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**A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS ON THEMES,
(DE)LEGITIMATION AND IDEOLOGY IN THE KURDISH
GLOBE NEWSPAPER**



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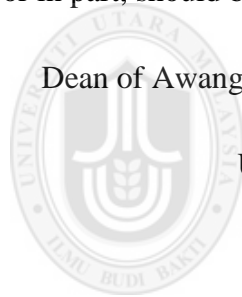
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Abstrak

Bahasa mencerminkan pengaruh kuasa sosio-politik di dalam penghasilan berita. Bahasa dipenuhi dengan nilai-nilai positif/negatif yang menyetengahkan konsep ideologi yang digambarkan oleh (nyah)legitimasi kuasa. Konsep (nyah)legitimasi adalah berdasarkan penghujahan sama ada mewajarkan atau menyanggah amalan sosio-politik yang terdapat dalam sektor media Iraq. Meskipun terdapat banyak kajian mengenai proses (nyah)legitimasi dalam wacana akhbar, namun struktur linguistik yang mendasari proses ini tetap sukar untuk difahami. Oleh itu, kajian ini bertujuan mengenal pasti struktur linguistik yang digunakan untuk (menyah)legitimasi amalan sosio-politik dan mendedahkan ideologi tersembunyi dalam wacana akhbar. Kajian analisis wacana kritis (CDA) ini menggunakan pendekatan hubungan dialektik Fairclough (1995a). Data kajian ialah berita mengenai peristiwa pengunduran Angkatan Tentera Amerika (AMF) dari Iraq, yang diterbitkan dalam akhbar berbahasa Inggeris Iraq, iaitu *The Kurdish Globe (KG)*. Sejumlah enam berita keluaran Disember 2011 dikumpul dan disusun dalam bentuk petikan analisis. Linguistik Sistem Fungsional (SFL) juga digunakan untuk menganalisis struktur linguistik kategori (nyah)legitimasi yang dikenal pasti melalui model van Leeuwen. Kajian ini menyetengahkan tema baru berkaitan peristiwa yang dikaji. Selain itu, kajian ini mendedahkan pengaruh amalan politik dan ideologi terhadap penghasilan berita melalui bahasa, yang digunakan untuk menyahlegitimasi peristiwa yang dikaji berbanding dengan mengesahkannya. Kajian ini juga mengenal pasti peranan kata ganti nama diri dan posesif sebagai satu strategi ideologi dalam membezakan kumpulan-kumpulan sosial yang terlibat dalam peristiwa tersebut. Kajian ini memaparkan bahawa gambaran peristiwa dan keputusan politik dalam wacana akhbar ditentukan oleh konteks dan ideologi organisasi-organisasi media. Dapatan kajian ini mencerminkan bahawa wacana akhbar mempunyai signifikan dalam membentuk pandangan awam yang cenderung kepada autoriti yang berkuasa penuh. Akhir sekali, kajian ini mengkonsepsikan satu kerangka untuk memahami perbandingan berasaskan penghujahan yang dilakukan dalam satu wacana dan lingkungan konteks yang sama.

Keywords: Analisis wacana kritis, (Nyah)legitimasi, Ideologi, Iraq, Wacana akhbar

Abstract

Language reflects the influence of socio-political powers on news production. It is loaded with positive/negative values that highlight ideological concepts represented by (de)legitimation. The concept of (de)legitimation is based on argumentation that either justifies or refutes socio-political practices employed in the Iraqi media sector. Though there are plenty of studies on the (de)legitimation process in newspaper discourse, the linguistic structures underlying this process remain difficult to be understood. Therefore, the current study aims at identifying the linguistic structures used to (de)legitimize socio-political practices and reveal hidden ideologies in newspaper discourse. This study involves critical discourse analysis (CDA) using Fairclough's (1995a) dialectical relationship approach. The data comprises news stories on the event of American Military Forces' (AMFs') withdrawal from Iraq, published in the Iraqi English newspaper: *The Kurdish Globe (KG)*. A total of six news stories issued during December 2011 were collected and organized into excerpts to be analyzed. Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) was also employed to analyze the linguistic structures of (de)legitimation categories which were identified using van Leeuwen's model. The study found new themes related to the event under investigation. Additionally, the study revealed the influence of political and ideological practices on news production through language, which was used to delegitimize the event in question rather than legitimizing it. It also identified the role of personal and possessive pronouns as ideological strategy in differentiating between social groups involved in that event. This study showed that the depiction of political events and decisions in newspaper discourse is governed by the context and ideologies of media organizations. The findings implied that newspaper discourse has a significant part in shaping public opinion in favor of powerful authorities. Finally, the study conceptualized a framework for understanding comparison based on argumentation made in one discourse and within the same context.

Keywords: Critical discourse analysis, (De)legitimation, Ideology, Iraq, Newspaper discourse

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List of Abbreviations

AMFs	American Military Forces
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
KG	The Kurdish Globe
KRG	Kurdistan Region Government
1st PSg	First Person Singular Pronoun
1st PPI	First Person Plural Pronoun
2nd PSg	Second Person Singular Pronoun
2nd PPI	Second Person Plural Pronoun
3rd PSg	Third Person Singular Pronoun
3rd PPI	Third Person Plural Pronoun
SFL	Systemic Functional Linguistics



CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

Newspapers occupy an important role in any modern society since they address its political, social, economic, and cultural issues. Newspaper is described as a means of “shaping public opinion and policy” (Haque & Sheikh, 1993, p. 1) as well as an essential source of information (Babalola, 2002; Njeze, 2013). It widens the range of public topics, events and issues their readers are familiar with (Schoenbach, 2005). Therefore, newspapers become an essential part in our life due to being a means of knowledge and information (Mehta, 2010).

The importance of newspaper lies in the language used to depict news events. Language is defined as “a set of symbols shared by a community to communicate meaning and experience” (Jandt, 2004, p. 147). Language is, as asserted by Wodak (2001), a medium of domination and social power. It has the power to manipulate, reinforce, or (de)legitimize events, practices, or policies made in any society. Generally, van Dijk (1996b) regarded power of newspaper as symbolic and persuasive. In this sense, newspaper primarily has the potential to control to some extent the minds of readers, but not directly their actions, through the effective use of language. Lakoff (1973) argued that society is reflected in the language, with the values and assumptions held by society being mirrored in the language.

Consequently, language used in newspaper discourse correlates various social, political, economic and cultural values. This shows that the essence of the news has changed. Discourse of the news has moved beyond the surface level of the language structure. As for Mehta (2010), newspapers provide in-depth analysis for an issue

through exploring how language is used in representing that issue. The newspaper discourse in all its varied types is considered to be a means for language analysis. Therefore, news articles in newspapers can be analyzed to disclose the underlying intentions hidden behind their discursive construction (Sadeghi, Hassani, & Jalali, 2014).

Language employed in newspaper does not simply convey the information that it overtly indicates. Rather, it can be used to shape the addressee's feelings, thoughts and modes of behavior. Such potentials are sound enough to make language a suitable medium for uncovering hidden ideologies intended to construct social norms and values (Fairclough, 1995a; van Dijk, 1996a, 2001a; van Leeuwen, 1996). So, it can be derived that other purposes of the news producers is either to (de)legitimize, reinforce or manipulate the facts systematically and feed them to their audience in a way that can be in line with their interests (Sadeghi et al., 2014).

The social and professional practices of journalists affect the production of news events. This effect is manifested by the thematic structure of the news event and its related participants, actions, and reactions. The thematic structure refers to the themes, topics, headlines and lead paragraphs which consist of the main meaning that could be understood from the whole news text (van Dijk, 1985b). Language users, and therefore also newspaper readers, can summarize what a text or conversation was about. They are able, though with subjective and social variation, to say what the topic of a discourse is. Accordingly, they can formulate the theme or themes of a news text, by statements that summarize the whole content of a news text with one or a few sentences. Themes represent a formal or subjective collection of topics that highlight the meanings of the text (van Dijk, 1985b). Based on themes of news events, one can understand the most important thing stated in the report.

Thematic structure of news stories highlights readers' concerns in relation to various social, political, economic and cultural events. Hence, the representation of these events could imply legal and political concepts, such as legitimation. Recently, researchers in different academic fields become more interested in carrying out studies on socio-political events and examining the process of (de)legitimation in order to explore how this process has been employed in the newspaper discourse. As a result, a number of studies revealed that the newspaper discourse plays a considerable role in the identification of (de)legitimation process and its ideological concepts in relation to socio-political and economic issues (Chovanec, 2010; Lavrusheva, 2013; Martínez Lirola, 2014; Sadeghi et al., 2014; Vaara & Tienari, 2008; Vaara, Tienari, & Laurila, 2006).

The society simply accepts organizational practices as something that should be happening regardless of the way in which it is achieved. This is considered to be a basis of legitimation process. There are various ways used to establish this process (Lavrusheva, 2013). One of the most effective methods of making things accepted and widely known within the society is legitimation through language or, more precisely, discourses (van Leeuwen, 2007) by employing discursive legitimation strategies. These strategies are methods of activating specific discourses to create a sense of legitimacy or illegitimacy (Fairclough, 2003).

According to van Leeuwen (2008), a single event can be shown as positive (legitimized) or negative (delegitimized) through several categories and subcategories. Based on van Leeuwen's (2007, 2008) framework, there are four main (de)legitimation categories including authorization, moral evaluation, rationalization, and mythopoesis. In addition, these main categories include some subcategories. These categories and their subcategories can be realized through certain linguistic

structures. In other words, they can be expressed by verb processes and other lexical items characterized with positive/negative moral values.

The positive and/or negative values are employed in texts using various grammatical structures. Hence, van Leeuwen (2008) argued that the discursive constructions of (de)legitimation can be recognized through certain occurrences of text which may barely denote the (de)legitimized practice or can be covered through detailed prescriptive or descriptive explanations of the institutions and practices they (de)legitimize. Therefore, it is a fact that newspaper discourse can reveal different discursive structures which contribute to reinforce or manipulate certain events through the language used to represent them either negatively or positively.

The depiction of certain political events of any society in the newspaper, such as the political event of American military forces' (henceforth, AMFs') withdrawal from Iraq, may reflect (de)legitimation on the basis of the linguistic structures used in such depiction. The event of AMFs' withdrawal is considered to be a controversial event. This controversy is manifested by various views of those involved in the event including Iraqis and Americans as well as neighbor countries. Some believed that it affected Iraq negatively in almost all its vital sectors like political, industrial, educational, and media sectors. However, others expected that Iraqis became able to be self-reliant and protect their country. Consistent with Arango (2011, p. A1), "Iraqis will be left with a country that is not exactly at war and not exactly at peace... Iraq is still a shattered country marred by violence and political dysfunction; a land defined on sectarian lines whose future, for better or worse, is now in the hands of its people". In contrast, President Barack Obama said that US left behind a "sovereign, stable and self-reliant" Iraq (Mak, 2011). This controversy opens a room for the applicability of (de)legitimation concept to the event of AMFs' withdrawal in

accordance with the way in which it is portrayed in the newspaper, either positively or negatively.

The positive or negative representation of certain events, especially political ones, could imply ideological practices. The newspaper discourse is composed of varied structures through which editors and writers attempt to deepen their beliefs, values, and attitudes in the minds of their audience. These beliefs represent the ideological practices of media organizations. van Dijk (2006a) defined ideology as a foundational belief that underlies the shared social representations of specific kinds of social groups. These representations are in turn the basis of discourse and other social practices. Ideology becomes important in the social and cultural representation due to its role in managing the society and its related activities. It guides the social activity within in-group and out-group members of the community (Muqit, 2012). The representation of in-group and outgroup members is enhanced by the use of pronouns. van Dijk (1998) believed that “pronouns are... the best known grammatical category of the expression and manipulation of social relations, status and power, and hence of underlying ideologies” (p. 203). Consequently, pronouns could play a considerable role in identifying socio-political ideologies in newspaper discourse.

The relation between discourse and the thematic structure of news stories can reveal (de)legitimation process and the hidden ideologies in journalism. In spite of having several studies on (de)legitimation (Chovanec, 2010; Martínez Lirola, 2014; Sadeghi et al., 2014) and ideology (Bello, 2013; De Fina, 1995; Grigoletto, 2002), there still more investigation needs to be done to identify this relation in the newspaper discourse. Accordingly, it is the task of this study to investigate how discourse

contributes to (de)legitimize the event of AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq in the Iraqi newspaper *The Kurdish Globe* (henceforth, KG) issued in English language.

The KG newspaper is issued in the north of Iraq. It has been founded in April 2005. It is a weekly newspaper published in Erbil city situated in the north of Iraq. It is circulated in almost all the main northern Iraqi cities including Dohuk, Suleimaniya, Kirkuk, and a number of small Kurdish localities. It has a readership of more than 40.000 per week. It tackles various national and international issues and news events. In addition, its online service, which was launched in September 2006, provides online national and international news, reports, analyses and images (<http://www.kurdishglobe.net>). The following sections shed light on the context of this study and the event under investigation.

1.2 Iraq: An Overview

This section provides a general description of Iraq, namely its context, news media, newspapers, and the 2003 war and the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Iraq, so as to be illustrated with more details.

1.2.1 Iraqi Context

Iraq is one of the Arabic countries and known as Republic of Iraq. It is located in the Middle East at the northernmost extent of the Persian Gulf. Its total area is 437,072 km². It has common borders with: Iran, Jordan, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Syria, and Turkey (Library of Congress, 2006). Iraq is divided into two regions, namely Arabic and Kurdish, and has 18 governorates (provinces), 15 of them are related to Arabic region and the other 3 are in Kurdish region: Baghdad, Mosul, Basrah, Kirkuk, Anbar, Salahuddin, Najaf, Karbala, Dyala, Maysan, Wasit, Babel, Al-Qadisiah, Thi

Qar, and Al-Muthana (Arabic region), Arbil, Sulaymaniyah, Dohuk (Kurdish region). Most of Iraq has a desert climate with mild winters and dry hot summers. Iraq has the third largest oil deposits in the world. In 2006, Iraq's population was estimated at 26,783,000, including 75 % - 80 % Arab and 15 % - 20 % Kurdish. Other significant minority groups, together constituting less than 5 % of the total population, are Assyrians, Chaldeans, and Turkmens (Library of Congress, 2006).

According to the constitution of 2005, the two official languages of Iraq are Arabic and Kurdish which is official in Kurdistan Region Government (henceforth, KRG) with a Kurdish majority. In addition, Turkmen and Assyrian neo-Aramaic are official languages in regions where they are spoken. Other languages in Iraq are Armenian, Azeri, and Chaldean neo-Aramaic. Iraq's Muslim population constitutes approximately 97 % of its total population, including 60 % - 65 % Shia and 32 % - 37 % Sunni. The Kurds are predominantly Sunni but ethnically different from the Arab Sunnis and of a less militant religious orientation. In 2003, an estimated 700,000 to 900,000 Christians were in Iraq, mostly belonging to the Eastern-rite Chaldean Catholic Church (Library of Congress, 2006). Nowadays, Iraq is known to have three major sectarian groups namely the Sunni, the Shi'a, and the Kurds besides other minor sectarian groups as Turcoman, Assyrians, Armenians, Chaldeans, Jews, Yazidis, and Sabeans (Batatu, 1982). Figure (1.1) illustrates the map of Iraq as follows:

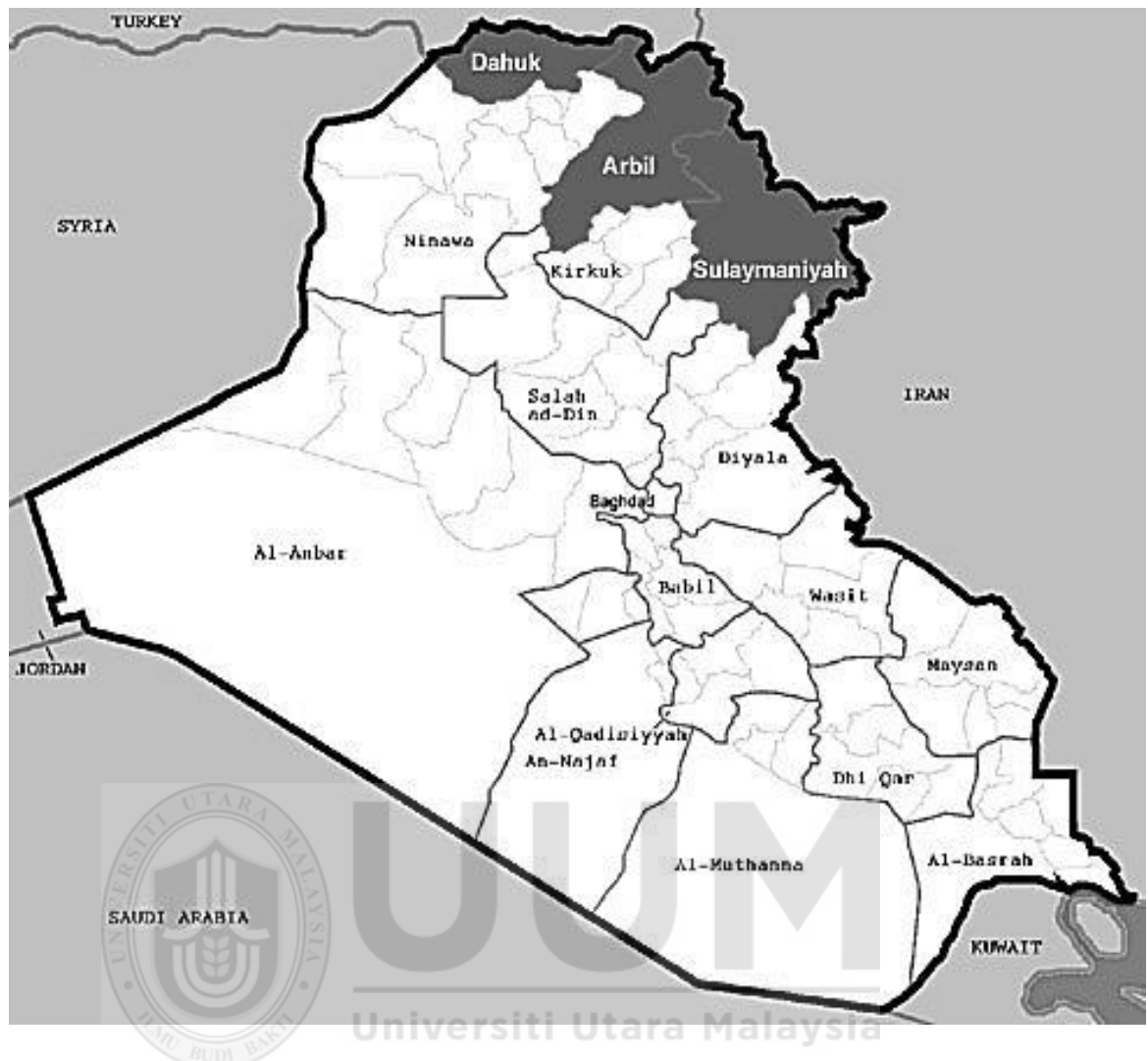


Figure 1.1. Map of Iraq

1.2.2 Iraqi News Media History

As a starting point, the majority of Iraqi news media conduct issues in relation to politics, religion, and sectarian groups (BBC News, 2007). Consistent with Kluwe's (2008) expression, media in Iraq “has always reflected the social attitudes of the people who controlled it and those of its recipients. Iraq is experiencing a media revival characterized by hostility, manipulation, courage, and, above all, the facilitation of intense discourse for a voracious public” (p. 109).

Before 2003, Iraqi media were restricted to press laws such as *The Censorship Law on Classified Materials and Motion Pictures* which banned certain types of articles, especially those which support disloyalty and factionalism, enhance violence and disorder, affect national security, or promote racism. In addition, this law barred any publications that serve colonization and Zionism, or those which do not serve the citizens' desires, damage the Arab world or be of low intellectual and stylistic levels that do not meet the requirements of good perception (Al-Jezairy, 2006). Iraq was having two official internal TV channels besides one satellite TV channel and a limited number of radio broadcast, newspapers, and magazines. All of these media genres are related to the government and tackle different issues of Iraqi citizens unlike the current media genres which have various trends as they are related to different political parties.

After the coalition invasion in 2003, the Iraqi media sector shifted into a highly biased media (directed towards Iraqi policies and its religious and political agendas) (Harmston, 2003) which have developed into "quite a pervasive element in Iraq's Fourth Estate" (Al-Marashi, 2007, p. 104). In 2008, Isakhan stated that the 2003 war has shifted the Iraqi media from only a governed media genres to a numerous array of owned newspapers, radio stations and TV channels. This is evidenced by the scene of the several news publications which are distributed in Iraqi cities like Baghdad, Basra, Kirkuk and Mosul (Daragahi, 2003). In 2003, Iraq had more than 20 radio broadcasts, 17 TV channels, and roughly 200 newspapers (Isakhan, 2009; Zanger, 2005).

After the 2003 war, the media sector faced a great change in the form and content of its genres. The new government canceled the previous regime laws that control and restrict the media sector, then presented new laws to decontrol it. As a reaction to

these new laws and events, Iraq witnessed the creation of numerous media genres in accordance with the number of the emerged political parties which exceeds 200 in a country that has never seen such a higher number of political parties. Each party has founded its own news media institution in order to spread its ideologies and gather the public opinion towards it. The most increased media genre is the press, more specific the newspaper, which is used to cover the issues of these political parties as well as being a propaganda tool for their voting campaigns.

1.2.3 Iraqi Newspapers

As to give a brief history of the Iraqi newspapers, Iraq has witnessed the appearance of newspapers before the establishment of the Iraqi state represented by the foundation of al-Zora'a daily newspaper in 1869 to be the first issued Iraqi newspaper. According to the report of RSF (2003), several daily and weekly Iraqi newspapers appeared in 1920s. A newspaper with a sarcastic tone, named *Habez Bouz*, was issued in Baghdad and became very popular among Iraqis for its name. In 1958, there was a revolution that led to the end of the Monarchy and the emergence of the Republic regime. After this revolution, 15 daily newspapers were established. During 1968, when the Ba'ath party has ruled the Iraqi government, *al-Thawra* "the Revolution" newspaper issued to be the official publication of the party. Another newspaper *Tarik al-Shaab* "Way of the People" was issued in favor of the opposed party the Communist. As for the Kurd Democratic Party, it founded *el-Taakhi* "the Conciliation" newspaper. From 1980 till 1988, Iraq was in war with Iran and the Iraqi press became possessed by the state. Al-Jezairy (2006) added that the editors of the newspapers have to take their directions from a national agency called *The*

National Information Bureau. The responsibility of this agency was to direct the newspapers' editorial policy.

By the passage of time, many political events have happened and affected the media sector in Iraq. Some newspapers have been closed, others have been emerged. The names of the former newspapers are quite the same as their names nowadays but with different ideologies and structures such newspapers are al-Thawra "the Revolution", al-Jamhuriya "the Republic", Aleph Ba "A-B", al-Itihad "the Union", and al-Zora'a (RSF, 2003).

The situation of the Iraqi press after the US and its coalition invasion has been handled by different studies (Al-Marashi, 2007; Al-Rawi & Gunter, 2013; Al-Rawi, 2012, 2013; Isakhan, 2008, 2009; Kluwe, 2008; Kuttab, 2007; Rousu, 2010; Zanger, 2005). All these studies dealt with the effect of political events and war on the Iraqi media and how it has been changed drastically after the 2003 war. The 2003 war was a turning point in the Iraqi news media sector, particularly newspaper. Everything has changed in regard to the structure of the newspaper, its ownership, its quality, and its information system (Al-Jezairy, 2006; Awad & Eaton, 2013). Consistent with the country profile made by Library of Congress (2006), since 2003 the Iraqi newspapers have opined different views on critical issues so as to manipulate or reflect their institutional power and affect the audience when dealing with certain social and political issues.

Iraqis tend to read newspapers of different trends to discover the reality of what has been issued in certain newspapers, for instance, if there is a news item depicting a certain issue and is mentioned in other newspapers with different language structure and writing style with well-documented information, they will regard it as the real

news. Therefore, newspapers, as they are affected by the editorial system, can affect citizens' attitudes and ways of thinking. Due to this fact, some editors/journalists try to pay more attention to social, political, and economic issues in Iraq to attract Iraqi public opinion and popularize their newspapers. The present study focuses on the KG newspaper that is issued in English language in relation to the main political event in the Iraqi history after the 2003 US-led war; the event of AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq.

1.2.4 The 2003 US-Led War and Withdrawal of U.S. Forces from Iraq

Since 1980 till now, Iraq has witnessed many political, social and economic events (wars, economic sanctions, poor political and social conditions) which impact its vital systems represented by politics, economy, social affairs, education, safety and all of its institutions, infrastructure and its media as well. All these events help in making critical shifts in all of the Iraqi institutions. The most effective event among these political events is the 2003 war by US and its coalition. This war definitely played a crucial part in changing the life of Iraqi citizens. For some citizens, the changes that happened because of this war are the worst ones that Iraq has ever seen because they resulted in destruction, absence of security, poor human services, increased crime rates, decreased educational levels, and the sectarian scene. Whereas others claim that these changes are the best since the changes managed to rid economic sanctions as well as providing democracy and free media. After years of conflict and existence in Iraqi land, US president Obama decided to withdraw the American troops from Iraq.

In August 2010, there was a partial AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq, thus on 19 August 2010 the 4th Stryker Brigade, 2nd Infantry Division was the last American combat

brigade to withdraw from Iraq. In a speech at the Oval Office on 31 August 2010 Obama declared: “the American combat mission in Iraq has ended. Operation Iraqi Freedom is over, and the Iraqi people now have lead responsibility for the security of their country” (Londoño, 2010; NBC.com, 2010).

About 50,000 American troops remained in the country in an advisory capacity as part of "Operation New Dawn" which ran until the end of 2011. New Dawn was the final designated U.S. campaign of the war. The U.S. military continued to train and advise the Iraqi Forces, as well as participate in combat alongside them (Al-Jazeera and agencies, 2010).

