotype around the terms *Pakistan/Pakistani(s)* brought forward through the concordance analysis and one such stereotype, is that of ‘miserliness’:

15. <u=shazia>Oh, it's for our honeymoon. But we can't afford it.</u>
 <u=mr khan>Good! Honeymoon is English invention. Don't spend money. Now, that's **Pakistani** invention. </u>
 27. <u=alia>What are we doing here?</u>
 <u=mr khan>We're getting private education **Pakistani**-style... free!</u>
 <u=alia>But how can I get a scholarship? I've failed my exams. </u>
 40. <u=alia>What are you doing, Papaji?</u>
 <u=mr khan>It's for my knee. **Pakistani** Pilates.</u>
 <u=alia>What's that?</u>
 <u=mr khan>It's like normal Pilates, but you don't have to spend any money on equipment. </u>

Figure 6.9: PAKISTANI(S) - Expansion of concordance lines 15, 27 and 40

The characterisation of Pakistanis as miserly is by no means a new phenomenon on British television screens. Abbas (2013:86) compares Mr Khan’s character to that of Ali Nadeem from the sitcom *Mind Your Language*, he states both are ‘presented as a bit of a cheapskate’.

Abbas states that BBC and Adil Ray's portrayal of Mr Khan could be due to them playing 'to the dominant stereotypes held in relation to Pakistanis in Britain.' Ray himself acknowledged that portraying Khan as a cheapskate was stereotypical but he defended this by stating that 'they're not Pakistani or Muslim stereotypes, they're a general stereotype. No one is saying Mr Khan is representative of all Asian men – any more than Jim Royle's representative of all English men' (Johnston, 2013).

The stereotype of miserliness is not restricted to Pakistanis but is also commonly associated with South Asians in general and in particular, Jewish people. A study by Ajmal et al (2011) found that Muslim Pakistani students associated Jews and Hindus as being 'money-grabbers' and 'miserly'. Ajmal et al (2011:9) state that 'it is indeed surprising that Pakistani Muslims see themselves as not falling in the categories of corrupt, fanatical, miserly or deceptive. This could be because of the religious label of Muslim. Perhaps if the label was Pakistani, we would get different responses. The label of Muslim implies not only identification but also idealized character.' From an Islamic perspective, miserliness is frowned upon, as is extravagance in spending, as is highlighted in the following Quranic verse:

'And those who, when they spend, are neither extravagant nor niggardly, but hold a medium (way) between those (extremes).' (Quran, 25:67)

However, in the instances mentioned above, when Mr Khan boastfully speaks about his ability to save money, he only ever refers to his Pakistani identity. It is possible the scriptwriters and the BBC chose to avoid associating any negative attributes directly with Islam and/or Muslims. This is supported by the concordance analysis around the terms *Muslim/Muslims* (see section 5.3.2), which contained no such examples where religious identity is associated with miserliness or any other negative attributes for that matter.

A further example where a stereotype, which is also commonly associated with Muslims (forced marriage), is directly attributed to Pakistanis is found in the following extract:

6. <u=shazia>But what if it's a mistake? What if I go ahead with it and we're not right for each other? And I spend the rest of my life regretting it and dreaming of what might've been. You do understand don't you, Dad? I can't force myself to marry someone.</u>
<u=mr khan>I suppose. But we're **Pakistani**. You can give it a go! </u>

Figure 6.10: PAKISTANI(S) - Expansion of concordance line 6

The issue of forced marriage has been highlighted in the media in recent years. This is in part due to new legislation that was introduced as a bill by Lord Lester and accepted by the House of Lords and House of Commons as an Act of Parliament in 2007. The media attention around this bill was particularly focused on the Muslim community, as is highlighted in the following parliamentary speech by Ann Cryer, the MP for Keighly:

My other appeal is to the leaders of the Asian Muslim community. I hope that they will encourage their people to put their daughters' happiness, welfare and human rights first. If they do, their community will progress and prosper, in line with the Sikh and Hindu communities. (Hansard, House of Commons, February 1999)

Due to such public statements within the media, forced marriages are commonly associated with Islam, as a whole, as opposed to the specific cultures which practice it, and who may or may not happen to be Muslim. Forcing any individual to get married, without their explicit consent is contradictory to what had been outlined by the Prophet Mohammed, where he stated:

The virgin should not be given in marriage until her permission has been sought.
(Sahih Al-Bukhari, Hadeeth 6968)

Likewise, the following incident was reported in the Sunnan Ibn Majah (Hadeeth 1874):

‘A girl came to the Prophet (blessings and peace of Allah be upon him) and said: My father married me to his brother’s son so that he might raise his own status thereby. The Prophet gave her the choice (to keep the marriage or annul it), and she said: I approve of what my father did, but I wanted women to know that their fathers have no right to do that.’

Therefore, although from an Islamic perspective this behaviour is not approved, the widespread¹⁰⁴ occurrence of such marriages in British Muslim communities such as Bradford (see Macey 1999) has resulted in it being associated with Islam. However, what was particularly noteworthy in Ms Cryer’s parliamentary address, was her contrasting the behaviour of the Muslim community with those of the Hindu and Sikh community.

The stereotypes around arranged marriages and in many cases those which had been forced, are not completely restricted to Muslims, but are commonly extended to people from the subcontinent as a whole. As Ghuman (1994:17) explains, ‘the arranged marriage is very much part and parcel of the Asian social structure. Marriages are supposed to be primarily for the union of families (to promote mutual financial and social interests). But in the Muslim tradition they also reinforce the existing bonds of the extended family as marriages are often arranged between first and second cousins. Individual wishes, feelings, sentiments and love are considered secondary to the interest of the family.’

The recycling of stereotypical representations of Muslims within the British media was highlighted by a Muslim journalist on Channel 4’s *TV Show*, where it was stated that ‘we don’t see a diversity of real Muslim experience. The fact is what we see is categorized into beards, scarves, halal meat, terrorists, forced marriage’ (Saha, 2012:435). It could be argued

¹⁰⁴ Macey (1999:55) mentions that a conference by KDVF (1998) noted that a local Area Community Officer currently carries a caseload of 750 Asian women fleeing their homes to escape violence or forced marriages.

that *Citizen Khan* does little to move away from the status quo, not only in relation to forced marriages but also with Mr Khan's fascination around his beard (see sections 5.3.2 and 8.3.1). However, in the case of *Citizen Khan*, the beard is not constructed around its usual discourse position which associates it with terrorism (See Baker and Levon, 2016:122).

Despite instances in the corpus where Mr Khan positively frames the beard as being a symbol of 'the perfect embodiment of a Muslim man', there are other instances where the beard is used to further reinforce negative stereotyping:

60. <u=mr khan>Are you saying you can't have a brown Santa?</u> <u=reverend>No, of course not, no.</u> <u=mr khan>Santa should be Pakistani - he's got big bushy beard, he flies halfway round the world to get here and he works on Christmas Day. </u>
64. <u=mr khan>It's OK. You can touch it. Feel my beard. Go on! What do you think? It's bushy, isn't it?</u> <u=amjad>It's very bushy, sir.</u> <u=mr khan>And I tell you something else. Beards are very popular now. Did you know, one in five men in the UK has a beard? In Pakistan , it's double. Even more if you include the womens. </u>

Figure 6.11: PAKISTAN - Expansion of concordance lines 64, PAKISTANI(S) - Expansion of concordance line 60

In the two extracts above, a number of qualities are attributed to Pakistanis – most of them have beards, they never take any time off work, they are immigrants (having come from the other side of the world) and that Pakistani women also have beards. What is particularly striking is that the scriptwriters have chosen to not only negatively stereotype Pakistanis in general but also Pakistani women specifically. Even within the context of comedy, attributing hairiness to women from a particular ethnic background is highly controversial and has without doubt crossed the boundaries of political correctness.

As with most stereotypes that are used in comedy, to add to the humour, there is normally an element of truth to the statement and a study by Kazmi et al (1993) identified that there was a prevalence of hirsutism (excessive female hair growth) in Pakistani females. However, that

does not detract from the fact that such topic areas are highly sensitive and potentially cross a barrier between joke and insult. It again raises the question regarding why the scriptwriters felt that they were able to insult Pakistanis but were hesitant to directly insult Islam and/or Muslims in a similar manner. As discussed in earlier chapters, perhaps the intense media spotlight that Islam/Muslims have faced post 9-11 and the negative representations around them (see chapter 2), has caused Islam/Muslims to become a ‘taboo’ area within the comedic community.

Another possible area of taboo is the role of Pakistani wives within the family and more specifically the stereotypes centred around the chauvinistic attitudes Pakistani men supposedly have towards women. Mr Khan displaying such stereotypical opinions are illustrated in the following examples:

18 and 19. <u=dave>Oh, er, we got rid of it. Quite a few of the Woman's Group raised objections.</u> <u=mr khan>See, this is the difference between English mans and Pakistani mans. In Pakistani community, man is in charge. King of the castle. Womens are more like dirty rascal. You don't get rid of the TB just because womens says so. You think I got teeny tiny TB in my house?
26. <u=mr khan>Oh, not Matt and Debbie! What's so special about those two?</u> <u=shazia>She's my best friend. And my boss. And...I'm going to ask her to be my bridesmaid.</u> <u=mr khan>Shazia, we Pakistanis don't have bridesmaids. In our culture, your bride becomes your maid - your housemaid, chambermaid... teasmaid. </u>

Figure 6.12: PAKISTANI(S) - Expansion of concordance lines 18, 19 and 26

In the extracts above, Mr Khan expresses some extremely distasteful views on women – i.e. they ‘are more like dirty rascal’ and ‘your bride becomes your maid’. It goes without saying that these positions are contradictory to the Islamic position on how women should be treated, in particular mothers and wives (see section 7.3.1 and 7.4.1). However, when Khan makes these comments, he clearly distinguishes that he is speaking as a Pakistani and such beliefs are representative of his Pakistani culture, as opposed to his Muslim one. Thus, it can be further assumed that the scriptwriters are once again using the ‘Pakistani’ label as a

method to express views possibly held about Muslims as a whole. Additionally, when *Pakistan/Pakistani* is used in such contexts, it could be argued that the mainstream audience may not always differentiate between Pakistanis and Muslims, but rather view them as being one of the same.¹⁰⁵

Moreover, Khan's usages of 'King of the castle' and 'dirty rascal' are an intertextual reference to a famous children's nursery rhyme: 'I'm the king of the castle, you're the dirty rascal.' Thus, further highlighting that Khan is a foolish figure, who displays child-like tendencies and consequently, his utterings should not be taken seriously by the audience.

Despite Mr Khan's assertions in the above examples that he is the 'King of the Castle', there are times when it is suggested that Mrs Khan is in fact the de-facto ruler of the household:

24. <u=mr khan>Dave, what you have to understand is that in Pakistani marriage, husband is in charge. He's the boss and he can do whatever he wants. But sometimes it's best not to tell the wife what he has done because she would never understand and only worry and fuss and make him sleep on the downstairs sofa. </u>

Figure 6.13: PAKISTANI(S) - Expansion of concordance line 24

In the above extract, Mr Khan begins by once again reiterating that he 'is in charge' within the marital relationship. However, he later reveals that despite believing he is the head of the household, he is unable to exercise his authority in any way he wishes, otherwise he will face possible ramifications (having to sleep on the sofa). Therefore, the reality of the situation is that he is not actually 'in charge', as he is in fact accountable for his actions, to a more senior authority within the household – i.e. his wife, Mrs Khan. Mr Khan's insecurities around his role as head of the household or 'man of the house' are discussed further in sections 7.3.3 and 8.3.1.

¹⁰⁵ Concordance lines 18 and 19 are discussed in further detail in section 8.4.1 and thus to avoid repetition will not be discussed in any depth in this section. However, it was still relevant to recognise that aspects of male chauvinism were constructed around Pakistani nationality within Citizen Khan.

Interestingly, the concordance analysis around the terms *Pakistan/Pakistani(s)* also delved into the area of sexuality and sexual relations between husband and wife:

10 - 12. <u=mr khan>I can't remember.</u> <u=mrs khan>Yes, you can. It poured with rain. But we were up all night anyway.</u> <u=mr khan>Oh, yes, of course! What a night that was. Pakistan were playing India! And we listened for two hours on my transistor radio.</u> <u=mrs khan>Yes, and then? </u> <u=mr khan>And then Pakistan won! The best night of my life.</u> <u=mrs khan>I mean after the cricket. You wore your Pakistan top and then we tried that thing I read in Woman's Own. </u> <u=mr khan>Oh, God!</u> <u=mrs khan>And then next spring, out popped little Shazia. </u>
32. <u=clive>You're a supporter of gay rights, then?</u> <u=mr khan>Absolutely.</u> <u=clive>Same sex marriage?</u> <u=mr khan>Oh, yes! We Pakistanis been having same sex marriage for years. Lights off. Tang-tang! Lights on. Cup of tea! </u>

Figure 6.14: PAKISTAN - Expansion of concordance lines 10 - 12, PAKISTANI(S) - Expansion of concordance line 32

In the first extract, which details the night the couple's first daughter Shazia was conceived, Mr Khan's recollection of that evening is purely around the achievements of the Pakistani cricket team (further emphasising that Pakistani men are only concerned with cricket), whereas it appears that for Mrs Khan it was something a lot more special than that. The lack of interest Khan shows in having physical relations with his wife is discussed further in section 7.4.3. The characterization of roles within the family, namely the sexually uninterested husband and the needy wife, will be familiar to the watching audience, with similar spousal dynamics found in sitcoms such as *George and Mildred* and *Married with Children*, where middle-aged husbands such as George Roper and Al Bundy also show a lack of interest in sexual relations with their wives.

The example in concordance line 32 points out that even when Mr Khan does engage in such relations with his wife, it is monotonous and unadventurous. Moreover, it further highlights how out of touch Khan is, as when Clive refers to 'same-sex' marriage, he takes this to mean

the same routine when having intercourse, as opposed to marriage between two people of the same gender. Khan's statement that 'Pakistanis [have] been having same sex marriage for years' is another example where the scriptwriters have used the comedic technique of 'misunderstanding' (see section 7.3.2) to generate humour, as Khan and Clive were both referring to two very separate things.

There were also instances in the corpus where *Pakistan* was used to discuss Mrs Khan's mother's impending return to Pakistan:

6. <u=mrs khan>Naani, we have something very exciting to tell you. Don't we? </u>
<u=mr khan>Yes. Er, we have decided that you don't need to go back to **Pakistan**. You can stay here and live with us in our house for your final years. Or the rest of your days. You know, whichever.</u>
<u=naani>Mujay yah nahi rehna yeh toh paagal khana hai. Aur Birmingham? Shithole!</u>

Figure 6.15: PAKISTAN - Expansion of concordance line 6

Naani's speech within the series is often in Urdu and was not subtitled into English for the majority non-Urdu speaking viewership.¹⁰⁶ Therefore, there are a number of instances where there are differing audience experiences – i.e., the audience who understand Urdu will engage differently with the plot, compared to the non-Urdu speaking audience. In the above extract, Naani's Urdu utterances can be translated as follows:

'I don't want to stay here. This place is a mental asylum. And [Birmingham? Shithole!]

In the above statement, there is an element of ambiguity as to what exactly Naani is referring to as 'a mental asylum', with possibilities including the Khan family home or Britain in general. It could be argued that the scriptwriters chose for her to say this portion in Urdu, to make this a joke that was exclusively for the Urdu speaking viewers. Additionally, her speech contained two English words 'Birmingham' and 'Shithole', by having only these words in

¹⁰⁶ It would be interesting to determine why there was no subtitling of the Urdu speech within the series. Did the scriptwriters intend for the Urdu lines to be only to be understood by the Urdu speaking audience or was it an oversight?

English, the attention of the non-Urdu speaking viewers will be drawn to these two terms and cause them to create an association between them. The example also shows how the writers hold a multiple view of ‘audience’, making different jokes for different types of viewers. Moreover, with a large portion of Naani’s speech in Urdu, it could be argued that older Pakistani women are being constructed as being deficient in English, which correlates with the findings of Dale et al. (2002:14).

6.4 *British*

The term *British* only appears 17 times in the CK corpus (Table A7, Appendix A), with the majority of these instances (13 in total) occurring in the introductory theme tune to the show:

1 – 3, 5 – 9, 12 – 15 and 17. <u=intro>Welcome to Sparkhill, Birmingham, the capital of British Pakistan. </u>

Figure 6.16: BRITISH - Expansion of concordance lines 1-3, 5-9, 12-15 and 17

It is interesting that the scriptwriters used the term *British Pakistan*, as all other instances of *British* within the corpus were also surrounded by Pakistan. Additionally, the text of the tune suggests that Pakistanis in Britain have ‘their own capital’. Reinforcing the notion that immigrants in Britain have isolated themselves from the majority white population and established their own boundaries, or what is now commonly referred to as ‘ghettos’. Anwar (1985:10) states that ‘research suggests that individuals with similar cultural origins tend to cluster together and thus become residentially segregated from the rest of society.’ A vivid example of this is in Southall, London, where there is a large population of South Asians that share similar cultural traits but hold contrasting religious beliefs – i.e. Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs.

This trend was also observed by Peach (2006:136), who found when analysing 2001 census data that the majority of the Pakistani population are concentrated in London, Birmingham, Manchester, Bradford, Leeds and Luton. Due to the large land mass within London and

dispersion of Pakistanis across various towns in London, it is highly possible that this is why Sparkhill in Birmingham was anointed as the ‘capital of British Pakistan’, being that Birmingham is the second largest city in the UK. Additionally, the creator of Citizen Khan, Adil Ray, who is incidentally the actor who portrays Mr Khan, was born and brought up in Birmingham (Conlan, 2013), providing further reasoning behind the selection.

As mentioned above, the term *British* within the corpus is always surrounded around *Pakistan/Pakistani(s)* and these instances are illustrated in Figure 6.17:

<p>4. <u=mr khan>Plumbers cost money, sweetie.</u> <u=mrs khan>Mrs Tawfiq uses a really nice Polish man. Maybe you'll call him?</u> <u=mr khan>No! Not Polish! We need to keep Britain British! I'll get a Pakistani in. </u></p>
<p>10 - 11 and 16. <u=shazia>You're an immigrant, Dad.</u> <u=mr khan>I'm not an immigrant, sweetie. I've been here 30 years! Immigrants are the Eastern Europeans, coming over here, taking our jobs. Jobs meant for us Pakistanis!</u> <u=shazia>Dad!</u> <u=mr khan>All right, British Pakistanis!</u> <u=amjad>So we are British, not Pakistani?</u> <u=mr khan>Look, we work hard, we go to mosque, we pray to Allah five times a day, how much more British can you get?! Where's my tea? I've got to go. There's no milk in my chai. </u></p>

Figure 6.17: BRITISH - Expansion of concordance lines 4, 10-11 and 16

Amjad’s confusion in the above extract, as to whether he is British or Pakistani highlights the dilemma many British-born Pakistanis find themselves in - i.e. not knowing whether to classify themselves as British or Pakistani. This confusion, similar to that which was discussed around Mr Khan’s identity in the previous section, stems from them not being fully accepted by either group due to their hybrid identity. Their friends and relatives in Pakistan do not see them as being fully Pakistani, as they have lost many elements of their Pakistani heritage and culture being brought up in a British society. Likewise, due to their physical attributes and appearance, they are not fully accepted as British. In Mohee’s (2011:154) study, one of her participants states that her ‘dual allegiances to being Pakistani and British are not acknowledged as her Asianess sets her apart from British ‘white’ society’ and

therefore, she 'is not seen as being fully capable of embracing British values due to her Pakistani heritage.'

Moreover, in the sequel to the film *East is East*, aptly named *West is West*, George Khan and his young son Sajid return back to Pakistan. The film is set in 1976 and powerfully illustrates the struggles British-born Pakistani children face in being accepted within the Pakistani society, due to their lack of proficiency of the native language and their inability to adapt to the cultural norms of the society. Furthermore, 'George' readopts his Pakistani name 'Jahangir' and adjusts his clothing to try to assimilate back into the culture. However, his time in Britain, clearly distinguishes him from the locals, even though he had been raised in Pakistan.

Therefore, as Mr Khan, quite fittingly puts it, The Khan family are clearly 'British Pakistanis'. A distinct group that is not quite British or Pakistani, and a clear marker of any group is their distinctive language. In a similar mould to how the Hispanic community in the USA have 'Spanglish' and the African American community have 'Ebonics'. The British Pakistani community have their own vernacular - 'Pakistani English', a term first coined by Ahmar Mahboob (2009), whilst exploring the use of English in Pakistan. However, Mr Khan's statement in the above example: 'There is no milk in my chai', is what I argue is a perfect example of the variety of Pakistani English which is spoken in Britain. Many first generation immigrants in UK use English as a lingua franca and this eventually develops into a new language in and of itself, culminating of a mixture of both languages – i.e. their native language and English. This language is then developed and maintained by the subsequent generations of immigrants, with English becoming more dominant as newer generations emerge.

Consequently, it could be argued that the scriptwriters intentionally used ‘chai’, as opposed to the English equivalent ‘tea’, in order to make Mr Khan’s speech appear more authentic to the viewership. In particular, the Urdu speaking viewers, who from their own experiences could possibly relate to constructing sentences in a similar manner whilst speaking English. In such circumstances, I feel code-switching can be effective, even when catering to a mainstream audience.

In the same extract, Mr Khan states ‘we work hard, we go to mosque, we pray to Allah five times a day, how much more British can you get?’. As had been mentioned in the preceding section, this line was undoubtedly inserted for comedic purposes, as when analysing this statement at face value, the characteristics which he believes defines his Britishness, are not those that would in most circumstances ever be attributed to the everyday British person.¹⁰⁷

However, these traits would not be completely out of place when describing the ‘British Pakistanis’ group that was mentioned above. Therefore, due to the ‘residential segregation’, which Anwar (1985) had described, it is highly possibly that individuals such as Mr Khan, who live within such communities, have a skewed perspective of British society as a whole. In light of this, assertions such as the one above, which may appear ridiculous or foolish to society as a whole, are not ludicrous to people who hold hybrid identities like Khan.

As there are only a negligible number of occurrences of *British* in the CK corpus, it is difficult to draw any dependable conclusions based upon these instances. However, this trend is definitely of interest and there is some basis to assume it was purposely scripted in such a way. It is hoped that a further study, which examines transcripts from future seasons of Citizen Khan will help in providing further insight between the correlation of terms related to Britain and Pakistan within the sitcom.

¹⁰⁷ According to the 2011 Census, Muslims accounted for approximately 4.8% of the total population in England and Wales. Therefore, as the majority of the region is non-Muslim, it is unlikely that activities such as ‘going to the mosque’ would define a person’s Britishness.

6.5 India and Indian(s)

India and *Indian(s)* were identified as frequent words in the key category for national identity in the CK corpus, with the majority of these occurrences coming from Mr Khan (see Appendix A, Table A8). In almost all of these instances Mr Khan speaks in an insulting manner about India and/or Indians.

Therefore, Mr Khan's speech has been divided into two points of discussion, firstly India as a country, and secondly Indians as people. In relation to the country, Mr Khan says the following:

4. <u=mr khan>You can't go to India , Shazia.</u> <u=shazia>Why not?</u> <u=mr khan>It's a toilet! </u>
10-12. <u=dave2>Well, I can't authorise a loan without knowing what it's for.</u> <u=riaz>His daughter's going to India so he needs the money to stop her from going. He was going to drag it out of me in the end.</u> <u=dave2>Yes, well, I'm afraid that doesn't sound like the sort of thing that will qualify.</u> <u=mr khan>What? Why not?</u> <u=dave2>It's a hardship fund, Mr Khan. A lot of people see going to India as a great opportunity. It's a very youthful and exciting place these days.</u> <u=mr khan>Alton Towers is a very youthful and exciting place, Dave. India is a dump. </u>
14. <u=mr khan>India's a terrible country. Dirty, smelly. Not like Pakistan. And do you know the worst thing about India ? The Indians!</u> <u=steven>Is that right? </u>

Figure 6.18: INDIA - Expansion of concordance lines 4, 10-12 and 14

In the above extracts, Mr Khan labels India as 'a toilet' and 'a dump', both places where filth gathers. Moreover, he continues this association by stating that India is 'dirty' and 'smelly'.

This poses the question as to why negative labels only connected with uncleanliness were used and if their usage was purely coincidental. If not, then why did the scriptwriters decide to consciously construct such an association and what is the significance behind it? As these offensive labels were exclusively uttered by Mr Khan, it could be argued that scriptwriters may feel that they can hide behind his outlandish character to express any opinion, regardless

of their level of political incorrectness. Reference to taboo is an age-old comedic device, and therefore no matter what Mr Khan says, it is always seen in the context of comedy. (similar to the stereotyping of Pakistanis above).

Although ‘toilet’ and ‘dump’ are used metaphorically by Khan, what can make stereotypes humorous is that they make contain subtle undertones. Thus, similar to the example of hirsutism amongst Pakistanis, the issue of hygiene in India is one that has been discussed frequently in the media over recent years. For example, an article by Soutik Biswas (2012) on the BBC News website, discusses the lack of toilets in India:

India's enduring shame is clearly rooted in cultural attitudes. More than half a century after Independence, many Indians continue to relieve themselves in the open and litter unhesitatingly, but keep their homes spotlessly clean.

Toilet humour (also referred to as scatological humour) is a variety of humour that deals with urination, defecation, flatulence and other body functions (this includes humour around sexual organs). This variety of humour is particularly popular with adolescents and Kunze (2014:5) supports this view by stating that ‘children’s humour is often synonymous with low humour, a focus on the scatological for example.’ Therefore, by Khan engaging in such child-like behaviour, his character is not only constructed as being outdated but also somewhat childish.

Despite Mr Khan’s insults towards India as a country, he insists that what is worse than all of those other things in relation to India, is the Indian people themselves. The concordance analysis around the terms *Indian/Indians* finds that Mr Khan attributes a number of negative personal and physical traits to Indians:

3. <u=mrs khan>Oh, no, what a shame. What is? From the Guptas. They can't come to Shazia's wedding.</u>
 <u=mr khan>Oh, well. </u>
 <u=mrs khan>They don't even give a reason.</u>
 <u=mr khan>Indians, you see, no manners. Now, come on, we'll be late for mosque. </u>

7 and 8. <u=mr khan>Daughter's got a job offer from India. She's going to get paid lots more money. We don't want her to go.</u>
 <u=steven>Why not?</u>
 <u=mr khan>India's a terrible country. Dirty, smelly. Not like Pakistan. And do you know the worst thing about India? The Indians!</u>
 <u=steven>Is that right?</u>
 <u=mr khan>Horrible peoples. Short, fat, ugly, no manners and they've got poo breath.</u>
 <u=steven>My wife is Indian. </u>

Figure 6.19: INDIAN(S) - Expansion of concordance lines 3, 7 and 8

In relation to their physical attributes, Mr Khan states that Indians are ‘short, fat [and] ugly’. Mr Khan’s dislike of India/Indians brings out the worst of his already questionable personality traits. In the above statement, his speech almost certainly does not resemble that of the ‘community leader’ or ‘future President of the Pakistani Muslim Business Association’ figure that he has self-constructed. Rather, his rhetoric would not be out of place within a primary school playground, where young children would throw insults at each other regarding each other’s backgrounds and mothers. A vivid example of this is his usage of ‘poo breath’, which not only highlights his child-like tendencies (similar to his usage of ‘King of the castle’) but also reinforces the association with India/Indians and dirt/hygiene.

Despite, the obvious prejudice behind Mr Khan’s speech, it was of interest to determine if any of his assertions about Indians held weight. A study by Belot and Fidrmuc (2010:364) used 2001 UK Census Data and a 2004 Health Survey study to compile the following table:

Table 6.1: Basic statistics by ethnic groups and gender. UK(2001/2004). Table extracted from Belot and Fidrmuc (2010:364)

	Population aged 16 and above			University degree (%)		Mean height in cm (std dev)	
	M	F	F/M	M	F	M	F
British White	19,454,964	21,079,873	1.08	18.1	16.1	175.3 (7.3)	161.6 (6.8)
Irish White	305,187	345,474	1.13	23.4	25.0	174.2 (6.8)	161.4 (6.5)
Other White	562,356	664,530	1.18	19.7	21.8	n.a.	n.a.
Mixed	160,670	176,877	1.10	21.9	19.6	n.a.	n.a.
Indian	400,306	410,738	1.03	29.7	20.7	170.2 (7.0)	156.4 (6.3)
Pakistani	245,440	240,621	0.98	15.0	9.7	172.1 (7.9)	157.8 (6.1)
Bangladeshi	87,612	86,645	0.99	11.0	4.7	167.8 (7.2)	154.7 (6.2)
Other Asian	105,445	83,591	0.79	23.3	18.8	n.a.	n.a.
Black Caribbean	204,503	245,995	1.20	11.3	14.6	175.2 (7.4)	162.8 (6.7)
Black African	160,291	178,536	1.11	23.6	17.4	173.5 (6.9)	163.0 (6.5)
Other Black	27,510	32,914	1.20	13.9	16.3	n.a.	n.a.
Chinese	94,282	103,863	1.10	32.9	28.8	170.8 (7.4)	157.9 (6.0)
Any other	79,464	105,442	1.33	22.6	18.5	n.a.	n.a.

As can be seen in the Table 6.1, there is very little variation (1-2cm) between the average heights of Pakistanis and Indians. However, even if it was found that Indians on average were smaller than other races, it would still be problematic for Mr Khan to stereotype all Indians as being smaller and would be further indicative of his insulting behaviour towards them.¹⁰⁸

Also noteworthy from the above extract, was Mr Khan's assertion that Indians have 'no manners'. Irony is commonly used in comedy and it's highly probable that the scriptwriters chose to have Mr Khan utter this statement, as his character is probably the one character in the series whose actions are most insolent. In relation to Mr Khan's lack of manners, is his usage of 'bloody':

¹⁰⁸ It would be interesting to find any statistics that look at the average weights of these two groups, although I would imagine there wouldn't be a huge contrast between the two either. In relation to 'ugliness', this is purely subjective and therefore, there is little evidence to suggest one of these ethnic groups is more beautiful than the other.

20. <u=amjad>What's wrong with it?</u>
 <u=mr khan>It's made in bloody **India**, that's what!</u>
 6. <u=mr khan>There you are, very good. And make sure it's with a Pakistani doctor, eh? We don't want one of those dodgy foreign ones, you know.</u>
 <u=drec>Dr Patel could squeeze you in.</u>
 <u=mr khan>Patel? He's a bloody **Indian!**</u>
 <u=drec>Dr Patel is an excellent doctor.</u>
 <u=mr khan>No bloody way! Who else have you got?</u>

Figure 6.20: INDIA - Expansion of concordance line 20, INDIAN(S) - Expansion of concordance line 6

Thelwall (2008:4) states that using ‘*bloody* in the U.K. was shocking in the early 20th century but is mild today.’ Although this assertion is undoubtedly true, Mr Khan’s usage of the term may still not be viewed as socially acceptable, considering his age and background, and particularly when used to refer to someone’s nationality.