With the collapse of discussions about extending the stay of U.S. troops (Jakes & Santana, 2012; MacAskill, 2011), President Obama announced the full withdrawal of troops from Iraq, as previously scheduled, on 21 October 2011 (MacAskill, 2011). The U.S. retained an embassy in Baghdad (MacAskill, 2011) with some 17,000 personnel (Denselow, 2011) consulates in Basra, Mosul and Kirkuk, which have been allocated more than 1,000 staff each (Denselow, 2011) and between 4,000 to 5,000 defense contractors (MacAskill, 2011). President Obama and al-Maliki outlined a broad agenda for post-war cooperation without American troops in Iraq during a joint press conference on 12 December 2011 at the White House. This agenda included cooperation on energy, trade and education as well as cooperation in security, counter-terrorism, economic development and strengthening Iraq's institutions. Both leaders said their countries would maintain strong security, diplomatic and economic ties after the last U.S. combat forces withdraw (Pace, 2011; Robinson, 2011).

President Barack Obama paid tribute to the troops who served in Iraq on 14 December 2011, at the Fort Bragg military base in North Carolina. As the last of the American troops prepared to exit Iraq, he said the United States was leaving behind a "sovereign, stable and self-reliant" Iraq. On 15 December, an American military ceremony was held in Baghdad putting a formal end to the U.S. mission in Iraq (Mak, 2011). The last 500 soldiers left Iraq on the morning of 18 December 2011 (Cutler, 2011).

1.3 Problem Statement

Newspaper is one of the most important means for the exchange of social and cultural issues of any society (van Dijk, 1989). Newspaper conveys social, political and cultural events happening worldwide to a large population within short time. Therefore, researchers become interested in studying newspaper discourse to understand its role in forming and influencing people's attitudes and behavior (van Dijk, 1996b, 1989). Newspaper discourse has a significant role in increasing society's awareness of issues that may affect it. This encouraged researchers to examine the language used in newspaper to depict socio-political events, such as wars. Events happened in Iraq, especially the 2003 war, have been a subject of several studies (Dimitrova & Strömbäck, 2005; Kassed & Mustafa, 2015; Rohizah, 2012; Schwalbe, 2006). These studies examined the language used to represent the 2003 war and the ideological practices behind its representation in the international newspapers and websites.

Iraq has encountered several challenges including wars, economic sanctions, terrorism and militant movements that have affected its media sector. The current scene of the Iraqi media reflects the issues of conflicts and poor socio-political and

economic conditions in the country resulting from the 2003 war (Amos, 2010). Issues related to Iraq's media sector attracted several researchers to examine the influence of political events on news production. Al-Rawi (2012, 2013), Amos (2010) and Isakhan (2008, 2009) investigated the scene of the new Iraqi media after the 2003 war. Focusing on the Iraqi TV channels coverage of the general elections, Al-Rawi (2012) and Amos (2010) argued that the Iraqi politico-religious parties' ideologies, which were mostly sectarian in nature, have a considerable effect on media production and consumption. They believed that the new media contributed to heighten sectarianism and disintegrate the society. Furthermore, Isakhan (2009) opined that the external factors represented by the influences of regional and foreign powers do affect the new Iraqi media as they intend to achieve their political agendas via Iraq's media. Despite the fact that these researchers revealed the influence of political practices on media production by changing media policies and laws, they have not shown how this influence was shaped linguistically. In other words, the researchers investigated changes that happened in the Iraqi media sector after the 2003 war in terms of laws and practices without showing how these changes are represented through language use, especially in print media.

Language reflects the influence of socio-political practices on news production. Language is a means of power in newspaper discourse depending on how it is used to reinforce or manipulate a message of a news event. van Dijk (1989) argued that the power of newspaper discourse may be manifested more indirectly as representation in the form of an expression, description, or legitimation of powerful actors or their actions and ideologies. This representation involves coherent description of news event in terms of micro, meso and macro levels of discourse. There is one of the semantic macrostructures found in the newspaper discourse. The ability of language

users to derive themes from a text is based on a number of linguistic rules and strategies (van Dijk & Kintsch, 1983). Themes summarize the whole content of a news item in one or more sentences. They can be represented by headlines, lead paragraphs, and even excerpts from the main content of news item (van Dijk, 1985b). Accordingly, themes can be drawn from different excerpts denoting the main meaning of the news item. One can understand what the content of the news item is about through its theme or headline as it highlights the most important issue in this news item. Then, the content of the news item is loaded with positive and negative values denoting the concept of (de)legitimation.

Nowadays, the concept of (de)legitimation is used outside the legal terminology and often entails the semantics of justification (Reyes, 2011). This concept attracted researchers' attention concerning the discourse of education and immigration (van Leeuwen, 2007, 2008; van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999) and politics (Brenton, 1993; Cap, 2008; Reyes, 2011) to understand how it is employed in such type of discourse. As a main goal of discourse on the macro-level, the (de)legitimation process is achieved through the use of several broad discursive strategies, realized by particular textual forms and structures as manifestations of the micro-level of discourse (Chovanec, 2010). In spite of having previous studies on (de)legitimation process in newspaper discourse concerning political issues such as war and revolutions (Chovanec, 2010; Martínez Lirola, 2014; Sadeghi et al., 2014) and economic issues like organizational policies (Lavrusheva, 2013; Vaara & Tienar, 2008; Vaara et al., 2006), these studies focused on examining the categories of (de)legitimation themselves and how an event is presented to be either legitimized or delegitimized. Only few studies have examined the linguistic structures of (de)legitimation; however, these studies are conducted in economic and political discourses,

particularly in relation to economic organizations and policies (Lavrusheva, 2013) as well as actions of political actors (Chovanec, 2010). Yet, the linguistic structures underlying the (de)legitimation process remain difficult to be understood (Lavrusheva, 2013). Therefore, the linguistic representation of (de)legitimation process in newspaper discourse needs to be investigated to identify the linguistic structures used to (de)legitimize an event based on the moral values found in its depiction.

The moral values function as a basis for argumentation that either justifies or refutes the event, and hence such argumentation could lead to (de)legitimation process (Gauthier, 2007). In this sense, argumentation is made on events and/or practices characterized as being controversial. This controversy is highlighted by providing different opinions concerning the portrayed event. As far as the event of AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq is concerned, this event was depicted in various regional and international newspapers. Some of these newspapers argued that this withdrawal left Iraq suffering political crises encapsulated with significant security challenges (Arabic.euronews.com, 2011; Lobe, 2011; Santana, 2011; Jeffrey, 2014). However, others claimed that this event puts the end of U.S. military presence in Iraq and proves the government's ability to protect the country's sovereignty and stability (Yalibnan.com, 2011). Consequently, the event of AMFs' withdrawal has been met with different arguments. These arguments enhance the applicability of (de)legitimation process in newspaper discourse. Though the event has been depicted in different regional and international newspaper, this study intends to explore how this event has been (de)legitimized in the local English newspaper based on its positive/negative depiction.

Additionally, the positive/negative depiction of a news event in a newspaper could be relied on social and political ideologies hidden behind its linguistic structure. van Dijk (1998) believed that pronouns, among many other syntactic features, “are perhaps the best known grammatical category of the expression and manipulation of social relations, status and power, and hence of underlying ideologies” (p. 203). This implies that pronouns can be employed in texts to represent or manipulate social and power relations, groups’ identities and ideologies. It is believed that the use of pronouns as ideological process to construct differences between ‘us’ and ‘them’ needs not to be ignored as they represent a source for comparison and contrast as well as serving more neutral purposes (Duszak, 2002).

It is a fact that the role of pronouns, especially personal and possessive pronouns, in representing socio-political ideologies is not new as it has been studied extensively in relation to political discourse. Researchers examined the use of personal and possessive pronouns in the political arena (De Fina, 1995; Grigoletto, 2002), online political discussions (Sotillo & Wang-Gempp, 2004) and presidents’ speeches (Bello, 2013; Hasan, 2012) to represent power relations, social groups and groups’ identities. Adding to that, Muqit (2012) studied pronouns in politico-religious speech text to signify political and religious ideologies. These studies focused on how political actors use and articulate the personal pronouns in their speeches to imply various socio-political ideologies in political discourse. However, the use of pronouns needs to be examined in newspaper discourse to reveal how pronouns are employed to represent or manipulate power relations, social identities and hidden ideologies. Consequently, the current study intends to examine how personal and possessive pronouns are employed in the KG newspaper to present its hidden ideologies.

In short, the identification of the linguistic structures used to (de)legitimize political events and reveal hidden ideologies in newspaper discourse frames the gap in the literature on textual analysis of newspaper discourse in general and the Iraqi English newspaper in particular. Accordingly, this study draws new themes based on the linguistic representation of AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq in the KG newspaper. Then, it identifies the linguistic structures used to (de)legitimize that event. This study also examines the role of personal and possessive pronouns in shaping the socio-political ideologies of the KG newspaper.

This study, therefore, requires a critical analysis of linguistic structures employed in the selected news stories from the KG newspaper to examine the linguistic construction of the event of AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq using Fairclough's (1995a) approach to Critical Discourse Analysis (henceforth, CDA). The linguistic analysis was carried out using Halliday's (2014) systemic functional linguistics (SFL) to identify what linguistic structures have been utilized in the selected news stories in the KG newspaper. van Leeuwen's (2007, 2008) model of the discursive construction of legitimation was employed to identify the way in which the event in question has been (de)legitimized.

1.4 Research Objectives

The objectives of this study are listed as follows:

1. To draw themes based on the representation of the event of AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq in the KG newspaper.
2. To identify the linguistic structures used to (de)legitimize AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq in the KG newspaper.

3. To examine the way in which pronouns are used in the KG newspaper to present its hidden ideologies.

1.5 Research Questions

In order to meet the objectives of the current study and direct its investigation, the following questions are used:

1. What form of themes can be drawn based on the representation of the event of AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq in the KG newspaper?
2. How is AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq (de)legitimized in the KG newspaper through the use of linguistic structures?
3. How are pronouns used in the KG newspaper to present its hidden ideologies?

1.6 Significance of the Study

It is hoped that this study will contribute to the literature of textual analysis in the field of media discourse in general and the newspaper discourse in particular. The study will contribute to provide insights into understanding the legal and political concepts based on analyzing socio-political practices portrayed in the newspaper. This is manifested through correlating theories and frameworks from other disciplines to show how this correlation enhances our understanding concerning the interrelation between discourse and context.

Theoretically, this study identifies the textual and contextual features used to portray a controversial event in the newspaper discourse. This controversy is based on argumentation made by journalists. To explore how this argumentation works, the

current study therefore investigates the way of presenting the event of AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq in the KG newspaper. This event is one of the most critical socio-political events following the 2003 US-led war against Iraq which still affects almost all vital sectors of the state (Cordesman & Khazai, 2012). Hence, some Iraqis agreed upon this withdrawal believing that Iraq becomes a sovereign state; however, other Iraqis claimed that it is not the right time for making such decision. This argumentation can be achieved through specific discursive structures including intertextuality to make the news items more reliable and persuasive. Consequently, this argumentation plays a role in enhancing (de)legitimation process through depicting the event under question.

In addition, it contributes to direct the attention of news media producers to the importance of the language that they use when dealing with socio-political issues since the language use reveals their social and cultural identities and ideologies (Fairclough, 2001). The audience can be affected by the use of language (van Dijk, 2008). It is important for those who are interested in media discourse to know more about how language use impacts their audience. This study will show that there are different linguistic structures for shaping public opinions and attitudes towards a social group or action. Journalists' choices of words to portray an action or social group reflect their real attitudes. It can be said that journalists can express things as they want, such as by using expressions with positive or negative values to imply (de)legitimation process. Furthermore, the current study contributes to identifying the impact of social, political and economic practices on manipulating or reinforcing the socio-political actions to persuade and influence the attitudes of the audience towards certain action or group.

Practically, this study will contribute to media policy and learners of English as a foreign language (EFL). Concerning media policy, despite being under pressure of economic and socio-political practices, this study will show that journalists are governed by the context and ideologies of newspaper organizations when portraying political events and decisions. This is manifested through selecting information on news events and sources of that information. Media, as a mirror of society, should reflect the public opinion and feeling concerning an issue. This can be achieved through discursive structures used to portray a news event including choices of words and intertextuality.

Additionally, this study will be beneficial to the EFL teachers/learners as it enhances the information on the different linguistic structures used to highlight hidden meanings. The language used in newspapers could enhance the teaching/ learning process of EFL in relation to different skills including reading and writing (Ali & Devi, 2013; Barkova, 2011; Elmadwi, 2014; Tafida & Dalhatu, 2014; Wajnryb, 1988). Accordingly, as being a university lecturer in the translation department, this notion attracts the researcher to carry out this study. EFL teachers try to find simple materials and techniques of teaching EFL, e.g. using news stories as a material for language learning, to facilitate and enhance the learning process for EFL learners. The language used in newspaper consists of various writing styles which are not found in textbooks. Therefore, newspapers can be more effective, especially in developing the vocabulary, synonyms, antonyms, etc. for effective writing (Ali & Devi, 2013). EFL learners will know how to identify social groups and their relations on the basis of linguistic structures represented by pronouns, references, and vocabulary.

1.7 Scope of the Study

This study is confined to examining the language used in written texts extracted from newspaper articles. It focuses on describing and exploring the discursive and ideological structures of portraying political events in newspaper texts. In particular, the purpose of this study is to identify the role of linguistic structures in (de)legitimizing a political event in newspaper. This identification is based on the analysis of linguistic and discursive strategies, such as choices of words, modality and argumentation.

The source of data is limited to news stories issued in the Iraqi English newspaper, namely the KG newspaper, on the event of AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq. This study deals with the KG newspaper as being a news media organization. The period of data is one month, namely December 2011, which represents the date of final and formal withdrawal of U.S. forces from Iraq. The reason behind selecting news stories on the event of AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq lies in the controversy that accompanied its implementation since it has been met with contrasting opinions.

The data analysis is carried out using a qualitative content analysis through a critical lens. In this sense, Fairclough's (1995a) approach to CDA is used to analyze the excerpts selected from the KG newspaper. The identification of linguistic structures is relied on the use of Halliday's (2014) SFL model focusing on transitivity, modality, and textual features of news excerpts. In addition, the identification of (de)legitimation categories is based on the use of van Leeuwen's (2007, 2008) model of legitimation discursive structures. In relation to ideology, the focus is on the use of personal and possessive pronouns in representing groups' identity and their related actions.

1.8 Definitions of Terms

In this section, the researcher attempts to define technical terms used in this study. These definitions are organized alphabetically as follows:

De-legitimation Process is a process of criticizing a single event, policy or practice for having negative impacts on a given society, arguing that such event or practice contradicts established rules, principles, or standards within that society. This process is manifested through several categories including authorization, evaluation, rationalization, and mythopoesis, along with their subcategories (van Leeuwen, 2007, 2008).

Ideology refers to “significations/constructions of reality (the physical world, social relations, social identities), which are built into various dimensions of the forms/meanings of discursive practices, and which contribute to the production, reproduction or transformation of relations of domination” (Fairclough, 1992a, p. 87).

Language Use refers to the system of information relay created by a combination of formal features of language (such as grammar, syntax, and word choice) and less formal ones (including storytelling frames, textual patterns, and systematic narratives) (Zelizer, 2004). So, it involves the ways of communicating the information using various linguistic features and structures.

Legitimation Process refers to making an event, policy or practice acceptable and normative to a group or audience through representing it in a positive way to be in accordance with established rules, principles, or standards within a given society. It

is identified by categories of authorization, evaluation, rationalization, and mythopoesis, along with their subcategories (van Leeuwen, 2007, 2008).

Linguistic Structures denote the analytical tools which are “quite often involved in the construction of representations, in signifying beliefs and values when writers are reporting or commenting on the world” (Fowler, 1991, p. 89). They comprise transitivity system, syntactic transformations, lexical structure, modality and speech acts.

Newspaper refers to the discourse that is initiated on key national issues by picking on statements and actions of prominent national figures and happenings around the nation and exposing them to the audience (Taiow, 2007).

Theme: van Dijk (1985b, p. 74) defined it as the semantic structure that summarizes “fairly complex units of information with one or a few sentences”. Thus, “themes... organize what is most important in a text. They, indeed, define the upshot of what is said or written”.

1.9 Outline of Thesis

This thesis is divided into five chapters. Chapter one presents the introduction which defines the problem statement that is related to the way in which the event of AMFs’ withdrawal from Iraq is shaped in relation to the concept of (de)legitimation; besides, defining the gap in the literature in accordance with the proposed problem. Then, it pinpoints the objectives and questions of the study. Additionally, it sheds light on the significance, scope of the study under investigation, the definitions of terms that have a role in this study, and its outline as well.

Regarding the second chapter, it reviews the literature on the relevant topics in this study including news media discourse, language use in newspaper, (de)legitimation, pronouns, ideology, thematic structure, and the approach of CDA. It also describes the theoretical framework adopted in this study. Furthermore, there is a conclusion for the whole chapter at its end.

Chapter three provides a complete explanation of the methodology followed in this study. It provides illustration for study design, sample, method, issues of reliability and validity, and the ethical considerations. The procedures including data collection and data analysis are presented in this chapter.

Moreover, the fourth chapter consists of the analysis of the data on how the event of AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq is shaped in the KG newspaper in relation to the concept of (de)legitimation and the derived results. Finally, chapter five presents the conclusions and recommendations for further research.

1.10 Conclusion

To summarize this chapter, it is the introductory chapter of the study in which the researcher has presented the main concerns of the study, including: background, problem statement, objectives and questions, significance, scope, operational definitions, and organization of the study. In the background section, the researcher attempted to give a detailed explanation for the key concepts that construct the major focus of the study, namely language use in the news media discourse in general and newspapers in particular, (de)legitimation strategy, ideology and themes. The problem statement depends on the gap in the literature regarding the relation between linguistic structures and (de)legitimation strategy, on the one hand, and the relation

between pronouns and ideology, on the other hand, as well as their effect on the construction of thematic structure. The objectives and the questions are formed in relation to the problem statement that concentrates on the language used in depicting the event of AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq in the KG newspaper. Then, to give more clarification of the technical terms in the current study, they are provided and arranged alphabetically along with their definitions.



CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews detailed explanations of related studies including news media, represented by newspaper and language use in newspaper discourse. It is divided into sub-sections; each deals with a specific topic in relation to the whole study. The sections are organized to correlate with the research objectives and questions, as well as to highlight the gap in relation to (de)legitimation and ideology in newspaper discourse. This chapter reviews the relationship between news media represented by newspaper and language use, discursive and social practices in newspaper, (de)legitimation, language meta-functions, and the relation between pronouns and ideology in newspaper discourse. Moreover, other topics of CDA approach and its role in news discourse is reviewed. Then, the theoretical framework of the study is presented. The chapter ends with a conclusion.

2.2 News Media and Society

News media have a crucial role in any society since they represent its political, social, and economic affairs. Thus, a number of studies have been implemented to examine their role and the effect they can have especially in relation to public issues like education (Dwivedi & Pandey, 2013; Eveland & Scheufele, 2000; Gentzkow & Shapiro, 2004), politics (Cissel, 2012; Entman, 2010; Takagi, 2009; Youssefi, Kanani, & Shojaei, 2013), and economy (Hearns-Branaman, 2009; Mahmood, Javed, & Mahmood, 2011; Soroka, 2006).

To begin with, media originated from medium (viz carrier) and designed to be used by a large number of audiences. In its early stages, media was related to newspapers and magazines; then, it expanded due to the innovation of other media devices like TV, radio, and internet (Dwivedi & Pandey, 2013). According to van Dijk (1988), there are three concepts denoting the notion of news media; representing new information about entities, providing a visual or audio news program, and supplying news reports about current events in any media means.

News media convey events (like social, political, economic, and religious) of any society. They become a necessity since they enhance our knowledge about prominent public events conveyed by journalists with more complex and dramatic impact so as to affect people's thinking and attitudes (Hannabuss, 1995). Accordingly, news media can be defined as a window of information about the world we live in from which people become aware of what happens around them (Tsfati & Cohen, 2013; Youssefi et al., 2013). Others define it as a powerful means of communication and for framing public opinion (Alireza & Samuel, 2012; Cissel, 2012; Hannabuss, 1995). The media impacts the society, enhances the public realization, and gathers opinions and motives toward the concerned issues (Alireza & Samuel, 2012). Consequently, it is the most powerful and flexible means of communication.

As for Bell (1991), the news does not represent facts only, but it represents organizational and professional practices. News media requires an organized work among those who are in charge of news coverage like publishers, editors, journalists, producers in the communication process (Boykoff & Yulsman, 2013). Chyi and McCombs (2004, p. 22) put the function of news media to "reframe the event by emphasizing different attributes of the event, consciously or unconsciously, in order

to keep the story alive and fresh”. Thus, it is the role of news media that can make the event as more important by focusing on and paying more attention to that event.

In addition, the current events have a role in motivating the news media staff to handle them and achieve their desired work which is covering events and conveying information about them (Lozanov & Spassov, 2011; McCombs & Shaw, 1972). Through the news media one can evaluate the situation of other societies and be more acknowledged about the events of the surrounding world. Dwivedi and Pandey (2013) added that media is not only a source of information, but it functions as a means of entertainment.

On the other hand, the news media has the power to destroy nations and change their policies by the power of language that is used in news writing (Hargreaves, 2003). Kassed and Mustaffa (2015) argued that news media content regarding certain nation impacts the image of that nation and this image, in turn, may reflect positivity, negativity, or neutrality. This depends on the position of newsmaker which shapes the image of a nation in media coverage.

News media has various genres; it can be visual as TV, audio as radio, print as newspaper and magazine, or web as online news broadcast. McCombs and Shaw (1972) classified news media categories into four different media, which are:

- a. Television.
- b. Newspapers.
- c. News magazines.
- d. Editorial page coverage.

These categories are related to each other in that they share the same information to be conveyed to the audience, show different trends of the same information for the audience, and they enhance interests that need to be satisfied by media (Bogart, 1969). As far as the current study is concerned with newspaper discourse, thus it is the focus of the study and other types are excluded.

2.3 Newspaper Discourse

Although it is regarded to be an old-fashion news media, newspaper is still the main category of news coverage and it is the most preferable one than other media forms (Youssefi et al., 2013). Newspaper is defined by Academic American Encyclopedia (1989) (cited in Babalola, 2002) as a serial publication provided regularly in order to notify, evaluate, effect and amuse citizens. It is classified according to its publication time and frequency, its purposes, circulation, edition method, and its intended audience (Hynds, 1975). Moreover, to be a newspaper, it should be printed regularly, obtainable and accessible to the audience, and provide important and recent issues. Samaniego (2001) listed distinctive features of newspaper that help in differentiating it from other media genres, these features are:

- a. It has a specific structure and organized circulation.
- b. It is practical and has a notable function.
- c. It is conducted to a selected mass.
- d. It reflects political and ideological trends with defined information for the target audience.
- e. Newspaper and its audience share some ideological attitudes.

Having an important position among other news media discourses, newspapers have been a subject of investigation by many scholars especially in relation to socio-political issues (Druckman & Parkin, 2005; Gerber, Karlan, & Bergan, 2009; Oliver & Maney, 2000; Walgrave & Van Aelst, 2006), politics (Gentzkow, Shapiro, & Sinkinson, 2011), socio-economic issues (Leeson, 2008; McCombs, 2002), and issues related to women (Nautiyal & Dabral, 2012). Whereas other studies show the important role of newspapers in stating various political issues (Ansolabehere, Lessem, & Snyder, 2006; Prior, 2013; Puglisi & Snyder, 2011).

According to Cheyney (1992), newspaper is the most available and feasible material for all classes of citizens everywhere. No matter where people are, they can get whatever information they want in the newspapers. So, newspapers become one of the most effective ways of providing information (Li, 2009). Besides its role in informing and transmitting different issues, newspaper presents a great amount of details related to the news, events descriptions, and analysis of their significance and effect. It performs such processes better than other media genres (Okorie & Oyedepo, 2011). Newspapers have a crucial part in portraying social and national issues as they deal with declarations of national elites (Mahmood et al., 2011). Wilson and Barnes (1975) added that newspapers can motivate individuals to read as they tackle various issues, present different levels of readability, and reflect maturity.

Newspapers can be used to achieve different functions for the audience, such as interpretation of public thoughts, education, amusement, and socialization (Berelson, 1949). Newspapers gather citizens of different attitudes to discuss the tackled issues. This, in turn, helps to stimulate critical thinking, maintain the information, and find solutions for problems as well as investigating the information origin (Bankole & Babalola, 2011). Althaus and Tewksbury (2002) indicated that the selection of which

public issues should be reported and which events have to be prior than others is the way which refers to the deserved concerns to be issued in newspapers. Additionally, newspaper has different structures, writing styles and types as shown in the following subsections.

2.3.1 The Structure and Writing Style of News stories in Newspapers

Through newspaper style, journalists intend to attract the reader's attention thereby they use special means. Among these means is the structure of news stories and the writing style. To begin with, the structure of news stories refers to the form and way in which the news event is presented. News stories are presented in different ways, i.e., they can be formed as editorials, reports, letters to the editor, and columns. Bell (1991) listed some of the elements that form the structure of news stories. They are: leads, headlines, source attributions, news actors, time, place, the use of numbers in the news, and news as talk. Journalists follow the five Wh-questions (who, when, where, what, how, why) which should be considered when writing a story.

Bell (1991, p. 3) contended that “in newspaper, everything other than advertising is called editorial”. The structure of editorial differs from the structure of other types of news stories as illustrated in the following figure:

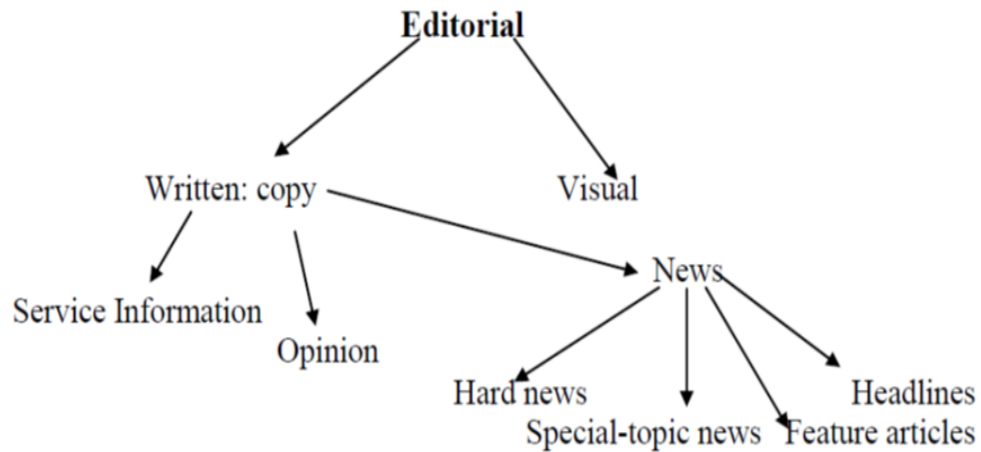


Figure 2.1. The structure of editorials (adopted from Bell, 1991, p. 3)

To explain this figure, Bell (1991) stated that service information is the information that related to a particular subject in a newspaper. It is more likely made of lists rather than continuous copy. Opinion is columns, letters to the editor, reviews in which the opinion about different issues is expressed by the journalists of the newspaper. Hard news includes the information about the newest crimes, fires, accidents, protests and other incidents. Special-topic news is the news that covers sports, fashion, cars, travel, culture and other topics. Feature articles are the part of soft news. They do not cover the hottest news, but still try to capture the reader's attention by humorous reflections, provoking the reader's curiosity by unusual comments. The language of feature articles is full of emotive words, rhetorical questions, imagery. Finally, headlines compose the part of editorials. It represents the first and may be the last chance to grab the reader's attention (Bell, 1991).

van Dijk (1988) presented a hypothetical structure of a news schema as follows:

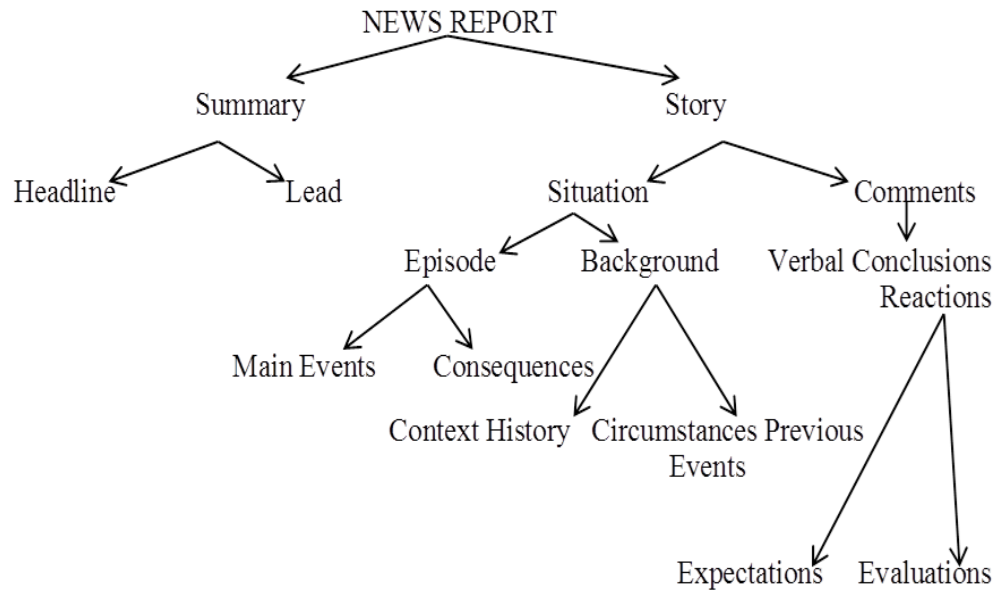


Figure 2.2. Hypothetical structure of a news schema (adopted from van Dijk, 1988, p. 55)

Based on van Dijk's (1988) hypothetical structure of a news schema, news report is composed of summary and story. Summary consists of a headline and a lead. In the press, each news item has a headline and many have a lead. Headline precedes lead, and together they precede the rest of the news item. They function as an initial summary of the news text and express the semantic macro-structure. Story, on the other hand, consists of situation and comments. Concerning situation, it includes an episode and background. Usually, backgrounds follow later in a news discourse, i.e., after the section that deals with the actual or main news events. Therefore, there is a category of main events. Similarly, the information given in the main events category may be embedded in Context.

In addition, van Dijk (1988) stated that context is often signaled by expressions such as while, during, or similar expressions of simultaneity. Semantically, context information must denote the actual situation, consisting of other concrete news events. Often, context is main event in other or previous news items. In this respect,

it differs from backgrounds, which have a more comprehensive, structural, or historical nature. Consequences represent another category in news discourse. The newsworthiness of social and political events is partly determined by the seriousness of their consequences. van Dijk (1988) added that verbal reactions could be seen as a special case of consequences. Most important news events follow a standard procedure for asking the comments of important participants or prominent political leaders. This allows journalists to formulate opinions that are not necessarily their own, but which nevertheless are objective because they have actually been stated. The verbal reactions category is signaled by names and roles of news participants and by direct or indirect quotes of verbal utterances. Finally, a news discourse has a category that features comments, opinions, and evaluations of the journalist or newspaper itself. The comments category consists of two major subcategories: evaluation and expectations. Evaluation features evaluative opinions about the actual news events; whereas expectations formulate possible political or other consequences of the actual events and situation.

Concerning writing style of news stories, “Skilled writing has always been a key requirement in the journalism and mass communication professions” (Lingwall & Kuehn, 2013, p. 365). From this statement, one can say that writing process of newspaper should represent the skillful style of the writer when writing or depicting the events. This skilled writing is the output of a professional and well-educated writer and a practiced talent of playing on words. It is the ability of the writer to use the expressions in different ways and select words that can refer to more than one meaning to be used in his/her event report. Some writers are known for their highly skilled writing which makes them famous writers and promotes their positions to higher levels in news media institutions, whereas others are using a common style of

writing which reveals their inability to enhance the situations with a more beneficial way. Styles of words' use share a considerable part of information about their users, audiences, and states. Words can reveal the individuals' social status and motives. Moreover, words can state whether or not the addressor is being emotionally engaged, his/her intellectuality level, and ability to enroll in a new experience (Pennebaker, Mehl, & Niederhoffer, 2003).

Pam (2012) illustrated that various newspapers are distinguished for using the graphic design that reveals their institutional style. This is embodied by typing the first alphabet in bold with larger font size than all other alphabets. The style of headlines' writing is another interesting aspect. The significance of headlines is included in their clear, concise, and stimulating message to be beneficial and more attractive for the audience. The power of the writer's message is held through the sentence. The style in which the sentence is used realizes the extent of effectiveness in communication. The effectiveness of the addressed message, according to Pam (2012), depends on the diction style that is used by the writer. The writer can choose either simple/concrete words or obscure/abstract ones to be used in the message content, and this, in turn, determines the aesthetic aspect of that message. Since it reflects the writer's attitudes and feelings, this diction has to be used properly in order to meet the objective of the intended meaning of a written text. The use of the linguistic features in a text and the way in which they have been used can make the text more influential for the audience (Emmott, Sanford, & Morrow, 2006). This can be achieved through using of figurative language forms such as sarcastic, ironic, pessimistic, optimistic, humorous, or any other forms of figurative language (Pam, 2012).

Moreover, Samad (2013) and Dor (2003) contended that the main characteristics of newspaper writing can be as the use of effective presentation of the event and the rapidity in composition. In regard to the current style of journalism, it is defined by the following characteristics:

- a. Coherent and short sentences with a considerable effect.
- b. Short, brief, and independent paragraphs.
- c. Preciseness and straightness by using the necessary words only.
- d. Realistic and independent opinions.
- e. Using of effective verbs and nouns.
- f. Grammatical correctness.

In consequence, the attention should be paid for both words and sentences in the newspaper's writing style (Samad, 2013).

2.3.2 News Values in News Media

“The news media select events for reporting according to a complex set of criteria of newsworthiness; so news is not simply that which happens, but that which can be regarded and presented as newsworthy... the more newsworthiness criteria an event satisfies, the more likely it is to be reported” (Fowler, 1991, p. 12). These criteria are called ‘news values’. News values have been examined by a number of researchers who consider them to be principles of selection, professional criteria, cognitive constraints, audience preferences, and qualities of items (Bednarek, 2016). Hence, Montgomery (2007) defined them as “principles of inclusion and exclusion may be summed up under the heading of news values” (p. 5). Richardson (2007) considered them as “the criteria employed by journalists to measure and therefore to judge the

‘newsworthiness’ of events” and to “select, order and priorities the collection and production of news” (p. 91). In addition, Bell (1991) described them as “the values by which one ‘fact’ is judged more newsworthy than another” (p. 155). For van Dijk (1988, p. 121), news values are constraints that “have a cognitive representation” providing “the cognitive basis for decisions about selection, attention, understanding, representation, recall, and the uses of news information in general” (p. 119). They are “the (imagined) preferences of the expected audience” (Richardson, 2007, p. 94), and “the qualities that make a news item ‘newsworthy’” (Cotter, 2010, p. 67).

Based on these definitions, linguists believe that news values play an important role in the news process. Through these values, journalists measure and judge the perceived newsworthiness of events based on what they imagine their audiences find newsworthy and use this judgment to select (include/exclude), order and produce news stories (Bednarek, 2016). So, news values can be considered to have cognitive, social and discursive aspects. In van Dijk’s (1998) words, values are culturally “shared mental objects of social cognition” and “applied by social members in a large variety of practices and contexts” (p. 74), and discursive strategies may establish (p. 262), select, or emphasize specific values (p. 286). In addition to these aspects about values in general, a fourth dimension can be recognized: a ‘material’ dimension. Therefore, news values can be framed within four dimensions which are defined in table 2.1, as follows:

Table 2.1

Dimensions of News Values (Bednarek, 2016, p. 28)

Dimensions of news values	Definition	Its related question
Material	An event in its material reality holds potential news value	What are an event's potential news values?
Cognitive	News workers and audience members have beliefs about news values and newsworthiness	What beliefs do news workers and/or audience members hold about news values?
Social	News values are applied as selection criteria in journalistic routines and practices	How do news workers apply news values as criteria in selecting what events to cover and publish?
Discursive	News values can be established/constructed or negotiated through discourse	How are news values communicated through discourse, pre-, during, and post-news production and in news products?

By focusing on language in news media, Bednarek (2016) argued that “newsworthiness is... treated as a quality of news media talk and text, and news values are conceptualized as the ‘newsworthy’ aspects of actors and events as constructed through linguistic resources” (p. 28). Most previous comments on the relationship between language and news values (Bell, 1991; Cotter, 2010) appear to suggest that news values exist independently of language or prior to the news text and/or assume a mono-directional process, one where news values ‘drive’ or become ‘embedded’ in language.

Additionally, referring to news values as ‘constructed’ or ‘established’ emphasizes the constitutive dimension of texts in what Fairclough sees as the dialectical relationship between texts and society/culture, where “[t]exts are socio-culturally shaped but they also constitute society and culture, in ways which may be transformative as well as reproductive” (Fairclough, 1995a, p. 34). It is also in line with the assumption that cognitive representations are “(re)produced as well as (re)constructed by social practices” (van Dijk, 1998, p. 228), including discourse. Using the words ‘construct’ or ‘establish’ aims to emphasize the basic aspect of social reproduction, where social practices sustain, continue and change the system (van Dijk, 1998, p. 229).

Fowler (1991) offered a number of conditions of news values, including: frequency; threshold; meaningfulness; consonance; unexpectedness; continuity; composition; reference to elite nations; reference to elite people; reference to persons; reference to something negative. According to van Dijk (1988), there are a number of more specific cognitive constraints that define news values, including: novelty (news about new events), recency (the events described be new themselves), presupposition (events presuppose extant knowledge and beliefs), consonance (news should be consonant with socially-shared norms, values, and attitudes), relevance (information is preferred about events or actions that are relevant for the reader), deviance and negativity (news about negative events such as problems, conflict, crime, war, or disasters), and proximity (the value of local and ideological proximity of news events. Ideological proximity derives from general consonance criteria. Local proximity includes knowledge presupposition and relevance).

Likewise, Caple and Bednarek (2013) opined that some news values concern apparent qualities of the event or the people involved in the events; they include

negativity, impact, timeliness, proximity, and prominence. It can be argued that events have qualities making them newsworthy and, therefore, they are selected for publication. Additionally, researchers take into consideration elements of journalistic practice including considerations of written and spoken style, the structure of the story, and the clarity of the construction of the information. Such values are glossed by many researchers as unambiguity, simplification, brevity, and clarity (Caple & Bednarek, 2013). In short, news values represent social, economic, political, and ideological qualities of news events that make them newsworthy to be published in various news media.

2.3.3 Hard News vs. Soft News

News stories can be distinguished according to their content and function (Ljung, 2000). For Lehman-Wilzig and Seletzky (2010), the most basic distinction of news types is dichotomous: soft news and hard news. They (2010) characterized hard news as having a high level of newsworthiness (i.e., news value usually regarding politics, economics and social matters) demanding immediate publication. In contrast, soft news does not necessitate timely publication and has a low level of substantive informational value (i.e., gossip, human interest stories, and offbeat events). Likewise, Curran, Salovaara-Moring, Coen, and Iyengar (2010) defined hard news as reports about politics, public administration, the economy, science, technology and related topics; while soft news is defined as reports about celebrities, human interest, sport and other entertainment-centered stories. Baum (2003) opined that hard news is normally presented in newspapers and news magazines (print and television), devoting a good portion of their space and/or time to public interest matters. However, soft news offers people an alternative that maximizes their utility because

it combines entertainment and information by focusing on the more entertaining, shocking, or scandalous aspects of politics (Prior, 2003).

Reinemann, Stanyer, Scherr, and Legnante (2011) argued that despite the relevance concerning the potential softening of news, there is no clear definition of hard and soft news. Accordingly, these authors (2011) found several problems in relation to studies on the distinction between soft and hard news including the lack of a consistent definition of hard and soft news as well as, in most studies, these terms are used to describe a specific set of characteristics combined in news items. For example, Shoemaker and Cohen (2006) defined hard and soft news in this way that items of hard news are urgent new events that must be reported immediately because they become outdated very quickly. Soft news items are usually based on non-scheduled events. This definition is based on one dimension to distinguish between hard and soft news that is its topicality or timeliness. On the other hand, Patterson (2000) differentiated between them as follows:

Hard news refers to coverage of breaking events involving top leaders, major issues, or significant disruptions in the routines of daily life, such as an earthquake or airline disaster. Information about these events is presumably important to citizens' ability to understand and respond to the world of public affairs. Soft news... is more personality-centred, less time-bound, more practical, and more incident-based than other news (p. 3-4).

Patterson's definition denoted the multi-dimensional character of his understanding. In fact, he refers to public policy components, sensationalism, human-interest elements, and the use of collectives and self-references as indicators of a softening of news. According to this interpretation, it is not only the topic of a news item that makes it a 'hard' or 'soft' one, but also the framing of an event or topic linking it to the public good, to policy issues or to society at large (Reinemann et al., 2011).

In relation to the news stories used in this study, these news stories are concerned with a political event that is the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Iraq. This event has had social, political, and economic implications affected the Iraqi government and its people. As a result, it can be said that most of the news items selected to be analyzed in the study are related to hard news.

2.4 Power of Newspaper Discourse

Newspaper discourse has the power to influence the audience. This is manifested by the linguistic properties of news stories and the structure of headlines, leads, background information, or quotations. Influence is defined as a mind control technique (van Dijk, 1996a). van Dijk (2008) argued that the significance of power lies in the control of context, of discourse, and even the control of individual's minds.

Pennycook (2001) believed that power is derived from the context of society in which it is practiced, regardless of the place or the institution as it can be practiced everywhere. Power in the discourse of newspaper does not reflect the coercive control that is practiced by the institutional dominance or the organizational control upon news editors and journalists, or the control of certain political actions; rather it reflects the power of language use in expressing social, political, economic, cultural, or any other events, the effect of language use on the audience and its ability to create persuasion and attract audiences' attentions/attitudes.

The relationship between journalists and their target audience is maintained through the power of language use as being understood by the audience (Shuaibu, Soye, & Sharndama, 2013). In this case, language is considered not only to be a means of

communication, but a means of power reflection and performance as well. Performance of power refers to power conceptualization as exercised through representing practices like practicing of certain ritual acts (Howard, 2010).

Language affects the newspaper discourse; it can make it powerful or powerless through the use of linguistic expressions with more/less effective meanings. Words can achieve such function as they, in Taiwo's (2007) expression, "carry the power that reflects the interests of those who speak or write" (p. 218). Words are essential in language and they influence the outcome of whatever we write or say (Pam, 2012).

Currently, in news media discourse, the concept of power is related to the influence that they reflect on the audience. The main means that can activate this influence, especially in printed media, is language. "Language is a fundamental part of our character, an expression, and a mirror of what and who we are... Language represents and creates relationships between the speaker and the receiver and these relationships can include the factors of power, control and domination" (Carter & Aulette, 2009, p. 214). Language is crucial in the implementation of power, it expresses and enacts control (Hunter & Cooke, 2014). Language functions as the creative force in human culture and history. It is deeply involved in the power dynamics (Hovey, 2003; Logemann & Piekkari, 2015). Pam (2012, p. 52) framed language as "a tool used in achieving a variety of communicating goals or meeting certain needs imposed upon human life and experience".

The main functions of newspaper discourse are: to inform and to persuade the audience. In addition, it is distinguished for its multi-dimensional dialogic nature, i.e., it reflects the dialogue that is made between the article text and its reader

(Smirnova, 2009). News does not visualize facts only, but it represents the organizational structures and professional practices (Bell, 1991). Language of newspapers provides new forms of power and access to representation regulated by news production and distribution. Power structures creation involves language use (Conboy, 2010).

Language use is related to the implementation of the linguistic features, rhetorical aspects, and effective expressions. The lack of one of the linguistic features, such as: tag questions, hesitations, disclaimers, hedges, or any other negative features, provides a powerful language, whereas, their use stands for powerless language (Blankenship & Holtgraves, 2005). The use of powerful language refers to social power, credibility, attractiveness, and intelligence (Blankenship & Holtgraves, 2005).

In short, the power of newspaper's discourse does not reflect the control or dominance of the editorial organizations over the news writers/journalists/reporters rather it provides the effective language use that should be influential, beneficial, attractive, and persuasive. Such effects of language use on the audience of newspapers are regarded as powerful characteristics for any newspaper. As more persuasive, rhetorical, and attractive is the news, the more powerful its effect will be. As a result, persuasion has a crucial role to play in the newspaper as it provides the effective power of news media depicted by language use on the audience.

2.5 Language Use in Newspaper Discourse

Language use has an important role in the news writing system as it reflects the ability of the journalist/reporter to portray events in a beneficial way. Topics that are related to the study of language use in media discourse and newspapers are not new

since they have been studied by many researchers and tackled in many theses and dissertations, all of them focus on investigation of how language has been used in the newspaper (Albakry, 2007; Alireza & Samuel, 2012; Galantomos, Andreou, & Gourgoulianis, 2011; Mahmood, Obaid, & Shakir, 2014; Taiwo, 2007; Timuçin, 2010). The importance of language use in newspapers has been a subject of many studies (Bonyadi, 2011; Hanusch, 2008; Hjarvard, 2004; Roksvold, 2010; Urbanová, 2009, 2012) in which authors agreed that language influences the audience through the ways of presenting a news event including word choice and grammatical structure.

Newspaper's language can be used as a means of education and literacy in language learning (Shahzada, Mahmood, & Uzair, 2012; Uzair, Mahmood, & Raja, 2012), depiction of religious issues (Akbarzadeh & Smith, 2005), in political manipulation (Rozina & Karapetjana, 2009), and even in economic context (Bielenia-Grajewska, 2009). In 1980, Harris clarified that newspapers bear the meaning of communication and sociality through the language use.

Language is the best means of communication as it reflects our social and human activities. Through language use, we can express what we think and do either in spoken or written discourses (Harris, 1980; Richardson, 2007; Taiwo, 2007), it does not reflect our reality, but it also creates reality (Taiwo, 2007). Others, like Pennycook (2004), identified newspaper's language as a means of informing and representing various trends in social interaction. Language of newspapers stands for different verbal concepts and views with regard to our activities. The essential role of a newspaper is not just to create news, but to create readers as well (Conboy, 2010). Bell (1991) and Popp (2006) agreed on the notion which depicts newspapers as institutions for language formation and realization. Therefore, in general, the

realization of cultural, political, social, ideological, and economic issues should care for the role of language use in news media discourse, particularly in press, as the relationship between media and language use is an important one in relation to critical and analytical studies (Shojaei, Youssefi, & Hosseini, 2013). The acceptance of the news language and its concepts plays a part in the language spreading (Ives, 2004).

Another important matter in the news discourse is the audience since it is the audience who determine which language style to be used in newspapers (Roksvold, 2010) as it is noted by Bell (1991) that the audience's trends has a crucial role in selecting the style of language use.

According to Roksvold (2010), the investigation of news language is an interesting field since it is incorporated into daily life, but its hidden processing is unknown for us. Then, he adds that language of media is the best means to discover the changes in linguistic standards since media provide the up-to-date events and other developments. As for Aitchison (2001), changes in linguistic standards are due to the internal and external linguistic preconditions represented by physiological conditions which stand for speech organ shape that leads to the omission of words' ending consonants and unstressed syllables, and social conditions which stand for the impact of foreign languages and social needs on the language use.

Language represents the culture of its society. It is regulated by the syntactic, semantic, pragmatic, and stylistic standards. Critiques of newspapers are often focused on the syntactic standards than other ones. According to the critics, the language of newspaper should be grammatically correct and its diction should be

constant to reflect stability which is considered to be a good feature for newspapers' language (Roksvold, 2010).

It is obvious that language of newspapers depends on certain factors and standards in order to be accepted and have a good quality. Such factors are related to the role of editors/writers/authors in selecting the topics that can attract audience's attention; audience, in turn, has a crucial role in determining the style of news language as looking for their attitudes, trends, and their interests toward certain topics and events. These events need to be depicted in a good writing style which depends on the linguistic standards to be taken in consideration. The linguistic standards that form the main concern of the current study are represented by semantic, pragmatic, and stylistic standards as they play a part in news discourse and can affect it.

2.6 Semantics, Pragmatics, and Stylistics of Language Use in Newspaper

The semantic, pragmatic, and stylistic features have a great impact on language used in newspaper discourse. While the news is being composed, both journalists and readers seek for the good characteristics of newspaper language. Such characteristics are simplicity, creativity, attractiveness, preciseness, and seriousness. The standards of language are represented by those characteristics. Preciseness, attractiveness, and seriousness stand for semantic standard; whereas pragmatic standard is revealed by the resource; as for stylistic one, it is related to simplicity and creativity. These are considered to be the characteristics of a good newspaper language (Roksvold, 2010).

Semantics is defined as the study of meaning in language (Lyons, 1977); the study of meaning communicated through language (Saeed, 1997); the part of linguistics that is concerned with meaning (Löbner, 2002). Thus, semantics is related to the study of

meanings. Although the events share the same meanings in various newspapers, the way in which they are expressed is different. This resulted in the differences in the selection range of a proper meaning for an event (Rodríguez, 2006). The extraction of the semantic characteristics from a certain text depends on the linguistic and cognitive rules and strategies (van Dijk & Kintsch, 1983). The semantic characteristics are defined by topic, theme, or the essence of a text. These characteristics are related to the meaning of larger sections of a text, the meaning of a whole text, and reference (van Dijk, 1985a).

van Dijk (1985a) added that there are three summarizing principles, called macro-rules, can be used to extract the topic of a text. These principles are deletion, generalization, and (re-)construction. They are used to make the text meaning simpler, more general, and abstract. Through these principles, the topics, themes, or essences of a certain text can be described and identified. The main feature of these principles is their recursiveness, i.e., they can be applied more than one time in order to obtain shorter abstracts. This can be applied to semantics of the headlines in newspapers as it is valued for their context as informative, creative (Ifantidou, 2009), and short abstracts.

With regard to pragmatics, Malmkjaer (1991) defined it as “rules and principles which govern language in use” (p. 354). Pragmatics deals with the analysis of context and the factors that surround it in any form of communication. Therefore, it is related to the study of language in context (Samaniego, 2001). Pragmatics in the news discourse is related to the investigation of how language is used to depict an event and have a considerable effect (Zelizer, 2004).

The nature of language use is described as transactional in addition to its being as representative and expressive. Thus, analysts who are engaged in discourse studies often study the pragmatics of linguistic choices and their aimed cognitive effects. Consequently, this involves studying the eclectic elements of language which are used in in a context; besides, explaining their functions, social implications and their constraints in that context (Molek-Kozakowska, 2014). Pragmatic studies deal with the analysis of beliefs, desires, and intentions (Larrazabal & Korta, 2002).

Newspapers have a basic distinctive characteristic represented by their instrumentality. They are judged for their correspondence with the expressed events since they have a referential description of the real world. News items provide sociocultural practice of language use (Vilarnovo & Sánchez, 1992). Headlines as a part of the news item in newspapers have a semantic function, in relation to the referential text, and a pragmatic function, in relation to the addressed audience. Both functions depend on each other, i.e., the pragmatic function integrates and supports the semantic function. Headlines give the audience hints about the text content and thus they reflect a pragmatic function which incorporates a semantic function in it. It is a fact that the function of headlines is to urge, warn, and inform the audience about the news content (Iarovici & Amel, 1989).

Concerning the stylistics, it refers to the ways of the appropriate language features as selected to be used in spoken or written discourses (Li, 2009; Winter, 1969). The content of the message identifies what has been said/ written by an author, and the language that is used in that content identifies its style. Therefore, stylistics defines the relationship between the meaning and the way in which it is produced (Abioye, 2009). The ways of expression in accordance with language use are different from one individual to another despite dealing with the same event. Hence, each writer has

his/her own style to express his/her notion. The character is well represented by the style (Pam, 2012) which could be the individual's language habits (Crystal & Davy, 1980), the expression manner, variant ways of presenting the same message, or a journalistic style. To put it in short, style stands for the personal touch which is recognized by people and can distinguish one from another (Abioye, 2009).

The quality and popularity features of newspapers depend on their style and content. On the one hand, for a newspaper to have a quality feature, it should be in broadsheet format, addressed to educated audience, and covering current issues with more information. Popular newspapers, on the other hand, have the entertaining flavor with a concise form and more illustrations. They cover human issues in few words and more pictures (Rodríguez, 2006).

The individuality of the discourse is created by the style. It is the style which differentiates one writer from others. Style describes the way of language use in a certain genre (Li, 2009), visualizes the reality (Pam, 2012). Style is concerned with the text uniqueness and reveals the good qualities of writing. It functions to be influential, interest, stimulus, and persuasive (Li, 2009).