The usage of expletives before *India/Indian* is not restricted to Mr Khan alone, his name sake George Khan in the hit film *East is East* refers to them as ‘bastard Indians’. Additionally, George frequently uses *bloody* in the film, thus, it is possible that the usage of the term is a characteristic of language usage amongst Pakistani men, with *bloody* appearing 76 times in the CK corpus, with 74 of these occurrences coming from Mr Khan. It would be of interest to further research this phenomenon and carry out an in-depth analysis of language usage amongst Pakistani men in both fictional and factual paradigms.

A further example of Mr Khan insulting Indians is provided in the following extract:

10. <u=yg>There certainly is. This man's not a yoga teacher.</u>
 <u=shazia>What?!</u>
 <u=mr khan>Well, it's a load of mumbo jumbo anyway. Lying around on mats for hours. Typical **Indians**. Lazy buggers!</u>
 <u=yg>That's offensive. </u>

Figure 6.21: INDIAN(S) - Expansion of concordance line 10

Yoga is a component of Indian culture that has been exported to the west and from a western standpoint is mainly seen within a positive light. However, Mr Khan once again approaches

anything related from India with a negative attitude, by brandishing Indians as ‘lazy’. The conflict between Indians and Pakistani no doubt stems from the initial Partition that separated the once united country into two in 1947 (see section 6.2). Further wars between the two countries over the years (1947, 1965, 1971, 1984 and 1999) have only further ignited these tensions. However, this phenomenon (hatred towards the neighbour) is not only restricted to neighbouring countries that are involved in armed conflict but also those who are at peace. Furthermore, even within a single country, regional groups hold negative opinions about one another. A well-known example of this from a British perspective is the animosity that ‘northerners’ and ‘southerners’ hold towards one another and the negative labelling they use to describe their counterparts.

Citizen Khan, *East is East* and *Mind Your Language* have been the most mainstream representations of Pakistani men within British television and film and all three of the leading Pakistani characters have openly declared their dislike of India/Indians and subsequently, are constructed as foolish. Contrastingly, popular Indian shows such as *Goodness Gracious Me* and *The Kumars at No. 42* have refrained from further igniting tensions with Pakistanis by not incorporating any offensive slurs against Pakistan/Pakistanis within their scripts. However, the lead Indian male character in *Mind Your Language*, Ranjeev, commonly referred to Ali as a ‘Barbarian’ and on numerous other actions openly insulted Pakistanis and Muslims.

From an Islamic perspective, Mr Khan’s hatred of India/Indians is contradictory with the tenets of the faith, as is evident in the following hadeeth:

The Prophet Said: ‘O people! Verily your Lord is one and your father (Adam) is one. An Arab is no better than a non-Arab, and a non-Arab is no better than an Arab, a red man is no better than a black man and a black man is no better than a red man –

except if it is in terms of Taqwa (piety/God consciousness).’ (Musnad Imam Ahmad, Hadeeth 22,391)

Therefore, as a Muslim, there is no place for the kind of bigoted nationalism that Mr Khan possesses. He should not feel that as a Pakistani he is better than an Indian or vice versa, or any other race for that matter. Rather, from an Islamic perspective ‘God consciousness’ is the criterion which Allah uses to distinguish between his creation. Moreover, it is the belief of Muslims that those who were the best of all creation, were the prophets – i.e. Mohammed, Moses, Abraham, Jesus, Noah, etc., and the areas where they had resided according to the present day national borders would have been in differing countries. It is also worth noting that the area that covered India and Pakistan at the time of the Prophet Mohammed was one region and was simply referred to as ‘Hind’. Consequently, the people from Pakistan have never been specifically mentioned or praised by the Prophet to indicate their superiority over any other race.

6.6 Conclusion

This chapter began by exploring language usage around the terms *Pakistan* and *Pakistani(s)* within the corpus and it was identified that Mr Khan took pride in his Pakistani nationality. Over the duration of the chapter, it was observed that cricket and in particular the Pakistani cricket team were a source of such pride and upon closer examination of the concordance lines, it was found that cricket chants such as ‘Pakistan Zindabad’ had deeply entrenched roots within the struggle for Pakistani independence. Additionally, it was found through Khan’s support of the Pakistan cricket team that his primary allegiance is to Pakistan and his Pakistani identity, which supersedes his ties to his adopted homeland England.

Despite this, Khan displays an element of confusion around his Pakistani and British identities, at times confusing elements of one for the other. For example, he attributes the

phrase ‘all snugly buggly’ to Pakistan and states that his ‘going to the mosque’ is a marker for his Britishness. Khan’s confusion stems from his hybrid identity, which is used by the scriptwriters to construct humour around his character.¹⁰⁹ The confusion caused by this hybridity is not restricted to Mr Khan alone and the analysis also points to an instance where Amjad is also perplexed as to whether he is ‘British’ or ‘Pakistani’.

Although on the surface level, it appears that Pakistan is constructed in a positive light by the scriptwriters, there are many instances where Khan indirectly insults Pakistan. For example, he boasts about Pakistan by citing highly mundane achievements, as well as trying to positively frame many negative stereotypes associated with Pakistan or Pakistanis, such as miserliness, forced-marriages, them all having beards and their women being hairy. Apart from indirectly insulting Pakistan/Pakistanis, Khan is directly insulting to Eastern Europeans and even more insulting towards India and Indians. Khan displays child-like behaviour by using scatological humour to insult India by describing it as a ‘toilet’ and a ‘dump’. It could be argued that only a character like Khan, who is characterised as foolish and out of touch, could possibly get away with such offensive statements. Moreover, there are suggestions that the scriptwriters chose to directly insult Pakistan/Pakistanis, as opposed to Islam/Muslims¹¹⁰, as it would be a lot less controversial to do so.

In sum, the confusion around Khan’s national identity highlights the hybridity of his character’s identity. When looking at national identity in light of the religious identity of the characters that was discussed in the preceding chapter, we find that these two facets of the characters’ identity intersect with one another. Due to the blurred lines in distinguishing between these two aspects of identity, as discussed above, it afforded the scriptwriters the opportunity to indirectly negatively stereotype Muslims by attributing these stereotypes to

¹⁰⁹ A study by Letteri (2007:73) demonstrates how the hybrid identity of the protagonist in a Chinese film was used as a source of comedy.

¹¹⁰ In chapter 5, there are no overt instances of negative stereotyping around these two search terms.

Pakistanis instead. Additionally, a further parallel that can be drawn upon, which has been alluded to in both chapters, is that Khan is proud of his Pakistani and Muslim identities. This could thus be interpreted in highlighting that for British Muslims, the religious identity, as well as the national identity from their ancestral homeland, potentially takes precedence over their British identity.

Aside from Khan's hybrid identity, as has been illustrated in this chapter, the character of Mr Khan is also a hybrid of former sitcom characters. For example, his miserliness resembles that of Ali Nadeem, his prejudicial tendencies can be likened to Alf Garnett and his lack of sexual interest towards his wife is similar to that of George Roper and Al Bundy. When looking at the names of these characters of sitcom past, one observation is very apparent, each of these characters are over twenty years old, and thus, further weight is added to the notion that Citizen Khan is not only outdated in its representations of Pakistanis but it is also outdated as a sitcom.

The next chapter looks at the third facet of identity that was identified by the initial corpus evaluation in section 4.7, which are the familial identities of the characters.

7. Analysis III – Identity: Family

7.1 Introduction

In this chapter words in the CK corpus relating to family structure in general and the Khan family specifically are examined in order to assist in answering RQ2 and determine how the familial identities of the Muslim characters within *Citizen Khan* are constructed. The first section of this chapter looks at language construction and usage around the names of specific Khan family members, as well as their prospective son-in-law Amjad.

The subsequent sections look at terms for relational identification (van Leeuwen 1996: 54-55) (aside from the term ‘wedding’), which are words which describe someone in terms of their relationship to someone else, and as a result, their analysis potentially reveals the representation of: (1) the speaker of the keyword, (2) the person who the keyword refers to (e.g. *Dad* refers to Mr Khan), (3) the person who has the relationship (e.g. *Khan* is the father of Shazia and Alia).

The relational words analysed within this chapter in sections 7.3 and 7.4, specifically look at terms associated with parental (e.g. *dad, mum, daughter, son*) and marital (e.g. *husband, wife*) relationships. In order to contextualise the dynamics of these relationships within the framework of the study, the structure of a Pakistani family, as well as the roles of Pakistani mothers and fathers are explored when looking at the parental relationships. Additionally, the position of the father and mother in a Muslim family is also discussed alongside previous representations of sitcom mothers and fathers.

Likewise, when examining marital relationships, as well as the term *wedding*, the various elements of a Muslim and Pakistani wedding are outlined. Furthermore, the role of the husband and wife in Pakistani/Muslim households is considered, while the Khans’

relationship is compared against constructions of memorable sitcom couples to establish how they resemble or differ from them.

7.2 The Khan Family

One of the categories that was identified within the analysis was the USAS Category Z1, entitled 'Personal names', where *Mr Khan* and *Mrs Khan* were identified as frequently occurring.

Additionally, the Z99 category, which consisted of unmatched items and was identified as the most frequently occurring semantic category (see section 5.1), also consisted of Pakistani names, which were not recognised by Wmatrix such as *Amjad*, *Alia*, *Shazia* and *Naani*. It was subsequently determined that analysis around these six names would assist in examining themes of identity and family within *Citizen Khan* and thus, they were grouped together under the topic of 'The Khan Family'.

For the sake of clarity and to expand upon what was previously mentioned in section 4.2.2, the Khan nuclear family consists of Mr and Mrs Khan and their two daughters Alia and Shazia. Shazia is engaged and soon to be married to Amjad, who is the son of a prominent local businessman Mr Malik, whose character is not physically visible within the two seasons. A further member of Khan extended family is Naani, who is Mrs Khan's mother and she stays within the Khan family home, whilst visiting them from Pakistan.

7.2.1 *Mr* and *Mrs Khan*

The term *Mr Khan* appears 62 times in the first season and 77 times in the second season (Table A9, Appendix A), with just over a third (37%) of these occurrences coming from the two Dave characters (Table A10, Appendix A). On most occasions, the Daves address Mr Khan within the mosque office:

<p>21. <u=dave>Mr Khan, can I have a quick word?</u> <u=mr khan>I'm making a phone call. Can you wait outside?</u> <u=dave>It is my office. I am the mosque manager.</u> <u=mr khan>All right. All right. I still don't know how you got this job. What was it? Equal opportunity scheme for gingers? </u></p>
<p>31 . <u=dave>Actually, Mr Khan, I was going to sit there. </u> <u=mr khan>Well, sit somewhere else.</u> <u=dave>Yes, but it is my office.</u> <u=mr khan>So? </u></p>
<p>103. <u=dave2>Well, I'm afraid you'll have to have your meeting somewhere else, Mr Khan. The mosque committee will be here in a minute. I want them to approve my plans to allow women in the main prayer hall.</u> <u=mr khan>Eh? Have you finally flipped your ginger lid, Dave?!</u> <u=dave2>Mr Khan, there's no reason why men and women can't mix perfectly happily together.</u></p>

Figure 7.1: MR KHAN - Expansion of concordance lines 21, 31 and 103

As is illustrated in the examples above, when Khan engages with the Daves in the mosque office he tends to undermine their authority as the mosque manager. His reasoning behind acting in such a manner towards them is probably due to him not acknowledging them as ‘proper Muslims’, as is discussed in section 5.3.2. Additionally, the extracts above demonstrate the distribution of power in these interactions, with Dave showing respect by using a formal term of address: *Mr Khan*, while adversely Mr Khan refers to him as Dave, as opposed to ‘Mr such and such’, signifying a lack of balance of power. This is particularly interesting, as Dave, being the mosque manager, would be expected to wield the power when conversing with the mosque worshippers.

The character who used the term *Mr Khan* the most frequently after the two Dave characters, was Khan himself. In many of these instances, *Mr Khan* is commonly preceded by the phrase ‘your father’. These instances are discussed later in this chapter in relation to the father-daughter relationship. However, another common cluster that was identified by Wordsmith, where Mr Khan refers to himself is ‘Mr Khan, community leader’ 12 times:

2. <u=riaz>This is Omar. He's new.</u>
 <u=mr khan>Excellent. Welcome. **Mr Khan**, community leader. Future President of the Sparkhill Pakistani Business Association. Ask anybodys, they all know me.</u>
 <u=omar>Ah! Asalaam Alaikum. I'm delighted to make the acquaintance of such a prominent member of the local community.</u>

4. <u=dave>And you are?</u>
 <u=mr khan>**Mr Khan**, community leader.
 Mr Qureshi must have mentioned me.</u>
 <u=dave>Ohhhh, yes. YOU'RE **Mr Kahn**.

70. <u=mr khan>What's your name?</u>
 <u=dave2>Dave.</u>
 <u=mr khan>Oh, God!</u>
 <u=dave2>And you are? **Mr Khan**, community leader, they all know me.</u>

Figure 7.2: MR KHAN - Expansion of concordance lines 2, 4 and 70

Mr Khan mainly uses the term *community leader* when introducing himself to someone – similarly to the instances above, or when he wishes to reinforce his self-importance to those who already know him. Additionally, the catchphrase ‘Community leader. They all know me.’ is found within the introductory theme tune and this line has become synonymous with the Mr Khan character. The catchphrase is a staple of the classic sitcom and most successful sitcom characters possess one and in many instances they help to financially benefit the series through the sale of merchandise (see figure 7.3). Mills (2009:96) states that ‘the pleasure in catchphrases is one which only makes sense in category-routinised terms, for audiences must be aware that a particular character repeatedly makes such a statement in order to find it funny.’



Figure 7.3: Example of Citizen Khan merchandising with Mr Khan’s catch-phrase imprinted on it. Found at <http://www.pixelleprint.co.uk/community-leader-citizen-khan-mug-4358-p.asp>

The continuous usage of this term across both seasons, as well as its placement within the introductory theme tune, indicates that the scriptwriters have attached a level of importance to it. It also poses the question as to why Mr Khan chose to appoint himself as a ‘community leader’, as opposed to any other honorific title he could have chosen for himself. Anwar (1985:12) states that ‘Asians and particularly Pakistanis are community orientated’ and this could be why Mr Khan is constructed as aspiring to be a figure of importance within his community.

Over the duration of the two seasons, Mr and Mrs Khan’s first names are never revealed. Even when addressing one another, they occasionally use the *Mr* and *Mrs* titles, as well as some of the other terms that are discussed later in this chapter. In many Muslim cultures, the first names of elder individuals within the household are not known to people outside of that house and in some cases this also extends to even their own children being unaware of their first names.¹¹¹ Instead, other forms are used to address these individuals: for example, in the Arab culture specifically, a man is addressed by the term ‘Abu’ (meaning father), followed by the name of their eldest child – i.e. Abu Mohammed (father of Mohammed). Although such examples may seem extreme, the need for youngsters to ‘show respect to elders’ is promoted so fervently within some of these cultures that examples such as the one that Anwar (1985:59) provides where one Pakistani father ‘gave lectures to his children [on] how to respect their elders’ would not be deemed unusual.

Unlike with Mr Khan, there are not many instances where Mrs Khan is using that term to refer to herself. In most instances, Mr Khan uses the term *Mrs Khan* and these utterances can be split into two categories: when he is addressing her directly (7 occasions) and when he is

¹¹¹ When I taught in Saudi Arabia and asked my students to do a piece of writing which required them to discuss their family, many of them were not aware of the first names of immediate family members such as their mothers, uncles and aunts, with them possibly only knowing their father’s name as it was a requirement to include it as part of their registration to the university.

speaking about her to other characters (19 occasions). Across the two seasons, there are only a negligible number of times, where Mr Khan directly addresses Mrs Khan with that convention:

1. <u=mr khan>Sweety darling, your favourite gulab jamun is home! </u> <u=mrs khan>Mrs Malik and Amjad are here! </u> <u=mr khan>Hello, Mrs Khan. How are you? </u>
9. <u=mr khan>It's for rainy day. You have to think of the future. We are fit and healthy now, but what happens when you're an old lady and you can't look after yourself any more? Hmm? </u> <u=mrs khan>Hmm? </u> <u=mr khan>Exactly. We're going to have to pay for someone to come in. To cook my dinner. And iron my shirts. You see, Mrs Khan, head for thinking, feet for dancing. </u>

Figure 7.4: MRS KHAN - Expansion of concordance lines 1 and 9

By Mr Khan referring to his wife as Mrs Khan when directly addressing her, seems abnormal for a spousal interaction, as there appears to be an unnecessary amount of formality present. It appears that the scriptwriters could be possibly trying to further play on the stereotype of loveless marriages amongst middle-aged couples found in many British sitcoms (see section 7.4.3 below). Alternatively, they could also be highlighting elements of the Pakistani/Muslim culture, where a level of formality still exists between spouses. This notion is supported by Ewing (2008:100), who in her research on Muslim men found that ‘most aspects of the husband-wife relationship and interactions are not to be articulated. Even within the private spaces of the extended family, husband and wife act formally with one another in the presence of their elders as a form of respect.’

Concordance line 9 further illustrates the Khans’ relationship dynamics, with the use of a garden-path¹¹² joke. It appears initially that Khan is saving up money as he is concerned about how his wife will be able to look after herself when she becomes elderly. However, it turns out that he was in fact saving up for himself, so he would be able to pay for somebody to come and do the domestic duties when Mrs Khan is no longer able to. This humorous jab

¹¹² A garden-path sentence leads the reader to believe that the sentence carries the most familiar meaning. However, in reality, the sentence meant something else completely.

at Khan illustrates that he is characterised as being selfish and the needs of his family members are secondary to his own needs.

However, in most instances, Mr Khan is speaking about Mrs Khan to another character within the sitcom. One character who Mr Khan regularly discusses Mrs Khan with is Amjad:

10. <u=mr khan>You don't need to remind me. But why do you have to see her every bloody day? You want to keep up some of the mystery. A bit of romance, Amjad. You know, Mrs Khan wanted to see me all the time when we first got engaged, but I said, "No, you'll ruin the mystery. The most romantic thing we can do is to avoid each other completely."</u> <u=mrs khan>He was right about that.</u>
13. <u=mr khan>Money's not that important. <vocal=CLEARs THROAT></u> <u=amjad>Isn't it? </u> <u=mr khan>No. Look at me and Mrs Khan. When we got married, we didn't have much money, did we?</u> <u=mrs khan>No. </u> <u=mr khan>And we didn't have a big house, did we?</u> <u=mrs khan>No. We rented a one-room flat in Balsall Heath. Above that fish-and-chip shop.</u>
38. <u=mr khan>Amjad. As you go through life, you will learn something about womens.</u> <u=amjad>Like what?</u> <u=mr khan>Sometimes you have to show that you are willing to fight for them. When I first met Mrs Khan... she had many admirers and had I not told her how I felt about her, she would not have known how much I liked her. And in the end, she might have gone off with one of the other admirers. Then where would we be? Amjad... ...what I'm saying to you is this. That you cannot wait for a woman to guess how you feel about her. In the end, you just have to tell her. </u>

Figure 7.5: MRS KHAN - Expansion of concordance lines 10, 13 and 38

In the instances above, Mr Khan is recalling his marital experiences with Mrs Khan and his main purpose for doing this is to reassure Amjad that things will work out between him and Shazia when they get married. It could be also argued that Mr Khan takes on a fatherly role in these examples, with Amjad possibly compensating for the lack of a father-son relationship in his life, as Mr Khan had always desired a son (see section 7.3.4).

However, not all of Mr Khan's advice to Amjad takes on a serious tone, as some of his speech is scripted for comedic value – i.e. 'The most romantic thing we could do, is to avoid each other completely.' Other instances around the term *Mrs Khan* also indicate that at times

Mr Khan is worried about the consequences of his actions if Mrs Khan comes to know of them, as are illustrated in the following examples:

8. <u=dave>The main thing is we have to be very sensitive when we break the news to Mrs Khan.</u> <u=mr khan>Yes. Do you want to do it?</u> <u=dave>I think it would be better coming from you. </u><u=mr khan>Right. </u>
20. <u=dave>Do you think Mrs Khan will see it that way?</u> <u=mr khan>Of course. But don't tell her. </u>
35. <u=mr khan>Dave, I don't know if I've ever mentioned this - but I'm Mr Khan, community leader. They all know me. If this gets out, and Mrs Khan hears about it, I'll need mine sewing back on, never mind Amjad's!</u> <u=dave2>Honestly, Mr Khan, it's fine. This is a doctor's surgery, they have very strict privacy rules. Anything you say in here will be treated with the utmost confidence.</u> <u=mr khan>Brilliant! Right, OK... It's a bit of an urgent matter concerning the general region of the dingly-danglies.</u>

Figure 7.6: MRS KHAN - Expansion of concordance lines 8, 20 and 35

The extracts above reinforce an old cliché where a bungling husband conceals his behaviour from a domineering wife, which is a well-known stereotype associated with marital relationships and has been consistently incorporated into the narrative of family sitcoms over the decades. Wagner (2012:41-42) when discussing representations of women in comedy, mentions the old clichés of the *battleaxe wife* and the *nagging wife* and from a British sitcom perspective, the dominant wife/woman figure has featured in popular terrestrial television series, with characters such as Hyacinth Bucket in *Keeping up Appearances* (BBC, 1990-1995), Gabriel Dragon in *George and the Dragon* (ITV, 1966-68), Mildred Roper in *George and Mildred* (ITV, 1976-1979) and Sybil Fawlty in *Fawlty Towers* (BBC2, 1975-1979), as well as countless others.

Alternatively, the over-usage of this characterisation within sitcoms could also be in part due to the possible element of authenticity it adds to the script, as audience members may know of similar relationships in real life. In sitcoms such as *Citizen Khan* scenes such as these can

be particularly effective, helping to normalise the characters with the audience, who are in most parts a different race and creed to the characters within the show.

7.2.2 Other Family Members

The Khan's daughter Alia is mentioned by name 43 times in the CK corpus (Table A11, Appendix A), with 44% of those occurrences coming from Mr Khan (Table A12, Appendix A). When looking at these instances, it is apparent that Mr Khan consistently compliments her over the duration of the two seasons:

1. <u=mr khan>Your little sister is a good girl. She'll be sitting somewhere doing her homework or praying or some such thing. Sweetie, sweetie, sweetie, sweetie! Where are you, darling Alia ? Ah. Look at that. Wonderful. Reading the Koran, huh? Very good. Where are you up to darling? Oh yes, that's a good bit. See? First the worst, second the best, isn't it? </u>
17. <u=alia>Here, Papaji, I brought you a newspaper.</u> <u=mr khan>Thank you, Alia . Such a good girl! This one is absolutely perfect. Nothing she could do would ever disappoint me. </u>
34. <u=mr khan>My family is here. That's all I need. My beautiful wife, my wonderful daughter, Alia ... and Shazia, you're here, too. </u>

Figure 7.7: ALIA - Expansion of concordance lines 1, 17 and 34

The usage around Alia's name helps provide an insight into Mr Khan's relationship with her and the strength of their father-daughter relationship. However, not only does it show that Mr Khan thinks favourably of Alia, in concordances lines 1 and 34, he specifically goes out of his way to make a direct distinction between Alia and Shazia. In the first extract, after seeing that Alia is reading the Quran, he goes onto disparage Shazia, which suggests that his mistreatment of Shazia may partly be due to him believing she is not a good Muslim, possibly due to her not wearing the hijab (this premise is discussed in further detail in section 8.4.3.1).

Mr Khan's favouritism for Alia doesn't go completely unnoticed by Shazia:

2. <u=mr khan>Go on, be a good daughter for once, help your mother. </u>
<u=shazia>What about Alia? You never have a go at her! </u>

Figure 7.8: ALIA - Expansion of concordance line 2

A recent study by Cogner (Horton, 2016) found that 70% of fathers admit to having a favourite child and that the eldest child was the most likely to be the favourite. However, in this instance, Alia, the younger daughter, is Mr Khan's favourite child. Mr Khan's obvious favouritism is another way in which the character is constructed as flawed for comedic purposes and his reasoning behind this is shown to be due to his belief that Alia is a 'perfect Muslim daughter' (as discussed in section 7.3.4) and needs to be protected from boys, due to her innocent nature, as is highlighted in the following extracts:

10. <u=mr khan>So what, do you think Muslims don't do tang-tang? Because let me tell you, Mrs Khan, they certainly do. Islam is not the fastest growing religion in the world for nothing. Muslims all over the world are doing tang-tang left, right and centre.</u>
<u=mrs khan>Maybe some of them. </u>
<u=mr khan>Alia is young and vulnerable. One of us needs to talk to her. </u>

18. <u=mr khan>They got boys there. </u>
<u=mrs khan>So?</u>
<u=mr khan>So...we need to protect her. Alia is an innocent flower. She knows nothing of the ways of the world.</u>

29. <u=alia>What's the big deal? She's happy, isn't she? </u>
<u=mr khan>Alia, beti, you are young and innocent and, with God's help, you'll stay that way forever. You don't understand what's happening. </u>

Figure 7.9: ALIA - Expansion of concordance lines 10, 18 and 29

Mr Khan has a perception that Alia is vulnerable and innocent. While the analysis of the script does little to counter this view, this is one area where triangulation with a multimodal visual analysis helps to reveal a different story, as is discussed in section 8.4.3.1.

Alia's sister *Shazia* was most frequently mentioned by her fiancé Amjad in the corpus (Table A12, Appendix A), with the majority of occurrences revolving around their impending wedding. In many instances, Amjad uses Shazia's name to display his affection towards her:

<p>5. <u=amjad>I've made a mosque out of Lego so I can work out where everything goes.</u> <u=mr khan>Right?</u> <u=amjad>This is me and this is Shazia. Obviously she's not as beautiful as she is in real life.</u></p>
<p>30. <u=amjad>I just wanted Shazia to be proud of me. </u> <u=mr khan>Well, you can't have everything.</u> <u=amjad>I was going to buy her lots of expensive clothes and shoes!</u> <u=mr khan>Just get them from Asda. That's what I do.</u></p>
<p>53. <u=mrs malik>We're leaving. Come on, Amjad.</u> <u=amjad>No! I don't care what she's done! I still love you, Shazia!</u> <u=mrs malik>Amjad!</u> <u=amjad>I don't care how many men she's been with! As long as it's not more than ten! </u></p>

Figure 7.10: SHAZIA - Expansion of concordance lines 5, 30 and 53

However, there were other instances in the corpus where Amjad displays doubts about Shazia's affections towards him. Additionally, at other times he expresses a desire to not go ahead with the wedding, which acts as a commonly triggered plot device:

<p>3. <u=amjad>I'm not good enough for her.</u> <u=mr khan>Oh, thank God.</u> <u=amjad>Why would a girl like Shazia really be interested in somebody like me?</u> <u=mr khan>It's a good question, but now is not the time to dwell on it.</u></p>
<p>8. <u=amjad>If Shazia has doubts about me, maybe it's best if we never see each other again.</u> <u=mr khan>Let's just talk about this.</u> <u=amjad>No, my mind's made up. Tell Shazia I'm sorry. </u></p>
<p>46. <u=amjad>You would say that, you're her dad. I'm going to see Shazia! Tell her we're finished.</u> <u=mr khan>Amjad, that's not a good idea. You're too upset.</u> <u=amjad>I'll phone her then.</u></p>

Figure 7.11: SHAZIA - Expansion of concordance lines 3, 8 and 46

In the instances above where the wedding was in doubt, Amjad's speech had been triggered by Mr Khan telling lies – i.e. claiming that Amjad failed to book the mosque for the wedding and inventing a relationship between Shazia and her childhood friend Imran Parvez. These examples further highlight Mr Khan's selfish nature, where he is willing to potentially ruin his daughter's proposed wedding, in order to cover up his own misbehaviour.

The final Khan family member which appeared in the corpus was Naani, who is Mrs Khan's mother and is visiting the family from Pakistan. *Naani* is not actually her name, and like that

of Mr and Mrs Khan, her actual first name is not disclosed within the series. *Naani* is the Urdu equivalent of grandmother and more specifically it refers to the mother of your mother. Despite its meaning, the term is most commonly used in the series by Mr and Mrs Khan, as opposed to Alia and Shazia who are Naani's grandchildren. Although, it is commonplace even within British society that parents may address a grandmother, with terms such as 'granny' within their children's presence, there are numerous instances in the series where Mr and Mrs Khan use this term even when their children are not present:

<p>4. <u=dave>I didn't realise you had an elderly person with you.</u> <u=mr khan>She's the mother-in-law.</u> <u=naani>Yeh kaun hai?</u> <u=mr khan>This is Dave, Naani. The mosque manager. I know, I can't get my head round it either.</u></p>
<p>10. <u=mr khan>Let's have a little chat in here.</u> <u=mrs khan>But where's Naani? You said Dave was bringing her.</u></p>
<p>20. <u=mrs khan>I'm worried about Naani.</u> <u=mr khan>Me too.</u> <u=mrs khan>Something's not right, is it?</u> <u=mr khan>No.</u> <u=mrs khan>What do you think's wrong with her?</u> <u=mr khan>She's still bloody here, that's what's wrong with her! She was only supposed to be staying one week. When's she going back to Pakistan?</u></p>

Figure 7.12: NAANI - Expansion of concordance lines 4, 10 and 20

Their usage of the term in their children's absence is possibly a further indicator of their cultural upbringing and the need to maintain formality when addressing or referring to elders, as discussed in the preceding section. This premise is made more plausible by the suggestion that the term 'naani' has now displaced 'mother', due to it being an indicator of seniority (which is important within the Pakistani culture, see Shaw, 2000:94), as there is no stage in the corpus where Mrs Khan addresses Naani directly as 'mum' or 'mother', although on occasion she refers to her in the third person as 'my mother' (see section 7.3.3).