In sum, the linguistic characteristics of newspapers namely semantic, pragmatic, and stylistic can characterize other functions of language use in newspaper discourse. Semantics can reveal the meanings of words that are used to express an event. Such meanings have to suite the event and visualize its reality without manipulation in order to be credible. Pragmatics looks at how these meanings have been used and what effect they have in representing that event, i.e., it looks at the use and effect of language in newspapers. While stylistics has another different function in relation to language use in newspapers, it can make the newspaper of high/low quality,

popular/unpopular, distinct/ordinary, etc., this depends on the way in which language is used in expressing the events. As a result, all of these characteristics are important in the study of language of newspapers.

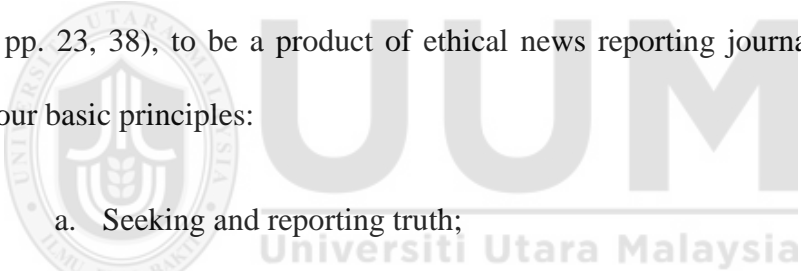
2.7 Discursive Practices in Newspaper Discourse

Discursive practices represent the processes of production and consumption of texts. In other words, they focus on journalists' ways of producing a text to be consumed and understood by the target audience (Richardson, 2007). Jørgensen and Phillips (2002) explained that "analysis of discursive practice focuses on how authors of texts draw on already existing discourses and genres to create a text, and on how receivers of texts also apply available discourses and genres in the consumption and interpretation of the texts" (p. 69). In this sense, the linguistic features along with other features of text production must be under the focus in the discourse analysis. Richardson (2007) argued that newspaper journalism differs from other discourse genres. He (2007) justified such argument on the basis that journalists subject to various violent reactions represented by imprisonment, harass, and killing practiced by military and governmental officials in order to stop them doing their job. This, in turn, reveals the importance of newspaper discourse and the processes of its production. Richardson (2007) added that:

Newspaper discourse fulfils particular functions; has been created in accordance with particular production techniques and in specific institutional settings; is marked by particular relationships between other agencies of political, judicial and economic power; is characterized by particular interpersonal relations between writer and reader; and is consumed, interpreted and enjoyed in ways that are specific (p.).

Based on this description, newspaper discourse is characterized by the journalistic, professional, and organizational practices. It integrates different ways of meaning-

making to produce social relations via communication process. According to Fairclough (1995b), journalistic texts are “the outcome of specific professional practices and techniques, which could be and can be quite different with quite different results” (p. 204). The professional practice in newspaper discourse is characterized by the development and application of journalism’s codes of ethics. In journalism, “ethics is the consideration (by academics and journalists themselves) of what journalism should or ought to be doing” (Richardson, 2007, p. 83). Belsey and Chadwick (1992, p. 1) (as cited in Richardson, 2007, p. 83) stated that “journalism remains an honourable profession, because it has an honourable aim, the circulation of information”. Such ethical codes are related to the ethical process of newsgathering and the ethical product in the form of the news. According to Iggers (1999, pp. 23, 38), to be a product of ethical news reporting journalists must have these four basic principles:

- 
- a. Seeking and reporting truth;
 - b. Acting independently, of sources and other journalists;
 - c. Minimizing harm; and
 - d. Being accountable for their work.

Based on these principles, journalists have to be objective in reporting the news events. Objectivity is a major value and a key concept in modern journalism. Journalists’ objectivity lies in distancing themselves from the truth claims of the report. This is realized by the reported speech included in the news report representing the fact and opinion of people other than the journalist (Richardson, 2007). The organizational structure of the news organization or news product is intended to reflect objective judgments about the relative social importance of various fields of human endeavour, distorts the complex play of forces that determine

the allocation of space and resources. The journalistic product emerges from a dynamic that is shaped by a number of competing forces of differing strengths and directions (Iggers, 1999). The audience represents a key determining force. The consideration of the audience affects the choice of story and the tone and style of its representation (Richardson, 2007). So, the audience plays a key role in the production of news media discourse.

The relationship between newspaper and audience, and between producer and consumer can be realized through specific aspects such as news agenda and values, linguistic style, and intertextuality. Consistent with Richardson (2007), “news values are the criteria employed by journalists to measure and therefore to judge the newsworthiness of events” (p. 91). Thus, the news has to be interesting and appealing to the target audience, and hence they are the “ground rules” used by journalists to select, order, and prioritise the collection and production of news (p. 91). A detailed explanation of news values is presented in section (2.3.2). Linguistic style is related to the variations in the lexical and syntactic structure of news text (see section 2.9).

Finally, intertextuality is realized in the linguistic features of the text. Hence, it is related to the surface structure of the text, i.e., what is included in the text and how (Fairclough, 1992b; Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002). Intertextuality can be external or internal. On the one hand, external intertextuality is signalled by the intertextual chains such as the use of a running story on the development of a certain event over a period of days. It is revealed in the use of discourse markers (such as another, additional, and further) and modifiers (such as new). Additionally, external intertextuality can be expressed by the use of wh-questions (Fairclough, 1992b). On the other hand, internal intertextuality is expressed by the use of prior texts in present

texts. Therefore, a news report may include a quote from a source either involved in the reported action/event (information) or commenting on it (evaluation), or background information taken from the archive, or all of these three types (Fairclough, 2003). Speaking about reported speech, it is important to examine the way in which it is produced. Reported speech has a crucial role in the news reporting. A large amount of the daily news in any newspaper is written in response to the prior speeches of politicians or academics (Fairclough, 2003). These prior texts can be incorporated in the present text in various ways. Fairclough (2003, p. 49) listed four types of reporting a prior text, as follows:

- a. Direct reporting: Quotation, purportedly the actual words used, in quotation marks, with a reporting clause (e.g. She said: 'He'll be there by now').
- b. Indirect reporting: Summary, the content of what was said or written, not the actual words used, no quotation marks, with a reporting clause (e.g. She said he'd be there by then).
- c. Free indirect reporting: Intermediate between direct and indirect; it has some of the tense and deixis shifts typical of indirect speech, but without a reporting clause. It is mainly significant in literary language (e.g. Mary gazed out of the window. He would be there by now. She smiled to herself.).
- d. Narrative report of speech act: Reports the sort of speech act without reporting its content (e.g. She made a prediction).

In addition, Richardson (2007, p. 102) added another type that is scare quotes. In this type, "the reported speech... or thoughts of others are often placed in quotation marks in order to indicate their contentious nature" (e.g. "Jury hears father's 999 call admitting 'murder' of son").

Based on the above, it is clear that there is a dialectic relationship between the processes of text production and consumption. This relationship involves the analysis of journalists' ways in reporting the news events to their audience through language use. News is produced by a producer in mind is and consumed by a target audience. Accordingly, the producers know the class, education attainment, values, and preferences of their audience who, in turn, know the brand of the newspaper, its politically partisan commitments, and its news values. Thus, the news text must be viewed in this context of dialectical process of production and consumption.

2.8 Social Practices in Newspaper Discourse

Social practices mediate the relationship between social structures and events. This mediation is represented by intermediate organizational entities between structures and events. Social practices are defined as ways of controlling the selection of certain structural possibilities and the exclusion of others, and the retention of these selections over time, in particular areas of social life (Fairclough, 2003). Social practices cover the structures, the institutions, and the values that permeate and structure the activities and outputs of journalism (Richardson, 2007). Social practices are networked together in particular and shifting ways, and hence through the use of language. Language can be regarded as amongst the abstract social structures. It defines a certain potential and excludes others, certain ways of combining linguistic elements are possible whereas others are not (e.g. in English it is possible to say/write 'the book', but 'book the' is not) (Fairclough, 2003).

These ways are conceptualized in accordance with orders of discourse. An order of discourse is a network of social practices in its language aspect. The elements of orders of discourse are not things like nouns and sentences (elements of linguistic

structures), but discourses, genres and styles. These elements select certain possibilities defined by languages and exclude others; they control linguistic variability for particular areas of social life. So, orders of discourse can be considered as the social organization and control of linguistic variation (Fairclough, 1992b). Social practices surround and shape the work of journalists. This means that when analysing the social practices of newspaper discourse, the analyst has to examine the relationships between journalism and the social formation as a whole. The study of social practices of news discourse assumes a dialectical relationship between society and journalism. Society influences the work of journalists in various ways, from the constitutive effects of ideology, social structures, social power, other agencies and institutions to the values and preferences of the target audience. Journalists act upon the world, producing and reproducing social realities through either maintaining or transforming social beliefs (Richardson, 2007). The transformation of social beliefs could be a result of economic, political, and ideological effects. Accordingly, the analysis of social practices has to consider such effects on the text production.

Violent actions affect the media who report on it, and, it does so, from an economic standpoint. The way a story is reported is important for many news media, especially since many entities thrive on ratings, and sensationalizing stories plays a role in that attracting an audience (Richardson, 2007). Sensationalism characterizes how journalists use and present news articles or information to the public to create interest or incite agitation. Sensationalism is designed to stimulate strong response based on amplification of the details by the media as well as uninhibited details of news items (Grabe, Zhou, & Barnett, 2001). As a result, news audiences become highly interested in the details which are responsible for the emotional arousal experienced by listeners or readers of the news.

In addition, governmental, military or other powerful institutions can exploit journalists' access to them in order to control the content of the eventual news texts. In this sense, the content of news text can be shaped by the social and political actors other than journalists via controlling the ways used by journalists in the text production. The ideological and political effects of news discourse can be realized through systems of knowledge and belief; social relations; social identities ('selves') (Fairclough, 1992b). Ideological practices justify, smooth over and naturalise the contradictions and exploitation of capitalist societies. They work through signs, i.e., through the circulation of ideas, representations, and portrayals of social reality. A Marxist perspective on the ideological functions of language in use maintains that in every social formation it is the ideas of the ruling class that are dominant (Marx & Engels, 1974 as cited in Richardson, 2007, p. 134). This means that "the ruling ideas are by and large compatible with or at least do not openly confront the ideas or (or an important distinction) interests of the ruling class" (Wayne, 2003, p. 135 in Richardson, 2007).

Consequently, texts in newspaper are influenced by the economic, political, or ideological practices of those in power who dominate the discursive practices of those under their domination. By doing so, they can propagate their ideas and beliefs to be deepened in the minds of the audience. Newspaper discourse is the best way for the powerful people, institutions, or any other organizations to do so. This can be realized through the linguistic features used in the texts to present an event that is what they are and how they are employed in the production of the news text to serve the powerful class.

2.9 Linguistic Structures in Newspaper Discourse

The language of news discourse, particularly written discourse, is a language that undergoes a restricted processing to be well-organized in form and content. Such processing needs to concentrate more on the linguistic structures to reveal its consistency and quality. These structures are related to the form of language use, style, and expressions that portray the tackled issues/events. In this sense, the linguistic structures are signaled by lexical choice, rhetorical figures, syntactic structures, and semantic features. Such structures represent the power of language user in practice (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). Zelizer (2004) clarified that the heart of journalism lies in language. Journalism combines the formal features of language (formed by grammar and word choice) and less formal features (as texts, narratives, and forms of storytelling) to create a various information system since journalism refers to printed press, radio, TV, and new media. Fowler (1991) identified the basic linguistic structures employed in newspaper discourse, as follows:

- a. It is transitivity (whether the verb takes an object or not) that can change neutral reporting. In most cases transitivity is maintained and both the agent and the object are mentioned (e.g. PC shot boy from 9 inches), passive without an agent occurs rarely (A boy was shot...).
- b. Clause transformations, namely passive (e.g. Robber's son, five, killed in his bed) and nominal (e.g. Mr. Tom King rejected a call...) instead of (Mr. Tom King rejected that he called...) are significant. Generally, passive construction is used when the article is not interested in the agent as much as in the action itself. It is even emphasized when the agent is deleted. On the other hand, active sentence stresses the agent and thus imply his or her responsibility.

- c. Vocabulary is another major determinant. Fowler stresses the occurrence of so called ‘maps’ which are related words. For example, an article from the field of police investigation contains many words from this map (alleged, police, involved, suspect, inquiries, solicitor etc.).
- d. Modality as ‘comment’ or ‘attitude’ is noted. There are four types of such comment: truth (expressions like will, could, certainly, unlikely), obligation (must, ought to, should), permission (can, may) and desirability (e.g. she was right, it is barmy).
- e. Speech act must be mentioned. In this sense, “a speech act is a form of words which, if spoken or written in appropriate conditions, and under appropriate conventions, actually constitutes the performance of an action” (Fowler, 1991, 88). Such words are for instance declare, name, promise, announce, request, ban and many others.

Accordingly, different features can be used to express the desired message in regard to language use. Such features can be achieved through the syntactic structure of a sentence, e.g. the use of active/passive constructions (Fowler, Hodge, Kress, & Trew, 1979), simple/complex sentences, or any other type/pattern of sentence structure to reflect diversity in the form of language use. In the same vein, Fairclough (1992a) suggested a number of linguistic features to be considered when analyzing texts from different discourses, including newspaper. These features are represented by lexical, syntactic, and semantic features.

On the lexical aspect, the use of figurative language forms (like hyperbole, sarcasm, and irony) is considered to be a worthwhile feature for newspaper to use it in order to prove and establish itself as a quality newspaper (Laitin & Gómez, 1992). Fairclough

(1992a) emphasized on the importance of word choices and figurative expressions, such as metaphors, in CDA. Such choices must be analyzed to determine what factors (cultural, ideological, etc.) behind them. He (1992a) believed that texts contain words signifying different meanings. For instance, there are words having general or local cultural significance, words with variable and changing meanings, words having potential meanings as a mode of hegemony and a focus of struggle. Such meanings can be interpreted in relation to the ways in which they are worded in different texts. In this concern, Fairclough (1992a, p. 237) provided questions to be considered in relation to the lexical choices, as follows:

- a. Does the text contain new lexical items, and if so what theoretical, cultural or ideological significance do they have?
- b. What intertextual relations are drawn upon for the wording in the text?
- c. Does the text contain evidence of over wording or rewording (in opposition to other wordings) of certain domains of meaning?

In addition, Fairclough (1992a) differentiated three dimensions of grammar including transitivity, modality, and theme. These dimensions correspond respectively to the ideational, interpersonal, and textual functions of language (they are explained in detail in section 2.18). Concerning the semantic relations between the clauses and sentences of the text, cohesive features should be considered in the analysis to reveal how clauses and sentences are connected together in the text. In this sense, the analyst has to examine the types of cohesive markers (such as reference, ellipsis, conjunction, lexical) of functional relations used in the texts (Fairclough, 1992a).

Moreover, van Dijk (1985a) added that summarization is another feature to be used in news writing, i.e., language users and readers can summarize the difficult parts of information with one or few sentences which represent the essence of the whole content. This essence reflects the most important notion of the text and defines the core of what has been said or written. Abstraction can be used by language users as a feature also. It is carried out through substituting a sequence of a certain text, e.g. describing actions sequence by a single concept in order not to be expressed in the text at all (van Dijk, 1985a).

Understanding of such features and processes of text and concluding its main themes need a well-educated reader/audience who knows more about the news format and information system. The use of headlines and the lead is an important feature in the constructing of the thematic structure of the whole text (van Dijk, 1985b). Accordingly, such features do effect on the comprehension of the whole text since they are related more to the construction of the content meaning as a whole unit along with grammatical structure of used sentences. All of these features can be exploited by news writers/journalists to produce more acceptable and influential news depending more on the language and its characteristics that help to increase the effectiveness of newspapers and their spreading.

2.10 (De)Legitimation Strategy and Discourse

In theory and origin, legitimation refers to making something legal or legalized. From the Latin word 'legitimus' (for example, lawful, legal), the word is related to 'lex/legis' (for example, law, agreement) (Reyes, 2011). Legitimation is always the legitimation of the practices of specific institutional orders. It adds the answer, sometimes explicitly, sometimes more obliquely, to the question 'Why' – 'Why

should we do this?’ and ‘Why should we do this in this way?’ The concept of legitimation can link, on the one hand, social practices, and on the other hand, discourses of value (van Leeuwen, 2007, 2008). In other words, it links institutions to a broadly accepted cultural framework of beliefs, rules and values (Johnson, Dowd, & Ridgeway, 2006). In their turn, the social practices, organizations, notions and ideas are classified as subjects of legitimation (Deephouse & Suchman, 2008). For Reyes (2011), legitimation is

... the process by which speakers accredit or license a type of social behaviour. In this respect, legitimization is a justification of behaviour (mental or physical). The process of legitimization is enacted by argumentation, that is, by providing arguments that explain our social actions, ideas, thoughts, declarations, etc. In addition, the act of legitimizing or justifying is related to a goal, which, in most cases, seeks our interlocutor’s support and approval (p. 782).

This definition conceptualizes legitimation as a process of approving or justifying a social behavior through argumentation. Fairclough (2003) defined legitimation as the “widespread acknowledgement of the legitimacy of explanations and justifications for how things are done” (p. 219). The very act of legitimation per se implies an attempt to justify action or no action or an ideological position on a specific issue (Reyes, 2011). In the same vein, Lavrusheva (2013) opined that legitimation refers to social acceptance and recognition through which something becomes taken-for-granted. It plays a significant role in general social life. The process of legitimation occurs in a common social reality, which elements correspond to collective norms, values and beliefs. These elements of social order are assumed to be widely shared by participants, even though they might not share them personally (Johnson et al., 2006). Legitimation is viewed as a problem in the process of social reality construction, defining “what is becomes what is right” (Johnson et al., 2006, p. 57).

Moreover, a critical aspect of legitimation is related to the ways of justifying social practices manifested within various discourses where contextualization is developed to give meaningful insights to explain the social practices, social structures and their significances (Gng, 2014). Consequently, this justification plays a role in obtaining social acceptance concerning events or actions in questions. Social acceptance, in turn, is a primary objective for any institution or organization as it links them to a widely accepted system of norms, opinions and beliefs. Therefore, it is essential to persuade the society that the conducted actions are trustworthy and reliable (Lavrusheva, 2013).

Legitimation is considered to be among the most effective ways that make things accepted and commonly known in a society. This is achieved through language or, more accurately, discourses. Consistent with van Leeuwen (2008), legitimation is a prominent function of language use and discourse. It is obviously a complex social (and political) act, and it is typically accomplished by text or talk. In political discourse, legitimation is described in terms of “a linguistic enactment of the speaker’s right to be obeyed” (Cap, 2008, p. 22). It is connected with the need to promote certain representations (Chilton, 2004), as well as with the speaker’s authority, rationality and ‘rightness’ (Cap, 2008). It is manifested by various strategies for listing reasons to be obeyed, such as “the awareness and/or assertion of the addressee’s wants and needs, reinforcement of global and indisputable ideological principles, charismatic leadership projection, boasting about one’s performance, positive self-presentation and many more” (Cap, 2008, p. 22).

On contrast, de-legitimation refers to direct or indirect negative other-presentation, serving the purpose of explicating why the others should not be obeyed. As Chilton (2004, p. 47) noted, de-legitimation includes “acts of blaming, marginalizing,

excluding, attacking the moral character of some individual or group, attacking the communicative cooperation of the other, attacking the rationality and sanity of the other. The extreme is to deny the humanness of the other.” Legitimizing one other requires implicitly or explicitly delegitimizing the opposite other in order to put them against each other and persuade the readers to follow on them (Chovanec, 2010). According to van Leeuwen (2007, 2008), a single event can be shown as positive (legitimized) or negative (delegitimized) through several discursive structures. These discursive structures or strategies are described as “specific, not always intentional or conscious, ways of employing different discourses or discursive resources to establish legitimacy” (Vaara et al., 2006, p. 794) or illegitimacy.

Being both “an indicator of legitimation by society-at-large and a source of legitimacy in their own stead” (Deephouse & Suchman, 2008, p. 56), the media acts as a legitimacy mediator, creates or transfers implicit or explicit legitimacy assessments. Nowadays, the popular media plays a significant role in the legitimation processes due to its “power to influence knowledge, beliefs, values, social relations, and social identities” (Fairclough, 1995a, p. 2). In order to become widely accepted, the information about new practices should be distributed within the institutional field. Hence, newspapers are reliable tool for popularization of different activities and making them socially accepted. Providing meaning to related events and making sense out of existing social knowledge by a specific presentation of information, journalists are regarded as agents between social reality and general public perception (Fiss & Hirsch, 2005). They are important players in promotion and moderation of discourses by certifying or suppressing particular concepts (Vaara & Monin, 2010).

Despite the fact that journalists have a significant power in legitimation, deciding how to edit and present the flows of information, they are highly dependent on the audience, as well as on the source of information (Vaara et al., 2006). The mass nature of an audience is a core characteristic of the media events, which emphasizes extent of the influential power and the ideological potential of the media, as well as possible desire of the government to control or, at least, take advantage out of it more or less directly (Fairclough, 1995a). Sharing membership with a social group involved in an event legitimizes the speakers' opinions regarding the event, the news related to the event or the actions taken in response to a specific event (Hutchby, 2001).

2.11 Pronouns

The definition of pronouns was based on Latin and Greek sources: Latin *pro-nomen*, Greek *anto-numia* standing for a noun. The pronoun is defined as standing for a noun or as a substitute for a noun or a noun phrase (Beard, 2000; Wales, 1996). As for Crystal (1995), the personal pronoun is a grammatical form referring directly to the speaker (first person), addressee (second person) or others involved in an interaction (third person). Fairclough (2001) described pronouns as certain values that are encoded in different formal aspects of language. Bull and Fetzer (2006) argued that “because of an individual’s multiple social, discursive, and interactional roles, pronouns can refer to more than one identity and therefore can express multiple meanings” (p. 5).

According to Wales (1996), there are eight types of pronoun, including personal, possessive, reflexive, reciprocal, relative, interrogative, demonstrative, and

indefinite. As far as the personal and possessive pronouns are concerned in this study, they are described in Table 2.2 below (adapted from Wales, 1996, p. 13):

Table 2.2

Description of Personal and Possessive Pronouns

Classification of pronouns	Number Case	Gender Case	Personal pronouns		Possessive pronouns	
			Subjective case	Objective case	Determiner function	Nominal function
1 st	Sg.		I	Me	My	Mine
	Pl.		We	Us	Our	Ours
2 nd	Sg. and Pl.		You		Your	Yours
3 rd	Sg.	Masc.	He	Him	His	
		Fem.	She	Her		Hers
	Pl.	Non-personal	It		Its	
				They	them	Their

According to Table 2.2, personal pronouns are classified into three types: 1st (I and we), 2nd (you), and 3rd (he, she, it, and they). Grammatically, these pronouns have two cases, including subjective and objective cases. Semantically, they are

distinguished in terms of number, singular (Sg.) and plural (Pl.), and gender (masculine (Masc.), feminine (Fem.), and non-personal). Concerning the possessive pronouns, they perform two functions, namely as determiners (my, our, your, his, her, its, and their) and nominals (mine, ours, yours, his, hers, its, theirs).

Pronouns comprise a varied class of closed-class words with nominal function. Here, 'nominal' means 'noun-like' or, more often, 'like a noun phrase' (Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech, & Svartvik, 1985). The 1st PP and 2nd PP are characteristically used in the situational context, and refer normally to human beings, for instance, in a dialogue the speaker (I) and addressee (you) properly interpersonal pronouns. However, the use and function of 3rd PP can be seen as more stylistic than that of 1st PP and 2nd PP, since in the canonical speech situation (I) and (you) are normal/ (almost) obligatory (Wales, 1996). Of all the pronouns, perhaps the pronoun (I) seems the most innocent referent, so it seems an incontestable self (Pennycook, 1994). Bramley (2001) argued that 'I' is a term of self-reference and not a substitute for a noun or name as is the case with third person pronouns. Similarly, Beard (2000) stated that 'I' among others show a clear sense of personal involvement which is especially useful when good news is delivered. Pennycook (1994) and Wales (1996) denoted that 1st PPI (*We*) is generally used to refer to the speaker and third parties who may or may not be present in the immediate situation. It has two references; it refers either to the speaker and addressee (inclusive *We*), or to the speaker and another (exclusive *We*). The use of the exclusive (*We*) can be exploited to share responsibility. Inclusive (*We*) refers to the speaker and the listener. Jones and Wareing (1999) stated that 1st PSg (*I*) clearly declares who is responsible while 1st PPI (*We*) makes the status of responsibility unclear.

The 3rd person is anyone or anything else, who may or may not be present (he, she, it, they), but with a non-participatory role (Quirk et al., 1985). Thomas (1995, p. 10) assumed that “it can be difficult to assign reference correctly to any utterance containing a third person pronoun (he, she, it, they) since these have an almost infinite number of possible referents”. The 3rd PP (he and she) are identified as singular pronouns referring to human beings; whereas (it) normally refers to non-humans (animals and objects) (Quirk et al., 1985). The 3rd PPI (they) refers to people in general. One of its sociolinguistic functions is in the distinguishing of in-groups from outsiders, ‘us’ from ‘them’ (Wales, 1996).

2.12 Ideology in Newspaper Discourse

Language has a crucial role in constructing and deconstructing ideologies (David & Dumanig, 2011). One crucial way in which language affects social actions and relations is through the normalization of ideology. Ideology is a difficult term to define (Hart, 2014). The definition usually adopted in CDA corresponds roughly with ‘world view’, where ideologies are seen as normalized patterns of belief and value (Hodge & Kress, 1993). Ideology refers to “significations/constructions of reality (the physical world, social relations, social identities), which are built into various dimensions of the forms/meanings of discursive practices, and which contribute to the ‘production, reproduction or transformation of relations of domination” (Fairclough, 1992a, p. 87).

From a critical standpoint, however, ideology is not just any world view. Rather, it carries a pejorative meaning and is applied to perspectives promoted in the interests of specific social groups (Eagleton, 1991). Altschull (1984) defined ideology in terms of support for and reproduction of an overall socio-political system. For van

Dijk (1998), ideologies involve an Us/Them polarization and, typically, positive beliefs about and attitudes towards Us and negative beliefs about and attitudes towards Them. Ideology is a systematic body of ideas organized from a particular point of view (Hodge & Kress, 1993). “Ideology is most effective when its workings are least visible” (Fairclough, 1989, p. 85). Texts are not ‘innocent’; as Fairclough (1995a, p. 202) argued, we should ask ‘how are the texts designed, why are they designed in this way, and how else could they have been designed.

According to Taiow (2007, p. 221), ideology refers to “attitudes, set of beliefs, values and doctrines with reference to religious, political, social and economic life, which shape the individual's and group's perception and through which reality is constructed and interpreted”. van Dijk (2006b) believed that “there are no personal or individual ideologies, only personal or individual uses of ideologies” (p. 729). Fairclough (2006) stated that “ideologies are representations which contribute to the constitution, reproduction, and transformation of social relations of power and domination” (p. 23).

Fairclough (2006, p. 29) added that “if ideology is representations (discourses)”, it will be “(a) action and its social relations (and genres); (b) persons/subjects (and styles), as well as (c) the material world”. Additionally, “if ideology is a relation between texts (in meaning-making) and power, it is a relation between orders of discourse and power, and even languages and power, because meanings achieve relative stability and durability in social practices and social structures”. Ideology becomes important in the social and cultural representation due to its role in managing the society and its related activities. It guides the social activity within in-group and out-group members of the community (Muqit, 2012). As a term, ‘group’ denotes a cluster of similar elements shared by its members. Members who have

traits different from those of the in-group are categorized as out-group members. Hence, it is common that in-group members frequently address themselves as ‘we’, whereas out-group members are referred to as ‘them’ (David & Dumanig, 2011).

Scholars generally agree on the social nature of ideology: it is about social relations, consciousness, and power struggle which play important parts in carrying out ideological objectives (Zaidi, 2012). Ideology, thus, is also about the consciousness of those relations (Thompson, 1984). Ideology, it can be argued, is one mechanism by which a ruling group tries to deceive and control the ruled. van Dijk (1998) stated that dominated groups need ideologies as a basis for resistance. This means that ideologies in general are not wrong or right, but rather more or less effective in promoting the interests of a group. The main social function of ideologies is the coordination of the social practices of group members for the effective realization of the goals of a social group, and the protection of its interests. This applies both to group-internal social practices as well as to interaction with members of other groups. Given this general function of ideologies, it is of course true that many ideologies develop precisely in order to sustain, legitimate or manage group conflicts, as well as relationships of power and dominance (Thompson, 1984; van Dijk, 1998).

van Dijk (2006a) argued further that if ideologies are acquired, expressed, enacted and reproduced by discourse, this must take place through a number of discursive structures and strategies. For instance, the use of the pronoun *we* is one of these structures, typically used to deictically refer to the in-group of the current speaker. van Dijk (2006a) presented a table on the formal properties of ideological expressions in discourse termed as ‘some expressions of ideology in discourse’. According to him, this is organized by discourse levels, such as those of global and

local meanings, lexicon, syntax, sound structures, formats, rhetorical structures and interactional structures, namely by Forms, Meanings and Actions. The underlying ideologies at each of those levels occur by emphasizing or de-emphasizing in many ways the good or bad properties of our own group and the good or bad properties of the outgroup.

Ideologies reflect the basic criteria that constitute the social identity and define the interests of a group. That is, ideologies may be represented as group self-schemata, featuring such categories as Membership ("who belongs to our group? Who may be admitted?"), Activities ("What do we do?"), Goals ("Why do we do this?"), Values ("How should we do this?"), Position ("Where are we? What are our relations to other groups?") and Resources ("What do we have, and what do we not have?") (van Dijk, 1998). Because these schemata are ideological, the way groups and their members represent themselves and others may of course be biased, when seen from the point of view of others (van Dijk, 1998).

In addition, ideology is a characteristic of a collectivity, group, community or organization and is not solely a property of individuals and their belief systems. So, if there are ideological aspects to the news, they vary as a function of the newsroom and news organization (Schiff & Francis, 2006). Shoemaker and Mayfield (1987) explained the production of news content in terms of five kinds of variables: social reality; media routines; journalists' socialization and attitudes; social and institutional influence; and ideological positions. Journalists are members of a news organization and a profession. The ideology of professional journalism constrains news-workers in manufacturing the news, demanding that their stories be fair and balanced in terms of political bias, that they not editorialize in the news columns and that they take a middle-of-the-road stance between two sides of a story (Schiff & Francis, 2006).

In the last century, it has been witnessed that media is used effectively as an ideological strategy of power in terms of shaping the public opinion. Content of the newspapers can give us traces about the purpose of the related ideology. Ideology has an extended set of meanings which gives a rich elasticity to itself. Ideology generally refers to social power relations and political economic background. But it is ineffective without deed and practice. Ideology may be put into practice by representation and communication (Yılmaz & Kirazoluğu, 2014).

Pursuing specific interests, the truth manipulation and misrepresentation are widely involved in the building of an ideology. Therefore, media discourse is built on the set of multifaceted and often conflicting processes, and have a deep ideological nature, widely utilized in the institution of dominant public beliefs (Fairclough, 1995b). Media, as an effective ideological tool, bind society to sovereign power by will rather than pressure. Newspapers play an important role as part of the media in shaping the provision of consent. Media has an important function in imposing its thoughts to public by pretending as if it is independent of power. It also helps to maintain social control by formatting social thought according to the ideology of the ruling. In fact, public opinion is not the voice of society; it is the voice of power (Yılmaz & Kirazoluğu, 2014).

2.13 The Relation between Pronouns and Ideology

David and Dumanig (2011) stated that “The use of pronouns is a linguistic means of including the people. It... aids in giving people a role and acknowledges their contribution to the work achieved to date” (p. 18). Meyer (2001) indicated that “In principle we may assume that categories such as... pronouns can be analyzed in any linguistic method, but that they are crucial for CDA” (p. 16). Based on these

statements, it is clear that pronouns have a crucial role in both linguistic analysis and CDA, and hence it is important to reveal their role in presenting different ideologies in relation to newspaper discourse.

Wilson (1990) claimed that pronominal selection in context can be made with the intention of manipulating the meaning of what is said; one can thus say that pronouns reveal social relations, attitudes and ideological positions. Allen (2007, p. 3) believed that “it is in the politicians interest to present themselves as multi-faceted in order to appeal to a diverse audience, and a careful pronoun choice is one way of achieving this aim”. The essence of analyzing pronouns in political discourse, as such, is that they help in reconstructing these various identities, associations, actors and ideological groupings (Bello, 2013). Pennycook (1994) argued that pronouns are very complex political words that raise difficulty about who is being represented.

Fairclough (2001) believed that English pronouns have relational values, i.e., values that help to construct social relationships which can be excluded or included with ideological ease. Wodak (2005) opined that pronouns, especially personal plurals, can be “used to induce interpreters to conceptualize group identity, coalitions, parties and the like, as insiders or as outsiders”. Likewise, Bramley (2001) claimed that pronouns are not merely a way of expressing person, number and gender as is suggested by traditional grammarians nor do they only do deictic or referential work, they must be thought of in terms of the context of interaction and identity work that they accomplish. The use of third-person pronouns (singular or plural) shows that the current speaker tries to deictically refer to his outgroup (Oyeleye & Osisanwo, 2013).

The importance of pronouns in discursive structures and strategies cannot be overemphasized, since ideologies are enacted and reproduced through discourse.

According to Kondowe (2014), “The choice of 1st PP (*I, we*) and 2nd PP (*you*) may provide different meanings in the interpretation of the text. Therefore, the choice of pronouns is also assumed to be ideologically driven” (p. 79). Personal pronouns are very much related to the relationship of power and solidarity (Hasan, 2013). Constant employment of a pronoun like *I*, for example, may indicate a high degree of involvement of the speaker with a topic or a commitment to authorship, but does not tell anything about the speaker's relationship to others, while use of a pronoun like (*We*) can both give indications on authorship and on identification with others (De Fina, 1995).

Whether in political speeches, academic writing, or many other forms of language use, there is an instant claiming of authority and communality in the use of (*We*). When anyone wants to claim the right to speak for a larger group using 1st PPl (*We*), there is always a double assumption of authority and communality. If (*We*) claims authority and communality, it also constructs a (*we/you*) or a (*we/they*) dichotomy. Thus, these two pronouns must always be understood with reference to other assumptions about who is being defined as the (*We*) from which the (*You*) and the (*They*) differ. This is particularly significant in the context of the construction of the Other (Pennycook, 1994). 2nd PP (*You*) seems to imply an assumed Other who is being addressed rather than described. Both (*You*) and (*They*) thus frequently operate as the signifier of an assumed Other whose naming, whether as an explicit othering or as an implicit assumption of difference, is always a question of cultural politics, of how people come to represent themselves and others (Pennycook, 1994).

The reference of 1st PSg and 2nd PSg is very simple as the referents are normally the speaker and the addressee, whereas the reference of especially 1st PPl is more complex (Dam, 2015; De Fina, 1995). The meaning structure of (*we*) has more

complex referential presuppositions than (*I*). The pronoun (*I*) is a pure index, whereas (*We*) at least invites the addressee to think of who else than (*I*) is being talked about. Depending on the context, (*we*) includes or excludes the addressee, can refer to two or more persons, as well as constituting a metalinguistic act of “same-saying” by which one applies the same proposition to a set of people one has in mind (Goddard, 1995, p. 107). The inclusive use of 1st PPI is a widespread phenomenon in different contexts (Sotillo & Wang-Gempp, 2004). Bennett (2002) opined that politicians are among the many people who use it in an inclusive sense to foster some kind of identification of interest between speakers and addressees. Not only is 1st PPI used with the aim of getting close to the reader, 2nd PSg is also used with this aim. As stated in Dam’s (2015) study, the direct addressing by means of 2nd PSg in mass communication is adopted from personal face-to-face communication and indicates closeness between the participants. 2nd PPI can also be used in order to construct communities with ascribed identities and thereby generalizations; however, it does not have the same rhetorical effect as 1st PPI because the speaker in this case does not belong to the community and as such cannot speak on behalf of it. But it has another effect, which is it makes the addressee responsible for an act. Thus, it is an othering strategy (Dam, 2015).

Moreover, as Wilson acknowledged (1990, p. 58), reference to self or others can be achieved in discourse through the use of possessive pronouns, like 'my', 'our', 'your', etc; therefore, a taxonomy of items that can realize personal reference in English cannot be limited to personal pronouns but should include other types of pronouns. The context organizes the ideological discourse structures which control the social representations. Well-known ingroup–outgroup polarization that organizes ideologies

may be coded in the text by the use of pronouns like *us* and *them*, and possessives like *our people* (van Dijk, 2006a).

Pronouns have a crucial role in the representation of ‘us’ and ‘them’. Besides their role in identifying the person, gender, and number, they have a referential and deictic function which must be examined in the interaction context and in terms of the identity work accomplished by them (Bramley, 2001). Function and meaning should be context-dependent. The strengthening of different referents is used to show antagonism to opponents or solidarity with an audience to get the approbation of the audience (Lee, 2011). van Dijk (1998) believed that

Pronouns are... the best known grammatical category of the expression and manipulation of social relations, status and power, and hence of underlying ideologies. In-group membership, outgroup distancing and derogation, intergroup polarization, politeness, formality and intimacy, and many other social functions may thus be signalled by pronominal variation. Ideologically based respect to others may be given or withheld by using familiar or polite pronouns of address. Given the group-based nature of ideologies, group polarization and social struggle is thus prototypically expressed in the well-known pronominal pair of Us and Them. Indeed, there are few words in the language that may be as socially and ideologically loaded as a simple we (p. 203).

In this quotation, van Dijk highlights the importance of pronouns as an ideological indicator of groups’ identities and relations in discourse. They can be used to differentiate between in-group and out-group members and their representation through language use. Personal pronouns can indicate (or obscure) collectivity and individuality (Fairclough, 2003), or they can be used for ‘self’ or ‘other’ referencing or as a way to polarize representations of in-groups and outgroups (van Dijk, 2001b). For example, 1st PPI (*We*) has a semantic quality of “deictic pointing” which helps in making explicit identification in discourse (Duszak, 2002, p. 2), besides having the referential quality which clarifies the distinction between inclusivity and exclusivity of two groups of people. The meaning of personal pronouns is highly influenced by

the social and political 'spaces' within which people and groups are positioned or position themselves (Chilton & Schäffner, 1997). Their choice and interpretation mediated by a number of different social and personal factors including (in)formality, status, solidarity, and power (Wilson, 1990).

Personal pronouns can be located on a distancing scale: "a pronominal window into the thinking and attitude of politicians towards particular political topics and political personalities" (Wilson, 1990). 3rd person pronoun can indicate closeness and/or distance in relation to 'self' and 'other' referencing and its distance from the 'deictic centre' of the distancing scale (Chilton, 2004; Wilson, 1990). The flexibility of pronominal reference is exploited by politicians to represent various identities in relation to 'self' and 'other'. Politicians use such reference strategy to place themselves and others appropriately. Thus, are crucial in representing the reality that is produced and realized in the current discourse (Bramley, 2001). Accordingly, the current study focuses on revealing the way in which KG has employed personal and possessive pronouns to represent the U.S. government and its forces, the Iraqi politicians, as well as Iraqi people in relation to its ideological practices.

3rd PPI (*They*) also frequently functions as a call to an unspecified authority. This may be to some assumed general consensus, or some assumed group that defines what is right, or it may refer to some more specific forms of authority such as newspaper columnists, or to various forms of academic authority. In each case, (*They*) serves as a kind of mask, as a way of hiding the locus of authority which apparently supports one's views, and of persuading the listener or reader to accept the statements as givens, as common knowledge, as statements whose general but unnamed authority renders their truth hard to question. This masking function also of course occurs in the 'neutral' third person pronoun 'it' (Pennycook, 1994).

The ideology has a capacity to construct many things within the same members of group. It is inevitably controlling the social practice and the discourse. On the other hand, it can create a relationship in terms of group relation, such as power and dominance. Pronoun is used to cover the ideology and power relation. The context of the power inside the pronoun shows the metaphorical and metonymical agent in which it is directed by the speaker or user of the discourse. It is understood by analysing how the discourse is embodied in the appropriate pronouns to clarify the intended message (Muqit, 2012).

2.14 Thematic Structure in Newspaper Discourse

The thematic structure signifies the hierarchical organization of themes or topics of a text, theoretically accounted for in terms of semantic macrostructures. The thematic structure, thus, defines what is the most important information of a text. It contains the respective topics and their mutual relations (van Dijk, 1988). It is represented by themes. According to van Dijk (1985b), theme refers to the semantic structure that summarizes “fairly complex units of information with one or a few sentences”. Thus, “themes... organize what is most important in a text. They, indeed, define the upshot of what is said or written” (p. 74). Fries (1994) opined that “theme is the orienter to the message conveyed by the clause. It tells the reader how to understand the news conveyed by the clause” (p. 234). Consistent with Brown and Yule (1983), theme has two main functions: to connect back to the previous discourse and to provide a starting point for further development of the discourse. Fairclough (1995a) stated that thematization plays an important part in the combination and sequencing of clauses.

The main goal of a thematic analysis is to determine the themes in each news discourse and to establish their conditional (linear) and hierarchical relationships and

their semantic specification in the text. In this way, differences in news reports may be seen. Except from the constraints of relevance and news schema, it is the top-down organization of topical structure that also determines the order in which topics and subtopics will appear. Even then there are exceptions. For rhetorical reasons discussed earlier, some topic detail may nevertheless occur high in the relevance structure, even in the headline, if it satisfies one of the interesting or salience criteria of the news (van Dijk, 1988).

The instalment structure of news reports also affects the realization of their thematic structure. Each schematic category dominates a hierarchical semantic structure, with macro-propositions on top. This means that the thematic structure organized by the schema is also realized in instalments, "top down": The main themes are realized first (in Headlines and Lead), and then the main theme defining the Main Event, then the main theme of the Backgrounds, and so on. Usually, each textual paragraph, often consisting of one or a few long sentences, coincides with one instalment of the combined thematic-schematic structures (van Dijk, 1986).

2.15 Approaches to Study News Discourse

This section sheds light on the approaches used to study newspaper's language. The current study attempts to examine the (de)legitimation and ideological processes of language used in newspapers through investigating how the content of a news event is being organized. Accordingly, this study is framed under the sociology of language and political economy approaches. Sociology of language is concerned with patterns in media, content of media, information transmission, and beliefs cultivation. On the other hand, political economy approach demonstrates the impact

of political and economic practices on the content of news event to influence the production of news and achieve political purposes.

2.15.1 The Sociology Approach

Sociology of language studies effect of language on/in society. It is a sub field of sociolinguistics that concerns society's effect on language. It is pioneered by the most famous sociologist Joshua Fishman who was the founding editor of the International Journal of the Sociology of Language. Language along with other features reveals attitudes that are interacted or reproduced by the addressors through the use of language. In this sense, such attitudes form the essence of sociology. Sociology of language looks for investigating the effect of language use (either by an individual or a group) on social dynamics. The exercise of social power, the mediation of social relations, the reproduction of society and culture, and the organization of social experience are significant in sociology and media studies. The sociological study of communication is an attempt to answer the simple question of 'who says what, in which channel, to whom and with what effect?' Besides, it studies the way in which individuals'/groups' identity is reflected through the use of language and seeks understanding of their expressions and other linguistic features that enhance their role in the society. News is formed by individuals in a social setting. Therefore, the factors of influence, formation and control on different levels of news production and consumption should be investigated (Berkowitz, 1997). Journalistic values that are shaped by newsworthiness, conduct/product norms, reality and news collection, political impact on news production, as well as the social and cultural values should be paid more attention in relation to media sociology (Berkowitz, 1997).

The sociology of language “focuses upon the entire range of topics related to the social organization of language behavior, including not only language usage per se but also language attitudes and overt behaviors toward language and toward language users” (Fishman, 1971, p. 217). This indicates the notion that language is a social value and frames the study of language use by individuals or social groups (Chen, 1997).

In 1997, Fishman classified the study of sociology of language into two parts: descriptive sociology of language and dynamic sociology of language. The former attempts to answer the question of “who speaks (or writes) what language to whom and when and to what end?” to reveal language usage standards, i.e., the regulated social patterns of language use and of behavior and attitude toward it, for a certain social network and community, both large and small. Whereas the latter is related to the question of “what accounts for different rates of change in the social organization of language use and behavior toward language?” to clarify the reasons and ways of distinguishing the social organization of language use and behavior toward language in the same social networks or communities on two different occasions (pp. 26-27). Nevertheless, as the mass communication content production is regarded as a planned collective activity rather than a result of individual’s effort, thus the sociological analysis of the mass communicator should take into consideration the social context within which those communicators work. The individuals’ uses of mass media and the satisfactions that are acknowledged from those media formulate the interests of sociologists (Holz & Wright, 1979).

News is important and needed by all of us as it reveals the hidden ideologies and processes besides keeping us in touch with the worldwide events to make them apparent and meaningful for us. Although the writers/journalists/reporters have other

needs for conducting news, all individuals are daily newsmakers by virtue of their desires to share in the news process (Molotch & Lester, 1974). Shoemaker and Reese (1996) argued that information about society is provided by different sources like: staffs' files and documents, book reviews, opinion samples, and media reports. Lasswell's model of communication was the primer work that describes the process of communication regarding the questions of: 'Who, Says What, Through Which Channel, To Whom, With What Effect'. Researches of mass communication have investigated these components (the communicator, media content, the medium, the audience, and the effects; the answers of Lasswell's model respectively) with more focus on audience and effect. News provides information about the changing world and events that impact our lives.

Power is the essential factor in the analysis of social relations. Although it is regarded as abstract concept, power can be revealed through expressions. Powerful relations are the concern of news media which, in turn, produce those relations depending on powerful sources like wealthy officials and elites. By covering major events and issues, media can influence the audience. News media represent social reality about different countries (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). This means that media do not reflect the world in any empirical sense, but instead help construct and maintain it by re-presenting particular meanings and understandings of reality (Berger & Luckmann, 1967). The media are part of larger social processes that construct and encourage some meanings (generally those of dominant social groups) over others (generally social subordinate groups) and they do this via discourse (language that is infused with particular meanings and not others).

The production context of media is organized by content. Media content is the result of certain filters that are symbolized by media ownership and news sources. Media

content is represented by messages. Understanding of messages promotes the factors that impact media. Media can affect the audiences' attitudes, values, and beliefs (Reese, 2008). Reese (2008) added that the influence model hierarchy determines five levels of influence: individual, routines, organizational, institutional, and ideological (socio-cultural). The media are designed only to "reinforce existing opinions" rather than to change minds (Gitlin, 1978, p. 216) though they have a significant role in molding the society's thinking (Lean, 2007).

2.15.2 The Political Economy Approach

Schudson (2002) stated that it is difficult to determine the relation between ownership of news organizations and the character of news coverage. Currently, Noam (1991) (cited in Schudson, 2002) contended that this difficulty increases due to the combination of public and commercial systems of ownership. Schudson (2002) argued that both state and market constrain free expression; however, they employ different comprehensive and severe means, involve various motives, and have different consequences of controls. This reveals the influence of political and economic organizations on the news production, which, in turn, has an effect on the political and economic policies. Thus, this needs to be studied using a political economy approach.

Originally, political economy is an approach/term used for studying the ways in which media is produced, distributed and consumed, rather than on analyzing the interpretations of the signs and symbols found within texts (Kellner & Durham, 2006). According to Mosco (2009), the political economy of media and communications studies "the social relations, particularly the power relations, that mutually constitute the production, distribution, and consumption of resources,

including communication resources” (p. 2). The combination of the terms ‘political’ and ‘economy’ is an explicit reference to the fact that media texts are produced within specific and historically contingent systems which are not merely an ideologically neutral form of exchange, but are conditioned by a range of complex interactions between the state, the economy, social institutions and practices, culture, and organizations like the media (Kellner & Durham, 2006). In other words, it focuses upon the ways in which politics and economics are not separate entities, but that economics and politics are fields which are best understood as being entangled, i.e., they are functionally inseparable, and that understanding elements of this entanglement is pivotal to understanding how society and culture works.

According to Schudson (2002), it is for public to criticize state policy in liberal societies with privately owned news outlets than in authoritarian societies with either state or private ownership. This suggests that forms of ownership do not predict as much about news content as the forms of government within which the media operate. State-operated media in authoritarian political systems serve directly as agents of state social control. Both public and privately owned media in liberal societies carry out a wider variety of roles. They support the established order, notify the citizenry about flaws in that order, provide a civic forum for political debate, and serve as a battleground among contesting elites (Schudson, 2002). Kellner and Durham (2006) contended that “Inserting texts into the system of culture within which they are produced and distributed can help elucidate features and effects of the texts that textual analysis alone might miss or downplay” (p. xxvii). Consequently, a political economy approach to media systems focuses on the effect of culture on revealing the discursive practices involved in the processes of text production and distribution.

Mosco (2008) believed that the current political economy research demonstrates the current media systems as being the result of a deeply contested history. This does not only involve dueling capitalists and their allies in government, but also labor unions, citizen groups, consumer cooperatives, religious enthusiasts, and social justice organizations. Prat and Stromberg (2013) argued that the political economy has various contributions. First, it focuses on “the informational role of mass media”. Second, it focuses on “the economic outcomes” of the political system “in terms of variables, such as public goods provision, that directly enter the citizens’ preferences”. Third, the emphasis is on “the use of formal game theory for modelling interactions within the media industry and between the media and other agents”; for instance, the subtle interaction among media outlets that compete for audience by presenting information in a biased way. Finally, there is “a strong emphasis on identifying causal media effects using observational data” (Prat & Stromberg, 2013, pp. 137-8). Accordingly, political economy intends to reveal the relationship between political and economic organizations and the ways of news production due to the belief that these organizations constrain news media and the process of news production. Therefore, news media have to cope with different forms of political and economic influences, ranging from soft pressures to strict censorship in order to understand news-making and journalistic practices.

2.16 The Role of CDA Approach in Newspaper Discourse

Dealing with the depiction of a political event in the newspaper discourse, the study needs to be carried out through CDA approach to identify aspects of language used in newspapers and define how the political events have been handled. CDA is a methodology that enables a vital evaluation of what is meant when language is used

to describe and explain an issue in a written/spoken text. It is principally motivated by pressing social issues (van Dijk, 1993). According to Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999), CDA is a means of covering variations and forming awareness "of what is, how it has come to be, and what it might become, on the basis of which people may be able to make and remake their lives" (p. 4). Currently, CDA has proven itself as a field within the humanities and social sciences that it is commonly used to denote a recognizable approach to language study expressed across different groups (Breeze, 2011).

Through the analysis of language use, CDA aims to reveal the 'hidden power' that can influence the audience's view of the world. Analysts investigated spoken and written texts (political strategies, advertising, rules and regulations) to demonstrate how text producers use language in a way that could be ideologically significant.

van Dijk (1988) and Weiss and Wodak (2003) argued that an integrated approach to analyze texts is crucial if a satisfactory form of multidisciplinary and methodological CDA is really desired (Hart & Lukes, 2007). This denotes that a single method and approach may not produce the required results in doing CDA. Bearing in mind this argument; therefore, the approach to CDA is an eclectic method of analysis represented by Fairclough's (1995a) concept of dialectical relationship which is expected to meet the goals and objectives of the present study.

This study is based on the use of the CDA approach in the newspaper discourse. CDA contributes to the field of linguistic studies in media discourses in either spoken or written texts as it is focused on discovering hidden meanings, the relationship between language and context, the power of language use in different disciplines; in addition to highlighting texts as reflecting ideological, social, cultural, and political

ideologies (Fairclough, 1995a; van Dijk, 1995). CDA is the umbrella under which a set of various frameworks and models have been involved. The established scholars are Fairclough, van Dijk, and Wodak. Each created a model in relation to their trends, as Fairclough's model of dialectical relationship (1995a), van Dijk's socio-cognitive model (1988), and Wodak (2013) who has focused more on the historical discourse. All of these frameworks share the use of textual analysis.

van Dijk has created Socio-Cognitive model which is related to the socio-psychological side of the CDA approach. It functions as a framework to organize phenomena of social reality (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). This model is based on three constituents that clarify the way in which social ideologies are represented in media discourse. These constituents are called: discourse, cognition, and society. The role of discourse in this model is to reveal the form of discourse structures realization, i.e., the type of discourse whether it is written text, spoken text, gestures, etc. (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). Regarding cognition, it is connected with personal/social beliefs, understanding, and evaluation in certain discourse. Society, on the other hand, is related to local interlocutor relationships or global societal structures such as group/sub-group relations. The integration of these constituents leads to the descriptive, explanatory, and critical adequacy in the studies of social problems (Shojaei et al., 2013; van Dijk, 2009). Socio-Cognitive model deals with examining how power is practiced in written/spoken discourses.