Besides the direct members of the Khan family, Amjad – the prospective son-in-law and fiancé of Shazia, regularly appeared in the corpus, with his name occurring 163 times in total across the two seasons (Table A11, Appendix A). Perhaps surprisingly, Mr and Mrs Khan both uttered his name more times than his fiancé Shazia in the series, although her usage of his name was more frequent when looking at her usage per 1000 words (Table A12, Appendix A). As was discussed in the previous section, there were occasions in the series where Khan acts as an advisory figure to Amjad, especially in regards to his future marital relationship with Shazia. Aside from those instances, there were other occasions in the corpus, where Mr Khan was complimentary (albeit with reservations) towards Amjad:

<p>56. <u=amjad>But she deserves to have a good husband.</u> <u=mr khan>Look, Amjad, you'll make a good husband, even without a job. You're kind and thoughtful. All right, you're not the spiciest samosa in the tiffin box, but...still...you love my daughter, and in the end that's what matters.</u></p>

Figure 7.13: AMJAD - Expansion of concordance line 56

However, examples such as the one above were not the norm and in many other instances Mr Khan's usage around the term Amjad was particularly negative towards him. One reoccurring phrase that was particularly visible in Mr Khan's interactions with Amjad was 'shut up':

<p>61. <u=mr khan>Amjad.</u> <u=amjad>Yes, sir?</u> <u=mr khan>Shut up!</u> <u=amjad>OK.</u></p>
<p>71. <u=amjad>Everybody stay here!</u> <u=mr khan>Amjad! Shut up and put the telly down!</u></p>
<p>130. <u=amjad>Please be careful, sir.</u> <u=mr khan>Shut up, Amjad!</u></p>
<p>163. <u=amjad>I'm really tired, sir.</u> <u=mr khan>Amjad, shut up. I'm the one doing the work now!</u></p>

Figure 7.14: AMJAD - Expansion of concordance lines 61, 71, 130 and 163

Although 'shut up' is now commonly used across society, it could still be deemed inappropriate for Mr Khan specifically, considering his self-proclamation as a *community*

leader (see above discussion) and *devout Muslim* (see chapter 5). Therefore, it would be expected of him to behave in an exemplary manner, especially if he regards himself as somebody to be followed. Aside from directly addressing Amjad by name, he also often refers to him as ‘boy’ (see section 8.3.2), which in most instances is used in a negative or demeaning manner. Contrastingly, Mrs Khan’s language around the term *Amjad* was mainly positive:

<p>33. <u=mr khan>That's my chair!</u> <u=mrs khan>What does it matter whose chair it is? You're not the only man in the house. Here, Amjad, have some rice.</u> <u=mr khan>What about me?</u> <u=mrs khan>Wait your turn. So, Amjad, what is your new job title going to be?</u> <u=amjad>Deputy Assistant Manager, open brackets, pay as you go, close brackets.</u> <u=mrs khan>Vah! Brackets! Have some chicken.</u> <u=mr khan>That's my chicken! </u></p>
<p>113. <u=mrs khan>No-one loves babies as much as I do. And Amjad is such a healthy young man. He'll have no trouble producing lots of babies when the time comes, eh?</u> <u=amjad>I'll do my best.</u></p>

Figure 7.15: AMJAD - Expansion of concordance lines 33 and 113

As can be seen in the examples above, Mrs Khan goes out of her way to pamper and compliment Amjad, even offering him food at the expense of her own husband. Additionally, Mrs Khan puts particular emphasis on Amjad’s ability to procreate, which is an important issue within the Pakistani culture. In fact, it is of such importance that on occasions ‘failure to conceive or to produce live children, can, in principle, result in divorce’ (Shaw, 2000:216).

7.3 Parental Relationship

Another of the categories that was identified within the analysis was the USAS Category S4, entitled ‘Kin’, where *dad, father, mum, mother, son* and *daughter* were identified as frequently occurring.

Additionally, the Z99 category, which consisted of unmatched items and was identified as the most frequently occurring semantic category (see section 5.1), also consisted of familial terms in the Urdu language, which were not recognised by Wmatrix, these being *papaji* and *beti*. It was subsequently determined that these terms fell into the overarching themes of identity and family and more specifically within the topic of ‘Parental Relationship’.

7.3.1 Contextual Information

When looking at parental relationships from an Islamic perspective, it is important to note that great emphasis is placed on ‘obedience to parents’ and ‘good treatment towards them in the Quran, with numerable verses reiterating this command, an example of one such verse (17:23) being:

‘And your Lord has decreed that you worship none but Him. And that you be dutiful to your parents. If one of them or both of them attain old age in your life, say not to them a word of disrespect, nor shout at them but address them in terms of honour.’

Moreover, particular emphasis is placed on the relationship a person should have with their mother, with the Prophet Mohammed stating that ‘paradise is beneath her feet’ (Sunan Al-Nasa’i, Hadeeth 3104) and a further hadeeth indicates her importance over the father:

A man asked the Messenger of Allah, peace and blessings be upon him, ‘Who is most deserving of my good company?’ The Prophet said, ‘**Your mother.**’ The man asked, ‘Then who?’ The Prophet said ‘**Your mother.**’ The man asked again, ‘Then who?’ The Prophet said, ‘**Your mother.**’ The man asked again, ‘Then who?’ The Prophet said, ‘**Your father.**’

(Sahih Al-Bukhari, Hadeeth 5626 and Sahih Al-Muslim, Hadeeth 2548)

Despite the mother's importance over the father in relation to the children, the father still maintains overall responsibility over the affairs of the household in general (e.g. financially providing for them), with the mother responsible for their upbringing and domestic duties:

‘Each of you is a shepherd and each of you is responsible for his flock. The ameer (ruler) who governs the people is a shepherd and is responsible for his flock. A man is the shepherd of the members of his household and is responsible for them. A woman is the shepherd of her husband's house and children and is responsible for them. A slave is the shepherd of his master's wealth and is responsible for it. Each of you is a shepherd and each of you is responsible for his flock.’

(Sahih Al-Bukhaari, Hadeeth 7138; Sahih Al-Muslim, Hadeeth1829)

It is perceived that a similar patriarchal structure is found in Pakistani households, with Donnan (1988:81) stating that ‘ideally, the head of the household is the eldest male of the nuclear family.’ However, as Shaw (2000:93) points out, ‘women are formally subordinate to men but male and female worlds are largely separate and have their own hierarchal structures. These structures are based upon ‘age and status’, where ‘older women have authority over younger women.’ (ibid: 94) Due to this hierarchal structure, in some households, the parental relationship may not be as strong, where in some instances ‘the mother-in-law may have more influence over how her grandchildren are brought up than their mother may have’ (ibid:95). In contrast to the above, where the father is seen as a person of authority and respect within the household, the contemporary sitcom father on the other hand, is commonly ‘portrayed in situations that make him look increasingly foolish.’ (Scharer, 2001:23) Conversely, the role of the sitcom mother has evolved over the decades from being purely domesticated to being ‘concerned with career matters, as well as domestic duties.’ (Reep and Dambrot, 1994:18) The academic community has not focussed much on sitcom

children, although Larson (1991) found in her study that siblings from 1980s sitcoms were more likely to interact with one another than those from 1950s sitcoms.

When looking at Pakistani children, Donnan (1988:87) states that ‘it is common knowledge that in South Asia sons are generally accorded a higher value than daughters. Moreover, the importance of having sons within the Pakistani culture is further alluded to by Shaw (2000:164), who states that ‘a woman’s chief value lies in her ability to produce sons, an ability she acquires at puberty.’

Contrastingly, from an Islamic perspective, there is a great virtue in raising daughters and this is explicitly stated by the Prophet, where he mentions that:

‘He who is involved (in the responsibility) of (bringing up) daughters, and he accords benevolent treatment towards them, there would be protection for him against the hellfire.’ (Sahih Al-Muslim, Hadeeth 6362)

Conversely, I am not aware of any such narrations that mention about the virtues of raising sons and it could be possible that the Prophet specified daughters, as he was trying to encourage the people to discard some of their attitudes that may still have been present from Pre-Islamic Arabia, namely the burial of daughters, as is alluded to in the Quran (81:8-9):

‘And when the girl [who was] buried alive is asked. For what sin she was killed.’

7.3.2 *Dad, Father and Papaji*

The term *dad* is almost exclusively used by Shazia within the CK corpus (Table A14, Appendix A), with Alia preferring to mainly refer to Mr Khan as ‘papaji’, as will be discussed later in this section. Shazia’s usage of *dad* provides an insight into the dynamics of their father-daughter relationship:

<p>5 and 6. <u=mr khan>(CLEARS PHLEGM) Right, who's in the bathroom? Don't tell me. Is it your grandmother again? Come on!</u> <u=shazia>Dad! She's 80 years old!</u> <u=mr khan>When she went in, maybe! </u> <u=mr shazia>Dad! </u></p>
<p>35. <u=shazia>Dad! What is going on?</u></p>
<p>38. <u=mr khan>No-one! He just came for the celebration, but he's going to go now.</u> <u=shazia>Dad! You're showing me up in front of Matt and Debbie! <vocal=LAUGHS NERVOUSLY></u> <u=mr khan>What a coincidence! We got a Matt and Debbie at the festival of Mattandebaay! Time to go. </u></p>
<p>39. <u=mr khan>Come on. Have a little biscuit. Come on, come on, come on.</u> <u=shazia>Dad! She's not a dog!</u> <u=mr khan>I know that, Shazia. Maybe she needs a walk. You want to go walkies? </u></p>

Figure 7.16: DAD - Expansion of concordance lines 5, 6, 35, 38 and 39

As is illustrated above, there are instances in the conversational interactions between Mr Khan and Shazia where role reversal takes place – i.e. the daughter, Shazia, is reprimanding her father, Mr Khan. Mr Khan’s behaviour can at times be erratic and he is prone to display childlike tendencies (see section 6.5), whereas Shazia is constructed as being more level headed and due to this she may be possibly required at times to keep her father ‘in check’. From an intertextual viewpoint, it is highly probable that their relationship and Shazia’s character in particular, could be loosely based upon the mother-daughter dynamic found between Edina and Saffron in the British sitcom *Absolutely Fabulous* (BBC, 1992-2012).

A further example of this role-reversal is provided when Shazia reprimands her father prior to any wrongdoing on his part, as she assumes he is about to say something inappropriate (in the case below, the word *shit*):

<p>9. <u=mr khan>At this rate, I won't get time for my three "shushes".</u> <u=alia>What are they?</u> <u=mr khan>Shave, shower and... </u> <u=shazia>Dad!</u> <u=mr khan>Shampoo!</u></p>
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Figure 7.17: DAD - Expansion of concordance line 9

The scenario above is commonly encountered in everyday situations in an opposite manner, where a parent will interrupt their child or gesture towards to them to stop, before the child says anything which is potentially embarrassing or inappropriate. According to the website thinktank.co.uk, which offers creative writing advice to comedians, a dialogue like the one above would fall under a comedic technique they refer to as ‘misunderstanding’, where humour is generated via one of the two inoculators misunderstanding some element of the conversation. Not only is Shazia not shy in ‘disciplining’ her father but she also openly points out some of his flaws in character (perhaps helping to explain why she is not the favourite daughter):

2. <u=shazia>Dad, you're such a cheapskate. It's embarrassing. </u>

Figure 7.18: DAD - Expansion of concordance line 2

In current society, such speech from a child to their parent would most likely not raise many eyebrows. However, when looking at Shazia’s speech from the perspective of her being a Muslim and Pakistani daughter and the cultural implications around that, it is highly plausible that the above statement to her father would be considered unacceptable within her culture.

Despite Shazia’s mainly negative usage of the term *dad*, in certain situations she will defend Mr Khan, if the need arises:

49. <u=jackie>You think you're going to meet Imran Khan and then you meet some weirdo in a cheap suit.</u>
<u=shazia>Hold on a minute! My dad is not a weirdo. He's a respectable middle-aged man. You can't treat him like a criminal. Whatever he's done, there'll be a perfectly reasonable explanation. </u>

Figure 7.19: DAD - Expansion of concordance line 49

In many Muslim cultures, there is an unwritten ‘family comes first’ policy, where individuals will always defend the members of their family in public and against people from outside the family. Shaw (2000:95) discusses a similar phenomenon in the Pakistani community, where an individual’s ‘inclinations may conflict with family obligations.’ Therefore, even though

Shazia may not approve of Khan's behaviour in many instances within the series, her grievances are normally aired inside the house. However, like in the extract above, where her father is insulted in public by a stranger, she is compelled to defend him.

Considering that Shazia uses the term *dad* more frequently than any other character in the corpus, it is especially surprising that there is not a single occasion where she addresses him as *father*. Neither Alia nor Shazia use the term *father* in the two seasons, and this lack of use could reflect a wider societal trend, where youngsters are preferring to use *dad* than the more formal sounding *father* (see data from the BNC in section 7.3.3). In total, *father* appears 26 times in the corpus (Table A13, Appendix A), and on 19 of these occasions it is preceded by 'your', with the phrase 'your father' being predominantly used by Mrs Khan:

<p>2. <u=shazia>I don't care about the mosque.</u> <u=amjad>Neither do I.</u> <u=mr khan>See, nobody cares about the mosque.</u> <u=mrs khan>I do. But don't worry, beti. Your father will sort it all out. Won't you?</u> <u=mr khan>Of course. <vocal= CLEARS THROAT></u></p>
<p>7. <u=mr khan>This is a pilgrimage. It's not about money and expensive shoes and five-star hotels. Do you think the Prophet stayed at the Hyatt Regency? I don't think so. Shame on you!</u> <u=mrs khan>Your father is right. </u> <u=shazia>Sorry, Dad. It's OK. </u></p>
<p>16. <u=mrs khan>What if you didn't have to save? What if you already had enough to put down a deposit on the flat? That would make a difference, wouldn't it?</u> <u=shazia>I suppose.</u> <u=mrs khan>Well, then, your father is going to solve all our problems!</u> <u=mrs malik>Well, that would be a first. </u></p>

Figure 7.20: FATHER - Expansion of concordance line 2, 7 and 16

Despite Khan's foolish persona, as discussed in the previous chapters, Mrs Khan uses the term to positively portray him to their daughters. In Pakistani culture, the father is to be respected and therefore, even if privately Mrs Khan may hold her husband in a negative light, she will not display these sentiments to her children. Shaw (2000:94) states that 'sometimes

unavoidable obligations are deeply resented, but...the value given to respecting one's parents and elders...prevents individuals from rejecting their roles entirely.'

Mr Khan uses the phrase 'your father'¹¹³ to refer to himself in third person, in a similar manner to how he refers to himself as Mr Khan and when doing so, it is almost exclusively in a positive light:

3. <u=shazia>How much did you have to pay?</u> <u=mr khan>That's not important, Shazia. The main thing is, your father is going up in the world. You know, when I first came to this country I had nothing. And here I am, now only 30 years later, getting face time with the big knobs. Very similar thing happened to Lord Sir Alan Sugars. </u>
10. <u=mr khan>Hello! Hello, my beautiful family. Your father is back from another successful day. Oh, that looks good! What the hell is it?</u> <u=mrs khan>I'm making gulab jamuns. </u>
13. <u=alia>But how can I get a scholarship? I've failed my exams.</u> <u=mr khan>Exams got nothing to do with it.</u> <u=alia>What?</u> <u=mr khan>You are young. You don't understand how the world works. Your father will speak to the headmaster man to man. The scholarship will be in the bag, and everything is tickety-boo! </u>
20. <u=shazia>Please, Dad. What about a bit of tinsel?</u> <u=mr khan>Chup! How many times? We're not doing Christmas and that's final! Baas! Your father has spoken. </u>

Figure 7.21: FATHER - Expansion of concordance lines 3, 10, 13 and 20

In the above instances, Mr Khan uses the phrase to characterise himself as a 'figure of importance and authority' to his daughters, once again illustrating an element of self-delusion on his part, similar to his assertion of being a community leader. A study by Elledge (2015:55) looking at usage of illeism (referring to oneself in the third person) in the Bible, mentions that illeism 'can occur when a person has a sense of self importance, or when one's status is in reality important, such as kings.' Apart from Mr Khan's claims of being

¹¹³ The only instances where *father* was not used by Mr or Mrs Khan was when Riaz and Amjad were referring to Father Christmas.

successful, there is little evidence in the two seasons which suggests this to be true, as it appears that he does not have a job.

It could be also argued that Mr Khan uses self-praise to ensure his children respect him and think positively of him, in a similar manner to Mrs Khan's usage of this term. Mr Khan also occasionally supplements the phrase by following it up with his name:

1. <u=mr khan><vocal=KNOCK ON DOOR>Hello, sweetie! Can I come in? I want to talk to you, darling. It's me. Your father . Mr Khan. I want to talk to you about something very important. You. You are very important to me. Open the bloody door... My sweetie darling. Oh. This is very nice. Lovely room. I'm so glad we're having this heart to heart talk. It feels very easy and not uncomfortable at all, does it? Oh. I love these dresses and shoes, etc...</u>
4. <u=shazia>What's with the briefcase?</u> <u=mr khan>The Pakistani Business Association of Birmingham has invited me, your father , Mr Khan, to their annual conference.</u>
15. <u=alia>Has Amjad got a heart problem?</u> <u=mr khan>No, unfortunately not. This way, I get my picture in the papers. Imagine - your father , Mr Khan, on the front page of the Sparkhill Echo. Headline could be, "Community leader leads community." </u>

Figure 7.22: FATHER - Expansion of concordance line 1, 4 and 15

In concordance lines 4 and 15, Khan uses this convention as a way of signifying an element of status or success and once again painting a positive picture of himself. However, the first example is of particular interest, as it shows Mr Khan's unease when having a serious parental discussion with his daughter (the dialogue also implies he has never been in her room before), similar to his attempt at giving Alia 'the talk' about boys (see section 8.3.2).

From a linguistic standpoint, in Mr Khan's interaction with Shazia, he flouts the *Maxim of Quantity* (see Grice 1975)¹¹⁴ by using his name and this is done to generate humour for the audience. The flouting of maxims for comedic value is not unique to *Citizen Khan*, a study by Palupi (2006) analysing an episode of the sitcom *Friends*, identified how the flouting and

¹¹⁴ Grice (1975) proposed the Cooperative Principle, which can be divided into four categories of 'maxims'. These maxims describe principles observed by people when effectively communicating with one another. For the category of QUANTITY, Grice (ibid:45) specified the following maxims: (1) make your contribution as informative as is required, (2) do not make your contribution more informative than is required.

violation of maxims was regularly done to create humour. Aside from sitcoms, other television genres also employ a similar method to generate humour, as is demonstrated in Culpeper's (2005) study which investigates the quiz show *The Weakest Link*.

It could also be argued that it is a characteristic of Khan's speech construction as he refers to Mr Malik in a similar manner:

<p>5. <u=amjad>He said no matter what anybody bids, he's going to bid more.</u> <u=mr khan>So let me get this straight. Say somebody - call them Mr K - I mean, Mr X - bids in the auction, your father, Mr Malik, will bid more?</u> <u=amjad>Yes.</u></p>
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Figure 7.23: FATHER - Expansion of concordance line 5

Aside from the traditional English terms mentioned above, *papaji* - the urdu equivalent for father/dad was used by Alia consistently across the two seasons. This term was never used by Shazia, which possibly further indicates the weakness in her relationship with her dad, although also perhaps indicates that Shazia is more westernised (on the surface) than Alia.

<p>2. <u=alia>Bring her in, Papaji.</u> <u=mr khan>In a minute, sweetie. </u></p>
<p>3. <u=alia>Papaji? Mmm? Can I have some spending money for my holiday?</u> <u=mr khan>Of course, sweetie. </u></p>
<p>8. <u=alia>I think you're a great businessman, Papaji.</u> <u=mr khan>Vah! What an angel! Truly we were blessed when God sent you down to us. Mind you, he sent us your sister as well, so maybe he felt he owed us one. </u></p>

Figure 7.24: PAPAJI - Expansion of concordance lines 2, 3 and 8

The strength of Alia and Mr Khan's relationship can also be seen through his responses to her when addressed as *papaji*. He expresses terms of endearment towards Alia by calling her sweetie and also using the urdu equivalent of wow - 'vah', which signifies an element of astonishment. Lorenzo-Dus and Bou-Franch (2003:8) state that using terms such as *sweetie* signify the 'camaraderie existing between interlocutors.' Another common response that Mr Khan uses after being called papaji, is to address Alia as a 'good girl':

<p>1. <u=mr khan>Alia, go get Monopoly for Mrs Malik, huh?</u> <u=alia>Yes, Papaji.</u> <u=mr khan>She's such a good girl. You know, whoever marries this one will have a real jewel. This one is OK, too. Come on, Alia, choppity chop! </u></p>
<p>10. <u=alia>Here, Papaji, I brought you a newspaper.</u> <u=mr khan>Thank you, Alia. Such a good girl! This one is absolutely perfect. Nothing she could do would ever disappoint me.</u> <u=alia>That's good, because my exam results have arrived. </u></p>
<p>15. <u=alia>Hello, Papaji. Just doing my homework.</u> <u=mr khan>Such a good girl! </u></p>
<p>24. <u=alia>Are you sure that's a cricket chatroom?</u> <u=mr khan>Alia, sweetie, who's faced more full tosses and googlies - you or me?</u> <u=alia>You have, Papaji.</u> <u=mr khan>Good girl. What are you doing?</u> <u=alia>I was just going out. </u></p>

Figure 7.25: PAPAJI - Expansion of concordance lines 1, 10, 15 and 24

The instances above once again reinforce the false notion that Mr Khan has of Alia (as discussed in the previous section), that she is innocent, vulnerable and a good Muslim daughter. The phrase *good girl* is commonly used by Mr Khan and a more detailed discussion around its usage, as well as a multimodal visual analysis is provided in section 8.4.3.1. Mr Khan's favouritism for Alia over her sister Shazia was also discussed in the preceding section and this theme once again materialises when looking at the concordance lines for *papaji*:

<p>8. <u=alia>I think you're a great businessman, Papaji.</u> <u=mr khan>Vah! What an angel! Truly we were blessed when God sent you down to us. Mind you, he sent us your sister as well, so maybe he felt he owed us one. </u></p>
<p>18. <u=alia>I'm so proud of you, Papaji.</u> <u=mr khan>Vah. You're like the son your mother never gave me.</u> <u=alia>Thanks. So, can I have some money?</u> <u=mr khan>Of course! </u></p>

Figure 7.26: PAPAJI - Expansion of concordance lines 8 and 18

In both of the extracts above, Alia compliments Mr Khan and follows this up with the term *papaji*. It could be argued that Mr Khan has developed a closer relationship with Alia, as she massages his ego and gives him the respect, on face value at least, that he feels he deserves (in Concordance 18 Alia asks Khan for money, implying that her compliment and use of

papaji are somewhat manipulative). Contrastingly, Shazia very rarely displays any positivity towards Mr Khan and on some occasions is critical of his behaviour, as discussed in her usage of the term *dad*.

It is also of note that Mr Khan uses ‘vah’ in both of these instances, after receiving Alia’s praise. It poses questions as to why these Urdu terms have been used and whether the mainly non-Urdu speaking BBC audience have any idea as to the meanings behind them. One reading behind their usage, is that by incorporating such terms in to the script, the scriptwriters have not only added authenticity to these interactions but also highlighted the bond that exists between the pair, as they resort to their mother tongue to express emotions for one another. An article by *Multilingual Connections* (n.d.) states that:

‘...regardless of fluency level, multilingual speakers tend to rely on their mother tongue when it comes to expressing emotion. From terms of endearment to swear words, one’s first language is more intricately tied to gut responses. On the other hand (or lip!), multilingual people use a less emotional, more analytical approach when reading, speaking or listening to a message in a second or third language.’

A further argument to support that the usage of *papaji* by Alia is a demonstration of her affection towards her father is that when she used the term *dad*, it was due to her being upset with Mr Khan:

```
16. </u><u=alia>I can't though, cos I'm going to Turkey.</u>  
<u=mr khan>Not any more you're not, I spent all your money on this. </u>  
<u=alia>Dad! </u>
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Figure 7.27: DAD - Expansion of concordance line 16

7.3.3 *Mother* and *Mum*

As is highlighted in Table A15 (Appendix A), the usage of the term *mother* in the corpus has many similarities to *father*. Like *father*, *mother* is mostly used by the opposing parent – i.e. Mr Khan and it also is commonly preceded by the possessive pronoun *your*, with the phrase ‘your mother’ appearing 26 times in the CK corpus. However, unlike with Mrs Khan’s usage of *father*, which was mainly positive, Mr Khan is not nearly as complimentary:

1. <u=mrs khan>Amjad is a very lucky...</u> <u=mr khan>I said chup! Is this not bloody working?! Why you always talking about bloody expensive dresses? A man doesn't care what his bride is wearing. He'll love you more for saving money. You know, when I married your mother , the first thing I thought when I saw her was, "Wow, she looks bloody cheap." In a good way! </u>
3. <u=mr khan>Nothing. They don't need to know. She doesn't really mean it. Soon she'll calm down and it will all be back to normal. Your mother is always panicking for no reason. Don't panic, Captain Mainwaring! Chillax! Everything will be OK! </u>
39. <u=alia>I'm so proud of you, Papaji.</u> <u=mr khan>Vah. You're like the son your mother never gave me.</u>

Figure 7.28: MOTHER - Expansion of concordance lines 1, 3 and 39

In the first example, Mr Khan insults Mrs Khan but frames it in a positive manner, which is referred to as a ‘backhanded compliment’.¹¹⁵ As well as insulting Mrs Khan, Mr Khan also once again reinforces the cheapskate stereotype (see section 6.3).

In concordance line 3, Mr Khan states ‘Don’t Panic, Captain Mainwaring’, an utterance which will hold little significance to many younger viewers. However, the older BBC viewership are most likely familiar with Captain Mainwaring, who was the lead character in the popular BBC sitcom *Dad’s Army*, which aired on BBC One between 1968 to 1977. *Don’t Panic* was the catchphrase of Lance Corporal Jones in the series and was a principal generator of humour within the sitcom. With Mr Khan’s usage of this catchphrase, may not

¹¹⁵ Backhanded compliments are commonly used in sitcoms and one of the most frequent and well known users of them is Homer Simpson from the popular American animated series *The Simpsons*, where he consistently insults his long-suffering neighbour Ned Flanders. In one episode (S20E18), he teaches his daughter Lisa how to deliver insults by disguising them as compliments.

only provide an element of nostalgia for the older members of the audience but may also help normalise Mr Khan to them, by demonstrating that members of the Muslim community may also have watched such programming and incorporated elements of it into their speech. On the other hand, Khan 's referencing of an old sitcom further constructs his character as outdated and thus contributes to the negatively humorous representation put forth by the scriptwriters.

Another point of interest within that extract is after Mr Khan mentions Captain Mainwaring, he follows this up by saying *chillax*. *Chillax* is a combination of the terms 'chill out' and 'relax', and after further analysis of the corpus, it is found that Mr Khan uses this term eight times in the two seasons. This term is more likely to be associated with younger people, which poses the question as to why Mr Khan would say it, considering he is characterised as being outdated (as the instance above alludes to) and old-fashioned – i.e. his clothing and driving of an old Mercedes. By having Khan use such terminology, which would not seem appropriate for somebody of his age, humour is generated by having Khan appear as clueless and lacking self-awareness as to how embarrassing he may be appearing to others, in a similar manner to Edina's character in *Absolutely Fabulous*. In an effort to appear trendy to their children, parents have for decades tried to use slang terms, normally resulting in awkward and embarrassing situations for their children. An article by the *Express* (Riches, 2015) listed parents 'using outdated slang', as 'one of the ten ways parents embarrass children'.¹¹⁶

In concordance line 39, Mr Khan blames Mrs Khan for not giving him a son, and the preference of having sons within the Pakistani culture will be discussed in further detail in the next section. Mr Khan blames his wife for something she had no control over and is not

¹¹⁶ With the advent of the internet, parents are getting more access to the language youngsters are using and there is now even a dedicated website (Jargon Buster, familylives.org.uk) that provides them with all latest terms.

responsible for, this could possibly be done in order to absolve himself of any blame on a societal level and thus, Khan's cowardly behaviour once again constructs him within a negative light. Shaw (2000:218) when examining Pakistani families in Britain states that in Pakistani culture it is believed that 'the sex of a child is also thought to result from the quality of a man's semen: thin or weak semen produces a girl, thick semen produces a boy.'

Therefore, as Mr Khan has two daughters, he could be seen as weak or deficient in his manhood from the perspective of the Pakistani community and this could possibly explain the over-emphasis he places on his masculine identity (see section 8.3.1).

The term *mother* is not only used to refer to Mrs Khan, but also is used to refer to her mother – Naani. One of the ways Naani is referred to, is with Mr Khan addressing her as *the mother-in-law*:

<p>30. <u=prof stevens>And, er...is this Mrs Khan?</u> <u=mr khan>Steady on! We're not that different! She's the mother-in-law. Mrs Khan's in the kitchen.</u></p>
<p>32. <u=omar>Asalaam Alaikum.</u> <u=mr khan>Waleikum Asalaam. It's all right, Naani, they're not muggers. It's Omar and Riaz. You remember the mother-in-law, don't you?</u></p>
<p>33. <u=clive>You're here to do the bingo! I'm so sorry! Of course. See, I wasn't expecting...</u> <u=mr khan>It's OK - this is the mother-in-law. I'm mainly doing it for her. And her English is getting better all the time. Go on, say something in English.</u> <u=naani>Bugger off! </u></p>

Figure 7.29: MOTHER - Expansion of concordance lines 30, 32 and 33

Mr Khan's usage of the definite article *the*, as opposed to a possessive pronoun, such as *my* when referring to his mother-in-law indicates some hostility or distance in their relationship, in a similar manner to how he uses the term 'the womens' (see section 8.4.1). In other areas in the corpus, Mr Khan explicitly states his dislike for his mother-in-law:

<p><u=mrs khan>What do you think's wrong with her?</u> <u=mr khan>She's still bloody here, that's what's wrong with her! She was only supposed to be staying one week. When's she going back to Pakistan?</u></p>

Figure 7.30: Example of Mr Khan's dislike of his mother-in-law

The mother-in-law character is present in many sitcoms and has mostly been characterised as a figure to be mocked. However, the usage of mother-in-law jokes within the script possibly further alludes to the outdated nature of Citizen Khan, with Andrew Shannahan stating in an interview with the *Daily Mail* (“Oh no, it’s her again!”, 2010) that ‘they were so characteristic of a particular time of comedy, the Seventies and Eighties.’

A further point of observation, is that it is unusual especially within a Pakistani household that the mother of the wife would be living with them, even on a shorter-term basis. It is usually the husband’s parents who will stay with the family and they may rotate between families, if they have more than one son. However, when children are living abroad, exceptions can be made, especially for a widowed mother-in-law, as is discussed by Shaw (2000:98), who states that ‘ a widowed mother, would also sometimes visit their sons or daughters living in the cities or abroad, perhaps staying for several months at a time, and living in each of their married sons’ households in turn.’ Mr Khan’s parents are never mentioned within the series, even in passing, so we do not know if they are alive or dead, or in Britain or in Pakistan.

Naani is also referred to in the corpus by Mrs Khan as *my mother*:

16. <u=dave>Well, the thing is... What happened was...</u> <u=mrs khan>Don't tell me you've lost my mother! </u>
17. <u=mr khan>What? What is it?</u> <u=mrs khan>What is it?! You lost my mother! </u>
35. <u=mr khan>No-one's going to look at that. She's not Britney bloody Spears!</u> <u=mrs khan>I don't care about all that. I'm not letting my mother go to Bournemouth with some strange man.</u>
48. <u=mrs khan>Think about it. Shazia's always wanted us to do Christmas. This will be our last chance before she marries Amjad and leaves us. And soon Alia will be off to university. And what about my mother? She won't be here for ever.</u>

Figure 7.31: MOTHER - Expansion of concordance lines 16, 17, 35 and 48

Mrs Khan's usage of *mother* is further indicative of the difference in language usage between the different generations, with Alia and Shazia only using the term on one occasion between them, (language variations between different age groups is discussed in more detail towards the end of this section). Contrastingly, *mother's* more contemporary counterpart *mum* appears 35 times in the corpus (Table A15, Appendix A) and is almost exclusively used by Shazia:

2. <u=mrs khan>Not as beautiful as you, my darling!</u> <u=mr khan>Chup!</u> <u=shazia>Aww, thanks, Mum! </u>
13. <u=mrs khan>Of course, we're her parents, we should support her, no matter what. Ohh, I'm so sorry, Beti! I don't deserve to have such a wonderful daughter.</u> <u=shazia>Aw, Mum. </u>
19. <u=mrs malik>I'm sorry too. I shouldn't have brought the doli.</u> <u=mrs khan>Oh, no, it's wonderful. And when the time comes, Shazia will look beautiful in it.</u> <u=shazia>Aw, thanks, Mum! </u>
30. <u=shazia>Oh, Mum , that's so sweet. </u>

Figure 7.32: MUM - Expansion of concordance lines 2, 13, 19 and 30

Shazia's loving use of *mum* is in contrast to the disciplining or negative tone she takes with her father. She also uses terms that signify endearment such as *aw* and *sweet* to signify her closeness to her mother. In these instances, Shazia's usage of *mum* is normally in response to Mrs Khan complimenting her in a similar way to Mr Khan showing affection to Alia after receiving a compliment from her, as discussed in the preceding section.

Not only does Mrs Khan compliment Shazia, but Shazia also compliments her mum, with many of these comments being constructed around Mrs Khan's physical appearance:

26. <u=shazia> Mum , you look amazing. Doesn't she? </u> <u=alia>Yeah, you look great. Can I go out? </u>
28. <u=shazia>Well, I think she looks great. You look like a cougar, Mum. </u> <u=mr khan>A what? </u> <u=shazia>A cougar. </u>
29. <u=shazia>Wow, Mum. You look like a supermodel.</u>

Figure 7.33: MUM - Expansion of concordance lines 26, 28 and 29

In these three extracts, *you look* directly follows *mum* or initiates the preceding sentence and in the first instance followed by a complimentary adjective – *amazing*. However, in concordance lines 28 and 29, *like* is also added, to form the cluster *you look like a*, and this is constructed in order to compare Mrs Khan’s appearance with other women who are deemed as attractive. In this instance, although *like* is used, these sentences would not be considered as *similes*, as Mrs Khan is being compared to other women, as opposed to another species – i.e. your hair looks like a horse’s mane. In another such instance, where Shazia is complimentary of her mother, Mr Khan takes offence by Shazia’s usage of certain terminology:

<p>43. <u=shazia>Because she's a sexy older lady.</u> <u=mr khan>Shazia, how dare you speak about your mother like that! Show some respect! </u></p>

Figure 7.34: MOTHER - Expansion of concordance line 43

Mr Khan takes offence with Shazia’s use of the adjective *sexy*, as he deems it as a lack of respect for her to comment on the sexual attractiveness of her mother, and this could be tied to his cultural norms. Therefore, Mr Khan, as a British Pakistani who was born in Pakistan, has differing estimations as to what would be appropriate language usage for his children when in the presence of their parents, as opposed to Shazia, who was born and raised in Britain, where terms such as *sexy* are seen as more acceptable.

Contrastingly, Alia only uses the term *mum* twice in the two seasons and on both occasions she is not conversing directly with Mrs Khan:

<p>11. <u=alia>Does Mum know?</u> <u=mr khan>No.</u> <u=alia>Shall I tell her?</u> <u=mr khan>No!</u> <u=alia>So can I go out?</u> <u=mr khan>Yes.</u></p>
<p>32. <u=alia>Mum doesn't like people moving her things, Papaji.</u> <u=mr khan>She won't know, beti. Who's going to tell her - him? </u></p>

Figure 7.35: MUM - Expansion of concordance lines 11 and 32

Rather, Alia refers to her mother to play on Mr Khan's fear of Mrs Khan finding out his misdeeds and in concordance line 11, she does so in order to benefit herself. Susan Forward in her book entitled *Emotional Blackmail* (1997) discusses how children play on their parents' fears and weaknesses to manipulate situations to their advantage. Alia does exactly this in this instance, as she believes Mrs Khan holds the power in the marital relationship, which is a sentiment shared by Shazia:

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1. <u=mr khan>Look, who's in charge of this family?</u>  
<u=shazia>Mum?</u>  
<u=mr khan>I am! Look I've booked the mosque, OK? I said I would do it, and I will do it... Er, I have done it. It's booked, done. Bass. </u>
```