The current trends in media text approaches are changed from "text-internal readings, where readers are theorized as decoders of fixed meanings, to more dynamic models, where meanings are negotiated by actively participating readers" (Meinhof, 1994, p. 212). Media role, then, is to create and recreate social meanings. Basically, texts refer to meaning making and reading processes. The focus of the

most prominent researches with regard to news discourse, the press in particular, has been in linguistic approaches to texts, especially in discourse analysis. CDA is rooted in classical rhetoric, text linguistics, sociolinguistics, applied linguistics and pragmatics as well (Wodak & Busch, 2004). Language as a social practice is the concern of CDA (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997) and the language use in context is considered to be essential (Wodak, 2000).

CDA approach is one of the discourse analysis methods used to analyze different types of discourse, spoken or written, in relation to social, political, or cultural issues. CDA approach views language as fundamental in the way that we all attempt to shape situations and society in our own interests. Therefore, in analyzing language, the focus is on examining the motivated linguistic choices of individuals, groups and institutions. This can lead to a closer understanding of the linguistic strategies they (individuals, groups and institutions) use. Moreover, CDA is used to reveal the significance of daily discourse, power relations, and new knowledge development (Taiwo, 2007). It identifies the power of language use in different discourses, whether being written or spoken, which is achieved through word choices (Luke, 1997; van Dijk, 1988). CDA approach analyzes these word choices to investigate the sources of power and bias and to identify the style in which these sources have been initiated, maintained, reproduced, and transformed in specific social, economic, political, cultural, and historical contexts (van Dijk, 1988). Wodak (1989) viewed this approach as an interdisciplinary approach to study language critically in order to examine language behavior in the situations of natural speech of social relevance. Language is a means of making reality and a form of social practice. Obviously, the media discourse language is regarded as a base of power and struggle as well as transparent. Thus, CDA approach emphasizes the need to examine the power of

language in newspaper critically. In analyzing news stories, CDA can disclose the hidden meanings that are encoded in news texts and their influence on the audience (Alo & Ajewole-Orimogunje, 2013).

According to CDA approach, the news writers reflect different ideologies and such ideologies are hidden in a stylistic form of language use. The hidden ideologies are covered by linguistic structures in news discourse that need to be examined critically in order to be revealed (Fowler, 1991). Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) clarify the effect of CDA approach in signifying the conversational nature of several social and cultural variations, saying that "... As commodities become increasingly cultural in nature they correspondingly become increasingly semiotic and linguistic, and language becomes commodified, subject to economically motivated processes of intervention and design (which entail linguistic reflexivity)" (p.83).

Concerning Fairclough's (1995a) model in relation to CDA approach, it is based on three dimensions, namely: text analysis, discourse practice, and social practice. Regarding the dimension of discourse practice analysis, it involves the analysis of production, interpretation, distribution, and consumption processes of texts. It examines how individuals interpret, reproduce, or transform texts. Whereas social practice analysis dimension concerns the relationship among discourse, power and ideology. This dimension includes investigation of how discourses operate in different aspects of society. Consequently, the text dimension is revealed through the investigation of the first two dimension, discourse and social practices (Fairclough, 1995a; Shojaei et al., 2013). Since the present study is related to study language use as a social practice in written discourse in relation to the (de)legitimation of a political event, Fairclough's (1995a) model is considered to be appropriate for this study. The model is explained in detail in the following section.

2.17 Fairclough's Approach to CDA

According to Fairclough (1995a), one does not have to carry out analysis at all levels but any level that might "be relevant to understanding the particular event" (p. 62). Fairclough (1992a) defined CDA as a systematic exploration of "opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes" to reveal the way in which such practices, events and texts take place and how they are ideologically categorized by relations of power (p. 135). Based on this definition, Fairclough developed a three-dimensional framework for studying discourse which underpinned three separate dimensions of analysis namely as texts (spoken or written), discourse practice (text production and consumption), then discursive events (socio-cultural practice) (Fairclough & Holes, 1995). Fairclough (1995a) realized "discourse practice as mediating between the textual and the social and the cultural" dimensions (pp. 59-60) and "properties of sociocultural practice shape texts, but by way of shaping the nature of the discourse practice" (p. 60). Consequently, this approach attempts to connect text, society and culture with each other.

Media texts ought to be investigated from all aspects of discourse (i.e., micro and macro structures) alongside with processes of discourse production and discourse consumption. The framework of dialectical relation suggested three dimensions of media discourse (Fairclough, 1998). The first dimension is text analysis which involves the study of the language structures produced in a discursive event. The second is discourse practice analysis which examines the processes of text production and consumption. The third one is the social practices analysis which focuses on the relation among discourse, power and ideology (Fairclough, 1995a).

Fairclough (1995a) proposed a detailed analysis of the form and function of the text, the way in which it relates to how it is produced and consumed, and the relation of this to the wider society in which it takes place. Consequently, these dimensions are a must if a full understanding of the nature of discourse and the way it operates is really desired (Richardson, 2007).

For Fairclough (1995a, p. 62), analysis in the socio-cultural practice dimension pertains to three aspects of the socio-cultural context of a communicative event: “economic (i.e., economy of the media), political (i.e., power and ideology of the media), and cultural (i.e., issues of values)”. Fairclough (1995a) posited that “an account of communication in the mass media must consider the economics and politics of the mass media: the nature of the market which the mass media are operating within, and their relationship to the state, and so forth” (p. 36). Another important property of media is its economics, because according to Fairclough (1995a), “the economics of an institution is an important determinant of its practices and its texts” (p. 40). Like other profit making institutions, the media have a product to sell. Their product is the audience of interest to advertisers (Fairclough, 1995b), as a result the mass media “are very much open to the effects of commercial pressures” (p. 42). For the press, for example, these effects could be important in determining what is selected as news and in what ways such news is published (Fowler, 1991). Politically, Fairclough (1995b) argued that media discourses “contribute to reproducing social relations of domination and exploitation” (p. 44). At the same time, he observed that sometimes the interests of the media are in conflict with the state.

As far as the analysis of the event of AMFs’ withdrawal from Iraq as a news event in the KG newspaper is concerned in the present study, the analytical activity focuses

on the text as it is the physical unit that characterizes discourse and socio-cultural practice. Adopting Fairclough's (1995a) CDA framework, the study aims to identify the linguistic features that represent the political event and its hidden ideologies in the newspaper discourse. To realize that, Fairclough's (1995a) first dimension is represented by descriptive level of text analysis using Halliday's (2014) SFL; this involves the identification of lexical and grammatical categories in relation to words, phrases, clauses, and sentences. Then, the examination of rhetorical aspects should be carried out in relation to the use of figures of speech. After that the exploration of internal and external relations of text as represented by cohesive devices.

The second dimension is the discursive practice. This dimension represents how the linguistic structures have been used to (de)legitimize the political event, represented by AMFs' withdrawal, in the KG newspaper. In other words, this dimension deals with the processes of text production and consumption. Finally, the third dimension is the social practice. This dimension shows the influence of political and ideological practices on news production. This reveals the journalistic and organizational practices that influence the production and the framing of news stories. In addition, it exposes the reasons and impacts behind the use of linguistic structures in relation to the (de)legitimation structures employed in the depiction of the event of AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq in the KG newspaper.

2.18 Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics

Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics is usually considered the main foundation of Critical Discourse Analysis. It has two components: systemic grammar and functional grammar. In SFL, language as a social phenomenon is functional, i.e., it is concerned with the mechanism of text structure, function and meaning of language.

It begins with an analysis of language in social context where a particular lexico-grammatical choice is constructed under the influence of the social and cultural context. Meaning, central to SFL, is achieved through the linguistic choices in paradigmatic and the syntagmatic levels of discourse where the words are arranged in a clause or text (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). Halliday (1978) argued that:

Discourse is a multidimensional process and text as its product not only embodies the same kind of polyphonic structuring as is found in grammar, (in the structure of the clause, as message, exchanges and representation), but also since it is functioning at a higher level of the code, as the realization of semiotic orders 'above' language, may contain in itself all the inconsistencies, contradictions and conflicts that can exist within and between such high order semiotic systems (p. 96).

This shows that discourse analysis is concerned with lexico-grammatical analysis of the language in the social, physical, cognitive, cultural, interpersonal and situational context. Halliday's SFL studies the functional and situational organization of language in the social context (Halliday, 1985). SFL is concerned with how the speakers generate utterances and texts to convey their intended meanings through the generalized meta-functions that relate language to the outside world.

According to Halliday and Matthiessen (2014), language has three meta-functions of ideational, interpersonal, and textual reflected in a huge system network of meaning potentials including subnetworks of Transitivity, Thing, and Quality with specific set of semantic features for an utterance production. The ideational function expressing the experiential and the logical content of the text explains our experience of the outer world in the environment. The textual function is language-oriented and deals with cohesive and coherent text production by organizing and structuring the linguistic information in the clause. While the interpersonal function deals with the social and power relations among language users and hence participant's situational

roles are related to the discourse produced (Halliday, 1981). Meta-functions can be paralleled to grammatical categories of context of situation like:

- a. Ideational-Transitivity-Field
- b. Interpersonal-Mood-Tenor
- c. Textual-Theme-Mode

These meta-functions are explained in the following sub-sections.

2.18.1 Ideational Meta-Function

It is the first function in Halliday’s SFL model. It is through this function that the speaker or writer embodies in language their experience of the phenomena of the real world; and this includes their experience of the internal world of their own consciousness: reactions, cognitions, and perceptions, and also linguistic acts of speaking and understanding (Halliday, 1971). In other words, this function is to convey new information and to communicate a content that is unknown to the hearer. It reflects the events and experience in both objective and subjective worlds. Table 2.3 illustrates this meta-function and its related components.

Table 2.3

The Ideational Meta-Function (Systems of Transitivity)

Verb Processes			
Type of Process	Type of Verb	Participants	Circumstances
Material	Action of doing or happening	Actor (doer of the action), Goal (affected by the verb process)	Adverbs or Prepositional phrases of place, time, manner
Mental	Perception, reaction, cognition and affection	Sensor and Phenomenon	

Table 2.3 continued

Verb Processes			
Type of Process	Type of Verb	Participants	Circumstances
Relational	Attributive and identifying	Carrier (with adjective), Token holder (with value)	
Verbal	Verbs of reporting direct or indirect speech	Sayer, Target (addressee) and Verbiage	Adverbs or Prepositional phrases of
Behavioral	Verbs of psychological and physiological behaviors	Behaver, Behavior	place, time, manner
Existential	Verbs with (there) or verbs to be	Existent	

Ideational meta-function provides grammatical resources at clause rank to construe the inner and outer experience or goings-on of the world, as the domain of functions and meanings of the world through the systems of transitivity. It has two components; logical and experiential functions (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). In SFL, logical component links grammar to the meta-functions; however, transitivity as a major component in experiential function of the clause deals with the “transmission of ideas “representing ‘processes’ or ‘experiences’: actions, events, processes of consciousness and relations” (Halliday, 1985, p. 53). Transitivity is a semantic system to analyze representations of reality in a linguistic text and create the same experience through various lexico-grammatical options influenced by different mind styles or authorial ideology (Fowler, 1986). Transitivity manifests how certain choices encode the author’s certain ideological stance affected by social and cultural institution because these linguistic codes cannot reflect reality neutrally

and definitely embody ideologies (Fowler, 1986). Transitivity also functions as a rich analytic tool utilized in critical discourse analysis, dealing with “who or what does what to whom or what?” where actor, action and goal as affected are highlighted (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014).

Transitivity demonstrates inter-related options representing different types of process or experience investigated from above, below and around, consisting of verb process, participant and circumstance. Participant is labelled in accordance with verb process employed in the text, such as Actor and Goal, Sensor and Phenomenon, and Carrier and Attribute. In addition, circumstance refers to adverbs of Cause, Location, Time, Manner, Means and Instrument (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). Process refers to a semantic verb (doing, happening, feeling, sensing, saying, behaving, and existing) and anything that it expresses like event, relation, physical, mental or emotional state when sorted in the semantic system of the clause is classified into material, relational, mental, verbal, behavioral, and existential processes (Halliday, 1976). These Linguistic processes as the products of our perception of the world are socially and culturally constructed with participants, any animate or inanimate noun phrase in circumstances expressed by adverbial and prepositional phrases (Halliday, 1985).

Material process is classified into intentional or spontaneous performance of an animate or inanimate, material processes, externalized and concrete embody an action verb of doing or happening, a doer is labeled as Actor and optional Goal, affected by the process and circumstance that provides details of the verb in terms of place, time, manner, condition, etc. (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). The processes performed by an animate or inanimate Actor are respectively called Action and Event processes. Action process can be classified into Intention and Supervening processes if respectively performed intentionally or unintentionally. Mental process

expresses such mental phenomena as perception (see, look), reaction (like, please), cognition (know, believe, convince), and affection (care, love). It is concerned with participants labelled as Sensor and Phenomenon (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014).

Relational process is classified into intensive, attributive, identifying, circumstantial, and possessive. Relational processes are concerned with the processes of description regarding the abstract relations. Irreversible attributive process assigns a quality, or adjective to a participant titled as Carrier realized by a noun or a nominal phrase. Reversible Identifying process consists of two nominal phrases as participants, a Token holder and a Value meaning, referent, and status (Halliday, 1985) that can be turned into passive voice. Halliday's Attitudinal Epithets for emotive terms whether objective or subjective, positive or negative at the rank of adjectives, adverbs and nouns in interpersonal function indicate the speaker's attitudinal approach towards an entity or event when arousing a particular image and effect in a narrative discourse and context such as lovely, attractive, fantastic, successful, beautifully, ruefully, superficially, poverty, illness, success, or meaningless (Halliday, 1994).

Standing on the border of mental and relational processes, a verbal process of direct or indirect report is related to "any kind of symbolic exchange of meaning" (Halliday, 1985, p. 129) or the ideas in human consciousness with their linguistic representation of Sayer, Target (the addressee) and Verbiage. The behavioral Process standing between material and mental processes relates the physiological and psychological behaviors, such as 'breathing; coughing; smiling; dreaming; and staring' (Halliday, 1985). Existential process are processes of existing with a there and to be with no representational function. An Existent can be an entity, event or action (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014).

2.18.2 Interpersonal Meta-Function

In the second place, language serves as interpersonal function. Consistent with Halliday (1971), the speaker or writer uses language as a means of their own intrusion into the speech event: the expression of their comments, attitudes and evaluations, and also of the relationship that they set up between themselves and the listener, particularly the communication role that he adopts of informing, questioning, greeting, persuading, and the like. Modality and Mood are often used to express the interpersonal function (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). The interpersonal meta-function concentrates on social roles and relations through formality degree, pronouns, clausal mood (whether declarative, imperative or interrogative), etc.

According to Halliday and Matthiessen (2014), in interpersonal meta-function the degree of intimacy or distance and the type of the relationship between the writer and reader or participants in a text through the type of modality can be explored; besides, the system of pronominal determination describes how a referent can be recognized through the stances of the referent regarding the speaker and listener. The interpersonal meta-function is shown in tables 2.4 and 2.5 below (for illustration, (S) refers to Subject, (F) refers to Finite, (C) refers to Complement, and (P) refers to Predicator):

Table 2.4

The Interpersonal Meta-Function (Concept of Mood)

Main Categories	Subcategories	Syntactic Structure	Example
Indicative	Declarative	S + F + C	I made this cake.
	Interrogative	F + S + C + P + ?	Did you made this cake?

Table 2.4 continued

Main Categories	Subcategories	Syntactic Structure	Example
Imperative	Marked	S + , + P + C	You, pass that pen.
	Unmarked	P + C	Pass that pen.

Table 2.5

The Interpersonal Meta-Function (Concept of Modality)

Categories	Congruent Realizations			
	Finite	Degree of Commitment	Adjunct (mood)	Predicator
Probability	Can/could, may/might, will/would, shall	Low (except for whose degree is median)	Possibly, probably, certainly	
Usuality			Sometimes, usually, always	
Obligation	Must, ought to, should, need, has/had to	High	Necessarily	Be (allowed/ supposed/ obliged to
Inclination				Be (willing/ keen/ determined/ able) to

Mood is concerned with the topic of information and whether it is giving or demanding and the tenor of the relationship between interactants. Muir (1972) and Halliday (1981) considered mood to be parallel to interpersonal communication

which embraces three grammatical categories of speech function, modality and tone. The mood element is constituted by the subject and the finite (auxiliary or lexical verb) and the remainder of the clause as the residue determines the mood of a clause as verbal group. Hence, the order subject+ finite establishes the mood as declarative, while the order finite+ subject establishes the mood as interrogative. In a system network, a clause can be declarative or interrogative with wh or yes-no format (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). In terms of finite verb, subject and tense choice, SFL helps us express the speech functions such as persuading, enticing, motivating, demanding, inviting, ordering, proposing, recommending, confirming, persisting, and denying through a set of Mood clause systems.

Semantic dimensions of functions such as declaration dealing with information exchange (statement), asking information (question), and demanding service (commands) are omnipresent in every language while the structure, organization, degree and realizations of delicate choices differ from one language to another (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). For every grammatical category, there are different realizations. Metaphorically, a command can be regarded as a statement or a question depending on how it is structured. Interactants are involved in a conversation with indicating, demanding, and evaluating responses and information through the degree of probability.

Moreover, modality refers to the intermediate ranges between the extreme positive and the extreme negative. It is one of the most important systems in social communication. On the one hand, it can objectively express the speaker's/writer's judgment toward the topic. On the other hand, it can show the social role relationship, scale of formality and power relationship. In English, except modal verbs, adverbs and adjectives, there are also personal pronouns, notional verbs, tense,

direct and indirect speeches to express modality (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014; Richardson, 2007).

2.18.3 Textual Meta-Function

The third role of language is called textual function. Halliday (1971) opined that “language makes links between itself and the situation; and discourse becomes possible because the speaker or writer can produce a text and the listener or reader can recognize one” (p. 334). The textual function refers to the fact that language has mechanisms to make any stretch of spoken or written discourse into a coherent and unified text and make a living passage different from a random list of sentences. Although two sentences may have exactly the same ideational and interpersonal functions, they may be different in terms of textual coherence (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). The textual meta-function is clarified in table 2.6, as follows:

Table 2.6

Textual Meta-Function (Concept of Cohesion)

Cohesive Devices	Categories	Semantic Structure	Subcategories	Reference
Referencing	Homophoric	Cultural shared information		
	Exophoric	Immediate situation context		
	Endophoric	Textual information	anaphoric Cataphoric Esphoric	The previously mentioned (preceding) information in text Information presented later in the text The same nominal phrase following the presupposed item

Table 2.6 continued

Cohesive Devices	Categories	Semantic Structure	Subcategories	Reference
Substitution and Ellipsis	Nominal, verbal and clausal	Avoid the repetition of a lexical item through grammatical resources of the language		
	Additive			Coordinate by adding to or negating the presupposed item (e.g. besides)
Conjunctions	Adversative	Links the clauses in text to provide elaboration, extension, and enhancement		Contrary to expectation (e.g. nonetheless)
	Clausal			Expresses result, reason and purpose (e.g. so)
	Temporal			Links by signalling sequence or time (e.g. next)
Lexical Cohesion	Synonym, antonym, metonym, or hyponym	The cohesive effect achieved by the selection of vocabulary		
	Collocation	Pair of same event lexical items co-occur within the text		

The thematic structure is concerned with theme and rheme, or the old and new information structure or topic and comment where any component in a clause like Subject, Predicator, Complement or circumstantial Adjunct can be topicalized and be placed in thematic position or the beginning of the clause which is more significant

than other locations in a sentence (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). Muir (1972, p. 98) proposed that “the thematic element in a clause is the first element which results from choice.” According to Halliday (1981) theme includes the message in a text, indicating the identity of text relations. Topic comes first and after that Comment appears to expand, justify and provide additional information to preceding information. The clause acts as a message in the thematic statuses of Theme and Rheme in terms of the local and spatial position in a sequence where Theme takes the initial position whether marked or unmarked and Rheme the non-initial position.

On the other hand, cohesion, the “non-structural text-forming relations” is related to the “semantic ties” or relations of meaning within text (Halliday & Hasan, 1976, p. 7). It consists of cohesive devices including referencing, substitution and ellipsis, conjunctions, and lexical cohesion. Referencing is classified into homophoric, exophoric and endophoric categories respectively referring to cultural shared information, immediate situation context, and textual information, referencing identifies presupposed information throughout the text (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). Endophoric referencing divided into anaphoric, cataphoric, and esphoric respectively refers to the previously mentioned (preceding) information in text, information presented later in the text, the same nominal group or phrase following the presupposed item (Halliday & Hassan, 1976). There are also personal, demonstrative, and comparative references referring to speech situation noun pronouns like he, him or possessive determiners like mine and yours, this, here, there, then, same, equal, so, similarly, and otherwise (Halliday & Hasan, 1976). According to Halliday and Matthiessen (2014), substitution and ellipsis are used to avoid the repetition of a lexical item through grammatical resources of the language. The substitution and ellipsis can be nominal, verbal and clausal.

Moreover, conjunction is classified into categories of additive, adversative, clausal and temporal. It is another semantic cohesive element links the pieces and clauses of a text together to give meaning to the text (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). Three options of elaboration, extension, and enhancement exist in conjunction. Elaboration clarifies and broadens the content by exemplification or simplification and extension adds information like Additive (besides), Adversative (nonetheless), Verifying (instead), Causal (so), and Conditional (if). Additive conjunction coordinates by adding to or negating the presupposed item, Adversative conjunctions indicate contrary to expectation, Causal conjunction provides expresses result, reason and purpose, while temporal links by signalling sequence or time.

Lexical cohesion refers to the cohesive effect achieved by the selection of vocabulary like reiteration where a lexical item directly or indirectly occurs through application of synonym, antonym, metonym, or hyponym or a super-ordinate and collocation where pair of same event or environment lexical items co-occur or found together within the text. When these lexical items are closer, the text enjoys higher degree of cohesion (Halliday & Hasan, 1976).

2.19 Van Leeuwen's Model of (De)Legitimation Categories

The discursive strategies of (de)legitimation are methods of activating specific discourses to create sense of legitimacy or illegitimacy (Fairclough, 2003). These strategies are defined as “specific, not always intentional or conscious, ways of employing different discourses or discursive resources to establish legitimacy” (Vaara et al., 2006, p. 794) or illegitimacy. Discourses were proven to play an important role in the social construction of reality: “discourse does not merely describe things, it does things” (Hardy, Palmer, & Phillips, 2000, p. 1231).

The variety of methods, which individual actors utilize to establish legitimacy, is a crucial part of CDA. Such methods can be employed in either predetermined or spontaneous way. In accordance with van Leeuwen (2007, 2008) and Van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999), there are four core types of legitimation strategies: authorization, rationalization, moral evaluation and mythopoesis. There are number of sub-categories within each type of the legitimation strategies. It should also be noted that the most efficient form of legitimation is the multiple legitimation. Therefore, actors commonly mix up various strategies in texts to obtain the best results (Vaara & Tienari, 2008).

The first category is ‘authorization’ referring to legitimation by reference to the relevant authority as subject, which can be both personal and impersonal, e.g. “Because I say so” or “According to the rule”. The second type is ‘rationalization’ indicating legitimation by reference to the utility of the particular widely accepted social practice or general beliefs within the particular social environment, for example - major religions. ‘Moral evaluation’ is legitimation by reference to certain system of values, setting ethical foundation for legitimation in the social context, such as etiquette and humanity. The last category is ‘mythopoesis’, which stresses legitimation obtained with the help of narrative, or by connecting the action in question to the past or future through storytelling (van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999; van Leeuwen, 2007, 2008). These categories are explained in the following sub-sections.

2.19.1 Authorization

Authorization is legitimation by reference to authority. Someone (or somewhat, if authority is impersonal) in whom (or in which) institutionalized authority is vested, is recognized by authority. Whether the source of authority is personal or impersonal,

this legitimation strategy is stated by mentioning the authority as a subject, as well as by reference to the particular authority (van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999).

van Leeuwen (2007, 2008) identified different categories of authority including personal, expert, role model, impersonal, traditional and conformity. Personal authority is “...vested in people because of their status or role in a particular institution”. Role model authority, on the other hand is premised on aspirational appeal that “legitimize the actions of their followers”, while impersonal authority comes in the form of laws and regulations. Traditional authority is traced to customary practices often justified as “...because this is what we always do”, whereas conformity authority is justified based on the practices of others. The six types of authority nonetheless necessitate the mutual shared knowledge (such as the cultural context) between the sender and the recipient. These categories are figured as follows:

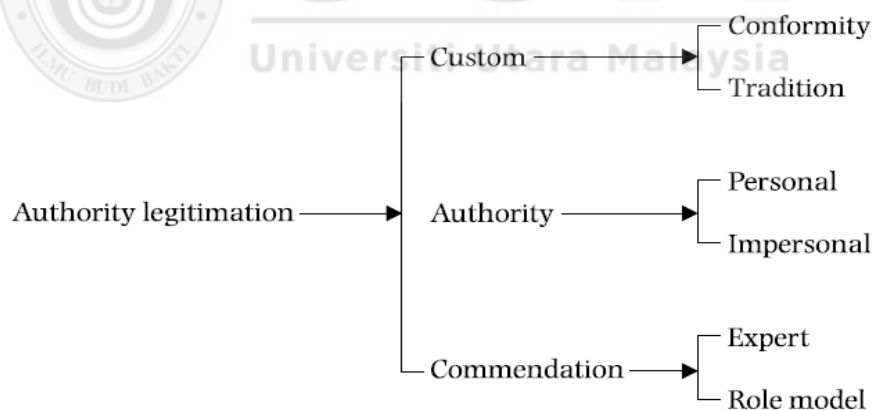


Figure 2.3. Types of authority legitimation (adopted from van Leeuwen, 2007, p. 97)

2.19.2 Rationalization

Rationalization is legitimation referring to the utility of specific practices, as well as of actors. Common sense is the basis for this legitimation strategy, along with the specialists who deliver particular aspects of knowledge, which can be utilized in the

legitimation process. This legitimation strategy justifies practices initiated within the sector by indicating what they mean, what their purpose is, what needs they are aimed to fulfil and what possible beneficial consequences they may achieve (van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999). To rationalize or de-rationalize certain changes or activities journalists tended to refer to open opinion and knowledge of influential person, who explained and assessed new practices and suggested further ways for development, which would provide benefits in the future.