Figure 7.36: MUM - Expansion of concordance line 1

Moreover, not only does Alia not refer to Mrs Khan as *mum* or *mother* in the two seasons, she does not use an alternate Urdu term either, like she does with Mr Khan. On visual observation of the episodes, there appeared to be very few instances where they are shown as having a one-to-one conversation suggesting that this is not a strong relationship. Other corpus based television studies have shown how language usage between a mother and daughter can highlight the strength of their relationship. For example, Bednarek (2011) demonstrates the closeness of Lorelai and her daughter Rory's relationship in the sitcom *Gilmore Girls* by evaluating concordance lines around terms of endearment such as *honey*.

Not only does the usage of the terms in this section (*dad*, *father*, *papaji*, *mother*, *mum*) help identify the strength of the parent-daughter relationship between Mr and Mrs Khan and their daughters Shazia and Alia, but it also helps in highlighting the language usage variation between age groups. Terms such as *mother* and *father* are no longer commonly used by the younger generation and have been replaced with *mum* and *dad*. Further evidence of this is provided when looking at the frequency ratios for these terms in four corpora of British English spread over a 75 year time span:

Table 7.1: Frequency per million words for parent-related terms in four corpora of British English

	Father	Mother	Dad	Mum
Lancaster1931 (1931)	241.67	217.59	6.02	4.3
LOB (1961)	273.21	297.73	14.89	13.14
FLOB (1991/2)	291.35	351.72	26.25	23.62
BE06 (2006)	315.38	254.56	122.05	142.1

Table 7.1 highlights the very infrequent usage of the terms *dad* and *mum* prior to the last quarter of a century, with the corpus of British English in 2006 having a frequency per million words ration, which is almost five times the figure from the FLOB corpus in 1991/2. Although, the frequency data from the corpora also seems to suggest an increase in usage in *father* and *mother* during the same time period, it can be presumed that their usage will gradually decline through the passing of the elder generations.

This shift in language usage is further illustrated when looking at Amjad’s usage of the possessive pronoun *your* before a parent-related term. As discussed above, Mr and Mrs Khan frequently used *your mother* and *your father*. However, these terms were never used by Shazia, Alia or Amjad and the daughters did not use *mum* or *dad* either in this manner. However, Amjad on occasion used ‘your dad’:

11. <u=shazia>You know, sometimes I can't believe we're getting married, can you?</u> <u=amjad>It's amazing. Do you know, your dad said it's the most incredible thing he has ever heard. </u>
24. <u=shazia>I can't believe you got your old job back, budhoo!</u> <u=amjad>I know, and the promotion. Your dad sorted it. </u>

Figure 7.37: DAD - Expansion of concordance lines 11 and 24

Amjad’s usage of *your dad*, as opposed to *your father* indicates that even commonly used phrases including these terms are being modified to incorporate the newer terminology.

7.3.4 Daughter, Beti and Son

The term *daughter* is used 28 times in the two seasons (Table A17, Appendix A), and Mr Khan uses it in over two-thirds (68%) of these instances (Table A18, Appendix A). On three occasions, Mr Khan uses a common grammatical structure of *daughter* preceded by an adjective in the L1 position (adjective + daughter):

19. <u=mr khan>This is my birthday gift from my favourite daughter , sweetie.</u> <u=shazia>I gave you socks!</u> <u=mr khan>I know. </u>
20. <u=mr khan>I've decided to send the good daughter to the New Muslim Academy.</u> <u=riaz>You have to pay to go to the Muslim Academy, though.</u> <u=mr khan>I always say... you can't put a price on education. </u>
25. <u=mrs khan>Don't speak now, save your strength. The ambulance will be here very soon, just try and rest, OK?</u> <u=mr khan>My family is here. That's all I need. My beautiful wife, my wonderful daughter , Alia... and Shazia, you're here, too. Alia, reach into my pocket. You'll find a piece of paper there. I always carry it with me, just in case. It has some things written down on there. </u>

Figure 7.38: DAUGHTER - Expansion of concordance lines 19, 20 and 25

When using this convention, he is normally referring to his daughter Alia and the adjectives used are entirely positive – *favourite*, *good*, *wonderful*. In each of these extracts, Mr Khan reaffirms that Alia is his preferred daughter, as opposed to Shazia. Additionally, in concordance line 20, Mr Khan refers to Alia as the *good daughter*, thus implying Shazia is a *bad daughter*. However, Mr Khan does also use ‘good daughter when addressing Shazia but frames it within a negative context, implying that she is not usually a good daughter:

1. <u=mr khan>Go on, be a good daughter for once, help your mother.</u> <u=shazia>What about Alia? You never have a go at her!</u> <u=mr khan>Your little sister is a good girl. She'll be sitting somewhere doing her homework or praying or some such thing. </u>
--

Figure 7.39: DAUGHTER - Expansion of concordance line 1

Contrastingly, Mrs Khan uses this same convention to address Shazia, by referring to her as a *wonderful daughter*:

15. <u=mrs khan>She's right.</u>
<u=mr khan>Is she?</u>
<u=mrs khan>Of course, we're her parents, we should support her, no matter what. Ohh, I'm so sorry, Beti! I don't deserve to have such a wonderful **daughter**.</u>
<u=shazia>Aw, Mum. </u>

Figure 7.40: DAUGHTER - Expansion of concordance line 15

Although Mrs Khan does not directly specify a favourite in the same manner as Mr Khan, as discussed in the preceding section, there is very little interaction between herself and Alia and there is no evidence in the corpus of them exchanging complimentary language. Therefore, it could be argued that Mrs Khan has a preference for Shazia and their conversational interactions indicate this, without Mrs Khan directly specifying a favourite daughter. Despite Mr Khan's regularly harsh tone towards Shazia, there are certain instances where he displays that he cares about her:

8. <u=amjad>But she deserves to have a good husband.</u>
<u=mr khan>Look, Amjad, you'll make a good husband, even without a job. You're kind and thoughtful. All right, you're not the spiciest samosa in the tiffin box, but... still...you love my **daughter**, and in the end that's what matters.</u>

Figure 7.41: DAUGHTER - Expansion of concordance line 8

Even in this instance, Mr Khan doesn't directly display his affection towards Shazia, which could indicate a reluctance on Mr Khan's part to fully embrace his love for her. As discussed previously in this chapter, Mr Khan's preference for Alia over Shazia stems from his belief that she is innocent and vulnerable and a good Muslim. This is further supported by the following examples:

7. <u=mr khan>There you go. Aww, there you go!</u>
<u=alia>Thanks!</u>
<u=mr khan>Look at that. Perfect Muslim **daughter**. It's like having our own little imam. But without the beard. </u>
10. <u=shazia>Please, Dad, turn the heating on.</u>
<u=alia>I'm not cold, Papaji.</u>
<u=mr khan>I love this girl. I tell you, proper Muslim **daughter**. Wearing hijab not only preserves her modesty, keeps her bloody ears warm! </u>

Figure 7.42: DAUGHTER - Expansion of concordance line 7 and 10

In the above instances, Mr Khan modifies *Muslim daughter* with the adjectives *proper* and *perfect*, which imply that Alia is an idealised version of what a daughter and a Muslim should be. It could also be inferred from his statement that Shazia is an *improper* and/or *imperfect* Muslim daughter. The multimodal analysis in chapter eight (section 8.4.3.1) demonstrates that Alia deceives her father, concealing her true personality from him and it could be argued that Shazia's simple and honest demeanour would be more befitting of the characteristics a Muslim father would desire from his daughter.

Aside from *daughter*, the urdu equivalent *beti* (similar to the usage of *naani* and *papaji* mentioned above) was also regularly used in the corpus, predominantly by Mr and Mrs Khan and interestingly, on occasions *beti* was used as a response to another Urdu term (*papaji*) by Mr Khan:

19. <u=alia>But, Papaji...</u> <u=mr khan>Not now, beti . I've got to face up to this. </u>
21. <u=alia>Mum doesn't like people moving her things, Papaji.</u> <u=mr khan>She won't know, beti . Who's going to tell her - him? </u>

Figure 7.43: BETI - Expansion of concordance lines 19 and 21

As mentioned in the preceding sections, the mother tongue may be used to express endearment to one another. Therefore, Mr Khan may have felt compelled in these instances to refer to her as *beti*, after she called him *papaji*. When analysing the concordance lines further, it was observed that Mrs Khan did not address Alia with this term on any occasions, providing further weight to the notion that there is a deficiency in their mother-daughter relationship. However, Mrs Khan did address Shazia as *beti* on multiple occasions:

9. <u=mrs khan> I'm so sorry, beti! I don't deserve to have such a wonderful daughter.</u> <u=shazia>Aw, Mum. </u>
15. <u=shazia>I applied for a job with Amjad's company and I got it! Can you believe it?</u> <u=mr khan>Well, they employ him!</u> <u=mrs khan>Well done, beti. I'm so proud of you.</u>
18. <u=shazia>Wow, Mum. You look like a supermodel.</u> <u=mrs khan>It's wonderful. Um, what about...?</u> <u=shazia>We'll sort that out.</u> <u=mrs khan>Thanks, beti. You're so good at this. </u>

Figure 7.44: BETI - Expansion of concordance lines 9, 15 and 18

As is evident in the above instances, Mrs Khan uses *beti* to compliment Shazia and show affection towards her. In other instances, she also uses the term to reassure Shazia:

3. <u=mr khan>See, nobody cares about the mosque.</u> <u=mrs khan>I do. But don't worry, beti. Your father will sort it all out. Won't you?</u> <u=mr khan>Of course. <vocal= CLEARS THROAT></u>
4. <u=shazia>Maybe I should just forget about the honeymoon until we can afford to go somewhere nice.</u> <u=mrs khan>Don't worry, beti. Your father will be back soon and you never know, you may have a treat in store. </u>
11. <u=shazia>And you won't fight with Amjad's mum, will you?</u> <u=mrs khan>No, of course not. Don't worry, beti, we won't do anything to embarrass you.</u>

Figure 7.45: BETI - Expansion of concordance lines 3, 4 and 11

Her reassurances are normally centred around Mr Khan, whose unpredictable behaviour may at times unsettle Shazia or as in the first two instances provide a potential solution to some issues she is currently facing. Unlike, with *papaji* where it was used exclusively between Alia and Mr Khan, *beti* is used by Mr Khan to also refer to Shazia and in one instance, he also indirectly compliments her:

5. <u=mr khan>Oh!... What the hell is that?</u> <u=shazia>It's hair-removing cream.</u> <u=mr khan>But you don't have hair there.</u> <u=shazia>Exactly.</u> <u=mr khan>Come on, beti, you don't need to use that muck! </u>

Figure 7.46: BETI - Expansion of concordance line 5

Aside from *daughter* and *beti*, the term *son* was only used 11 times in the two seasons (Table A17, Appendix A), with Mr Khan using it seven times in total (Table A18, Appendix A).

This is unsurprising as the Khans do not have a son and in a few of these instances *son* was referring to other people's children or was used in a general way. However, on occasion Mr Khan uses the term to express his disappointment at not having a son, albeit it, in an indirect manner:

1. <u=alia>It's probably for the best, Papa. Now you can hire somewhere less expensive.</u> <u=mr khan>Ah. I tell you. I love this girl. She's a bloody marvel. Almost like a son , she is! </u>
7. <u=alia>I'm so proud of you, Papaji.</u> <u=mr khan>Vah. You're like the son your mother never gave me.</u>

Figure 7.47: SON - Expansion of concordance lines 1 and 7

In the instances above, despite Mr Khan expressing his love for Alia, he indirectly displays his discontent by using *like* to compare her to the son he desired. When looking at the usage of *your mother* earlier in this chapter, it was mentioned that in the Pakistani culture it is desired to have a son and that it is believed that daughters are produced as a result of weak semen, indicating a deficiency in Mr Khan, as he has two daughters. This preference of having sons is rooted in cultural beliefs, as opposed to religious justifications. In fact, in the pre-Islamic era, some of the Arab Bedouins would bury their daughters alive (Quran, 81:8) and once Islamic law was implemented in the society, this practice 'was denounced and totally rejected by the Prophet Mohammed' (Giladi. 1990:185).

Additionally, it is mentioned in the Quran (16:58 - 59) regarding the distraught felt by the Arab polytheists at the news of having a daughter:

'And when one of them is informed of [the birth of] a female, his face becomes dark, and he suppresses grief. He hides himself from the people because of the ill of which

he has been informed. Should he keep it in humiliation or bury it in the ground?

Unquestionably, evil is what they decide.’

Further evidence that the preference for having sons and the dislike of having daughters stems from the culture of the Indian subcontinent, as opposed to a religious basis, is provided through an interview with a Sikh girl conducted by Gillespie (1995:38), where she states that:

‘Girls have inferior status within Punjabi culture. For instance, when girls are born, parents do not celebrate. Yet when boys are born, Indian sweets are distributed to relations, parties are held by the happy parents and expensive gifts of gold and clothing are given to the mothers and female-relatives.’

With the proposed introduction of Amjad into the Khan family, Mr Khan occasionally refers to him as a son, as opposed to *boy* or some of the derogatory remarks he uses when discussing Amjad:

8-9. <u=mr khan>Because it's good for us to spend time together. You're always saying I don't spend enough quality time with him, and you're right. He's going to be a part of this family, after all. We are not losing a daughter, we're gaining a son . And we're going to do the father-and- son bonding stuff, just me and him. <vocal=clears throat></u> <u=shazia>Aw, Dad, that's so sweet.</u> <u=amjad>Thanks, Dad. </u>
10. <u=amjad>But I don't think I need a health check, sir.</u> <u=mr khan>You're joining the Khan family now, son . Very healthy men in our family. Imran Khan, Amir Khan. Chaka Khan.</u>

Figure 7.48: SON - Expansion of concordance lines 8, 9 and 10

In the two extracts above, Mr Khan embraces Amjad by stating ‘he’s going to be a part of this family’ and ‘you’re joining the Khan family now’. In the first example, Amjad responds in kind by calling Mr Khan *dad*, which is the first time he directly refers to him as this in the corpus, as opposed to the more formal *sir*. Although, within the context of the episode, it could be argued that Mr Khan may not have been entirely sincere in his speech and also

considering exchanges like the one above are rare in the corpus, it does seem to suggest that Mr Khan hopes perhaps that Amjad could possibly compensate for his lack of a biological son. At present, there is little research on the father-in-law/son-in-law relationship within sitcoms and it would be of interest to compare Mr Khan and Amjad's relationship to similar sitcom pairings.

7.4 Marriage and Marital Relationship

As mentioned in the preceding section, the USAS Category S4 entitled 'Kin' was observed and aside from the terms already mentioned above, *wedding*, *husband* and *wife* were also identified as being frequently occurring. However, in this instance it was determined that although these terms fell into the overarching themes of identity and family, a more appropriate topic for them was 'Marriage and Marital Relationship'.

7.4.1 Contextual Information

A Muslim wedding has two parts associated with it, a marital contract between the two parties (Aqd al Nikah) and a wedding feast (Walima) The contract is normally conducted between the groom and the wali, who is the male representative for the bride (usually her father) and needs to be done in the presence of two witnesses. The wali is an important component of this process, as the Prophet has stated:

'There is no marriage, except with a wali'. (Jami' Al-Tirmidhi, Hadeeth 1101)

However, that doesn't mean that a woman can be forced to marry against her own will:

'The virgin should not be given in marriage until her permission has been sought.'

(Sahih Al-Bukhaari, Hadeeth 6968; Sahih Al-Muslim, Hadeeth 1419)

After the conclusion of the marriage contract, a wedding banquet is normally held and if the person is able to afford it, they should try to invite and feed as many people as possible, as is recommended by the Prophet, who told one of his companions after hearing of his marriage, to ‘give a Walima (wedding banquet) even if with one sheep’ (Sahih Al-Bukhari, Hadeeth 2048).

Aside from these two components within the wedding, there are no further prescribed wedding rituals from an Islamic perspective and this is also apparent when looking at the Prophet’s wedding ceremonies. However, in various Muslim societies, other cultural practices are usually incorporated into the wedding ceremonies. The Pakistani community is no different and additional ceremonies like the ‘mangni (engagement)’ and ‘tel-mehndi (the smearing of oil on the bride’s hair)’ are incorporated into their weddings (Shaw, 2000:243-244).

In regards to the marital relationship between the husband and wife in a Pakistani marriage, Shaw (ibid:94) states that the ‘husband and wife do not generally spend much time in each other’s company’. Moreover, a rather bleak picture is painted of their sex lives where ‘although sexual intercourse is expected between husband and wife, and children are desired, the sexual act is alluded to rarely and euphemistically, as a husband and wife ‘doing work’.’ (ibid: 213) Islamically, there are numerous prophetic narrations that mention how a husband and wife should be with one another, as well as numerous examples from the Prophet’s own relationship with his wives, with one narration specifically addressed to husbands, where he states:

‘The best of you are those who are the best to their wives.’

(Sunan Ibn Majah, Hadeeth1977)

7.4.2 Wedding

The term *wedding* appeared 52 times in the corpus with 46 of these in season one (Table A19, Appendix A), and only 6 occurrences in season 2, all being in a single episode (S2E1). This is surprising as the wedding itself takes place in season 3, which is not a part of this study, but it would be assumed that the wedding would be discussed more frequently, the sooner it approached. When looking at the usage of *wedding* in the corpus, it was observed that a common cluster that was used was ‘my daughter’s wedding’:

6. <u=mr khan>I’m telling you about my daughter’s wedding . I’m not asking you out for dinner. You’re a very nice man, but I.....play with a straight bat, you know what I mean? </u>
7. <u=dave>Ohhhh, yes. YOU'RE Mr Kahn.</u> <u=mr khan>That's me. I need to talk to you about booking the mosque for my daughter's wedding .</u>
25 - 27. <u=mrs khan>For Shazia's wedding . I need a new outfit.</u> <u=mr khan>Another one? You got a new outfit for our wedding .</u> <u=mrs khan>You want me to look like a cleaning lady at my own daughter's wedding ? </u>
35. <u=mr javed>Yes? </u> <u=mr khan>I wanted to invite you to my daughter's wedding .</u>
37. <u=omar>I thought that invitation was for the man with the cross eyed children.</u> <u=mr khan>Mr Javed is a very important man. It'll be a great honour to have him at my daughter's wedding . </u>

Figure 7.49: WEDDING - Expansion of concordance lines 6, 7, 25-27, 35 and 37

Concordance lines 25 to 27 are the only times where Mr Khan does not use this phrase, rather Mrs Khan uses it in response to Mr Khan’s miserly behaviour, his cheapskate persona is also reemphasised when analysing the phrase ‘bloody wedding’:

2. <u=mrs khan>Why do you have to make such a fuss about toilet tissue?</u> <u=mr khan>Because it costs money! And I'm paying for this bloody wedding , don't forget.</u>
9. <u=mr khan>What? Again? We're always talking about this bloody wedding . Let's talk about something else. Did anyone watch News At Ten last night? </u>
24. <u=shazia>You never do anything nice for me.</u> <u=mr khan>I'm paying for your bloody wedding .</u> <u=shazia>On the cheap! Everything's a bargain basement deal. </u>

Figure 7.50: WEDDING - Expansion of concordance lines 2, 9 and 24

Similar to his usage of *bloody Indian* (see section 6.5), Mr Khan uses the adjective *bloody* to express his frustration with the impending wedding, in particular the cost of it, which he will incur. The wedding costs in Pakistani weddings are incurred by the bride's family and it is estimated that this figure would be well in excess of £10,000 for a Birmingham based marriage. To give this figure some perspective, a study by Werbner (1990:275) estimated that 'the typical expenditure incurred by the bride's family in 1986 was in the region of £5000' and a family from Oxford investigated by Shaw (2000:244) estimated that their 'expenditure exceeded £8000' and thus, the figure of £10,000 is still relatively conservative¹¹⁷. Therefore, Mr Khan's concerns in this instance could be well founded, and his fondness for saving money drives him to even suggest an English style wedding would be preferable:

3. <u=shazia>It is my big day, Dad.</u>
 <u=mr khan>More like big four days. Why do our weddings have to take so long? Maybe we should have an English **wedding**. 20 minutes in registry office, cucumber sandwich, cup of tea, "Thank you for coming, bye bye."</u>

Figure 7.51: WEDDING - Expansion of concordance line 3

In the above extract, Mr Khan presents his own stereotypical perception of an 'English wedding', which further alludes to how out of touch he is, as it is reported that the 'average British wedding now comes to a total of around £24,000'.¹¹⁸ Aside from the obvious cost-saving motives behind his statement, he also bemoans the length of the Pakistani wedding. Charsley (2006:1171) states that:

'Pakistani weddings tend to be lengthy affairs consisting of a variety of events spread over several days. These usually include three main festivities held on separate (conventionally subsequent) days: the pre-wedding menhdi, the barat (fètting of the groom's party), and the walima celebration given by the groom's family.'

¹¹⁷ I personally know of similar ceremonies exceeding £30,000, with more lavish ones being upwards of £100,000 if placed in an exclusive venue with hundreds of guests.

¹¹⁸ <http://www.thisismoney.co.uk/money/howmoneyworks/article-3112152/How-does-wedding-really-cost-pay.html>

Many of these rituals that take places in the Pakistani culture, as well as various other Muslim cultures around the world are not always founded upon Islamic teachings. Moreover, they can be disliked from an Islamic perspective especially if the financial burdens around marriage result in people not being able to marry due to this proposed expense. The Prophet Mohammed stated that:

‘The marriage which is most greatly blessed is the one which is the lightest in burden [expense].’ (Shu’ab Al-Iman Al-Bayhaqi, Hadeeth 6146)

Despite Mr Khan toying with the idea of having an English wedding, in another instance he states explicitly that Shazia is having a Pakistani wedding:

<p>32 – 33. <u=shazia>Matt and Debbie from work would love to come.</u> <u=mr khan>No, no, no bloody way. This is Pakistani wedding, Matt and Debbie don't sound very Pakistani to me!</u> <u=shazia>Please don't tell me you're refusing to have white people at our wedding!</u></p>
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Figure 7.52: WEDDING - Expansion of concordance lines 32 and 33

In Mr Khan’s opinion, a Pakistani wedding implies that only Pakistani people should be present. Within the corpus there are no instances where *wedding* collocates with *Muslim*, and it could be possible that Mr Khan specifically avoided using *Muslim wedding* in the above extract, as he knows that from an Islamic standpoint, it would be unacceptable to not invite people to your wedding based upon their religion, nationality or colour.

The term *wedding* was predominantly used in two episodes – S1E1 (22 occurrences) and S1E6 (19 occurrences). In both of these episodes, there were times when it appeared that the wedding may not go ahead. This is reflected in the usage of the cluster *the wedding is off*:

<p>18. <u=mrs khan>And? </u> <u=mr khan>The wedding is off. </u></p>
<p>19. <u=mrs khan>Well?!</u> <u=mr khan>The wedding is off.</u> <u=mrs khan>Oh, my God! Oh, my God! </u></p>

22. <u=amjad>What do you mean? </u>
<u=mr khan>The **wedding** is off, so now you know. Goodbye.</u>
<u=amjad>Shazia! Oh, Shazia! </u>

Figure 7.53: WEDDING - Expansion of concordance lines 18, 19 and 22

What is not apparent from the concordances, is that Mr Khan's lies are the cause of the wedding potentially not going ahead, as he blames Amjad for not booking the mosque, which causes Shazia to want to cancel the wedding. Aside from the phrase *the wedding is off*, a similar cluster *call off the wedding* was also regularly used in the corpus:

17. <u=mrs khan>But the Maliks are supposed to be coming round tomorrow.</u>
<u=alia>They aren't coming round tomorrow, cos I'm meant to be going out. Going out to do some shopping for Mummy.</u>
<u=mr khan>So sweet. Do you really think that the Maliks will let Amjad call off the **wedding**? Mr Malik knows the value of a good match. We are a very important family in the community. Don't ever forget that. </u>
41. </u><u=mrs khan>How did Amjad take it?</u>
<u=mr khan>Very well.</u>
<u=mrs khan>But what if he tells Mrs Malik? She'll call off the **wedding** like that! </u>
42. <u=mr khan>She wants to talk to you. </u>
<u=mrs khan>That's it! She wants to call off the **wedding**.</u>
<u=mr khan>Maybe she just wants to borrow some chapatti flour? </u>

Figure 7.54: WEDDING - Expansion of concordance lines 17, 41 and 42

The instances above relate to Mr and Mrs Malik – Amjad's parents. More specifically, Mrs Khan's fears that The Maliks will *call off the wedding*: concordance lines 41 and 42 are found in S1E6, where Mr Khan created a false rumour that Shazia had a relationship with another boy. In the Muslim communities, pre-marital relationships are frowned upon, and in Pakistani culture, this is particularly true for girls, as expressed by Mrs Khan:

14. <u=mrs khan>Do you know what it means to have a **daughter** who has been with other boys before she's married? She'll be ruined! She'll be shunned! We'll all be finished here, finished, over, dead and buried!</u>

Figure 7.55: DAUGHTER - Expansion of concordance line 14

It seems that there is a discrepancy in the Pakistani community with their expectations of the pre-marital behaviour of the two sexes. Shaw (2000:169) states that there is a ‘leniency with which parents regard their sons’ activities outside the home, [which] also extends to ‘going out’ with girls.’ She also states that ‘parents show greater leniency towards their sons than towards their daughters, especially their unmarried daughters’ (ibid:168). The use of the passage ‘we’ll all be finished here, finished, over, dead and buried’ by Mrs Khan may seem to be an exaggeration on her part, but her choice of terms could be of interest. There have been some well-documented cases where Pakistani families have killed their daughters after finding out about a pre-marital relationship. Donnan (1988:101) suggests that for Pakistani parents ‘the death of a daughter is easier to suffer than the loss of honour her behaviour would entail.’