Rationalization is further delineated into instrumental and theoretical rationalization. On the one hand, instrumental rationalization is asserted by what is deemed purposeful, useful and effective divided into goal, means and effect orientation. Goal orientation is the attainment of a predetermined goal, which may often be manifested in a purpose clause which van Leeuwen (2007, 2008) described as stating the desired action or state as “conscious or unconscious motives, aims, intentions, goals etc.” Means orientation refers to the way how the goals are to be achieved, whereas the effect orientation refers to the outcomes of the actions.

Theoretical rationalization, on the other hand, is premised on truthful conditions such as “the way things are” in examining an activity, but it is also explicit about the representation of that truth specifically through its definition, explanation and prediction. Definition describes one activity by linking the latter to a moralized one through signals or symbols. In explanation, the actor is depicted as doing a natural and appropriate action, while prediction is premised on the knowledge and expertise into future outcomes. Figure 2.4 illustrates the different categories of authorization as follows:

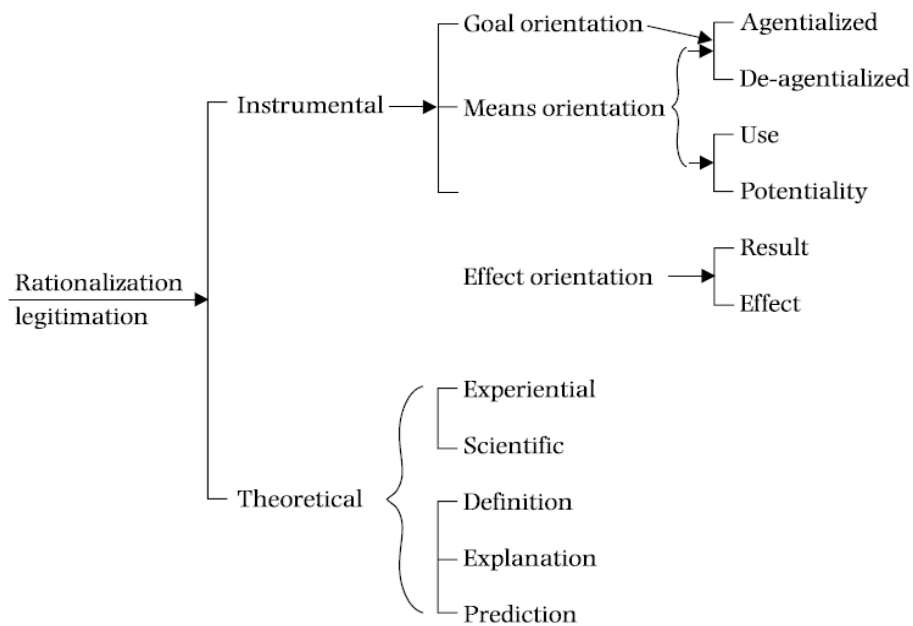


Figure 2.4. Types of rationalization legitimation (adopted from van Leeuwen, 2007, p. 105)

2.19.3 Moral evaluation

Moral evaluation is legitimation by reference to certain values. It is aimed to make the society think of negative circumstances and how they can be reduced by the introduction of new practices. This type is characterized by strong moral basis and inclusion of emotional elements in the texts (van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999).

Moral evaluation is concerned with the “specific discourses of moral value”, the common sense cultural knowledge traced within the contours of that cultural parameters that are not only that of the sender, but critically that of the recipient. The premise of moral evaluation, as van Leeuwen (2007, 2008) suggested, is based on three subcategories evaluation, abstraction and analogies (or comparisons). In evaluation, the use of evaluative adjectives on the moral or immoral aspect indicate that adjectives of naturalization often employed to legitimize intervention to a phenomenon is not really of natural order, but rather, of moral or cultural order. In

abstraction, the focus is on emphasizing selected positive moral quality of an institution or a phenomenon. While analogies (or comparisons) are used to compare one social practice to another. The following figure clarifies categories of moral evaluation:

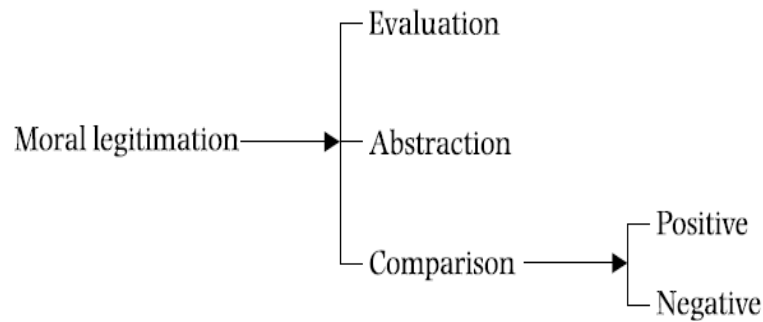


Figure 2.5. Types of moral legitimation (adopted from van Leeuwen, 2007, p. 100)

2.19.4 Mythopoesis

Mythopoesis is based on story-telling and consists of narratives linking particular activities to the past or future (van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999). van Leeuwen (2007, 2008) delineated mythopoesis into moral tales and cautionary tales. Moral tales focus on rewarding the protagonist, whereas cautionary tales penalize those who do not follow the prescribed social norms. In single determination, a narration represents events (whether to legitimize or delegitimize them) in a fairly straightforward way. Over-determination is divided into two subcategories including inversion and symbolization. In inversion, "actors and/or actions are inverted in terms of specific semantic features. A common inversion in 'going to school for the first time' stories is the inversion of the semantic feature 'human'" (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 118). In the case of symbolization, stories/ narrations "use symbolic actions, specific actions that can nevertheless represent more than one domain of institutionalized social practice" (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 119). This category is figured as follows:

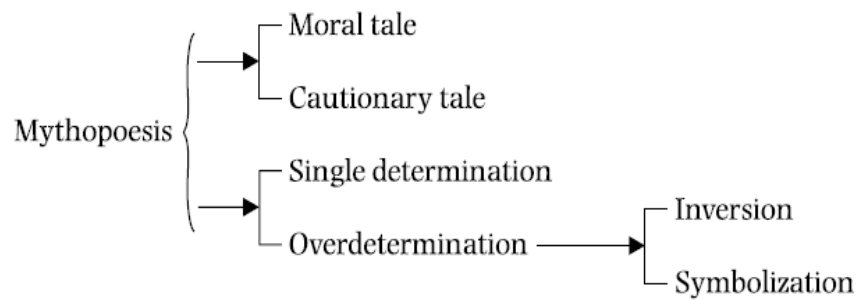


Figure 2.6. Types of mythopoesis (adopted from van Leeuwen, 2007, p. 107)

2.20 Theoretical Framework of the Study

Based on the discussion in the previous sections, the researcher intends to adopt Fairclough's (1995a) approach to CDA in analyzing newspaper texts by incorporating the three dimensions of analysis when examining power of language use in (de)legitimizing a political event in the newspaper discourse to show how the newspaper depicts the event and what are the hidden ideologies behind the depiction of that event. This study examines the language used in the KG newspaper when depicting the event of AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq to reveal whether it has legitimized or delegitimized the event in question, the role of pronouns in presenting hidden ideologies of newspaper, as well as drawing new themes in relation to the event in question.

Consequently, this involves using Halliday's (2014) SFL to examine the linguistic structures used to depict the event in question in the KG newspaper in terms of textual, interpersonal, and ideational meta-functions to show the grammatical and semantic tools that enhanced the (de)legitimation strategy in presenting withdrawal of AMF from Iraq. The strategy of (de)legitimation is analyzed by utilizing van Leeuwen's (2007, 2008) model of the discursive structures of legitimation. The two aspects of legitimation (positive and negative) are addressed to see whether this issue

is legitimized or delegitimized in the KG newspaper. Figure (2.7) below presents the theoretical framework to be adopted in the present study:

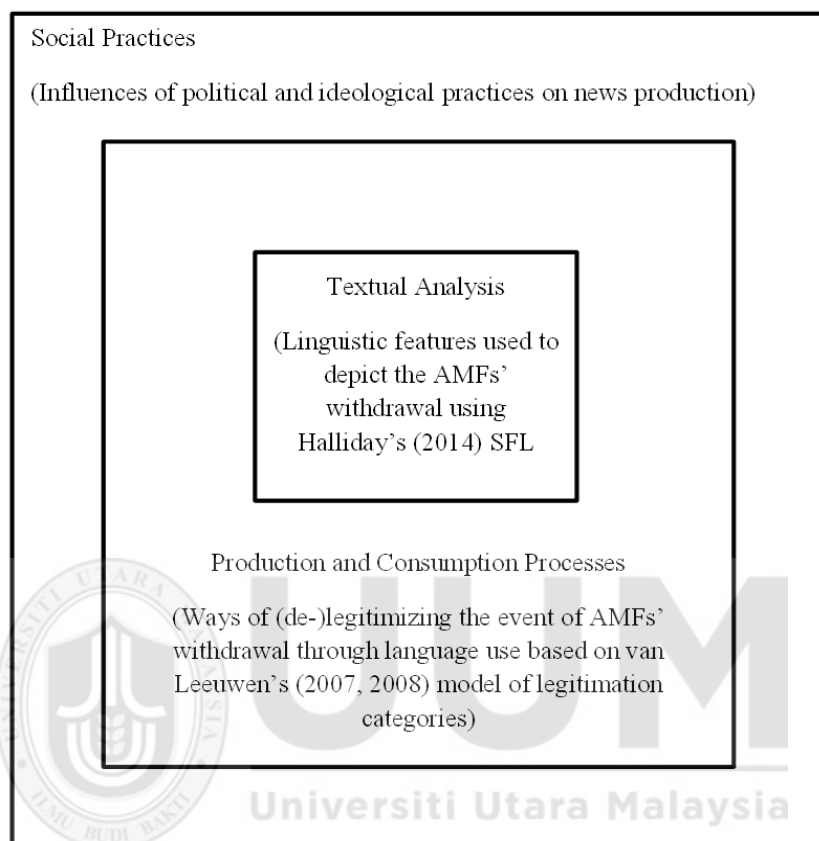


Figure 2.7. Theoretical framework of the current study

The theoretical framework shows that Fairclough's (1995a) approach to CDA consists of three main components, namely: text, discursive practice and social practices. Through these three components, the researcher examines language used in (de)legitimizing the event of AMFs' withdrawal in the KG newspaper. The framework also shows that the component of the linguistic structures of newspaper is further developed by Halliday's (2014) SFL by bringing the linguistic analysis of newspaper discourse. van Leeuwen's (2008) legitimation model is also incorporated to bring other aspects, namely positive and negative depictions, related to (de)legitimizing AMFs' withdrawal.

2.21 Related Studies on Language Use, (De)Legitimation, Pronouns and Ideology, and Iraq

Owing to the importance of language use in the newspaper discourse and its power in manipulating, (de)legitimizing, or hiding ideology behind the presentation of certain political events in newspapers, researchers have tried to investigate such concerns in the past years as well as recently. Reviewing the earlier studies in this regard helps in extracting the gap of this study and its assumption. All of these studies are done recently and chosen to justify the problem statement and the gap of the study, besides being up to date studies in order to support the study and conduct it. These studies are organized in relation to the main concerns of this study, namely language use, (de)legitimation, pronouns and ideology, and Iraq.

2.21.1 Studies on Language Use in Newspaper Discourse

Hanusch (2008) concentrated on the impact of cultural dimensions on language use in quality newspapers. The study is based on proving the proposition that language is very important in examining the received messages from the news media and to examine journalists' use of language when reporting death in German and Australian newspapers. The researcher has used interviews and messages decoded within their culture-specific contexts as a methodological approach. The analysis revealed that German journalists were quite particular about the use of certain language, while Australian journalists did not appear too concerned with the finer linguistic details.

Timuçin (2010) studied the role of different language styles in newspapers within an investigative framework to explore the linguistic devices in the sports commentary pages of British newspapers. To investigate the language used by different newspapers and the linguistic insights into the use of language, Halliday's SFL

method of modality has been employed. The main conclusions of this study were that report is reflected differently in tabloids by using a more biased and involved language and language of newspapers is crucial in the process of figuring out biased and emotive language in written newspapers.

Moreover, in 2011, Galantomos, Andreou, and Gourgoulisanis studied newspaper articles content and language in relation to the smoking official ban in Greece to illustrate the crucial role of language in newspaper articles regarding social values and beliefs. The method of their study is concerned with the use of CDA, content analysis of 196 articles divided into 13 categories and survey to comment on any hidden or straightforward mentioned attitudes expressed through language so as to investigate the content and language of newspaper articles and study the major themes and language devices. The study resulted in the language features found varied depending on the identified dominant theme, i.e., use of both formal and colloquial language.

Mahmood et al. (2014), on the other hand, made use of the critical discourse analysis method to study the figurative language use in Pakistani English newspapers. They assumed that figurative language has implicit function in the Pakistani English newspapers. With the aim of extracting the figures of speech, they depended on Richardson's model to evaluate newspaper through CDA. They found that the use of figurative language in ideas communication is to assist the readers and to reveal the manipulation by its usage.

2.21.2 Studies on (De)Legitimation in Newspaper Discourse

In the study of legitimation through differentiation, Chovanec (2010) studied the use of lexical choices in negative presentation of political actors to legitimate a military action in public discourse represented by newspaper. The aim of the study was to reveal the strategic use of lexical choices in referring to political actors in the newspaper discourse. Chovanec used material from the British tabloid daily *The Sun*. Contextual analysis revealed that naming is created as a special referential strategy at a time when the public discourse preceding military action of war against Iraq in 2003 was called upon to legitimate the actions of the in-group and to reinforce the unity of the community compared to the perceived threat of various 'others'. The particular naming option chosen served to split the group of 'us', broadly defined as 'non-terrorists', into two mutually opposed subgroups.

In the same vein, Reyes (2011) studied strategies of legitimization in political discourse. The study aimed at explaining specific linguistic ways in which language represents an instrument of control and manifests symbolic power in discourse and society. The materials used in this study were examples of speeches given by leaders with differing ideologies, specifically George W. Bush and Barack Obama, in two different armed conflicts, Iraq (2007) and Afghanistan (2009). These speeches were analyzed on the basis of Critical Discourse Analysis using analytical tools from Systemic Functional Linguistics. This study developed and proposed some key strategies of legitimization employed by social actors to justify courses of action. The study found that the strategies of legitimization can be used individually or in combination with others, and justify social practices through: emotions (particularly fear), a hypothetical future, rationality, voices of expertise and altruism. These strategies unfold in a general scenario where discourses are presented as truth.

Moreover, in a dichotomy, legitimizing one position automatically implies the (de)legitimizing of alternative positions.

In addition, (de)legitimation strategy has been applied to the representation of economic issues in the newspaper discourse. Lavrusheva (2013) attempted to clarify the legitimacy construction through studying discursive legitimation strategies used in newspaper to present economic policies. This study aimed to define discursive legitimation strategies employed in the mass media to legitimate the novel implications and delegitimize outdated practices introduced in a particular institutional field. The materials were extracted from three British newspapers to be analyzed through critical discourse analysis. The analysis revealed four distinctive categories of discursive legitimation strategies, signifying specific ways of giving sense to the economic policy: authorization, rationalization, narrativization and moralization. The study argued that each strategic type is used to fulfil some specific objectives in addition to the legitimation and de-legitimation purposes. Despite their distinguishing nature, the legitimation strategies were found to be complementary to one another, representing a range of ways for establishing legitimacy within the social setting. By concentrating on media texts, the thesis emphasized the significant role of the mass media in the complex processes leading to legitimation, which can be explored further and utilized broadly in various organizational settings.

Moreover, Sadeghi et al. (2014) studied (de)legitimation discursive strategies in news coverage of Egyptian protest. The researchers aimed at conducting a critical discourse analysis on discursive strategies of legitimation applied in two news agencies with fundamentally distinctive ideologies, to represent the single event of Egyptian protest as a legitimized action and Hosni Mubarak's regime as the delegitimized other. In order to represent how these two news agencies employ the

legitimation discursive strategies, van Leeuwen's (2008) model of legitimation strategies was applied. The study discussed how employing certain discursive strategies of language can be used for the purpose of brainwashing. The study found that one news agency emphasized mainly on delegitimizing Mubarak's regime, whereas the other agency put more emphasis on legitimizing Egyptian revolution than delegitimizing Hosni Mubarak's regime. In addition, it revealed that the guidelines and interests of the news networks can affect their approach in using different legitimation strategies

On the other hand, Gng (2014) studied the legitimation strategies on the use of Allah in the Malaysian media. This study focused on the linguistic ethnic and religious representations that are constructed and premised on van Leeuwen's (2008) work on legitimation theory to study the ban on the use of Allah by non-Muslims. The material of this study was represented by news articles published in newspapers. The study found that the Allah issue is characteristic of a social condition premised on a rationalized conception of an ethno-religious construct that has divided the country and generated significant religious and social hostilities; the conflicts are politicized and legitimized by different State actors on the basis of different ethnic and religious representations and legitimacy; and these differences and positions are further entrenched by the different State actors rendering any prospects of a peaceful resolution difficult if not, elusive.

2.21.3 Studies on Ideology in Newspaper Discourse

Oktar (2001) studied the ideological organization of representational processes in the presentation of us and them. The study aimed to show how social groups (us vs them) are presented in discourse and how ideological discourse is constructed socio-

politically as a means to confirm group dominance. Using CDA and SFL model, the researcher aims to reveal ideology behind the use of certain linguistic forms and power relations underlying them. The researcher used the opinion-editorial articles published in two Turkish daily newspapers with different ideological orientations. It is found that representational processes play a significant role in the ideological square of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation for controlling the social representations of us and them in the context of ideological conflict.

In 2001, Thetela studied ideology in the newspaper discourse through examining the coverage of the Southern Africa development community's military intervention in Lesotho by the South African newspapers. The study aimed at examining how the newspapers articulate conflicting ideological positions in their reportage of the intervention. The researcher used newspaper articles taken from PINA and AINA newspapers and analyzed them critically using CDA approach. The study found that the differences between newspaper reports are seen as establishing two rival social group identities, expressed through the ideological us versus them binary opposition.

In the same vein, Davies (2008) studied the ideological construction of us and them in the British press. The study aimed to review and contribute to the development of existing theories of oppositions in order to investigate the potential effects of their systematic usage in news texts and add an additional method of analysis to the linguistic tools utilized by critical discourse analysts. The data used in this study consisted of reports taken from news articles in UK national daily newspapers. The researcher conducted a detailed qualitative analysis of textually constructed oppositions in three news articles. It is found that journalists used oppositions to positively and negatively represent groups and individuals as mutually exclusive binaries, in order to perpetuate a particular ideological point of view.

In 2011, Ghannam studied ideology in newspaper discourse. She focused on the analysis of ideology and language in Lebanese newspapers trying to investigate the role of ideology behind the text in limiting the freedom of expression of the newspaper; as well as the different attitudes of the Lebanese political press according to the ideology of the particular newspaper. The sample of her study is represented by news articles published on the same event in six Lebanese political newspapers. The researcher analyzed and criticized the data relying on various approaches including Halliday's SFL approach, Fowler's model of discourse of orders, and Fairclough's approach to CDA. The study found that language can indicate underlying ideologies by reporting and reshaping the articles in different ways focusing on the grammatical structures including the occurrence of certain omissions to additions, the sequence of quotations, the use of headlines, vocabulary, lexicalization, transitivity and modality, as well as metaphors.

Ahmadi and Asl (2013) conducted a study on editorials and ideologies to investigate how English newspaper editorials in Iran express their political ideologies in the presidential election. They used critical discourse analysis to examine the ideologies underlying the texts on the basis of van Dijk's model of ideology. The sample of this study was represented by editorials published in four English newspapers in Iran. The study found that the relationships of the newspapers with the institutions, political parties and government influenced the way the editors conveyed their ideas and thoughts about the candidates in the presidential election.

Ledwell (2013) studied ideology behind representations in Canadian mainstream newspaper. The study focused on investigating a social movement in Canada called Idle No More which attracted the attention of Canadian mainstream newspapers. The primary concern of this study is that the representational techniques that attempted to

delegitimize the movement are ideological. The sample of this study was represented by opinion pieces published in Canadian mainstream newspaper. Content analysis was used to identify nationwide trends in representation across the sample and critical discourse analysis (CDA) was applied to extracts where othering appeared to identify representational phenomena at work within texts. The study found evidence of a discourse of othering in which representations essentialise Aboriginal peoples, silence or mitigate abuses against Aboriginal people by Euro-Canadians, and semantically reverse blame for socioeconomic inequality onto Aboriginal people, particularly by suggesting widespread corruption among First Nations leaders.

Likewise, Nawaz, Bilal, Kalsoom, Fayyaz, and Nayyar (2013) studied the implicit ideologies in media discourse. Their study aimed to investigate how language as a social practice is used in newspapers to represent different ideologies. They attempted to analyze the construction of lexical choices in the particular ideological presentation in newspapers. They analyzed headlines of news articles published in five Pakistani newspapers on the same issue through Critical Discourse Analysis using van Dijk and Kress's model of ideological structures. The study found that language used in the newspaper discourse constructs ideologies and media is not as neutral as it claims itself to be or as it is supposed to be. Furthermore, they found that ideologies play a vital role constituting attitudes and specifications of different elements of society and provide propagation of goals and interest of that very element.

2.21.4 Studies on Pronouns and their Ideological Use

In this concern, De Fina (1995) analyzed the pragmatic use of personal pronouns in political discourse. The objective of this study was to reveal the role of pronominal

choice used in political discourse in reflecting differences in the power relations between speakers and their audience in the political arena. The study concluded that understanding of the pragmatic implications of pronominal choice depends on a detailed analysis of the presence of all pronouns in a given text, and that the speaker's identity emerges through consistent use of certain pronouns with a stable referent and through the oppositions and connections established in the text between these referents and the referents of other pronominal and non-pronominal forms.

In addition, Grigoletto (2002) studied the ideological implications behind the use of personal pronouns in political discourse. The study focused on analyzing the use and distribution of the personal pronoun 'we' and its variant forms 'us', 'our', 'ours' in the discourse of British ruling in India with the purpose of demonstrating the discursive effects produced by the shift of referent for the pronoun. The study is based on the argument that the use of personal pronouns in the political discourse reveals a complex process of construction of the political self through the articulation with several different referents in a more varied distribution than the classic speaker-inclusive and speaker-exclusive 'we' suggests. It is found that the contradiction and indeterminacy resulting from the pronominal distribution serve to disguise the existence of contradictory subject positions by creating the illusion of a consensual voice and that such a disguise is typical of political discourse within a colonial setting.

In 2012, Muqit studied the ideological use of pronouns in political discourse. The researcher aimed to investigate the ideology and power relation reflected in the use of pronouns in political speech text. Using theories of Fairclough (1989), Jefferson (1968), and van Dijk (2000) along with Halliday's SFL model, the researcher qualitatively analyzed Osama bin Laden's use of pronouns in his speech text entitled

The Wind of Faith. This study concluded that the ideology and power relation of Osama bin Laden are manifested in the use of pronoun.

Bello (2013) studied the ideological use of personal pronouns in political discourse. The study aimed to offer a linguistic evaluation of a given political discourse in Nigeria in the mode of close engagement with the constructions and context of the discourse. The material to be analyzed in this study was President Jonathan's Presidential Declaration Speech. The researcher used Fairclough's (1989) approach to CDA to unravel the complex webs of political associations and identities that go into political speeches of Nigerian presidents. The study found that President Jonathan used personal pronouns to construct various identities that foster the president's political interest and to transpose sentiments and sympathies in order to probably promote a political agenda. In addition, it concluded that and the pronouns used in the speech sustain the state of affairs while at the same time mystifying the real class and power struggle at the political center. In general, this study showed how ideologies can be sustained and reproduced by discursively supplanting the consciousness of the people.

Similarly, Hasan (2013) studied the ideological use of in-group and out-group pronouns used in political speeches of Arabic presidents. In this study, the researcher aimed to establish how politicians can associate with and dissociate from actions taken by them or their government. The material used in this study was Hosni Mubarak's speech given on 10 February 2011 during 'January Revolution'. Following Fairclough's approach to CDA, the researcher concluded that political leaders use first person pronouns strategically in order to persuade their audiences into accepting their views and actions on crises, revolutions, and controversial issues.

Finally, Kondowe (2014) examined the hidden ideologies in the presidential political speeches through the linguistic lens of Systemic Functional Grammar by focusing on choice of mood, modal auxiliary operators, and personal pronouns. The author analyzed inaugural address of Malawi president Bingu wa Mutharika. As far as the personal pronouns are concerned, the results revealed that 1st PPI (*we*), which is often followed by 1st PSg (*I*), implies that the speech is exclusive as Mutharika continuously referred to himself and his administration leaving out the citizens. In addition, he did not perform well on establishing interpersonal relations with the people during his second term. He created distance between him and the citizens and implied a sense of authority, making the addressee experience a feel that he and his administration were a strong team to initiate and implement any development related endeavor; and that the citizens were merely passive receivers and consumers.

2.21.5 Studies on Iraq's Image in International Newspapers

To the extent that Iraq is concerned, Dimitrova and Strömbäck (2005) studied the framing of the 2003 Iraq War in the elite newspapers in Sweden and the US. This study discussed implications of the differences in war coverage as well as possible reasons rooted in the national media and political systems. The researchers used content analysis to analyze their data represented by news articles taken from *The New York Times* newspaper issued in US and *Dagens Nyheter* newspaper issued in Sweden. The study found that there are significant differences between the two newspapers: *The New York Times* focused on the military conflict frame while *Dagens Nyheter* focused on the responsibility and anti-war protest frames. Both newspapers offered human interest stories and media self-references. The US newspaper, however, relied more heavily on official government and military

sources. In addition, the tone of war coverage differed across the two nations, with Swedish reporting being more negative overall.

Schwalbe (2006) investigated how the US news websites visually portray ongoing events and examined their potential role in shaping collective memory by commemorating past events through anniversary retrospectives. The researcher used content analysis method to analyze 526 images on the home pages of 26 mainstream news sites. The study found that the five main frames that emerged reinforced the patriotic, government-friendly war narrative: conflict, conquest, rescue, victory, and control.