7.4.3 *Husband and Wife*

The noun *husband* appeared 25 times in the CK corpus (Table A19, Appendix A), with Mrs Khan using the term most often (12 occurrences – 48%, see Table A20, Appendix A). From these twelve instances she uses *my husband* nine times:

13 and 15. <u=mrs khan>It's such a shame Mr Malik couldn't be here, seeing as he and Mr Shafiq were such great friends. My husband insisted on being here. He's devastated by your loss.</u> <u=mr khan>I was moved to wear the Pakistani colours as a tribute to Mr Shafiq.</u> <u=mrs khan>My husband would like to pay his respects face to face.</u>
21. <u=mrs malik>What about Amjad?</u> <u=mrs khan>Forget about Amjad. Call an ambulance! My husband is having a heart attack.</u>

Figure 7.56: HUSBAND - Expansion of concordance lines 13, 15 and 21

In concordance line 21, despite Mrs Khan’s affections for Amjad (as discussed earlier in this chapter), when she feels that Mr Khan may be in danger, she shows that he comes first. This is similar to the extract mentioned earlier in the chapter, where Shazia defends Mr Khan when a person outside the family acted insultingly towards him. Therefore, despite Mr

Khan's foolish persona, Mrs Khan still tries to frame him positively and speak admiringly of him to others:

2. <u=mrs malik>It's going to be a wonderful occasion. The mosque is so lovely.</u> <u=mr khan>Mosque, shmosque.</u> <u=mrs khan>Of course my husband is on the mosque committee.</u> <u=mr khan>Stop it now, Mrs Khan.</u> <u=mrs khan>He's very close to the management, very influential. </u>
3. <u=mrs malik>It was never off. These two are destined for each other. And of course you worked wonders to get the mosque booked.</u> <u=mrs khan>Oh I didn't do anything. It was all down to my husband .</u>

Figure 7.57: HUSBAND - Expansion of concordance lines 2 and 3

In other instances in the corpus, Mrs Khan uses *my husband* to defend Mr Khan when he acts inappropriately:

17. <u=mrs khan>What are you doing?</u> <u=mr khan>I was offering Mrs Shafiq my condolences.</u> <u=mrs khan>Oh, Mrs Shafiq, I'm so sorry! My husband has been very stressed out at work lately, and he's really very, very upset about your husband's passing. </u>
23. <u=mrs khan>I'd like to apologise for my husband . He's fasting. Oh, Keith, would you like to stay for lunch? I've cooked a big pot of chicken. </u>

Figure 7.58: HUSBAND - Expansion of concordance lines 17 and 23

Her behaviour in defending her husband and speaking positively of him could be an acknowledgement of Pakistani culture, where the husband is a figure of respect for his wife, so much so, that in one instance, a Pakistani wife 'severed contact with her son out of respect for her husband' (Shaw, 2000:188). In traditional Pakistani families, the husband and wife roles are clearly defined, with the wife being responsible for all things pertaining to the house and children, and the husband responsible for the financial upkeep of the household. Additionally, it is also expected that the husband will take care of any maintenance work around the home, if they do not have any workers within the house, and Mrs Khan reminds Mr Khan of this 'husbandly duty':

4. <u=mrs khan>Help me push the beds together.</u>
 <u=mr khan>What? Why? </u>
 <u=mrs khan>So you can do your duty like a good **husband** should.</u>
 <u=mr khan>But it's not my birthday for another three months!</u>
 <u=mrs khan>I'm making space next to the sink so you can fix it.</u>
 <u=mr khan>Oh, thank God for that. </u>

Figure 7.59: HUSBAND - Expansion of concordance line 4

Utilising a comedic misunderstanding trope Mr Khan interprets her request to move the beds together as her wanting to have sex and is reluctant to engage in this. In British sitcoms such as *George and Mildred* (ITV, 1976-79), a similar narrative device is employed, where a sex deprived middle-aged wife has her advances put down by an uninterested husband. This is a good example of how Citizen Khan recycles elements found in previous British sitcoms, reframing them within a contemporary British Muslim household.

Another point of note is that Mr Khan's objection that 'it's not my birthday for another three months' and his relief when he realises his wife only wanted him to fix the sink, signify that having sexual relations with his wife is almost like a burden for him, as well as also indicating the rarity of the act. In Pakistani households the sexual act is described 'euphemistically as a husband and wife "doing work"' (Shaw, 2000:213). In the above example, Mrs Khan also mentions that Mr Khan should do his 'duty like a good husband', the adjective *good* collocates with *husband* on other occasions also:

6 - 7. <u=amjad>I was going to buy her lots of expensive clothes and shoes!</u>
 <u=mr khan>Just get them from Asda. That's what I do.</u>
 <u=amjad>But she deserves to have a good **husband**.</u>
 <u=mr khan>Look, Amjad, you'll make a good **husband**, even without a job. You're kind and thoughtful. All right, you're not the spiciest samosa in the tiffin box, but... still...you love my daughter, and in the end that's what matters. </u>

12. <u=mrs khan>What are you doing here?</u>
 <u=mr khan>I thought I'd come back and help with your ladies prayer thing. Like good modern **husband**.</u>
 <u=mrs khan>OK. All of the ladies have arrived. They're in the living room. </u>

Figure 7.60: HUSBAND - Expansion of concordance lines 6, 7 and 12

However, in these instances, it is not Mrs Khan using this phrase but rather Mr Khan and Amjad. In the first example, Amjad deems himself deficient as a husband, as he is without a job, with Mr Khan reassuring him that the main thing is that he cares for Shazia, as opposed to him being financially capable of providing for her. Perhaps surprisingly, Amjad is shown to hold the more traditional opinion of the husband being the breadwinner, with Mr Khan having a more modernised viewpoint and this theme is continued into the second example, where he refers to himself as a *good modern husband*. These instances provide a rare glimpse to the softer side of Khan's character and possibly helps in enabling the viewers to simply perceive him as foolish, as opposed to a figure of hate. The need for the husband to financially provide for the family is also expressed elsewhere in the corpus by Mrs Khan:

25 - 27. <u=mrs khan>For Shazia's **wedding**. I need a new outfit.</u>
 <u=mr khan>Another one? You got a new outfit for our **wedding**.</u>
 <u=mrs khan>You want me to look like a cleaning lady at my own daughter's **wedding**?
 You're supposed to be looking after your family.</u>

Figure 7.61: WEDDING - Expansion of concordance lines 25-27

In relation to Khan's language usage around the term *husband*, it is very similar to his usage of father, with him referring to himself as 'your husband':

5. <u=mrs khan>Have you thought any more about where we're going on our holidays this year?</u>
 <u=mr khan>Your **husband** is a very busy man, my darling, I haven't got time to think about holidays.</u>
 10. <u=mrs khan>You're not watching cricket. We're holding funeral prayers. Women only, no men allowed.</u>
 <u=mr khan>You think you have control of this house, don't you? I'll tell you who's in control. Me, that's who. Your **husband**, Mr Khan. </u>

Figure 7.62: HUSBAND - Expansion of concordance lines 5 and 10

In the above examples, Khan uses the possessive form *your* to once again reaffirm his authority and importance as a husband, in the same manner he used it to signify authority and importance as a father. He also once again emphasises that he holds the power within the

marital relationship and the reason for his repetition around this topic is possibly as a reassurance mechanism – i.e. to convince himself that he is in charge of the household. Additionally, in the second example, Khan flouts the *Maxim of Quantity* (Grice 1975) once more by specifying to Mrs Khan he is her husband. In another instance he once again flouts this maxim, but does by wording it slightly differently:

<p>25. <u=mr khan>Hello. It's me! Mr Khan! Mrs Khan's husband!</u> <u=alia>Papaji, I thought you were making your film.</u> <u=mr khan>Never mind that. Have you seen your mother? </u></p>
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Figure 7.63: HUSBAND - Expansion of concordance line 25

In the above example, for him to have said ‘it’s me’ would have been sufficient, as his voice would be distinctive enough for his family to recognise. However, he goes on to add *Mr Khan* followed by *Mrs Khan’s husband*, these additions generate humour independently, but he also pauses between each utterance to add further comedic value.

The noun *wife* appears 20 times in the corpus and is preceded by the possessive pronoun *my* on 11 occasions. Although ‘my wife is more common in the corpus than ‘my husband’, many of the instances are not from Mr Khan and do not refer to Mrs Khan:

3. <u=amjads boss>I'm sorry, this is my wife , Kirsty.</u>
8. <u=steven>My wife is Indian. </u>
9. <u=steven>The thing is, I'm... I'm meeting my wife . It's our anniversary. </u>
16. <u=omar>No, it's good advice. Back in Somalia, my wife used to say that communication is the key to a successful relationship. </u>

Figure 7.64: WIFE- Expansion of concordance lines 3, 8, 9 and 16

Mrs Khan doesn’t use the term *wife* in any of the two season. Contrastingly, although Mr Khan uses *my wife* on a few occasions, there doesn’t appear to be any obvious links between his utterances of the phrase:

7. </u><u=mrs khan>Don't speak now, save your strength. The ambulance will be here very soon, just try and rest, OK?</u>

<u=mr khan>My family is here. That's all I need. My beautiful **wife**, my wonderful daughter, Alia... and Shazia, you're here, too. Alia, reach into my pocket. You'll find a piece of paper there. I always carry it with me, just in case. It has some things written down on there. </u>

11. <u=mrs khan>You got new mobile phone. You gave me your old one.</u>

<u=mr khan>It's new to you. It's a good one, that one. They don't make them like that anymore.</u>

<u=mrs khan>Yeah, but I'm still getting all your calls.</u>

<u=mr khan>Yes, now you can be my **wife** and my secretary. </u>

Figure 7.65: WIFE- Expansion of concordance lines 7 and 11

In the first example Mr Khan compliments his wife by referring to her as beautiful, which is not typical behaviour for him, although his possibly distressed state (believing he is about to die) may account for this. However, in the second example, he reverts to type by referring to Mrs Khan as his secretary. Mr Khan's obsession with instilling himself as being 'in-charge' within his household is repeated again when he explains to Dave it's sometimes best not to disclose everything to his wife:

5. <u=mr khan>Dave, what you have to understand is that in Pakistani marriage, husband is in charge. He's the boss and he can do whatever he wants. But sometimes it's best not to tell the **wife** what he has done because she would never understand and only worry and fuss and make him sleep on the downstairs sofa. </u>

Figure 7.66: WIFE- Expansion of concordance line 5

In the above example, it is evident that despite Mr Khan asserting that he is 'the boss', he is fearful of his wife finding out his misdemeanours and in reality she is 'in charge'. The cliché of the wife holding the power within the marital relationship and the husband having to conceal things from her has been discussed in more detail earlier in the chapter (see section 7.2.1).

7.5 Conclusion

This chapter began by exploring language usage around the names of the Khan family members and it was observed that over the duration of the two seasons, Mr and Mrs Khan's

first names were never mentioned. On occasions they referred to one another and/or themselves as Mr/Mrs Khan, which was attributed to the cultural norms that dictate a level of formality between spouses. Additionally, it was found that the usage of honorifics such as 'Mr' within a conversation can signify the balance of power between interlocutors.

When looking at familial terms such as *father*, *daughter* and *mother*, it was identified that the language usage around these words can help to shed light on the relationships between parents and children. For example, Shazia's usage of *dad* indicated a role reversal in their father-daughter relationship, with her behaving more like the parent figure. Whereas, when analysing the terms related to her mother, a more normalised relationship was observed. Contrastingly, the analysis identified a weak relationship between Alia and Mrs Khan, with very few instances of them conversing or addressing each other. It was also observed that there was a shift in language usage between the elder and younger generation and the terms which they choose to employ, for example, *father* was used by the parents and *dad* by the children.

Another aspect of the script, which was not immediately obvious when viewing the episodes, was the incorporation of elements of Pakistani culture, which many audience members would be unlikely to be aware of. For example, there were multiple references to Mr Khan's dissatisfaction at not having a son and prior to engaging the concordance lines, this was not immediately visible. Furthermore, only through framing his speech within the context of the Pakistani culture, is it understood that Mr Khan may feel despondent due to having only daughters and the cultural implications he faces due to not producing sons.

The scriptwriters also incorporated more overt elements of Pakistani culture, with the usage of Urdu terms such as *naani*, *papaji* and *beti*, despite the majority of the viewership being non-Urdu speakers. It was identified that the usage of the mother-tongue especially by second

and third generations immigrants, who are more likely to be fluent in English, can indicate that there is a close relationship between the interlocutors.

Additionally, the usage of the possessive pronoun *your* also proved to be of interest. Mr Khan used it to modify the terms *husband* and *father*, and in many instances used these phrases to represent himself as a figure of importance and authority. On other occasions he would follow them up with his name - i.e. *your father, Mr Khan*. It was noted that such instances flout Grice's (1975) *Maxim of Quantity* and such turns were incorporated by the scriptwriters to generate humour. The flouting of maxims within sitcoms to generate humour is an underdeveloped field of study and although looking at such instances in any great depth does not meet the objectives of this study, it would be an interesting area of further research for future sitcom studies.

The usage around the terms analysed in this chapter also indicated that the characters in Citizen Khan have normalised family relationships and this helps in demonstrating to the non-Muslim audiences that a Muslim household is not hugely different from their own. The situations around Mr and Mrs Khan's marital relationship and in particular, their lack of a sex-life are particularly effective in this regard. Moreover, it was established that Citizen Khan despite being a 'Muslim sitcom' still contains many of the classical British sitcom clichés – i.e. the domineering wife, foolish husband, lack of marital relations between middle-aged spouses. There was also an intertextual reference by Mr Khan to the popular British sitcom *Dad's Army*, which further assisted in normalising the characters to the British audience. A recurring theme of the analysis in this chapter was how Mr Khan's relationships with family members represented him as misguided, insensitive or vain. Khan is a character to be laughed *at* rather than *with*, although the analysis did uncover a few moments where he is more affectionate or sensible. He is thus constructed as a figure of fun, rather than one of hate. Taken alone, Mr Khan does not really represent a positive view of Pakistani culture,

although it should be borne in mind that he is one character out of many, and the other characters are shown to be embody other qualities. Thus the humour of the programme comes from the foolish behaviour of a single character, rather than being a commentary on Pakistani culture per se.

In the next chapter of analysis, the gender identities of the characters within the sitcom are examined.

8. Analysis IV – Identity: Gender

8.1 Introduction

In this chapter, words which appeared in the CK corpus in relation to gender are examined, in order to assist in answering RQ1 and determine how the gender identities of the Muslim characters within Citizen Khan are constructed. The first section of this chapter provides a contextual background to the analysis prior to engaging with the concordance lines, by highlighting how both males and females have been constructed within previous sitcoms, as well as examining how Muslim men and women have been represented within the media.

The subsequent sections within the chapter look at words which were identified within the CK corpus by Wmatrix as being related to the semantic categories of males (*man, men, boy, boys*) and females (*woman, women, womens, girl, girls, lady, ladies*) and more broadly within the themes of gender and identity. In order to provide a comprehensive analysis of these words, as well as address RQ3, the concordance analysis was accompanied by a multimodal visual analysis, which examined the usage of the phrase ‘good girl’ within the corpus.

8.2 Contextual Information

For the purpose of this study, when looking at gender, a multi-faceted view needs to be taken in order to fully cover all aspects of a character’s identity. Firstly, when considering male characters within sitcoms in general, it had been previously mentioned (see section 3.2.2.1) that they were found to be constructed along class lines (Butsch 2003, 2011), with working class men portrayed as idiotic and middle class men depicted as intelligent. Additionally, it was found that in contemporary sitcoms, additional emphasis was placed upon the sexual identities (Feasey 2008) of male characters.

On the other hand, the sitcom woman has evolved greatly over the past half century (see Gray 1994) from being almost entirely domesticated to having a vast array of different personality types, from the outlandish *Roseanne* (ABC, 1988-1997) to more feminine representations such as Rachel from *Friends* (NBC, 1994-2004). Additionally, female characters are no longer purely depicted as wives or daughters, with sitcoms such as *The Golden Girls* (NBC, 1985-1992) centred upon a group of female friends who live together.

In comparison, the Muslim man within the western media has been negatively represented on two main fronts. The first being in relation to *radicalisation*, where Baker et al. (2013a:220) observed that the print media in the UK associated British Muslim men and radicalisation. The journalists attributed a number of reasons which they used to suggest why this radicalisation occurred, with the policy of Western governments and extremist interpretations of Islam identified as the main causes. Muslim men are also demonised in a less direct way by the media's assertions that Muslim women are oppressed by their male counterparts.

Moreover, a negative discourse prosody¹¹⁹ around the hijab of Muslim women was identified by Al-Hejin (2012:161), with his analysis of the BBC News website indicating that top of the list of negative predications was the notion 'that the hijab is imposed'. The focus on the dress of Muslim women was also highlighted by Baker et al. (2013a) in their study of British newspapers, with the veil commonly collocating with Muslim women.

When looking at gender from an ethnic perspective, Pakistani men have been accused of subjugating women (see Akhtar and Metraux, 2013) and most discussions around Pakistani women within the media have predominantly focussed on controversial topics such as 'honour killings' and 'forced marriages'. However, as Akhtar and Metraux (ibid:35) point

¹¹⁹ Stubbs (2001:65) defines 'discourse prosody' as 'a feature which extends over more than one unit in a linear string.' As discourse prosodies look at relationships between a word and its surrounding context, Al-Hejin's study found that the term 'hijab' was being used within a mainly negative context.

out, ‘the oppression of women in Pakistan does not have its roots in the Quran, but in pre-Islamic tribal customs.’ In many instances, the western media attributes the actions of particular Muslims or Muslim societies to Islam without considering the fact that there are numerous Quranic verses and Prophetic traditions which condemn such behaviour. For example, the Prophet Mohammed advised the Muslim men by saying: ‘I urge you to treat women well’ (Sahih Al-Bukhari, Hadeeth 331; Sahih Al-Muslim, Hadeeth 1468).

When analysing the gender identities of the characters within the show, these multiple facets of context need to be examined further to establish how these characters fit into the wider context. For example, I will consider if Mrs Khan’s character is typical of previous female sitcom characters and the extent to which she conforms to the portrayal of Muslim/Pakistani women put forth in the media. Likewise, I look at the extent to which Mr Khan’s character fall within the norms associated with males from within these three parameters.

8.3 Male

One of the categories that was identified within the analysis was the USAS Category S2.2., entitled ‘People: Male’. After further investigation of this category and employing the criteria mentioned within section 4.6.2., the terms *man*, *men*, *boy* and *boys* were selected for further concordance analysis. It was subsequently determined that these terms fell into the overarching themes of identity and gender and more specifically within the topic ‘Male’.

8.3.1 *Man* and *Men*

The term *man* appears 69 times in the corpus (Table A21, Appendix A), with approximately two-thirds of all occurrences coming from Mr Khan (Table A22, Appendix A). In many of these instances, Khan uses this term to further portray himself in a positive light with others, as in the example below where he refers to himself in the third person.

52. <u=mr khan>Your father's a very important **man**. I'm doing some urgent mosque business.</u>
<u=alia>"Anyone fancy a chat?"</u>
<u=mr khan>Yeah. I'm still trying to get hold of Imran Khan. But don't tell your mother. I've just found a new cricket chatroom. </u>

Figure 8.1: Man - Expansion of concordance line 52

As discussed in the preceding chapters, Mr Khan regularly displays elements of delusionary behaviour and the extract above is a further example of him believing he is a person of importance and that any mundane task he does is of great significance. The phrase ‘very important man’ was also used by Mr Khan on two further occasions to refer to another character, Mr Javed:

26 - 28. <u=mr javed>khuda hafiz</u>
<u=mr khan>khuda hafiz. Let me get the door. Goodbye. What **a man**.</u>
<u=omar>I thought that invitation was for the **man** with the cross eyed children.</u>
<u=mr khan>Mr Javed is a very important **man**. It'll be a great honour to have him at my daughter's wedding. </u>

Figure 8.2: Man - Expansion of concordance lines 26, 27 and 28

When looking at the instances above, it is interesting to note that Mr Khan’s complimentary language towards Mr Javed includes specific references to his gender. Mr Khan highlights Mr Javed’s importance by referring to him as a ‘very important man’, as opposed to a ‘very important person’. Moreover, as Mr Javed leaves the room, Khan turns to those present and expresses his admiration towards him by saying ‘what a man’, thus implying that Mr Javed could be seen as an idealised version of man, which Mr Khan deems to be a positive trait. It could be argued that there is some degree of ambiguity in the two examples cited above. However a clearer example is presented in concordance line 68:

68. <u=mr khan>Come on out of there and fight like a **man!** </u>

Figure 8.3: Man - Expansion of concordance line 68

In this example, Mr Khan believes Mrs Khan is having an affair and there is somebody hiding in a wardrobe. Khan is thus goading him to come out by telling him to ‘fight like a man’. Khan draws on constructions of hegemonic masculinity (Connell 1987) to imply that the idealised way of fighting is like that of a man, thus implying that ‘to fight like a woman’ would be an improper or less desirable way to fight. Moreover, it suggests that for him to come out and ‘fight like a man’ would signify bravery, which is also associated with hegemonic masculinity, as opposed to weakness and physical vulnerability which is associated with hegemonic femininity. Schippers (2007: 91) states that:

Hegemonic masculinity can include physical strength, the ability to use interpersonal violence in the face of conflict, and authority. These characteristics guarantee men's legitimate dominance over women only when they are symbolically paired with a complementary and inferior quality attached to femininity. To complement these characteristics in a way that subordinates femininity to masculinity, femininity includes physical vulnerability, an inability to use violence effectively, and compliance.

The phrasal convention ‘man of the (noun)’ is used on two occasions within the corpus by Mr Khan and provides examples of both a patriarchal order and hegemonic masculinity:

<p>25. <u=mrs khan>I have to have Sameena at the wedding. We were like sisters.</u> <u=shazia>You don't like your sister.</u> <u=mrs khan>Cousins, then.</u> <u=mr khan>No, look, I'm the man of the house, I'm paying for this wedding. I should get to invite who I want. </u></p>
<p>39. <u=mr khan>No tang-tang!</u> <u=clive>I can assure you there'll be nothing of that nature.</u> <u=mr khan>Don't give me that, Clive. I'm a man of the world.</u> <u=clive>Honestly, Mr Khan, your mother-in-law and I are just very good friends. </u></p>

Figure 8.4: Man - Expansion of concordance lines 25 and 39

In the first extract, Mr Khan refers to himself as the ‘man of the house’, citing the fact he is paying for a wedding and using this to justify inviting who he likes. The phrase ‘man of the house’ thus implies a patriarchal order, synonymous with ‘head of the house’, meaning that only a man can fulfil this role. The extract builds upon the instances discussed in chapter 7 where Khan consistently reinforces the notion that he holds the power within the household and more specifically within his marital relationship and his doing so was as a possible ‘reassurance mechanism’ (see section 7.4.3).

In a similar way, *man of the world* is used by Khan to indicate that he is aware that Clive has a sexual interest in his mother-in-law. Khan’s instruction to Clive: ‘No tang-tang!’ has him attempting to control sexual access to an older female member of his family. While such an instruction would be seen as inappropriate (or even shocking), for some audience members, the fact that Khan uses the child-like euphemism *tang-tang* for sex undermines his attempt to appear as a ‘man of the world’. Khan’s use of *man* then, show him as complicit with patriarchal discourses, while unsuccessfully attempting to construct himself as an exemplary of hegemonic masculinity.

The term *Muslim* also collocated with *man* on four occasions in the corpus:

<p>45. <u=mr khan>This is cultural, you see. As a Pakistani Muslim man, I cannot be seen naked by any woman.</u></p> <p><u=gp>Oh, really? What about your wife?</u></p> <p><u=mr khan>I'm working on that one. </u></p>
<p>58. <u=mr khan>Yes, for the annual mosque magazine.</u></p> <p><u=amjad>Are you in it? </u></p> <p><u=mr khan>I'm in it every year. You see, the person who represents the mosque must be perfect embodiment of a Muslim man. I got big beard. Nice hat. Classic suit. Tradition never goes out of fashion, Amjad. You young people spend too much time on the Spacebook, Hotmails, watching videos on Boobtube. This is what it's really about. You want to feel it? </u></p>

<p>61 and 62. <u=mrs khan>Why can't you be more like Sajid?</u></p> <p><u=mr khan>What you have to understand, sweetie, is that Sajid and I are very different. I'm the quintessential Muslim man. Pakistani pin-up. Sajid is doing the ladies' talking, has funny stuff in his hair and he has a very small beard. Not like a proper man at all. </u></p>
<p>64. <u=mr khan>But surely, as a good Muslim, you shave your... downstairs.</u></p> <p><u=sajid>No, I don't really like it. It's too itchy.</u></p> <p><u=mr khan>Oh. Really? Did you hear that, Dave?</u></p> <p><u=dave2>What?</u></p> <p><u=mr khan>Sajid's dingly-danglies aren't halal! Maybe he's not such a great example of a modern Muslim man after all!</u></p> <p><u=dave2>I don't think you can say that. </u></p>

Figure 8.5: Man - Expansion of concordance lines 45, 58, 61, 62 and 64

The usage of ‘Muslim man’ within the corpus had previously been touched upon in section 5.3.2, where it was identified that Mr Khan’s used the term in two distinctive ways. One was to portray himself as an idealised version of a *Muslim man* and the other being to discredit Sajid as flawed and thus not a true reflection of a Muslim man. Additionally, as can be seen in the extracts above, Mr Khan’s assertions are based predominantly upon the outer appearance, with him referring to dress (his hat and suit), alongside the beard and male organ, which he childishly refers to as ‘dingly-danglies’. Khan states that ‘Sajid’s dingly-danglies aren’t halal’ in reference to Sajid not removing the hair from his pubic region, which is an Islamic requirement at least every forty days, as stated in a hadeeth in Sahih Al-Muslim (Hadeeth 379), where Anas, the companion of the Prophet Mohammed states:

‘He (the prophet) set a time for us to trim our moustaches, cut our nails, pluck our armpit hair and shave our pubic hair; we were not to leave that for more than forty days.’

In concordance lines 58 and 61, Khan positively constructs the beard to be a symbol of piety and masculinity. This positive representation is in stark contrast to the findings from Baker and Levon’s (2016:122) corpus based study which investigated representations of racialised and classed masculinities in the UK print media and found that in the instances where *men*

and *beards* collocated there was a more ‘subtle discourse around (Islamic) terrorism’ and in one instance beards were ‘an indicator of likely guilt’.

Mr Khan, alongside reinforcing his masculinity through the presence of his facial hair, indirectly deems Sajid’s hairstyle to be effeminate, which provides an interesting correlation between how hair can not only be deemed to be a symbol of masculinity, but can also symbolise femininity in a male. Thus, Khan reinforces his vision of a patriarchal society, by deeming anything associated with femininity as a pollutant to the masculine identity, which thus results in a person not being a ‘proper man at all’.

In contrast to Mr Khan’s predominantly positive usage of *man* – especially when referring to himself, Mrs Khan and her mother on occasions use the term to disparage Mr Khan:

33. <u=mr khan> We're not going home. I'm going to find something for you to do if it kills me. Come on, come on!</u> <u=naani> Bas, mujhe ghar le jow...stupid man! </u> <u=mr khan>I'm not taking you home! There must be somewhere you can go. How about the hospital? Lots of old people there. And you get a free biscuit! </u>
51. <u=mr khan>And I said his wife had poo breath! I couldn't help myself. It's all India's fault!</u> <u=mrs khan>You stupid, stupid man! </u> <u=shazia>That's it, then. I'm going to India. Right. I'll go and let them know. </u>
67 and 68. <u=mrs khan>Of course there's no-one else here. You silly man. </u> <vocal=COUGHING> <u=mrs khan>I swear I don't know who that is.</u> <u=mr khan>I do! Right. I knew it. I knew it. Come on out of there and fight like a man! </u>

Figure 8.6: Man - Expansion of concordance lines 33, 51, 67 and 68

Mrs Khan’s using such belittling terms towards Mr Khan is particularly surprising, considering the discussion in the preceding chapter (see section 7.4.3) where Mrs Khan’s positive usage of *husband* was identified as being partly driven by her Pakistani culture, which dictates an elevated amount of respect for the husband. However, in the extracts above, Mrs Khan spoke to her husband in such a manner within the privacy of their home, whereas

her positive usage of *husband* was normally with individuals outside of the family circle. Thus, it could be argued that the respect she is required to show her husband is more so on a societal level, thus maintaining a patriarchal society, where on a public level the male is instilled on an elevated platform.

Mrs Khan does also use the term *man* in a positive manner, although this is exclusively done when referring to her future son-in-law Amjad:

8. <u=mr khan>That's my chair!</u> <u=mrs khan>What does it matter whose chair it is? You're not the only man in the house. Here, Amjad, have some rice. </u>
42.<u=mrs khan>I love babies. I love them so much. I really, really love them. I love their tiny little hands and their tiny little feet and their chubby little cheeks! Oh!</u> <u=mr khan>She's off again.</u> <u=mrs khan>No-one loves babies as much as I do. And Amjad is such a healthy young man . He'll have no trouble producing lots of babies when the time comes, eh?</u> <u=amjad>I'll do my best. </u>

Figure 8.7: Man - Expansion of concordance lines 8 and 42

In the first example, Mr Khan is threatened by Mrs Khan allowing Amjad to sit on his chair at the table. The head chair on the table can be symbolically viewed as the throne for the head of the household or the ‘man of the house’, as discussed above. Additionally, this short exchange also provides an insight into the gender roles within the household, with Khan being threatened by Amjad - a newer male member of the family, as opposed to Mrs Khan or his daughters, who are not deemed a threat to him, presumably due to their gender.

In concordance line 42, Mrs Khan’s complimentary behaviour towards Amjad is mainly centred on his presumed ability to reproduce. As had been discussed in the preceding chapter (see sections 7.3.3 and 7.3.4), the reproductive abilities of both the husband and wife are given great importance within Pakistani culture and in particular, the ability to produce sons. When comparing Mrs Khan’s in-law relationship with Amjad, it is in stark contrast with that

of Mr Khan and Naani. It could be plausible that some of the animosity between the two, also centres around Mr Khan only having daughters and thus, Mrs Khan's positive behaviour with Amjad is possibly conditional on his reproductive capabilities, with the ability to produce male offspring seen as a symbol of strong semen (Shaw 2000:218). The scriptwriters are thus reinforcing the concept mentioned above, where strength and power is seen as a masculine trait and weakness is associated with femininity (Schippers 2007) by implying that Amjad is afforded respect by Mrs Khan due to him being male and able to produce 'lots of babies'.

The plural form *men* appeared in the corpus 21 times over the two seasons, with the phrase Pakistani men being used on five occasions:

<p>14, 15 and 17. <u=jackie>Pakistanimatch.co.uk.</u> <u=mr khan>Yes.</u> <u=jackie>Where they match women with Pakistani men.</u> <u=mr khan>Oh, bugger!</u> <u=omar>The penny drops.</u> <u=mr khan>But what were you doing on a site like that?</u> <u=jackie>Trying to meet Pakistani men.</u> <u=mr khan>Why?</u> <u=jackie>I like them.</u> <u=mr khan>Why?</u> <u=jackie>I've always had a thing about them. The rugged Imran Khan looks, the smouldering eyes. There's just something about Pakistani men. </u></p>
<p>16. <u=omar>Yes, it's only a woman who's inappropriately dressed, who you met on the internet.</u> <u=riaz>Who likes Pakistani men.</u> <u=dave2>Oh, my goodness me, yes, I see what you mean, yes. </u></p>
<p>18. <u=mr khan>You don't understand. She likes Pakistani men.</u> <u=jackie>I'm having second thoughts. </u></p>

Figure 8.8: Men - Expansion of concordance lines 14 – 20

All the extracts above were found in one specific episode, which carried the narrative where an older Caucasian British lady was looking for a Pakistani man on an internet dating website and happened to come across Mr Khan, who mistook the site for a cricket chat forum. It is possible the scriptwriters chose to incorporate this narrative to highlight the trend found in British Pakistani communities where many Pakistani men are married to Caucasian women, but Pakistani women are normally restricted from marrying non-Pakistanis (Shaw 2000:183-185). From an Islamic standpoint, a person's nationality should not be a factor when deciding on a marital partner and the following hadeeth specifically addresses fathers who reject marital proposals based upon such factors:

‘If there comes to you (to propose marriage to your daughter) one with whose religious commitment and character you are pleased, then marry (your daughter) to him, for if you do not do that, there will be fitnah (tribulation) on earth and widespread corruption.’

(Jami' Al-Tirmidhi, Hadeeth1084; Sunan Ibn Majah, Hadeeth 1967)

Another theme which emerged when looking at the concordance lines around the term *men*, which was in contrast to the patriarchal constructions discussed above, was a more modernistic view concerning the roles of men and women:

3. <u=mr khan>What you have to remember, Mrs Malik, is that this is the modern world, 21st century. Women are as independent as **men**. I believe women should make their own decisions. They are in charge of their own lives and they can do whatever they want.</u>

<u=mrs malik>I see. Then I say, this wedding will never take place.</u>

<u=mr khan>OK. But what does Mr Malik say about it?</u>

6. <u=amjad>I'm learning to cook.</u>

<u=mr khan>Why?</u>

<u=shazia>This is the 21st century, Dad. **Men** should pull their weight in the kitchen just as much as women.</u>

<u=amjad>That's right. So, Shazia's going to teach me. </u>

<u=shazia>Me? I can't cook. Mum'll do it.</u>

Figure 8.9: Men - Expansion of concordance lines 3 and 6

It is interesting that the scriptwriters chose to incorporate the above extracts into the sitcom, as they seem to contradict the popular narrative that Muslim women and more specifically Pakistani women have limited freedom and are responsible for all the domestic duties within the household. In both instances, reference is made to it being the 21st century and thus, the status quo regarding gender roles has changed. However, despite the serious overtones of their speech, in both instances the extracts end with a punch line, which throws into question the legitimacy of the earlier point about gender equality for the world the characters inhabit. In the first instance, despite Mr Khan seemingly asserting that women are equal to men, after receiving an unfavourable response from Mrs Malik, he disregards her opinion and enquires as to what her husband thinks instead. Likewise, in the second extract, after justifying the need for Amjad to learn how to cook, Shazia goes on to state she doesn't know how to cook herself and that her mum can teach him. While Shazia thus represents herself as non-traditional (because she cannot cook), the fact that her mother is expected to teach Amjad to cook, indicates that not everyone is benefitting from 21st century values, making Shazia appear complicit in her mother's domestic situation.

8.3.2 *Boy* and *Boys*

The words *boy* and *boys* appeared 36 times across the two seasons (Table A21, Appendix A), with Mr Khan once again being the predominant user of these terms. When examining the concordance lines further, it was observed that Mr Khan's usage of the terms held varying connotations, which were dependent on which characters he was addressing. The extracts below are examples of *boys* being used within a positive framework:

<p>24. <u=all>Asalaam Alaikum, Mr Khan. </u> <u=mr khan>Waleikum Asalaam, boys. </u> <u=dave>Asalaam Alaikum. </u> <u=mr khan>Hello, Dave. </u></p>
<p>32. <u=mr khan>Asalaam Alaikum, boys.</u> <u=riaz>Waleikum Asalaam. </u></p>
<p>33. <u=riaz>Asalaam Alaikum, Mr Khan. </u> <u=omar>Asalaam Alaikum.</u> <u=mr khan>Waleikum Asalaam, boys. </u></p>

Figure 8.10: BOY(S) - Expansion of concordance lines 24, 32 and 33

In the above extracts, Mr Khan is addressing Riaz and Omar and usage of the term signified warmth and friendship towards the pair. Khan's using terms of endearment towards them is all the more remarkable considering his 'macho' identity, with close friendships considered by some as a feminine trait, with Wood and Inman (1993:280) stating women were generally seen as 'intimacy experts'. As had been previously discussed (see section 5.2.2), Mr Khan's approach in conversing with Riaz and Omar greatly differs to his manner in interacting with the two Dave characters and thus, it was argued that *boys* was used by him to create an in-group and ostracise (other) the Daves.

In contrast to the positive connotations found in the above examples, the extracts below contain instances where Mr Khan uses the term *boy* within a mainly negative framework:

<p>1. <u=mr khan>Well, I told him to book it and he forgot. I should've known. He has a very limited mental capacity, that boy. Looks like a God, thinks like a monkey. </u> <u=shazia>Amjad forgot to book the mosque! </u></p>
<p>11. <u=mr khan>Sweetie, a jug of bloody water for Amjad!</u> <u=amjad>Maybe I will have a glass of water. </u> <u=mr khan>What's the matter, boy, can't you take the pace? </u></p>
<p>12. <u=amjad>I don't think I've got the time. </u> <u=mr khan>Suit yourself, then, boy. </u></p>

16. </u><u=amjad>I'm not. Me and Shazia are going to the theatre. Mamma Mias.</u>
<u=mr khan>Suit yourself, **boy**. But I tell you what, nothing comes between me and the cricket. </u>

Figure 8.11: BOY(S) - Expansion of concordance line 1, 11, 12 and 16

In all the above examples, Mr Khan is addressing Amjad with the term *boy* and does so as a means of belittlement. The term is commonly used as a means of patronising an adult male and it is claimed that it was previously used in America to demean black slaves. Martin (2008, cnn.com) states that for black males:

‘...it's the ultimate sign of disrespect, and is often more offensive than calling them the N-word. For years black men were summarily dismissed and treated with disregard. It was as if their stature was diminished when someone white called them a boy. I've heard black men describe the hurt and pain of growing up and having someone white call them a boy in front of their own child.’

In concordance lines 11 and 16 in particular, Mr Khan appears to be hypothetically competing with Amjad and in turn implying he is not as much of a man as Mr Khan. A further example of Mr Khan questioning somebody's manhood was found in the preceding section, around the usage of *Muslim man*, when Mr Khan was belittling Sajid and stated that he was ‘not like a proper man at all’. Mr Khan's behaviour with Sajid and Amjad implies that he is either threatened by these younger males or he simply sees himself superior to them. From other instances in the corpus, it would appear to be the latter, as he displayed a similar attitude towards the Daves, by considering himself to be ‘more Muslim’ than they were.

Aside from Mr Khan referring to Amjad as *boy*, his mother Mrs Malik also addresses him with the term. However, in these instances she precedes it with a positive adjective (adjective + boy) and thus, these examples are more likely illustrating a mother's love towards her child, than ones which carry a negative undertone:

14. <u=mrs malik>We're all so excited about Amjad's promotion. He's such a sweet **boy**.</u>
<u=mrs khan>So sweet.</u>

15. <u=mrs malik>What have you done to my beautiful **boy**?</u>
<u=mrs khan>Amjad! </u>

Figure 8.12: BOY(S) - Expansion of concordance lines 14 and 15

Mr Khan also uses the term *boy* to once again reemphasise his disappointment at not having a son:

22. <u=shazia>But I don't care about those man things.</u>
<u=mr khan>Well, that's not my fault, is it? Look, this wouldn't be a problem if you were a **boy**.
You're not and I have accepted that, and I've moved on, and quite frankly I think it's time you did too! </u>

Figure 8.13: BOY(S) - Expansion of concordance line 22

As discussed in the preceding chapter (see section 7.3.4), Mr Khan frequently mentions his disappointment at not having a son and the societal/cultural consequences of him not doing so were also examined. From his two daughters, Mr Khan has made it explicitly clear that Alia is his favourite daughter (see section 7.3.4) and his concern for her welfare is further evident when examining the usage of *boys*:

2, 6, 7, 9 and 10. <u=mr khan>Alia's trip is part of her studies. They will be reading the Koran, learning about Islam and how to be a better Muslim.</u>
<u=shazia>At a Turkish beach resort?</u>
<u=mr khan>Turkey is a Muslim country, isn't it?</u>
<u=shazia>You do know there'll be **boys** there?</u>
<u=mr khan>Yes, I know there are **boys** in Turkey, thank you.</u>
<u=shazia>I mean on Alia's trip. **Boys** are going too.</u>
<u=mr khan>**Boys**? I didn't know anything about **boys**.</u>
<u=mrs khan>They always go together. It's co-educational.</u>
<u=mr khan>Yes, but what about...tang-tang? </u>

Figure 8.14: BOY(S) - Expansion of concordance lines 2, 6, 7, 9 and 10

At the beginning of the extract, Mr Khan displays his usual naive behaviour towards Alia (see section 7.2.2 for further examples), believing that her trip to Turkey is a spiritual retreat and she will be concentrating solely on her religion. Once discovering that the trip is not gender segregated and that boys will also be attending, Mr Khan starts to become fearful that they may take advantage of his daughter and thus reacts by giving Alia ‘the talk’ about boys:

<p>3, 4 and 8. <u=mr khan>Now, I know your head is filled only with God and studies right now, but one day you realise there are other things in the world. Like boys. </u></p> <p><u=alia>OK.</u></p> <p><u=mr khan>But what you have to remember is, is that boys are not like girls. </u></p> <p><u=alia>Are they not? </u></p> <p><u=mr khan>No. Boys are bad. They only have one thing on their minds. </u></p> <p><u=alia>What's that?</u></p> <p><u=mr khan><vocal=GULPS> Cricket. </u></p>
<p>5. <u=alia>I don't like cricket.</u></p> <p><u=mr khan>I know. And that's good. But one day you might decide that you do like...cricket.</u></p> <p><u=alia>I don't think so. It's dead boring. </u></p> <p><u=mr khan>You're right. It is. But one day, you might meet somebody, let's say a boy, and he's really into the cricket and he might try to get you to watch. And you might think, "Well, there's no harm in watching." But then he shows you his bat. And his pads. And his helmet. And the next thing you know, the covers are off, you're letting him play on your pitch and you've been caught out by his googlie! Do you see? </u></p> <p><u=alia>Sort of. </u></p>

Figure 8.15: BOY(S) - Expansion of concordance lines 3, 4, 5 and 8

Mr Khan’s awkwardness around this topic is illustrated via his usage of ‘tang-tang’ and ‘cricket’ as euphemisms for sexual intercourse. His apprehension in directly engaging with this subject could be in part due to it being considered a taboo for sexually related issues to be openly discussed in some Muslim and Pakistani communities.

Regardless of a parent’s cultural, religious or racial background, educating your children about sexual relations is a daunting task. A survey of 1,111 American parents conducted by New York University’s Silver School of Social Work (2011) found that only 60% of those

surveyed stated that they were ‘actually talking to their children about birth control’, with many not approaching the topic as they were ‘too embarrassed or uncomfortable’. *Citizen Khan* is not the only sitcom to address this topic. *Black-ish* (ABC, 2014 – present), which is a recently released American sitcom, aired a similar narrative in an episode entitled *The Talk* (Season 1, Episode 2). The episode was centred around an African American father giving his son ‘the talk’ and despite the differences in their approaches, that initial awkwardness that Mr Khan displayed in his discussion with Alia is also present in this father-son dialogue.

Having considered the ways that the characters orient to representations of males in the sitcom, I now turn to look at female representations.

8.4 Female

One of the categories that was identified within the analysis was the USAS Category S2.1, entitled ‘People: Female’. After further investigation of this category and employing the criteria mentioned within section 4.6.2, the terms *woman*, *women*, *womens*, *girl*, *girls*, *lady* and *ladies* were selected for further concordance analysis. It was subsequently determined that these terms fell into the overarching themes of identity and gender and more specifically within the topic ‘Female’.

8.4.1 *Woman*, *Women* and *Womens*

The term *woman* is mentioned in the corpus 26 times (Table A23, Appendix A), although in the majority of these instances it is being used to refer to non-regular female cast members, who appeared in single episodes. The phrase *old woman* was used on three occasions, with two of these referring to Naani and the other Mrs Khan:

3 and 4. <u=mr khan>Have you seen my mother-in-law? She's an old **woman** like this...
Naani? Naani? It's OK. I'm just praying. Excuse me. Excuse me. Naani? Hold on! Naani. Excuse me.
Excuse me, lady. Excuse me. Naani? Oh, God. Excuse me. Excuse me. Excuse me.
<vocal=SIREN WAILS> What?! I'm looking for an old **woman**. </u>

13. <u=mrs khan>Of course, we're her parents, we should support her, no matter what. Ohh, I'm so
sorry, Beti! I don't deserve to have such a wonderful daughter.</u>
<u=shazia>Aw, Mum.</u>
<u=mrs khan>You're so smart, and pretty, and kind, and I'm a silly old **woman**, and a terrible
mother and... </u>

Figure 8.16: WOMAN - Expansion of concordance lines 3, 4 and 14

As can be seen from the above examples, there is nothing of particular relevance in relation to construction of gender identities around this phrase. Contrastingly, Mr Khan's usage of the term *women* and in particular the more unconventional form *womens* is of more interest to this study.

In many of these instances, Mr Khan uses these terms whilst speaking with a male counterpart and tries to enlighten them about his understanding of how and why women behave in certain ways:

6. <u=amjad>I should go in the other room and say I'm sorry.</u>
<u=mr khan>Look, you don't need to do that. Sometimes **women** say they want to be in charge, but really they like us to be in charge. It makes them feel all safe and comfortable. As we say in Pakistan, "All snuggly buggly." </u>

8 and 9. <u=mr khan>What you have to remember, Mrs Malik, is that this is the modern world, 21st century. **Women** are as independent as men. I believe **women** should make their own decisions. They are in charge of their own lives and they can do whatever they want.</u>

14. <u=mr khan>Amjad. As you go through life, you will learn something about **womens**.</u>
<u=amjad>Like what?</u>
<u=mr khan>Sometimes you have to show that you are willing to fight for them. When I first met Mrs Khan... she had many admirers and had I not told her how I felt about her, she would not have known how much I liked her. And in the end, she might have gone off with one of the other admirers. Then where would we be? Amjad... ..what I'm saying to you is this. That you cannot wait for a woman to guess how you feel about her. In the end, you just have to tell her. </u>

Figure 8.17: WOMEN(S) - Expansion of concordance lines 6, 8, 9 and 14

As well as Mr Khan providing generalising views about gendered relations and roles, some of the other male characters within the series also attempt to advise on how women should be understood:

21. <u=sajid>You should try and talk to her, Riaz. With women it's all about communication. They need to talk about their feelings, and you need to listen. Take an interest in them. Compliment them on how they look. </u>
23. <u=omar>Although I'm not sure that Mrs Khan would be very happy with you being away a lot.</u> <u=riaz>That's true. Women don't like being left on their own. </u>
24. <u=amjad>No, Shazia and me agreed we weren't going to get each other presents.</u> <u=dave2>Right. But you got her one anyway.</u> <u=amjad>No. She told me not to.</u> <u=dave2>I'm not sure she really means that, Amjad.</u> <u=amjad>What?</u> <u=omar>The women say that, but it is a test to see if you really love them.</u> <u=amjad>But I do really love her. Oh, no! </u>

Figure 8.18: WOMEN(S) - Expansion of concordance lines 21, 23 and 24

The preceding examples within this section all focus around the male characters within the sitcom attempting to unravel the ‘mystery of women’ by giving their views on how the opposite sex should be treated or understood. The male characters make reference to a ‘gender differences’ discourse (Sunderland 2004), whereby men and women are seen as essentially different to one another, which has been said to result in conflict and misunderstanding (e.g. Tannen 1990). One of the most well known pieces of literature that attempts to define the distinct characteristics of both men and women is Gray’s (1992) book *Men are from Mars and Women are from Venus*, which has reportedly sold over 50 million copies worldwide. Advice like ‘they need to talk about their feelings’ and ‘Women don’t like to be left on their own’, imply that men don’t need to talk about feelings or don’t mind being left on their own.

The examples above potentially cast Sajid, Riaz and Omar as ‘wise’ men who are able to decode women’s messages or give advice on how women should be interacted with. Taken at face value, these examples appear to privilege a male perspective, validating the ‘gender differences’ discourse, while inviting the viewer to identify with the problems the male characters encounter in trying to understand their mystifying female partners. However, we need to bear in mind that Citizen Khan is a comedy and we should not always take every interaction seriously. An alternative reading of the examples above is that Sajid, Riaz and Omar are unnecessarily relying on gendered stereotypes when trying to solve relationship problems.

What is interesting in the preceding examples is that the discourse around women within the sitcom is confined to women in general and not specifically *Muslim women*. Previous studies such as Al-Hejin (2012) and Baker et al. (2013a) that have looked at MROIM in newspapers and news websites found that there was a particular emphasis on the dress of Muslim women, namely the veil. For example, the study by Baker et al. (2013a:203) found that the ‘veil was the most frequent topic that is directly associated with Muslim women’ and the veil appeared in their corpus a total of 9,681 times.

Contrastingly, there is not a single occurrence of *veil* within the CK corpus, which could partly be explained by the fact that none of the female characters wear one. Perhaps due to the fact that Citizen Khan is a comedy, the script-writers wanted to avoid a potentially controversial issue. However, despite the light hearted nature of the program, the scriptwriters have approached some areas of controversy over the first two seasons. But as discussed in section 6.3, they have been reluctant in directly associating controversial topic areas with Islam and rather such themes have mainly been brought up around the Pakistani identity of the characters – i.e. topics like forced marriages or miserliness.

Aside from *women*, Mr Khan also uses the non-conventional form *womens* on 8 occasions in the corpus and in most instances, his usage of the term can be placed into two broad categories. The first being where he shows some animosity towards them, without being overly hostile:

<p>1. <u=amjad>Well...is there somebody else?</u> <u=mr khan>Unfortunately not.</u> <u=amjad>Then maybe it's something I've done?</u> <u=mr khan>Maybe. You never know with womens. Could be something you did, something you didn't do, something you said, something you didn't say. </u></p>
<p>13. <u=mr khan>Chillax, Amjad. We need to get this sorted. So she's a woman, so what? Womens are perfectly able at being almost as good doctors as mens. There's no reason to be embarrassed. </u></p>
<p>17 and 18. <u=dave2>Mr Khan, there's no reason why men and women can't mix perfectly happily together.</u> <u=mr khan>You're not married, are you, Dave? Look, I've got nothing against the womens, but they are different to us. We talk about cricket. They talk about hair and shoes. This is what's so good about the mosque. We keep them separate. </u></p>

Figure 8.19: WOMEN(S) - Expansion of concordance lines 1, 13, 17 and 18

From a linguistic standpoint, concordance lines 17 and 18 are particularly noteworthy for a number of reasons. Firstly, Mr Khan's usage of the definite article *the* when mentioning women – i.e. 'the womens', with its usage being potentially divisive, in order to mark an obvious distinction between males and females. This is further supported by the subsequent passages, with Khan's usage of pronouns, with personal pronouns such as 'we' and 'us' being used as markers for men and third person plural pronouns such as 'they' and 'them' being used to refer to women, which subsequently clearly distinguishes between the two genders and reinforces Khan's belief that 'they (women) are very different to us(men)'.

In the preceding examples, although Mr Khan is patronising and insulting towards women – i.e. they are only interested in hair and shoes and that they normally don't have a clear reason for being upset with you, there is nothing in his speech that would be considered excessively

controversial from a comedic aspect, with other male sitcom characters also approaching such gendered stereotypes frequently. On the other hand, there are other occasions in the corpus where he uses *womens*, in an extremely insulting manner towards women, which potentially crosses the boundaries of ‘acceptable comedy’ within the family sitcom genre:

4 and 5. <u=mr khan>See, this is the difference between English mans and Pakistani mans. In Pakistani community, man is in charge. King of the castle. Womens are more like dirty rascal. You don't get rid of the TB just because womens says so. You think I got teeny tiny TB in my house? I got brand new 42-inch Plajma Hi-Fi Def Jam Surroundy Soundy! You can't expect us to watch the cricket on that thing. </u>

20. <u=mr khan>And I tell you something else. Beards are very popular now. Did you know, one in five men in the UK has a beard? In Pakistan, it's double. Even more if you include the womens . </u>

Figure 8.20: WOMEN(S) - Expansion of concordance lines 4, 5, 13 and 20

In the extracts above, Mr Khan’s insults are aimed directly at Pakistani women, which reinforces the notion mentioned above that the scriptwriters feel more comfortable about upsetting the Pakistani community, as opposed to directly insulting or attacking Islam or Muslims as a whole. Moreover, it could be argued that Mr Khan’s usage of the term *womens* is in fact a means by the scriptwriters to highlight the deficiencies in the speech of Pakistani immigrants. This is further supported by the examples found in concordance lines 4 and 5, where Mr Khan also uses *mans* as opposed to men and incorrectly pronounces TV as *TB*. As the speech within the sitcom is scripted, and does not resemble the regular speech of Adil Ray who portrays Mr Khan within the series, there is little doubt that the incorporation of such elements into Mr Khan’s speech was by design. Consequently, it should be questioned as to why the scriptwriters felt it necessary to reinforce such stereotypes, especially as it serves little purpose within the narrative of the episodes and helps in further distancing the characters from the show with the viewers.

A further reading of his usage of *womens* and *mans* is that it further characterises him as someone who is confident and proud, yet doesn’t quite have control of his own language.

This type of characterisation has been a staple of British sitcoms for many decades and has been ascribed to the character of Mrs Malaprop from the 1775 play *The Rivals* (written by Richard Brinsley Sheridan), who would use words which carried no meaning. Fay and Cutler (1977:505) state that ‘*malapropism* has been a standard tool of comic writers, especially useful for indicating inferior intellectual ability of a speaker.’

8.4.2 Lady and Ladies

The adjective *old* modifies *lady* 7 times in the corpus, with five of these instances being placed directly to the left of the noun, in the L1 position. In two further instances, *old* appears in the L2 position to form a three word cluster, where on one occasion Mr Khan refers to Naani, as an old Pakistani lady:

```
23. <u=mr khan>That's enough! Now you listen to me, Clive. There are some things you must understand.</u>
<u=clive>What's that?</u>
<u=mr khan>There are boundaries. She's an old Pakistani lady. It's a cultural thing.</u>
<u=clive>What do you mean?</u>
<u=mr khan>No tang-tang! </u>
```

Figure 8.21: LADY(IES) - Expansion of concordance line 23

The term ‘old Pakistani lady’ is used in the above example by Mr Khan to highlight to Clive that there is a difference between the ‘typical old lady’ found in Britain, in comparison to one from a Pakistani background. By him also mentioning to Clive that ‘there are boundaries’ and that ‘it’s a cultural thing’ further alludes to such a meaning. Mr Khan goes on to explicitly inform Clive that what he means by this is that there will be ‘no tang-tang’ (euphemism for sexual intercourse, as discussed above) , thus implying that in Mr Khan’s view such boundaries may not be present when dealing with elder ladies from outside the Pakistani community.

The adjective *old* also precedes the plural form *ladies* on two occasions and the comparative form *older* also collocates with *lady* two times within the corpus. As is evident from the preceding discussion, the usage of *lady/ladies* within Citizen Khan is mostly descriptive and is mostly used to refer to Naani, by describing her as an ‘old lady’. Outside of the example found in concordance line 23, where she is referred to as an ‘old Pakistani lady’, very little of this data can be looked at in any depth to understand the construction of gender identities within the sitcom.

8.4.3 *Girl* and *Girls*

The words *girl* and *girls* appeared 26 times in total across the two seasons (Table A23, Appendix A), with 65% of all occurrences coming from Mr Khan (Table A24, Appendix A), and on two occasions he uses the phrase ‘I love this girl’:

<p>2. <u=alia>It's probably for the best, Papa. Now you can hire somewhere less expensive.</u> <u=mr khan>Ah. I tell you. I love this girl. She's a bloody marvel. Almost like a son, she is! </u></p>
<p>11. <u=shazia>Please, Dad, turn the heating on.</u> <u=alia>I'm not cold, Papaji.</u> <u=mr khan>I love this girl. I tell you, proper Muslim daughter. Wearing hijab not only preserves her modesty, keeps her bloody ears warm. </u></p>

Figure 8.22: GIRL(S) - Expansion of concordance lines 2 and 11

As can be seen in the preceding extracts, this phrase is exclusively used towards Alia, with Mr Khan not explicitly mentioning his love for his other daughter Shazia at any point within the corpus. What is also interesting in the instances above is that they both contain examples where Alia is supportive of Mr Khan’s efforts to save money and helps reinforce his cheapskate persona that was discussed in the nationality chapter (see section 6.3).

A more frequent phrase that was used around the term *girl* was ‘good girl’, which appeared nine times in total within the corpus:

<p>1. <u=shazia>What about Alia? You never have a go at her!</u></p> <p><u=mr khan>Your little sister is a good girl. She'll be sitting somewhere doing her homework or praying or some such thing. Sweetie, sweetie, sweetie, sweetie! Where are you, darling Alia?</p> <p>Ah. Look at that. Wonderful. Reading the Koran, huh? Very good. Where are you up to darling? Oh yes, that's a good bit. See? First the worst, second the best, isn't it? </u></p>
<p>23. <u=mr khan>Alia, sweetie, who's faced more full tosses and googlies - you or me?</u></p> <p><u=alia>You have, Papaji.</u></p> <p><u=mr khan>Good girl. What are you doing? </u></p>

Figure 8.23: GIRL(S) - Expansion of concordance lines 1 and 23

On all nine occasions, this phrase is referring specifically to Alia, with the cluster 'such a good girl' appearing in 7 of the nine instances:

<p>3. <u=alia>Yes, Papaji.</p> <p></u><u=mr khan>She's such a good girl. You know, whoever marries this one will have a real jewel. This one is OK, too. Come on, Alia, choppity chop! </u></p>
<p>5. </u><u=alia>I just wanted you to be happy, sis.</p> <p>Right, I'm going to do my homework in my room. Khuda hafiz.</u></p> <p><u=mrs malik>Such a good girl. </u></p> <p><u=mrs khan>I'm so glad the wedding is back on. </u></p>
<p>13. <u=alia>Here, Papaji, I brought you a newspaper.</u></p> <p><u=mr khan>Thank you, Alia. Such a good girl! This one is absolutely perfect. Nothing she could do would ever disappoint me.</u></p> <p><u=alia>That's good, because my exam results have arrived. </u></p>
<p>15. <u=mr khan>Exactly! That's the thing with us OhTwaddis. We're either bathing or praying. Oh, look, Alia's praying right now. Such a good girl! </u></p> <p><u=alia>What? <vocal=MUSIC></p>
<p>17. <u=alia>Hello, Papaji. Just doing my homework.</u></p> <p><u=mr khan>Such a good girl! All right, Naanijaan? Looking forward to going back Pakistan? </u></p>
<p>22. <u=alia>There's a late night prayer meeting at the mosque. <vocal=CAR HORN></u></p> <p><u=alia>That's the imam coming to pick me up.</u></p> <p><u=mr khan>Such a good girl...Is that a hijab?</u></p> <p><u=alia>Yeah. It's waterproof, in case it rains. </u></p>

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25. <u=mr khan>Thank you, Alia.
</u><u=alia>Hopefully they can help someone who can't afford to buy make-up.</u>
<u=mr khan>Such a good girl!</u>
<u=alia>Can I have some money to go out?</u>
<u=mr khan>Yes, of course. </u>
```

Figure 8.24: GIRL(S) - Expansion of concordance lines 3, 5, 13, 15, 17, 22 and 25

The usage around *good girl* further highlights the themes touched upon within chapter seven, which discuss Mr Khan's preferential treatment of Alia over her sister Shazia, as well as Alia's ability to manipulate Mr Khan's opinion of her by presenting herself as a *good daughter*.

8.4.3.1 'Good Girl' – Multimodal Concordance Lines (MCLs)

With the aim of providing a clearer picture as to what exactly being a 'good girl' constitutes for Khan and what may have motivated him to refer to Alia in such a manner, a visual analysis of each of the instances of 'good girl' mentioned in the preceding section will be carried out within this section. In order to carry out the visual analysis, I will be using Multimodal Concordance Lines (MCLs), which were discussed in some detail within section 4.5.2.

When deciding what visuals to use within the MCLs, firstly the point of utterance for each concordance line needed to be established. This was done by referring back to the original subtitles and finding the time markers within the specific episode and then viewing the relevant episode to identify the utterance and the context in which it was said. Consequently, as each of these instances were relating to Alia, the screenshots in figure 8.25 were either taken at the exact time of the utterance (if Alia was in the shot) or the first shot immediately before or after the utterance, which contained Alia within it and was deemed to be the most relevant within the context of the concordance line. For example, there may have been an

instance where Mr Khan referred to her as ‘good girl’ and then she did not appear in shot until another unrelated scene. Therefore, in this instance, the shot directly before he uttered ‘good girl’ would be considered more relevant to the analysis.

Additionally, as Alia was the focus of the analysis and not Mr Khan or any other character (i.e. Mrs Malik in concordance line 5), as she was the one being referred to as ‘good girl’. It was not deemed necessary that the one who uttered the phrase had to be present within the visual still. By employing these criteria when determining which visual was selected to correlate with each concordance line, further objectivity was added to a normally subjective process and ensured that the researcher did not simply choose the stills which would have been the most interesting for their research.

Once the 9 images had been selected based upon the above mentioned criteria, a closer analysis of each image was required to identify what in Alia’s behaviour and/or physical appearance prompted the speaker (Mr Khan in most cases) to refer to her as a *good girl*. Alongside this visual analysis, the concordance analysis also needed to be considered, to identify any patterns in language usage around the phrase *good girl* and if any such patterns did exist, to determine whether these were also evident in the correlating visuals. Figure 8.25 illustrates the nine MCLs for each utterance of ‘good girl’ within the CK corpus, with the concordance line being within a grey background and its accompanying visual being directly underneath it:

<p>1. <u=mr khan>Your little sister is a good girl. She'll be sitting somewhere doing her homework or praying or some such thing. </u></p>	<p>3. <u=mr khan>She's such a good girl. You know, whoever marries this one will have a real jewel. </u></p>	<p>5. <u=alia> I'm going to do my homework in my room. Khudahafiz.</u> <u=mrs malik>Such a good girl. </u></p>
		
<p>13. <u=mr khan>Thank you, Alia. Such a good girl! This one is absolutely perfect. Nothing she could do would ever disappoint me.</u></p>	<p>15. <u=mr khan>Oh, look, Alia's praying right now. Such a good girl! </u> <u=alia>What? <vocal=MUSIC></p>	<p>17.<u=alia>Hello, Papaji. Just doing my homework.</u> <u=mr khan>Such a good girl! </u></p>
		
<p>22. <u=mr khan>Such a good girl...Is that a hijab?</u> <u=alia>Yeah. It's waterproof, in case it rains. </u></p>	<p>23. <u=mr khan>Alia, sweetie, who's faced more full tosses and googlies - you or me?</u> <u=alia>You have, Papaji.</u> <u=mr khan>Good girl. What are you doing? </u></p>	<p>25. <u=alia>Hopefully they can help someone who can't afford to buy make-up.</u> <u=mr khan>Such a good girl!</u> <u=alia>Can I have some money to go out?</u></p>
		

Figure 8.25: GIRL(S) – Multimodal Concordance Lines (MCLs) for instances of ‘good girl’

When looking at the all the MCLs above, one of the most apparent features of each screenshot is Alia's outer appearance, namely her 'hijab' and use of excessive makeup in some scenes. Firstly, when looking at Alia's hijab, it should be acknowledged that within the sphere of Islamic scholarship there are a number of differing opinions as to what exactly constitutes the hijab and the correct manner to wear it. One of the most widely accepted and used definitions of the hijab is provided by the illustrious Islamic scholar Mohammed Nasirudin Al-Albani (1969:54-67), who after providing numerous evidences from the Quran and Prophetic Traditions sets out the following eight conditions for the appearance of the hijab:

(1) it should cover all the body apart from what has been exempted (face and hands); (2) it should not be an adornment in and of itself; (3) it should be thick and not transparent; (4) it should be loose, not tight so that it describes any part of the body; (5) it should not be perfumed; (6) it should not resemble the clothing of men; (7) it should not resemble the dress of women from other religions; (8) it should not be a garment of fame and vanity.

Therefore, according to Al-Albani and based upon these conditions, the hijab is not purely referring to a head covering, as is widely assumed by many in the media, but refers to a complete covering of the body (excluding face and hands), as is also alluded to by Al-Hejin in his study of Muslim women (2012:53-54). With this in mind, Alia's dress in MCL 3 would not be considered Islamically acceptable to Al Albani and those who hold a similar opinion.

However, for the sake of argument and to take into consideration a wider sphere of Islamic positions, we will briefly examine Alia's head covering independently based upon the conditions mentioned above. In MCLs 1 and 5 she has nothing on her head, so these will be ignored for now, but when looking at MCLs 13, 15, 17, 22, 23 and 25, it is very obvious that although some part of hair is covered, a significant portion of it is also showing, which contravenes with the first condition set out by Al-Albani, which mentions that the area should

be covered fully. With the frequency of these occurrences, it is highly unlikely this was not by design on the part of the scriptwriters and/or producers, which subsequently poses the question, as to why they chose to represent the only female hijab wearing character in the sitcom in such a manner (i.e. with an Islamically unacceptable head covering) and their reasons for doing so will become more apparent over the duration of this section.

If we refer back to the concordance lines, on two occasions (MCLs 1 and 15) within the context of referring to Alia as a ‘good girl’, Khan mentions the term ‘praying’ and thus, it could be argued that Mr Khan’s positive behaviour towards Alia is at the very least partly motivated by his belief that she is a ‘good Muslim’, which he had explicitly stated previously (see section 7.3.4). However, when taking a closer look at the visuals, in both occasions, Alia’s actions are completely contradictory to his beliefs. In MCL 15, she is actually listening to music, as opposed to praying, with the stereo system visible in the background. Likewise in MCL 1, she is in fact reading a magazine, with the Quran strategically placed on the table next to her, in case her father appears. This is supported by her behaviour in the subsequent scene, which shows what happens when Mr Khan does arrive:



Figure 8.26: Changes in Alia’s behaviour as Mr Khan enters the room

As can be seen in the visual above, Alia radically changes her behaviour and appearance once she is aware that Mr Khan is approaching the room. This scene is an example of a commonly occurring theme across the two seasons, where Alia will radically change her appearance in front of her father and if we consider this together with her use of excessive makeup and incorrect manner of wearing the headscarf as mentioned above, it appears that the

scriptwriters are trying to imply that she has no desire to wear a hijab, but is purely doing this to appease her father, either due to him imposing it upon her or for a worldly gain, such as the example in MCL 25. It is assumed that this depiction of Alia is intended by the scriptwriters to be humorous, by further highlighting Khan's foolishness in falling for Alia's deception. However, an alternative interpretation is that this portrayal of Alia could be considered more sad than funny. We are never given any true insight into why she is doing what she is doing, as the scriptwriters have avoided going deep into her character, instead painting her as paying lip service to wearing the hijab in order to get her father's approval and her own way. Her character (at least for the first two series) is thus less sympathetic and well-rounded than her sister Shazia.¹²⁰

When considering that *Citizen Khan* aired on the BBC, it is also not far-fetched that the scriptwriters deliberately chose to highlight this notion that the hijab is imposed upon Alia, with Al-Hejin (2012:161) identifying that there was a 'general tendency in the BBC to represent the HIJAB as something MW [Muslim Women] are forced to wear.' The scene also depicts Alia pretending to read the Quran, where she was previously reading a magazine, thus implying that Muslim women such as Alia, who appear as being outwardly religious, only engage in acts of worship due to coercion and not due to them genuinely choosing to do so. This notion is most widely propagated by the media when it comes to the hijab, and in particular the veil (niqab). Bullock (2002:39) states that the 'received wisdom fails to recognize the possibility that some women may not experience the hijab as oppressive', as 'negative stereotyping has denied that Muslim women have agency, that they have autonomy, and even that they have any 'critical perspective' on their own situation.' On the other hand, Contractor (2012:95) provides an alternative interpretation from an 'Islamic Feminism'

¹²⁰ In the later series of *Citizen Khan*, Alia is revealed to be a fashion vlogger with thousands of followers, and gains a Caucasian boyfriend called Scab, who Mr Khan approves of. She also goes to university in Scotland, indicating that the writers do develop her character beyond the 'good girl' joke.

perspective, where ‘the feminist’s hijab thus shifts from being representative of a patriarchal ideology that oppresses the woman, to being representative of Muslim women’s agency, their value-systems and their struggles against oppression.’

However, this concept is also dismissed by portions of the media, with Al-Hejin (2012:174) describing a ‘false-consciousness’ where the media imply that Muslim women ‘think they are freely making the choice to wear the HIJAB “but when you look at it carefully” they are being manipulated by “fundamentalists”.’ Subsequently, this illustrates that although *Citizen Khan* is a comedy, discourses and stereotypes constructed by the media around Muslim women and fundamentalism can be recontextualised into other types of media, albeit in a completely different and subtle manner.

On a personal level, speaking as a Muslim who holds the view that from an Islamic standpoint Muslim women are obligated to wear the hijab, I find that the incorporation of characters such as Alia are far worse for the image of Muslim women than characters such as her sister Shazia, who do not wear it at all. The non-visibility of a hijab-wearing woman within *Citizen Khan* would still be a better proposition than the representation of one who wears it only in the presence of her father, which is all the more baffling, as Islamically a woman is not required to wear the hijab in front of immediate male family members, such as her father, brother(s), husband and son(s).

In MCL 22, Alia is wearing a plastic bag on her head and then goes on to refer to it as a waterproof hijab. By incorporating such scenes into the sitcom, it is not surprising that a number of complaints from British Muslims were raised to OFCOM about *Citizen Khan* (see section 1.1). Adil Ray tried to justify such complaints against Alia’s portrayal by stating that ‘he would get tens of emails from Muslims, Catholics and Jewish people saying their daughter also paid lip service to their religion’ (Conlan, 2013). Personally, when viewing the episodes as part of the study, I came across a number of scenes that directly mock acts of

worship such as the prayer and reading the Quran, which would be considered highly offensive to almost all Muslims regardless of their theoretical beliefs and which denomination they belong to. However, Ray (ibid) attempts to counter this argument by stating that if you believe your 'faith and religion is strong – a comedy show or whatever won't affect that...otherwise, it's a sign of weakness.' In my opinion, I believe this to be a quite simplistic argument and if practically implemented, it would allow people to indiscriminately offend any religion they please based on this premise.

If we reconsider the notion that Alia was wearing the hijab due to her fearing her father, then this theory could be rejected on the basis that Khan's wife and eldest daughter do not wear the hijab. Therefore, although Khan is not able to impose it in a literal sense, it could be argued that he does so through his indirect actions – i.e. by favouring those who do wear it. When taking into account the numerous extracts that have been analysed over the previous four chapters of analysis, it appears that Khan is 'blinded' by the hijab and therefore, cannot fathom Alia as being anything but a good girl, whereas Shazia is automatically dismissed by him possibly due to her not wearing a hijab.

However, on closer analysis of the two characters over the two seasons, Shazia's behaviour would be more befitting of what a Muslim or Pakistani father would possibly regard as a 'good girl' or good daughter (see Shaw 2000: 166-168), as Shazia does not wear extreme amounts of makeup when going out, doesn't go out late in the night and is about to get married. Conversely, Alia is always on her phone, wears an exaggerated amount of makeup and goes out in the middle of the night, as is the case in MCL22/23 where she is claiming to be attending an 'all night prayer meeting', with the imam coming to pick her up (see figure 8.24). Khan's idealised image of Alia, could also draw an insight into the gender expectations of Pakistani fathers, with Shaw (ibid.) stating that Pakistani 'parents show far greater

leniency towards their sons than towards their daughters’ and that a ‘man’s own wife, sisters, daughters and other close kin are regarded as and expected to be pure and chaste’ (ibid:169).

8.5 Conclusion

This chapter began by exploring language usage around male related terms (*man, men, boy(s)*) within the corpus, where it was observed that Mr Khan uses these terms to emphasise his manhood, as well as simultaneously diminishing that of the younger male characters (Amjad and Sajid) within the sitcom by either attributing effeminate features to them or implying that they were not a fully developed man by referring to them as a ‘boy’. Khan also drew upon constructions of hegemonic masculinity by using phrases such as ‘what a man’ and ‘fight like a man’, with references to masculine strength also appearing later in the analysis in the form of Amjad’s ability to produce babies.

Khan referring to himself as the ‘man of the house’ also suggested a leaning towards a patriarchal order, which placed him firmly at the head of the household. Although there was an instance within the corpus, where Khan displayed a contradictory ideology by stating that ‘women were as independent as men’, which is not particularly surprising considering his ability to consistently contradict himself. Khan’s usage of the term ‘womens’ was not only used by the scriptwriters to highlight the foreignness of his character but also as a means for Khan to be directly insulting towards women and in one instance referring to them as ‘the womens’, which can not only be seen as extremely divisive but also as a means to over-generalise the behaviour of a large social group.

The chapter concluded with a multimodal analysis that looked at usage of the phrase ‘good girl’ by analysing the visual stills which accompanied each of the utterances found within the concordance lines of the corpus. On initial analysis of the MCLs, it was observed that Khan’s motivations in referring to Alia as a ‘good girl’ were partly prompted by her apparent

observance of the hijab and performance of acts of worship. However, a closer visual examination of some of the scenes, found a re-emergence of the negative discourse prosody around the hijab, which had been previously identified on a textual level by Al-Hejin (2012). Moreover, the analysis provided an insight into the gendered expectations of Khan, in regards to his daughters, as his belief that Alia was a ‘good Muslim’, would subsequently imply that she was ‘pure and chaste’, resulting in her fulfilling the requirements imposed upon her by her culture.

In sum, the language usage around the gender related terms within this chapter, provided some interesting areas of discussion at points and assisted in further elaborating previous points of discussion from preceding chapters. However, they did not always offer much insight into the construction of gender identities within the sitcom. Therefore, it needs to be remembered that when using methods such as corpus analysis to increase the objectivity of the study, the researcher is restricted to the corpus and the words identified through corpus analytical techniques and thus, their ability to cherry-pick data which would potentially be of more interest is restricted. Additionally, it should be noted that discussions around gender related topics, were present in other areas of the analysis – i.e. the issue of forced marriages came up when analysing *Pakistani*, and instances such as these highlight that when employing a corpus driven approach, it is possible to unearth unexpected fields of enquiry around unrelated terms.

9. Conclusion

9.1 Introduction

In this concluding chapter of the thesis, I begin by providing a summary of the main findings of the research in relation to the research questions. This is followed by a critical analysis of the thesis, which identifies the strengths of the study and its implications on the current body of literature, as well as examining the limitations of the study. The scope for future research around fields of research related to this study are then highlighted, leading onto the final section in the chapter, which provides my concluding remarks in relation to the thesis as a whole.

9.2 Summary of the Findings

In this section, a summary of the findings of the research will be provided. This section in most theses is normally covered by looking at each research question individually, with each of the research questions normally correlating with a chapter of analysis from the thesis. However, in this instance, the findings in relation to the three research questions I had proposed are covered across all the four chapters of analysis. Thus, when answering the research questions, it is possible that certain themes may have merged across a number of chapters.

To recap, the three proposed research questions were as follows:

- RQ1. a) What are the most salient aspects of identity in Citizen Khan, and b) how can a corpus driven analysis identify them?
- RQ2. a) How are the identities of Muslim characters constructed within the BBC sitcom Citizen Khan, and b) how can such constructions be explained in terms of reference to wider social context?

- RQ3. When considering language use in a sitcom, how can different analytical approaches be combined in order to answer RQ2 (e.g. concordance analysis, conversation analysis, discourse analysis, multimodal analysis)?

It was important to firstly identify which specific aspects of their identity would be investigated and address RQ1 by determining how a corpus driven analysis could achieve this. By comparing the CK corpus with the BNC Spoken Sampler corpus using a semantic keyness analysis, Wmatrix was able to identify key semantic categories within the corpus. Upon closer inspection of these categories, various words were identified which were related to aspects of the characters' identities. These words were consequently rearranged into themes and topics (see section 4.7) centred around identity, which led to the formation of the four chapters of analysis and subsequently, the four strands of identity that were to be the focus of the analysis, namely religion, nationality, family and gender. I have thus demonstrated that through the use of techniques in corpus software, the prevalent and salient facets of identity within sitcoms scripts can be more objectively identified than what had been done in previous sitcom studies.

When addressing RQ2, terms related to religion¹²¹ in the corpus were examined in order to determine how the characters' religious identity was constructed within the sitcom. The religious labels *Islam* and *Muslim(s)*, found that Mr Khan used these terms to reinforce the strength of his own religious identity¹²², as well as belittle the religious commitment of the other characters.¹²³ Moreover, further examination of the concordance lines around the terms related to religion suggested that two outwardly appearing Muslim characters, Mr Khan and Alia¹²⁴ had been constructed comedically as strategically emphasising their religious identities in order to divert attention from aspects of their characters which could be

¹²¹ Asalaam Alaikum, Waleikum Asalaam, Islam, Muslim(s), God, Allah, mosque, pray(-ing,er(s),ed)

¹²² Referring to himself as the 'perfect embodiment of a Muslim man' – see section 5.3.2

¹²³ Negative usage of 'proper Muslim' and 'good Muslim' - see section 5.3.2

¹²⁴ Alia's lack of religious commitment is discussed further in see section 8.4.3.1

interpreted as flawed. Aspects of Islam were sometimes mis-represented for comedic purposes in the sitcom. The writers acknowledged Islamophobia in the UK by sometimes representing Mr Khan as being prejudiced against people with red hair in ways that parodied Islamophobic discourse.

The study also investigated the construction of the characters' national identity by looking at terms¹²⁵ related to nationality and location. The analysis identified that Mr Khan was proud of his Pakistani identity and that the achievements of the Pakistani cricket team were interconnected with that sense of pride. However, in order to construct Khan as a fool, the scriptwriters employed a number of negative stereotypes associated with Pakistanis¹²⁶, and in the broader sense, Muslims in general. The jibes towards Pakistanis were subtle in general, with Khan normally constructing them within a positive framework. However, Khan was more direct in his insulting and prejudicial behaviour when referring to Indians, and to a lesser extent Eastern Europeans. The analysis also observed that despite Khan's strong Pakistani identity, his British and Muslim identities were also at times prominent and strongly inter-related to each other. This hybrid identity was exploited as a source of humour across the two seasons, for example, with Khan appearing to be confused about the source of various cultural phenomena.¹²⁷

When investigating how familial identities were constructed within the show by examining familial terms¹²⁸, the findings highlighted how the dynamics of the Khans' familial relationships were visible through the concordance analysis of these terms. For instance, it was very apparent from the data that Khan clearly favoured his daughter Alia over her sister Shazia. Likewise, the findings also indicated that Shazia had a much stronger and more

¹²⁵ Pakistan, Pakistani(s), British, Indian, Indian(s)

¹²⁶ Miserliness, forced marriages, beards, hairy women – see section 6.3

¹²⁷ E.g. Attending the mosque and praying to Allah makes a person British, the phrase 'all snuggly buggly' is commonly used by Pakistanis.

¹²⁸ Mr/Mrs Khan, Alia, Shazia, Amjad, Naani, dad, father, papaji, mum, mother, son, daughter, beti, wedding, husband, wife

loving relationship with her mother, as opposed to her father. Insight was provided into Mr and Mrs Khan's marital relationship, where despite him being constructed as foolish, he was still referred to in a respectful manner by his wife. The sitcom thus often drew on common tropes such as the bungling husband, afraid to upset his wife, or the husband who no longer finds his wife attractive.

In addition to this, the analysis found that family identity intersected with Pakistani identity, with concepts like ability to produce sons, respect for parents and the father as the 'head' of the household oriented to in the characters' speech. More specifically, Khan was shown as being frustrated about his inability to produce male offspring, while his wife approvingly referred to the potential procreational ability of Shazia's fiancé, Amjad. Instances were identified within the chapter where Khan would flout Grice's (1975) *Maxim of Quantity*, by using expressions such as *your father, Mr Khan* or *your husband, Mr Khan* when referring to himself. The fact that we never learn the first names of Mr and Mrs Khan indexes how elder members of Pakistani households are often not known to people outside the house or even to their children. Part of the humour around Mr Khan was in terms of him attempting to construct himself as the patriarch of his family, as well as claiming a related role as a 'community leader'.

The construction of the characters' gender identities were explored by looking at gendered terms¹²⁹. The analysis indicated that Khan's views on gender were male-centred, by drawing upon constructions of hegemonic masculinity and patriarchal order with him as the 'man of the house'. Likewise, Khan was particularly insulting when expressing his views about women, using generalisations when referring to them.

¹²⁹ Man, men, boy(s), woman, women(s), lady, ladies, girl(s)

When addressing RQ2b, a very visible element of context that was visible across all facets of the characters' identities, was the religious context embedded into the script. Therefore, despite the religious adherence of characters such as Khan and Alia being questioned, it could be said that the Islamic identity of all the characters was still very visible across both seasons, through their continuous referencing towards it. This is further supported by the presence of the S9 USAS category (Religion and the supernatural) having the highest log-likelihood score within the corpus.¹³⁰

Moreover, another layer of context which was also very prominent when analysing the construction of the characters' identities was that of the Pakistani culture. Only through understanding the text from the perspective of their cultural background allowed for certain portions of the script to hold more relevance. For example, Khan bemoaning his lack of a son could only be fully comprehended when contextualised, as it allowed me to understand the stigma attached to Pakistani men who were unable to produce male offspring.

A third layer of context that needed to be considered was that of the sitcom genre itself and more specifically British sitcoms. When engaging the concordance lines based upon this layer of context, I was able to draw upon intertextual references to other sitcoms, as well as identify similarities in characterisation between *Citizen Khan* and other similar sitcoms. These similarities highlighted the out-dated nature of *Citizen Khan*, with Khan's character especially resembling those of sitcom characters from the 1970s and 1980s, a decision which could be seen as both constructing Khan as old-fashioned but also making him a familiar character to viewers, especially older ones.¹³¹ In a similar way intertextual references to programmes such as the Dad's Army within the script, also alluded to the out-dated nature of

¹³⁰ This is excluding the Z99 category, which consisted of unmatched terms.

¹³¹ E.g. Al Bundy (80s), Alf Garnett (60s), Ali Nadeem (70s), George Roper (70s)

Khan's persona and helped to position *Citizen Khan* as part of the canon of British situation comedy.

Additionally, in relation to the genre of the programme itself (sitcom), it was not always easy to interpret the speech and behaviour of the characters within the wider societal context, as it still needed to be restrained to the parameters of a 'comedy'. Therefore, instances around the programme which caused controversy, such as the mocking of the Muslim prayer, were able to be recontextualised from being something likely to insult Muslims to merely being a joke within a show, thus implying that nobody is accountable for it. However, this could be viewed as especially problematic, as due to these blurred lines between humour and mockery, a number of British Muslims felt the need to air their grievances with Ofcom¹³² and the BBC.¹³³

In addressing RQ3 and calling upon some of the principles of Conversation Analysis, it was identified that the phrases *Asalaam Alaikum* and *Waleikum Asalaam* formed an adjacency pair, with the latter being the 'preferred response' to the former. Furthermore, concordance analysis around these two phrases showed that the 'dispreferred response' *hello* was used by the central character, Mr Khan, as a means of 'othering' two white Muslim characters.

In further addressing RQ3, multimodal concordance lines were used to provide a more comprehensive analysis when looking at the construction of gender identities around the phrase *good girl*. After engaging both the text, as well as the visuals, there was evidence to suggest that Khan's usage of this phrase when referring to Alia was at least partly motivated by his belief that she was a good Muslim. However, upon closer analysis, it was evident that Alia was manipulating Mr Khan, and in reality, she was merely paying lip-service to the hijab and her 'religious' persona.

¹³² <https://www.theguardian.com/media/2012/aug/30/ofcom-investigate-bbc-citizen-khan>

¹³³ <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/entertainment-arts-19395994>

From the preceding discussion, it is evident that the thesis addressed RQ1 by illustrating how salient aspects of the character's identities were identified through a corpus driven analysis. However, the findings also highlighted that aspects of the characters' identities were not always constructed around terms related to that specific identity. For example, the topic of forced marriages came to light in the nationality chapter, when analysing the term *Pakistani*, as opposed to the family chapter when looking at *wedding* or the gender chapter when looking at *women*. Similarly, the construction of Alia's religious identity within the show was most visible when carrying out the multimodal analysis around the phrase *good girl*, but was barely visible within the religion chapter.

The final point I would like to touch upon when summarising the findings is to reflect upon the show in relation to its representation of Islam and Muslims, as this was the initial overarching aim of the research. Firstly, in relation to my own personal opinion, I feel that as a Muslim there are many aspects of the sitcom which I personally find offensive or in bad taste and it is very likely that my own personal objections with the show are likely to resonate with many of the complainants. Despite these concerns, it should still be taken into consideration that *Citizen Khan* is a comedy and was designed to be humorous and that humour can be extremely subjective at times. Therefore, it is important to bear in mind that the character of Mr Khan was not constructed to be the 'typical Muslim', but rather a foolish figure to be laughed at. However, due to the extreme lack of representation of British Muslims within the media, his character has been afforded more importance than those of a regular sitcom character.

In closing, when analysing *Citizen Khan* from a wider societal context, I believe that overall the show has more than likely had a positive impact on the representation of Islam and Muslim within Britain. Firstly, it provides the British public with an opportunity to view British Muslims in a normalised context, away from their usual discursive position within the

media which is centred around terrorism and extremism.¹³⁴ Additionally, with many of the episodes being centred around everyday instances, which are likely to occur in the lives of most of the British public, it allows for the lives and behaviour of the characters to become relatable to the audience, as well as let them draw upon similarities between the characters and themselves and people they may know. However, it is worth noting that these positives are only being drawn upon due to the lack of programmes on mainstream British television that have lead Muslim characters or Muslim families and despite the overarching positives of *Citizen Khan* on a societal level, it still reinforces a number of negative stereotypes around Muslims and Pakistanis. In terms of enabling more diverse and honest media representations of Muslims, *Citizen Khan* could be seen as taking a step in the right direction, but does not indicate the end of the journey by any extent.

9.3 Strengths of the Study

The strength of any doctoral thesis is its ability to be original and add to the current body of literature and I feel that this thesis has been able to achieve that in a number of different ways. Firstly, from the current literature investigating media representations of Islam/Muslims (MROIM), this study is the first that has looked at representations of Muslims within fictional television from a linguistic standpoint, and it is the first to have used a British fictional programme. Additionally, the study provides a look at representations of Muslims away from discourses associated with violence, terrorism and extremism and analyses Muslims them within a ‘normalised’ setting, which has not been found in most studies conducted in the West post-9/11.¹³⁵

¹³⁴ See Baker et al. 2013a.

¹³⁵ Even studies such as Malcolm et al. (2010) based around a cricket incident, made reference to violence and Islamophobia.

Additionally, this thesis adds to the current body of literature examining fictional programmes. From a corpus perspective, this is the first study I know that has used concordance lines as the basis of the multimodal analysis when looking at fictional television. Previous studies, such as Bednarek (2010) may have used both corpus and multimodal analysis within their study, but they were separate from one another. Additionally, despite the abundance of studies looking at sitcoms, there has been no in-depth corpus-based study of any British sitcoms.¹³⁶ Moreover, from an ethnic viewpoint, there has been no in-depth study looking at the representations of characters from the Indian subcontinent within fictional programming.

From a methodological perspective, the combination of corpus analysis with a variety of other methodologies has not been previously done in such a manner. I do not know of any instances where both a conversation analysis and visual analysis have been used within a single study when analysing a corpus. Moreover, the framework of the study was also unique in the manner in which a semantic analysis of the corpus determined the formation of the analysis chapters and consequently, the aspects of identity that were most salient. This use of semantic keyness to identify the main aspects of identity could be employed in studies based on similar datasets, whereas my combination of CL, CDA, multimodal analysis and CA could also be employed in the analysis of sitcom or other fictional scripts used in television or film. It is hoped then, that the framework I have developed, can be adopted or adapted further, by other researchers.

Aside from the originality of the research, another major strength of this research was the input I was able to bring in as a Muslim researcher. Due to my knowledge of some of the fundamentals of the religion, I was able to bring to light aspects of the script that had

¹³⁶ Mcenery (2006) looked at instances of swearing from one episode of *Steptoe and Son* and one episode of *Till Death Us Do Part*.

religious undertones, which may not have been immediately obvious to a non-Muslim researcher, especially one who had limited information about Islam. For example, Khan's usage of *hello* when responding to Dave's Islamic greeting may have been noticeable as a 'running gag' by some researchers, but the religious undertones surrounding it may not have been as obvious.

9.4 Limitations of the Study

It must be acknowledged that there will always be certain limitations to a study, which is even more apparent when working within the defined parameters of a doctoral thesis. As a corpus driven method was employed in the study, it restricted the freedom I could employ as a researcher in pursuing preferred areas of discussion. A further shortcoming of the study was the size of the corpus. The CK corpus consisted of approximately 40,000 words, which is relatively small when compared to similar studies.¹³⁷ Due to this limited data set, there were very few occurrences of each term investigated and thus, it wasn't feasible to look at collocations. However, this coincidentally ended up also becoming a positive aspect of the research, as these fewer instances enabled me to carry out a more in-depth analysis around each search term.

Another aspect of the corpus analysis, which could also be deemed as problematic was the use of the BNC Spoken Sampler corpus as a reference corpus. As the speech within *Citizen Khan* was scripted, it could be argued that although it is designed to resemble naturally occurring language, it is still not natural speech. However, as there is no current reference corpus of sitcom speech, it was not feasible to use any other corpus apart from this one. Likewise, if a corpus from another study that looked at sitcoms had been used, it would have also been problematic, as those studies looked at American sitcoms and words used in

¹³⁷ Baker(2005) – 310, 316 words, Bednarek (2010) - 1.3 million words, Quaglio (2009) – 604, 767 words.

American English would have been flagged up through the keyness analysis. The BNC Spoken Sampler corpus is the most suitable for such a study, but it is not a perfect corpus. However, even a corpus of sitcom speech could present problems, perhaps resulting in a partly skewed analysis based on comparisons with idiosyncratic language found in other sitcoms.

A further limitation of the research was that when referencing Pakistani culture, most past research that had looked at Pakistanis in Britain is outdated –i.e. Anwar’s work is from the 1970s and 1980s. Even the more contemporary study by Shaw is still from the early 2000s, and is now well over 15 years old. Therefore, as will be discussed in the next section there is a need for newer studies to be conducted around this community and other ethnic minorities in Britain, who are predominantly Muslims.

In relation to the BBC, I was unable to obtain any information from them regarding aspects of their decision making around the sitcom. In particular, I would have liked to have known why they decided to commission the sitcom,¹³⁸ in spite of the criticism the show received, as this would have provided further contextual information around the textual analysis. Furthermore, further contextualisation could have been provided by getting feedback from the writers as to their thoughts on the criticism, as well as their reasoning behind incorporating some of the more controversial aspects of the script. Additionally, further insight could have been provided by them, as to whether the criticism resulted in them adapting their scripts for the latter seasons of the show. As this study only looked at data from the initial two seasons, it should also be noted that this study doesn’t therefore provide a complete picture as to how these characters may have evolved in the three subsequent seasons, which were not a part of this study.

¹³⁸ The show has been commissioned a further four times at the time of writing (April 2017)

To conclude, I feel it necessary to stress to the reader that in essence this study is a corpus driven analysis and that although it draws upon various other methodologies such as discourse, conversation and multimodal analysis, it is not restricted to the tighter frameworks that may be found in these approaches. Therefore, it should be recognised that language usage around frequently occurring words within the relevant semantic categories were the focus of the analysis and these methodologies were only called upon if the examination of the concordance lines required it necessary, or that the analysis was relevant to the construction of identity within the sitcom.

Thus, even if there were instances in the script, which may have contained elements related to conversation analysis such as turn-taking or repair strategies, they may have been overlooked. Likewise, the analysis around the characters' names for examples, may have warranted an investigation of nominalisation within a purely CDA study, but in this instance, it was not of relevance to the overarching aims of the thesis.

9.5 Scope for Further Research

As discussed in 9.3, this study has filled an existing research gap within a number of areas of academic and corpus enquiry. However, there is still scope for further research within these areas, as well as potential to build upon this existing study, as will be discussed below.

In relation to Citizen Khan itself, from the time of data collection three further seasons of the series have now aired. This allows for the development and analysis of the CK corpus in the following ways:

- An expansion of the existing CK corpus by adding subcopora which encompasses the three new seasons.

- A comparison between the findings of this research and the analysis of the new seasons.
- A comparison with other TV sitcoms that draw upon humour from other religions (e.g. *Father Ted*, *The Vicar of Dibley*, etc.).
- Application of other corpus based analyses, such as comparison of frequency and keyness statistics across the five seasons.
- More detailed subjective analyses can be conducted which are no longer constrained to the parameters of this thesis – i.e. a more detailed visual analysis based upon observations formed during viewing of the episodes.

Moving away from the CK corpus, there is an opportunity to further delve into the analyses of MROIM within the medium of television. Muslims are becoming more and more visible within the mainstream television channels, either as individual characters within popular programmes¹³⁹ or in standalone programmes, with a Muslim reality television show entitled *Muslims Like Us* recently being broadcast on BBC Two.

Aside from television based studies, further research is required looking at MROIM on the internet. Since the inception of this thesis, it could be argued that the influence of the mainstream media (newspapers, television, etc.) has diminished and social media is now the dominant form of media. Websites and applications such as Twitter, YouTube, Facebook, Instagram, Snapchat, etc; are more widely accessed and utilised than newspapers¹⁴⁰ and in some instances television¹⁴¹ also and should thus be considered more research-worthy from those within the academic community. Additionally, from a CL perspective, as the data is available in its original form in an electronic format, the transcription and extraction of data would not prove to be as challenging as those from other forms of media.

¹³⁹ i.e. The Masood family in *Eastenders*.

¹⁴⁰ <https://www.theguardian.com/media/greenslade/2014/jun/25/ofcom-newspapers>

¹⁴¹ <http://www.latimes.com/entertainment/envelope/cotown/la-et-ct-you-tube-ad-spending-20160506-snap-story.html>

Additionally, as touched upon in the previous section, studies that have looked at Pakistanis within Britain are outdated and as there are now fourth generation Pakistani children in Britain, the dynamics of their community has changed significantly. Therefore, the need for current and up-to-date research is all the more pressing. Furthermore, as discussed within section 6.3, there is a need to analyse the attitudes of migrant groups in Britain towards one another, particularly opinions held by earlier migrants towards latter ones, as no such research currently exists.

9.6 Concluding Remarks

Based upon the strengths of the study discussed in 9.3, it is hoped that the implications of the study upon the current body of literature, as well as the methodologies employed within linguistic analysis would be vast. Firstly, it is desired that visual analysis as a supplementary method alongside concordance analysis in the form of MCLs is employed more frequently, as it has been under-utilised in previous corpus studies and in relation to television studies is almost non-existent. If used in a more objective manner, such a mixed-method approach can greatly assist in creating a more comprehensive and well-rounded analysis, particularly in the case of sitcoms.

Moreover, this study has highlighted the need for further analysis of Muslims and Islam, away from the context of terrorism and extremism. By carrying out further studies which look at media representations of Muslims within a normalised framework, it is hoped that to bridge the gap between the British public and everyday Muslims and help them differentiate between everyday Muslims (including those who are outwardly practising), with those who may have been radicalised and hold distorted views of the religion, which they use to justify their extremist, un-Islamic and immoral behaviour.

Finally, with modern Britain becoming ever more diverse, it is hoped that this study has highlighted the need for further ethnic-based programming, which will ultimately help in creating a greater sense of unity and understanding amongst the British public. The study has also identified the need for further and more up-to-date research around migrant populations within Britain, which will further aid in fostering such understanding.

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Appendix A: Frequency Data from CK Corpus

Search terms: Asalaam Alaikum, Waleikum Asalaam

Search Term	SEASON 1						SEASON 2						
	Ep1	Ep2	Ep3	Ep4	Ep5	Ep6	Ep1	Ep2	Ep3	Ep4	Ep5	Ep6	Ep7
Asalaam Alaikum	3	5	4	3	7	4	0	4	4	5	4	3	9
(Frequency per 1000 words)	0.89	1.56	1.16	0.91	2.21	1.17	0	1.43	1.29	1.75	1.42	0.93	3.08
TOTAL	26		Avg. Per Episode		4.3333		TOTAL	29		Avg. Per Episode		4.1429	
Waleikum Asalaam	1	3	2	1	1	4	0	1	1	5	1	3	1
(per 1000)	0.3	0.93	0.58	0.3	0.32	1.17	0	0.34	0.36	1.75	0.35	0.93	0.34
TOTAL	12		Avg. Per Episode		2		TOTAL	12		Avg. Per Episode		1.7143	

Table A1: Utterances of *Asalaam Alaikum* and *Waleikum Asalaam* per episode.

INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERS	Keyword One: Asalaam Alaikum				Keyword Two: Waleikum Asalaam			
	S1*	FP 1K **	S2***	FP 1K	S1	FP 1K	S2	FP 1K
Mr Khan	2	0.19	11	1.13	9	0.88	5	0.51
Mrs Khan	1	0.34						
Alia								
Shazia								
Amjad	1	0.74	2	2.3				
Dave	8	4.21						
New Dave			9	7.56				
Mrs Malik	1	1.91						
Mrs Bilal								
Naani					1	11.24		
Riaz	5	22.42	3	5.48			2	3.66
Omar	2	6.21	4	8.62			1	2.16

Table A2: Utterances of *Asalaam Alaikum* and *Waleikum Asalaam* per character.

Key:

* = Occurrences in Season One

** = Frequency per 1,000 words

*** = Occurrences in Season Two

Search terms: Muslim(s), Islam

Search Term	SEASON 1						SEASON 2						
	Ep1	Ep2	Ep3	Ep4	Ep5	Ep6	Ep1	Ep2	Ep3	Ep4	Ep5	Ep6	Ep7
Muslim(s)	4	4	10	5	7	3	19	3	2	4	2	6	7
(per 1000)	1.19	1.25	2.9	1.52	2.21	0.87	6.49	1.07	0.65	1.4	0.7	1.86	2.39
TOTAL	33		Avg. Per Episode		5.5		TOTAL	43		Avg. Per Episode		6.1429	
Islam	0	1	4	1	0	1	2	1	0	0	0	1	1
(per 1000)	0	0.31	1.16	0.3	0	0.29	0.68	0.36	0	0	0	0.31	0.34
TOTAL	7		Avg. Per Episode		1.1667		TOTAL	5		Avg. Per Episode		0.7143	

Table A3: Utterances of *Muslim(s)* and *Islam* per episode.

INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERS	Keyword One: Muslim(s)				Keyword Two: Islam			
	S1	FP1K	S2	FP1K	S1	FP1K	S2	FP1K
Mr Khan	27	2.63	31	3.17	5	0.49	3	0.31
Mrs Khan	2	0.69	3	1.21				
Alia					1	2.47		
Shazia								
Amjad			1	1.15				
Dave	3	1.58			1	0.53		
New Dave			2	1.68			1	0.84
Mrs Malik								
Mrs Bilal								
Naani								
Riaz			1	1.83				
Omar								

Table A4: Utterances of *Muslim(s)* and *Islam* per character.

Search terms: God, Allah, Mosque, Pray(-ing, -er(s), -ed)

Search Term	SEASON 1						SEASON 2						
	Ep1	Ep2	Ep3	Ep4	Ep5	Ep6	Ep1	Ep2	Ep3	Ep4	Ep5	Ep6	Ep7
God	14	10	9	16	10	14	3	6	14	3	12	6	11
(per 1000)	4.17	3.11	2.61	4.88	3.15	4.09	1.02	2.14	4.52	1.05	4.26	1.86	3.76
TOTAL	73		Avg. Per Episode		12.1667		TOTAL	55		Avg. Per Episode		7.8571	
Allah	0	1	0	9	2	0	2	2	0	1	0	1	0
(per 1000)	0	0.31	0	2.74	0.63	0	0.68	0.71	0	0.35	0	0.31	0
TOTAL	12		Avg. Per Episode		2		TOTAL	6		Avg. Per Episode		0.8571	
Mosque	32	11	8	8	6	9	1	14	3	4	12	13	3
(per 1000)	9.53	3.43	2.32	2.44	1.89	2.63	0.34	4.99	0.97	1.4	4.26	4.03	1.03
TOTAL	74		Avg. Per Episode		12.3333		TOTAL	50		Avg. Per Episode		7.1429	
Pray(-ing, er(s), -ed)	4	18	0	12	18	7	10	5	0	12	5	1	1
(per 1000)	1.19	5.6	0	3.65	5.68	2.04	3.41	1.78	0	4.2	1.76	0.31	0.34
TOTAL	59		Avg. Per Episode		9.8333		TOTAL	34		Avg. Per Episode		4.8571	

Table A5: Utterances of God, Allah, Mosque and Pray(-ing, -er(s), -ed) per episode.

INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERS	Keyword One: God				Keyword Two: Allah				Keyword Three: Mosque				Keyword Four: Pray(-ing, -er(s), -ed)			
	S1	FP 1K	S2	FP 1K	S1	FP 1K	S2	FP 1K	S1	FP 1K	S2	FP 1K	S1	FP 1K	S2	FP 1K
Mr Khan	32	3.12	40	4.1	7	0.68	4	0.41	37	3.6	30	3.07	38	3.7	21	2.15
Mrs Khan	22	7.57	8	3.22					9	3.09	2	0.81	11	3.78	1	0.4
Alia									3	7.41	1	1.8	2	4.94	2	3.6
Shazia	9	6.58	3	2.36					5	3.65	2	1.57	1	0.73		
Amjad	5	3.71			1	0.74			3	2.23	1	1.15	2	1.48		
Dave	3	1.58			1	0.53			14	7.38			3	1.58		
New Dave											7	5.88			4	3.36
Mrs Malik			1	4.08					2	3.82			1	1.91		
Mrs Bilal																
Naani																
Riaz			1	1.83			1	1.83	1	4.48	3	5.48			3	5.48
Omar	1	3.11					1	2.16					1	3.11	2	4.31

Table A6: Utterances of God, Allah, Mosque and Pray(-ing, -er(s), -ed) per character.

Search Terms: Pakistan, Pakistani(s), British, India, Indian(s)

Search Term	SEASON 1						SEASON 2						
	Ep1	Ep2	Ep3	Ep4	Ep5	Ep6	Ep1	Ep2	Ep3	Ep4	Ep5	Ep6	Ep7
Pakistan	2	6	4	3	24	3	3	10	1	3	3	3	2
(per 1000)	0.6	1.87	1.16	0.91	7.57	0.88	1.02	3.57	0.32	1.05	1.06	0.93	0.68
TOTAL	42		Avg. Per Episode		7		TOTAL	25			Avg. Per Episode		3.5714
Pakistani(s)	6	7	4	0	3	4	4	3	8	3	12	2	4
(per 1000)	1.79	2.18	1.16	0	0.95	1.17	1.36	1.07	2.58	1.05	4.25	0.62	1.36
TOTAL	24		Avg. Per Episode		4		TOTAL	36			Avg. Per Episode		5.1429
British	1	4	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1
(per 1000)	0.3	1.25	0.29	0.3	0.32	0.29	0.68	0.36	0.32	0.35	0.35	0.31	0.34
TOTAL	9		Avg. Per Episode		1.5		TOTAL	8			Avg. Per Episode		1.1429
India	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	16	0	1	0
(per 1000)	0	0	0.58	0	0	0	0	0.36	0	5.59	0	0.31	0
TOTAL	2		Avg. Per Episode		0.3333		TOTAL	18			Avg. Per Episode		2.5714
Indian(s)	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	3	2	2	0	0
(per 1000)	0.6	0	0	0	0	0.29	0	0	0.97	0.7	0.71	0	0
TOTAL	3		Avg. Per Episode		0.5		TOTAL	7			Avg. Per Episode		1

Table A7: Utterances of *Pakistan*, *Pakistani(s)*, *British*, *India* and *Indian(s)* per episode.

INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERS	Keyword One: Pakistan				Keyword Two: Pakistani(s)				Keyword Three: British				Keyword Four: India				Keyword Five: Indian(s)			
	S1	FP 1k	S2	FP 1k	S1	FP 1k	S2	FP 1k	S1	FP 1k	S2	FP 1k	S1	FP 1k	S2	FP 1k	S1	FP 1k	S2	FP 1k
Mr Khan	24	2.34	13	1.33	22	2.14	30	3.07	2	0.2	1	0.1	2	0.2	8	0.82	2	0.2	6	0.61
Mrs Khan	3	1.03	4	1.61											1	0.4				
Alia																				
Shazia			1	0.79											2	1.57				
Amjad					1	0.74			1	1.15					3	3.46				
Dave	1	0.53																		
New Dave							1	0.84							1	0.83				
Mrs Malik																	1	1.91		
Mrs Bilal																				
Naani																				
Riaz	5	22.42					1	1.83							2	3.66				
Omar					1	3.11														

Table A8: Utterances of *Pakistan*, *Pakistani(s)*, *British*, *India* and *Indian(s)* per character.

Search Terms: Mr Khan, Mrs Khan

Search Term	SEASON 1						SEASON 2						
	Ep1	Ep2	Ep3	Ep4	Ep5	Ep6	Ep1	Ep2	Ep3	Ep4	Ep5	Ep6	Ep7
Mr Khan	14	11	11	9	7	10	7	7	12	8	11	19	13
(per 1000)	4.17	3.43	3.19	2.74	2.21	2.92	2.39	2.5	3.88	2.8	3.9	5.88	4.45
TOTAL	62		Avg. Per Episode		10.3333		TOTAL	77		Avg. Per Episode		11	
Mrs Khan	3	5	3	2	6	11	2	2	2	2	4	5	1
(per 1000)	0.89	1.56	0.87	0.61	1.89	3.21	0.68	0.71	0.65	0.7	1.42	1.55	0.34
TOTAL	30		Avg. Per Episode		5		TOTAL	18		Avg. Per Episode		2.5714	

Table A9: Utterances of *Mr Khan* and *Mrs Khan* per episode.

INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERS	Keyword One: Mr Khan				Keyword Two: Mrs Khan			
	S1	FP1K	S2	FP1K	S1	FP1K	S2	FP1K
Mr Khan	17	1.66	17	1.74	18	1.75	9	0.92
Mrs Khan	5	1.72	2	0.81			2	0.81
Alia								
Shazia	1	0.73						
Amjad	1	0.74	1	1.15	3	2.23	1	1.15
Dave	21	11.1			4	2.11		
New Dave			31	26.05			1	0.84
Mrs Malik	4	7.63	1	4.08	3	7.63		
Mrs Bilal	5	64.94	4	54.8				
Naani								
Riaz	4	17.94	5	9.14				
Omar							1	2.16

Table A10: Utterances of *Mr Khan* and *Mrs Khan* per character.

Search Terms: Amjad, Shazia, Alia, Naani

Search Term	SEASON 1						SEASON 2						
	Ep1	Ep2	Ep3	Ep4	Ep5	Ep6	Ep1	Ep2	Ep3	Ep4	Ep5	Ep6	Ep7
Amjad	15	2	9	30	19	27	6	2	26	7	9	1	10
(per 1000)	4.47	0.62	2.61	9.15	5.99	7.89	2.05	0.71	8.4	2.45	3.19	0.31	3.42
TOTAL	102		Avg. Per Episode		17		TOTAL	61		Avg. Per Episode		8.7143	
Shazia	14	2	10	4	5	18	4	1	5	5	4	5	6
(per 1000)	4.17	0.62	2.9	1.22	1.58	5.26	1.37	0.36	1.62	1.75	1.42	1.55	2.05
TOTAL	53		Avg. Per Episode		8.8333		TOTAL	30		Avg. Per Episode		4.2857	
Alia	7	2	3	1	2	1	12	2	6	0	2	1	4
(per 1000)	2.08	0.62	0.87	0.3	0.63	0.29	4.1	0.71	1.94	0	0.71	0.31	1.37
TOTAL	16		Avg. Per Episode		2.6667		TOTAL	27		Avg. Per Episode		3.8571	
Naani	0	19	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	2
(per 1000)	0	5.92	0	0	0	0	0	1.78	0	0	0	0	0.68
TOTAL	19		Avg. Per Episode		3.1667		TOTAL	7		Avg. Per Episode		1	

Table A11: Utterances of Amjad, Shazia, Alia and Naani per episode.

INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERS	Keyword One: Amjad				Keyword Two: Shazia				Keyword Three: Alia				Keyword Four: Naani			
	S1	FP 1k	S2	FP 1k	S1	FP 1k	S2	FP 1k	S1	FP 1k	S2	FP 1k	S1	FP 1k	S2	FP 1k
Mr Khan	60	5.84	32	3.28	18	1.75	14	1.43	11	1.07	18	1.84	10	0.97	2	0.2
Mrs Khan	16	5.5	8	3.22	7	2.41	3	1.21	3	1.03	5	2.01	9	3.09	3	1.21
Alia			1	1.8							2	3.6	1	2.47		
Shazia	12	8.77	10	7.86					1	0.73					1	0.79
Amjad	1	0.74	2	2.3	25	18.55	9	10.37	1	0.74						
Dave	4	2.11			1	0.53										
New Dave			2	1.68												
Mrs Malik	8	15.27	5	20.41	2	3.82	2	8.16			1	4.08				
Mrs Bilal																
Naani																
Riaz																
Omar																

Table A12: Utterances of Amjad, Shazia, Alia and Naani per character.

Search Terms: Dad, Father, Papaji

Search Term	SEASON 1						SEASON 2						
	Ep1	Ep2	Ep3	Ep4	Ep5	Ep6	Ep1	Ep2	Ep3	Ep4	Ep5	Ep6	Ep7
Dad	4	6	7	7	4	5	5	4	4	1	7	3	4
(per 1000)	1.19	1.87	2.03	2.13	1.26	1.46	1.71	1.43	1.29	0.35	2.48	0.93	1.37
TOTAL	33		Avg. Per Episode		5.5		TOTAL	28		Avg. Per Episode		4	
Father	2	2	5	3	0	0	1	0	2	1	0	2	8
(per 1000)	0.6	0.62	1.45	0.91	0	0	0.34	0	0.65	0.35	0	0.62	2.74
TOTAL	12		Avg. Per Episode		2		TOTAL	14		Avg. Per Episode		2	
Papaji	1	1	4	2	0	1	5	2	2	2	4	3	4
(per 1000)	0.3	0.31	1.16	0.61	0	0.29	1.71	0.71	0.65	0.71	1.42	0.93	1.37
TOTAL	9		Avg. Per Episode		1.5		TOTAL	22		Avg. Per Episode		3.1429	

Table A13: Utterances of *Dad*, *Father* and *Papaji* per episode.

INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERS	Keyword One: Dad				Keyword Two: Father				Keyword Three: Papaji			
	S1	FP 1k	S2	FP 1k	S1	FP 1k	S2	FP 1k	S1	FP 1k	S2	FP 1k
Mr Khan					4	0.39	5	0.51				
Mrs Khan					7	2.41	6	2.42			2	0.81
Alia	6	14.81	1	2.47					9	2.22	19	46.91
Shazia	23	16.81	26	19.01	1	0.73						
Amjad	3	2.23	1	0.74	1	0.74						
Dave												
New Dave												
Mrs Malik												
Mrs Bilal												
Naani												
Riaz							1	1.83				
Omar												

Table A14: Utterances of *Dad*, *Father* and *Papaji* per character.

Search Terms: Mother, Mum

Search Term	SEASON 1						SEASON 2						
	Ep1	Ep2	Ep3	Ep4	Ep5	Ep6	Ep1	Ep2	Ep3	Ep4	Ep5	Ep6	Ep7
Mother	5	13	1	2	2	4	3	8	2	0	2	5	2
(per 1000)	1.49	4.05	0.29	0.61	0.63	1.17	1.02	2.85	0.65	0	0.71	1.55	0.68
TOTAL	27		Avg. Per Episode		4.5		TOTAL	22		Avg. Per Episode		3.1429	
Mum	4	1	2	3	1	4	4	0	0	3	2	7	4
(per 1000)	1.19	0.31	0.58	0.91	0.32	1.17	1.37	0	0	1.05	0.71	2.17	1.37
TOTAL	15		Avg. Per Episode		2.5		TOTAL	20		Avg. Per Episode		2.8571	

Table A15: Utterances of *Mother* and *Mum* per episode.

INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERS	Keyword One: Mother				Keyword Two: Mum			
	S1	FP 1k	S2	FP 1k	S1	FP 1k	S2	FP 1k
Mr Khan	20	1.95	15	1.54	1	0.1		
Mrs Khan	5	1.72	3	1.21				
Alia					1	2.47	1	1.8
Shazia	1	0.73			12	8.77	17	13.36
Amjad					1	0.74	1	1.15
Dave								
New Dave								
Mrs Malik	1	1.91	1	4.08			1	4.08
Mrs Bilal								
Naani								
Riaz								
Omar			1	2.16				

Table A16: Utterances of *Mother* and *Mum* per character.

Search Terms: Son, Daughter, Beti

Search Term	SEASON 1						SEASON 2						
	Ep1	Ep2	Ep3	Ep4	Ep5	Ep6	Ep1	Ep2	Ep3	Ep4	Ep5	Ep6	Ep7
Son	1	0	0	2	0	2	0	0	5	1	0	0	0
(per 1000)	0.3	0	0	0.61	0	0.58	0	0	1.62	0.35	0	0	0
TOTAL	5		Avg. Per Episode		0.8333		TOTAL	6		Avg. Per Episode		0.8571	
Daughter	6	0	1	1	1	9	4	0	3	2	0	0	1
(per 1000)	1.79	0	0.29	0.3	0.32	2.63	1.37	0	0.97	0.7	0	0	0.34
TOTAL	18		Avg. Per Episode		3		TOTAL	10		Avg. Per Episode		1.4286	
Beti	3	0	1	1	0	5	1	1	1	2	2	3	2
(per 1000)	0.98	0	0.29	0.3	0	1.46	0.34	0.36	0.32	0.7	0.71	0.93	0.68
TOTAL	10		Avg. Per Episode		1.6667		TOTAL	12		Avg. Per Episode		1.7143	

Table A17: Utterances of *Son*, *Daughter* and *Beti* per episode.

INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERS	Keyword One: Son				Keyword Two: Daughter				Keyword Three: Beti			
	S1	FP 1k	S2	FP 1k	S1	FP 1k	S2	FP 1k	S1	FP 1k	S2	FP 1k
Mr Khan	2	0.19	5	0.51	11	1.07	8	0.82	5	0.49	8	0.82
Mrs Khan	1	0.34	1	0.40	4	1.38			5	1.72	3	1.21
Alia							1	1.80				
Shazia					1	0.73						
Amjad							1	1.15				
Dave	1	0.53			1	0.53						
New Dave												
Mrs Malik	1	1.91										
Mrs Bilal												
Naani												
Riaz												
Omar												

Table A18: Utterances of *Son*, *Daughter* and *Beti* per character.

Search Terms: Wedding, Husband, Wife

Search Term	SEASON 1						SEASON 2						
	Ep1	Ep2	Ep3	Ep4	Ep5	Ep6	Ep1	Ep2	Ep3	Ep4	Ep5	Ep6	Ep7
Wedding	22	1	1	3	0	19	6	0	0	0	0	0	0
(per 1000)	6.55	0.31	0.29	0.91	0	5.55	2.05	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	46		Avg. Per Episode		7.6667		TOTAL	6		Avg. Per Episode		0.8571	
Husband	3	0	2	3	9	2	1	0	2	2	0	1	0
(per 1000)	0.89	0	0.58	0.91	2.84	0.58	0.34	0	0.65	0.7	0	0.31	0
TOTAL	19		Avg. Per Episode		3.1667		TOTAL	6		Avg. Per Episode		0.8571	
Wife	2	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	2	3	4	6	0
(per 1000)	0.6	0	0	0.3	0.32	0.29	0	0	0.65	1.05	1.42	1.86	0
TOTAL	5		Avg. Per Episode		0.8333		TOTAL	15		Avg. Per Episode		2.1429	

Table A19: Utterances of *Wedding*, *Husband* and *Wife* per episode.

INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERS	Keyword One: Wedding				Keyword Two: Husband				Keyword Three: Wife			
	S1	FP 1k	S2	FP 1k	S1	FP 1k	S2	FP 1k	S1	FP 1k	S2	FP 1k
Mr Khan	27	2.63			6	0.58	2	0.2	3	0.29	7	0.72
Mrs Khan	13	4.47	2	0.81	9	3.09	3	1.21	1	0.34		
Alia												
Shazia	3	2.19	2	1.57	2	1.46						
Amjad	1	0.74	1	1.15	1	0.74						
Dave												
New Dave												
Mrs Malik	1	1.91	1	4.08								
Mrs Bilal											1	13.7
Naani												
Riaz											2	3.66
Omar											1	2.16

Table A20: Utterances of *Wedding*, *Husband* and *Wife* per character.

Search Terms: Man, Men, Boy(s)

Search Term	SEASON 1						SEASON 2						
	Ep1	Ep2	Ep3	Ep4	Ep5	Ep6	Ep1	Ep2	Ep3	Ep4	Ep5	Ep6	Ep7
Man	2	1	2	8	10	5	4	9	4	6	8	9	1
(per 1000)	0.6	0.31	0.58	2.44	3.15	1.46	1.37	3.21	1.29	2.1	2.84	2.79	0.34
TOTAL	28		Avg. Per Episode		4.6667		TOTAL	41		Avg. Per Episode		5.8571	
Men	0	1	0	0	1	2	1	4	3	0	6	2	1
(per 1000)	0	0.31	0	0	0.32	0.58	0.34	1.43	0.97	0	2.13	0.62	0.34
TOTAL	4		Avg. Per Episode		0.6667		TOTAL	17		Avg. Per Episode		2.4286	
Boy(s)	1	0	9	5	7	6	2	1	0	1	1	1	2
(per 1000)	0.3	0	2.61	1.52	2.21	1.76	0.68	0.36	0	0.35	0.35	0.31	0.68
TOTAL	28		Avg. Per Episode		4.6667		TOTAL	8		Avg. Per Episode		1.1429	

Table A21: Utterances of *Man*, *Men* and *Boy(s)* per episode.

INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERS	Keyword One: Man				Keyword Two: Men				Keyword Three: Boy(s)			
	S1	FP 1K	S2	FP1K	S1	FP 1K	S2	FP1K	S1	FP 1K	S2	FP1K
Mr Khan	20	1.95	21	2.15	2	0.19	8	0.82	19	1.85	6	0.61
Mrs Khan	2	0.69	8	3.22	1	0.34			2	0.69		
Alia			2	3.6								
Shazia	1	0.73	1	0.79			1	0.79	2	1.46	2	1.57
Amjad					1	0.74						
Dave	1	0.53							1	0.53		
New Dave							2	1.68				
Mrs Malik									2	3.82		
Mrs Bilal												
Naani			1	14.71								
Riaz	2	8.97	4	7.31			1	1.83	1	4.48		
Omar	1	3.11	1	2.16							1	2.16

Table A22: Utterances of *Man*, *Men* and *Boy(s)* per character.

Search Terms: Woman, Women(s), Girl(s), Lady(-ies)

Search Term	SEASON 1						SEASON 2						
	Ep1	Ep2	Ep3	Ep4	Ep5	Ep6	Ep1	Ep2	Ep3	Ep4	Ep5	Ep6	Ep7
Woman	2	3	0	5	1	2	0	0	3	1	6	2	1
(per 1000)	0.6	0.93	0	1.52	0.32	0.58	0	0	0.97	0.35	2.13	0.62	0.34
TOTAL	13		Avg. Per Episode		2.1667		TOTAL	13		Avg. Per Episode		1.8571	
Women(s)	1	0	0	0	5	3	2	1	1	1	5	4	1
(per 1000)	0.3	0	0	0	1.58	0.87	0.68	0.36	0.32	0.35	1.77	1.24	0.34
TOTAL	9		Avg. Per Episode		1.5		TOTAL	15		Avg. Per Episode		2.1429	
Girl(s)	5	2	1	2	0	2	4	3	0	0	4	1	2
(per 1000)	1.49	0.62	0.29	0.6	0	0.58	1.36	1.07	0	0	1.42	0.31	0.68
TOTAL	12		Avg. Per Episode		2		TOTAL	14		Avg. Per Episode		2	
Lady(-ies)	0	7	2	1	5	1	1	6	0	0	0	3	0
(per 1000)	0	2.18	0.58	0.3	1.58	0.29	0.34	2.14	0	0	0	0.93	0
TOTAL	16		Avg. Per Episode		2.6667		TOTAL	10		Avg. Per Episode		1.4286	

Table A23: Utterances of *Woman*, *Women(s)*, *Girl(s)* and *Lady(-ies)* per episode.

INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERS	Keyword One: Woman				Keyword Two: Women(s)				Keyword Three: Girl(s)				Keyword Four: Lady(-ies)			
	S1	FP 1K	S2	FP 1K	S1	FP 1K	S2	FP 1K	S1	FP 1K	S2	FP1K	S1	FP 1K	S2	FP1 K
Mr Khan	9	0.88	8	0.82	6	0.58	5	0.51	7	0.68	10	1.02	9	0.88	6	0.61
Mrs Khan	2	0.69			3	1.03	1	0.4	2	0.69	1	0.4	5	1.72		
Alia															2	3.6
Shazia							1	0.79							2	1.57
Amjad			1	1.15					1	0.74						
Dave													2	1.05		
New Dave			1	0.84			3	2.52								
Mrs Malik									2	3.82						
Mrs Bilal																
Naani																
Riaz	2	8.97					1	1.83								
Omar			2	4.31			1	2.16								

Table A24: Utterances of *Woman*, *Women(s)*, *Girl(s)* and *Lady(-ies)* per character.