In 2010, Bo discussed the political perspective of the Iraqi Kurds after the US military retreat. In this study, the author attempted to demonstrate the socio-political problems faced by Iraqis, focusing more on Kurds, in relation to the withdrawal of AMFs from Iraq. The author presented a number of conflicts and problems faced by Kurds that evolved after the event of AMFs' withdrawal. The author revealed that What the Kurds worry about is that the centralized government supported by the Arabian nationalists will reappear in Iraq after the retreat of the US military and their right of autonomy will be deprived once again.

In addition, Rohizah (2012) studied the role of newspapers in the production of meaning. She based her study on the perspective that newspapers are the product of the society and culture under which the media operate. She aimed to investigate how meaning is produced in the newspaper discourse focusing on the event of the 2003 war of US against Iraq. She used news articles and letters to editors taken from Malaysian and British newspapers to be analyzed through Fairclough's (1995a) approach to CDA. She concluded that news organizations set their news agendas

along ideological lines, and the newsgathering practices were made to follow those lines. Society and culture influenced news texts on a more concealed level, but were no less influential in sustaining the meanings of war.

Kassed and Mustaffa (2015) considered agenda setting of Iraq image in Malaysian English newspaper. They regarded that mass media news on certain country itself can affect their image on society; therefore, they examined the positive and neutral image of Iraq in two Malaysian English newspapers: NSTP and the Star. Their research method was quantitative content analysis and agenda setting theory. The results indicated that the agenda setting for NSTP focused on the issue of "the Malaysia's policy towards Iraq", "the US policy and the occupation of Iraq" and "the impact of war on Malaysia". While, the star focused on "Iraq's needs and suffering". The media's ownership position plays vital role in shaping countries image in media coverage.

2.22 Conclusion

The literature review chapter provided an elaborate explanation of the key constituents of the present study. The news media represented by the newspaper discourse and its functions in the society was tackled. Furthermore, the linguistic features that are embodied by semantics, pragmatics, and stylistics were examined as features that reinforce the role of language use in the news media. To elaborate more on the role of language use in the newspaper discourse, the chapter presented the main linguistic features employed in the newspapers to depict various events. As far as CDA approach is concerned, this chapter showed the role of CDA in analyzing texts of newspaper focusing on Fairclough's (1995a) approach to CDA. Further, the chapter provided a review of previous studies on the concerned areas of the study so

as to justify the gap for the current study which attempts to identify the ways of depicting political events in the newspapers with regard to (de)legitimation and the socio-political ideologies in the newspaper discourse.



CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter provides information on how the current study is conducted. It describes the research design and methodological framework utilized for collecting and analyzing the data. It begins by describing the research design, as well as procedures of data collection and analysis. Additionally, issues of validity and reliability, and ethical considerations are presented in this chapter. The sections emphasize how the selected methodology supports the research problem and achieves its objectives. This is manifested by providing practical conclusions that provide answers for the research questions concerning language used to depict political events in the newspaper discourse. In particular, this study aimed at identifying and examining language as a means of (de)legitimation and ideology in the newspaper discourse. Accordingly, this involves a critical analysis of texts using qualitative content analysis to describe and explore the relationship between discourse and the representation of political events in newspaper. The methods required for data collection and analysis are described in this chapter. Finally, the chapter ends with conclusion.

3.2 Design of the Study

The research design provides the structure of the research and links all of the elements of the research together. It provides the researchers the opportunity to carefully consider the research and to plan the way in which they will approach the research. A study design is a systematic plan to study a scientific problem that helps

in defining the type of the study and its organization. Creswell (2003) emphasized that the selection of a study approach depends on the proposed problem statement, objectives, and questions of the study. The proposed study is a qualitative research, since it deals with documents, not ordinal values (Maxwell, 1996; Patton, 2002; Wholey, Hatry, & Newcomer, 2004), aiming to gather information and data following content analysis in newspaper discourse through a critical lens as it is related to examine a controversial event happened in Iraq after nine years of the 2003 war represented by AMFs' withdrawal and its depiction in the KG newspaper.

According to Morse (1991), a qualitative approach is used to clarify uncovered concepts and phenomena of a little focus in related studies to be more understood. A qualitative research consists of different techniques to be used in analyzing the collected data and uses documents as source data (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). It focuses on the social aspects and seeks for answering questions with the 'what' and 'how' nature (Hancock, Ockleford, & Windridge, 2009). The strength of the qualitative approach lies in its ability to discover meanings, representing various feelings and experiences through expressions, and revealing the subtlety of the issues (Woods, 2006).

The analysis of qualitative research aims at revealing and/or understanding the big picture of the data to describe the phenomenon and what it means. The qualitative analysis involves labeling and coding all the data in order that similarities and differences can be recognized. The qualitative researcher needs a method of classifying, categorizing, and coding of data, which is called content analysis. One of the most frequent uses of content analysis is to study the changing trends in the theoretical content by analyzing journal articles (Loy, 1979).

Content analysis is viewed as an organized, applicable method for reducing words number of a text into fewer content categories and relied on explicit rules of coding (GAO, 1996; Krippendorff, 1980; Weber, 1990). Content analysis is used as a technique for accumulating and analyzing the content of the text. It is also a method of analyzing written, verbal or visual communication messages (Cole, 1988). In this sense, content indicates words, meanings, themes, or any message that can be communicated (Neuman, 1997). Therefore, it is a research tool used to determine the presence of certain words or concepts within texts or sets of texts which are analyzed by the researchers. Texts can be defined broadly as newspaper articles, historical documents, speeches, conversations, advertising, or any occurrence of communicative language.

As a research method, content analysis is a logical means of analyzing documents and investigating phenomena (Downe-Wamboldt, 1992; Krippendorff, 1980; Sandelowski, 1995; Stemler, 2001). Nowadays, it is used in communication, journalism, sociology, psychology and business (Neuendorf, 2002). Using content analysis, the researcher enhances data understanding through examining theoretical issues. Content analysis can be conducted in order to interpret either the nature of the source of content and production processes or the potential effects of content's different types on the mass media audience (Holz & Wright, 1979, p. 193). Further, it is possible to refine words into less content-related categories (Berelson, 1952; Cavanagh, 1997; GAO, 1996; Stemler, 2001; Weber, 1990). Prasad (2008) stated that content analysis has three basic principles of a scientific method, they are: objectivity as it depends on explicit rules that can be followed by different researchers; systematic refers to the organization of the intended data; and generalizability means applicability of the obtained results.

Content analysis involves coding and classifying data, also referred to as categorizing and indexing. The aim of context analysis is to make sense of the data collected and to highlight the important messages, features or findings. Categories refer to collections of words, phrases or themes that share similar meanings. The unit of analysis, meanwhile, may be specific words, phrases or themes. Coding the textual material means identifying the keywords and phrases (Weber, 1990). As far as newspaper as a communication tool is concerned, Fig. 3.1 shows the place of the content analyst in the communication process:

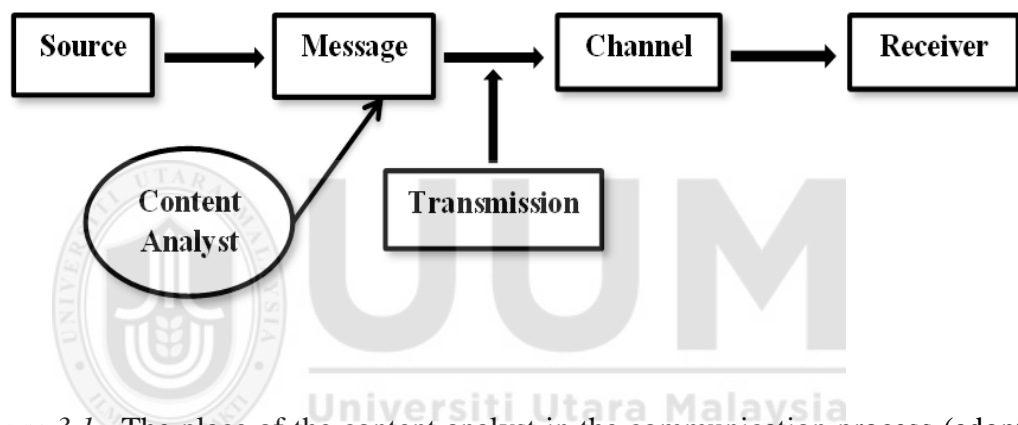


Figure 3.1. The place of the content analyst in the communication process (adopted from Prasad, 2008, p. 176).

Based on this figure, the researcher will deal with the message presented in the newspaper articles (channel) and how it is produced. Table 3.1 presents an inclusive depiction of the content analysis applications:

Table 3.1

The Purposes of Content Analysis

Purpose	Question	Research Problems
To describe the characteristics of content	What?	Describe trends in communication content, relate known characteristics of sources to the messages they produce.
	How?	Analyze techniques of persuasion and style.
	To whom?	Relate known characteristics of the audience to messages produced for them, describe patterns of communication.
To make inferences about the causes of content	Why?	Analyze psychological traits of individuals, infer aspects of culture and cultural change, provide legal evidence.
	Who?	Answer questions of disputed authorship.
To make inferences about the effect of content	With what effect?	Measure readability, analyze the flow of information, assess responses to Communication.

(Adopted from Berelson, 1952 cited in Prasad, 2008)

This study is a text-based case study of language used in the KG newspaper concerning the event of AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq. The case study can be used to study a single event and organization or it can be used to study multiple cases, events or organizations (Stake, 1995). This study focuses on examining a single event to understand its discursive representation in newspaper discourse. A case study tends to answer questions of "how" or "why", and this is exactly the focus of the current

study which aims to describe and explore how the linguistic structures are employed in the KG newspaper to represent concepts of (de)legitimation and ideology in relation to AMFs' withdrawal. Adding to that, this case study is exploratory and descriptive in nature. It explores and describes the linguistics structures employed in the KG newspaper to reveal the process of (de)legitimation and socio-political ideologies in the newspaper discourse.

Articles of newspapers are used in the current study as a main source of qualitative data since they underpin the use of texts (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). This study examined language used in the depiction of the political event regarding AMFs' withdrawal in the Iraqi English newspaper: the KG newspaper. The news stories were analyzed to identify the linguistic structures used to depict the event in question and how they were used to (de)legitimize it. The study aimed at presenting new themes concerning the event and its related participants and reactions as well as examining the role of pronouns in presenting the hidden ideologies of the KG newspaper. The study employed Fairclough's (1995a) approach to CDA (explained in section 2.17) which involved Halliday's (2014) SFL and van Leeuwen's (2007, 2008) legitimation model.

3.3 Data of the Study

The data of the current study is represented by news stories selected from the KG newspaper on the event of AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq. The selected sample of the study indicates the use of purposive sampling since it meets the objectives of study and answers its questions (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2009). Thus, the news stories that are related to the event of AMFs' withdrawal are taken from the KG newspaper issued in English Language.

These news stories are written by the Iraqi Kurdish authors who are writers and analysts, professional in English language as they have written for international media organizations. Bashdar Pusho Ismaeel who wrote for the BBC News Service, the Washington Examiner, the Asian Times, al-Arabiya, and the Lebanese Daily Star. Currently, he is Senior U.K. Editor in the KG newspaper. Qassim Khidhir is a reporter in northern Iraq who writes for The Institute for War & Peace Reporting, which is a nonprofit organization that trains journalists in areas of conflict. In addition, he writes news articles for the KG newspaper. Moreover, Azad Amin and Rawaz Koyee are journalists, writing news articles and editorial for the KG newspaper.

The reason for selecting the KG newspaper is due to being the only Iraqi newspaper issued in English language as hard copy, registered in the Arab Association of Press, and its highest readership. This enhances the credibility of the collected data sample. The selected period is one month, namely December 2011, representing the final and formal withdrawal of U.S. forces from Iraq which ends the American military existence and the nine years of occupation following the 2003 US-led war against Iraq. Consequently, this critical event needs to be analyzed in order to identify the extent of its depiction and how the language use contributes to its (de)legitimation in the KG newspaper from the Iraqi perspective.

To conduct a content analysis in organizing the collected data of this study, the sample was organized in accordance with category and unit of analysis. Categories were identified through the themes of the analyzed excerpts. The unit of analysis was represented by excerpts containing one or more sentences. Coding the textual meaning was done through a variety of linguistic structures including words, phrases

and clauses. To clarify the organization of the selected sample in the current study, Table 3.2 represents the detailed organization of the sample in the KG newspaper, as follows:

Table 3.2

Sample Organization of the Current Study Selected from the KG Newspaper

No.	Headlines of News Stories	Type	Date of Issue	Total Paragraphs	No. of Excerpts to be Analyzed
1	Biden assures Iraqi leaders of U.S. commitment	Article	December 03, 2011	7	5
2	Dawn or dusk: A new chapter in Iraq	Editorial	December 17, 2011	8	7
3	U.S. ends its military presence in Iraq	Article	December 17, 2011	15	10
4	U.S. withdrawal: End or beginning of Iraq?	Editorial	December 24, 2011	21	12
5	Iraq's Zebari warns of foreign meddling amid crisis	Article	December 24, 2011	5	3
6	Iraq on the edge of possible sectarian violence	Article	December 24, 2011	12	5
Total number of selected Newspaper articles		6	Total number of excerpts to be Analyzed		42

For illustration, the main differences between article and editorial in newspaper are in their format and content. Article is a general word that is used for all news stories covering events, natural disasters, accidents, meets and discussions. In contrast,

editorial is a special article that appears in a newspaper and carries the opinions of the editorial board on the issue discussed. An editorial is meant to persuade people to think along the lines of the newspaper. It is an attempt to influence the thinking of the people. The events and issues that need opinions of the editorial staff are decided by the editorial staff. In short, editorial is opinionated whereas general articles are unbiased and free from subjectivity.

3.4 Data Collection

The purpose of data gathering in qualitative research is to present evidence for the investigated issue. This evidence is analyzed by the researcher to produce a basic explanation of that issue. The data are considered to be the ground on which the findings are based (Polkinghorne, 2005). In order to achieve the objectives of the study, the data are collected depending on their content in relation to the event of AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq to investigate its representation in the newspaper discourse. The selected data are collected using the soft copy of the KG newspaper published in its official website simultaneously with its hard copy. This method of data collection is preferred as being accessible, economic, and the articles can be copied and pasted directly, as well as for time management.

The difficulty in the data collection process lies in finding newspapers issued as hard copy in English language to be more reliable data since this study is related to the field of English applied linguistics. The official language of Iraq is Arabic, hence only the well educated people, whose major is English Language or scientific disciplines, can read English texts because they have learned the language formally. Therefore, almost all the Iraqi newspapers, particularly the hard copy, are issued in Arabic language. However, the situation is different in relation to the online

newspapers as there are several sites of the Iraqi online newspapers use English language, like Iraq Sun (www.iraqsun.com), Iraqi news (www.iraqinews.com), National Iraqi News Agency (NINA) (ninanews.com/Index.aspx), Shafaaq News (www.english.shafaaq.com). These online newspapers are issued as soft copies only, but the KG newspaper is the only Iraqi English newspaper issued as hard and electronic copy. Table 3.3 describes these Iraqi English newspapers in detail:

Table 3.3

Description of the Iraqi English Newspapers

Newspaper/ News Agency	Date of Foundation	Location	Type of Publication	Rate of Readership
Iraqi news	2003	Manama/ Bahrain (as contact address)	Online news service	Not available
Iraqi sun	2002	Sydney/ Australia	Online newspaper	Not available
The Kurdish Globe	2005	Erbil/ Iraq	Printed and online newspaper	40,000
National Iraqi News Agency	2005	Baghdad/ Iraq	Online news agency	Not available
Shafaaq News	2004	Baghdad/ Iraq	Online newspaper	Not available

The KG newspaper examines different issues concerning Kurdish people living in Iraq and other neighboring countries as well as socio-political events happen in Iraq and international events in the Mideast and the world. Additionally, the KG newspaper deals with events related to business, culture, sports, and entertainment. Hence, it deals with different types of news stories, namely soft and hard news. As for the current study, it deals with hard news related to the critical event of AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq.

The selection of data depends not only on the research questions, but also on the actual research situation and what will work most effectively in that situation to give the needed data (Maxwell, 1996) on the basis of subject under investigation. For example, linguistic research includes the newspaper articles as a primary source for different linguistic analysis (Krtalic & Hasenay, 2012). The specific analytic method of content analysis often entails the use of documents. The content analysis resource could be of any communication form, generally written materials (textbooks, novels, and newspapers) (Berelson, 1952). In Franzosi's (1987) own expression, “newspapers have been used systematically as sources of data” (p. 6) as they are trusted to satisfy criteria of reliability (Barranco & Wisler, 1999). This implies that newspaper is a reliable source for data collection. As far as the examination of language use in the newspaper is concerned, it is acceptable to depend on the newspaper as source data (Krtalic & Hasenay, 2012).

To conduct such a study, the researcher as the instrument for data collection used the procedures illustrated in the flowchart to collect data depending on the content of the news stories in the selected newspaper:

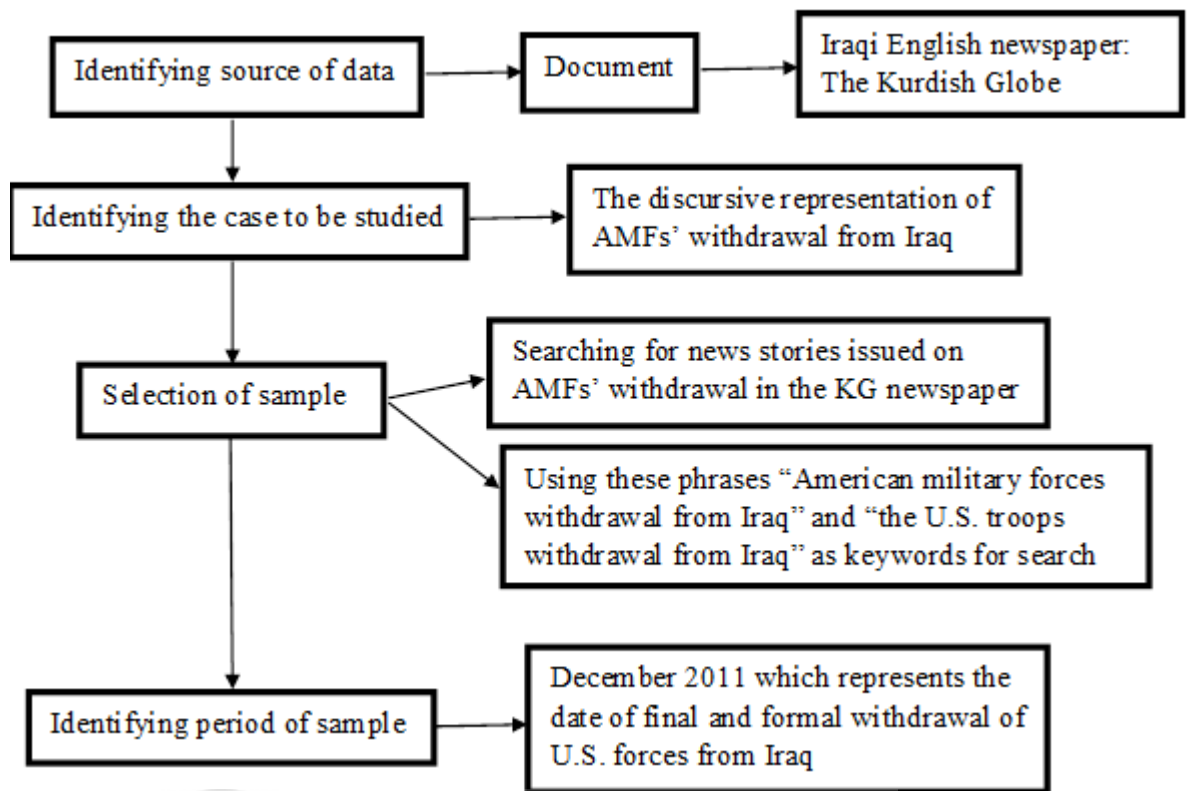


Figure 3.2. Data collection procedure

Based on this figure, the researcher searched for the Iraqi English newspaper issued as hard copy as well as having soft copy that can be accessed through the official website. The KG newspaper was selected for having this criterion. The next step was to identify the case to be studied in this study in order to collect data about it. Hence, the event of AMFs' withdrawal as a main event happened in Iraq after the 2003 war was selected as a means for examining discursive representation of political events in newspaper discourse. After identifying the case of this study, the researcher used these phrases "American military forces withdrawal from Iraq" and "the U.S. troops withdrawal from Iraq" as keywords to search for news stories issued about this event during the period of one month, namely December 2011. This period represents the date of final and formal withdrawal of U.S. forces from Iraq and the end of their existence in it following the 2003 US-led war. In order to be included in the collected

data, the whole, or at least partial, content of the news stories must be on the event of AMFs' withdrawal. Therefore, other news stories which contain one or two sentences about the event were excluded. Finally, the collected data were coded and organized into paragraphs with numbering them to facilitate the manual analysis that was applied in this study. The following section illustrates how the collected data were coded.

3.5 Coding Scheme

The coding scheme followed in the analysis of the collected data outlined the ways of presenting the excerpts to be analyzed. It highlighted the issues of numbering and categorizing these excerpts. Hence, the news stories were numbered from 1-6 (as shown in Appendix "A"). These numbers stood for the total number of the selected news stories from the KG newspaper. Additionally, each news story was divided into excerpts to be analyzed. The excerpts were numbered in accordance with the number of the news story and the sentence/ paragraph in this way (1:1) and so on; thus, the first number refers to the number of the news story and the second one refers to the number of the sentence/ paragraph in that news story. The coding scheme employed in this study is described in figure (3.3):

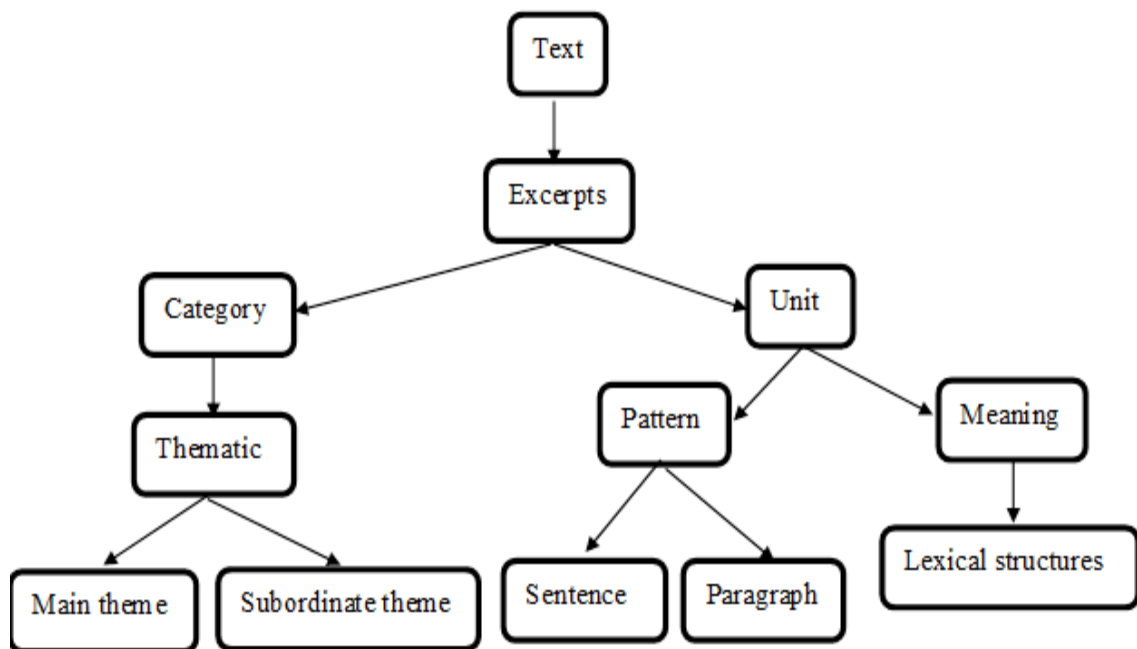


Figure 3.3. Description of coding scheme

To illustrate the coding scheme shown in figure (3.3), texts of selected news stories were divided into excerpts. The qualitative content analysis was used to organize the analysis of these excerpts in terms of units and categories. These news excerpts were organized and analyzed according to the thematic category. The thematic category refers to the main topics contained within news excerpts. The news excerpts which share the same topic are organized under the same thematic category. Themes that emerge under the main topics are categorized as subordinate themes. Based on content analysis, the unit of analysis refers to the grammatical pattern including words, phrases, sentences, and paragraphs, as well as the meaning unit. In this study, pattern of analysis is represented by sentences and paragraphs which include two or more sentences. They denote the event of AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq explicitly through naming the event as it is and implicitly through referring to actions and reactions evolved in Iraq after this event.

The meaning units were identified according to the transitivity system of Halliday's (2014) SFL approach and the different types of lexical structures. The transitivity system involved the identification of the ideational, interpersonal and textual functions. The ideational function included identifying processes, participants, and circumstances. The six processes: material, mental, verbal, relational, behavioral and existential processes were identified in the excerpts (see section 2.18). The interpersonal function included the identification of the way in which language is produced through questions, quotations, speech acts etc.; while the textual function included the identification of the cohesive devices.

In relation to the presentation of excerpts, the excerpts related to the first question were selected to present the main themes found in the KG newspaper. These excerpts focused on presenting specific phrases and sentences referring to new themes drawn on the discursive presentation of AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq. Concerning the second question, the excerpts were used to identify the linguistic structure of the (de)legitimation process. The meaning units were presented in bold font. Finally, the excerpts related to the third question were concerned with examining the role of pronouns in presenting hidden ideologies. Therefore, the focus in these excerpts was on personal and possessive pronouns and their references which were indicated using **bold font**.

3.6 Data Analysis

In this section the collected data represented by news stories on the event of AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq were analyzed, focusing on the contribution of linguistic structures to (de)legitimize this event in the KG newspaper and its related ideologies and themes. After completing the procedure of data collection, the next procedure is

to analyze the data manually since the total number of the collected news stories within the mentioned period concerning AMFs' withdrawal is only (6), because it is a weekly newspaper with a total of four issues monthly. The collected news stories were divided into paragraphs representing a purposive sample to answer the questions of the study and achieve its objectives. The data were analyzed using Fairclough's (1995a) approach to CDA. Fairclough's (1995a) three dimensions framework of analysis used in the current study is shown in the following figure:

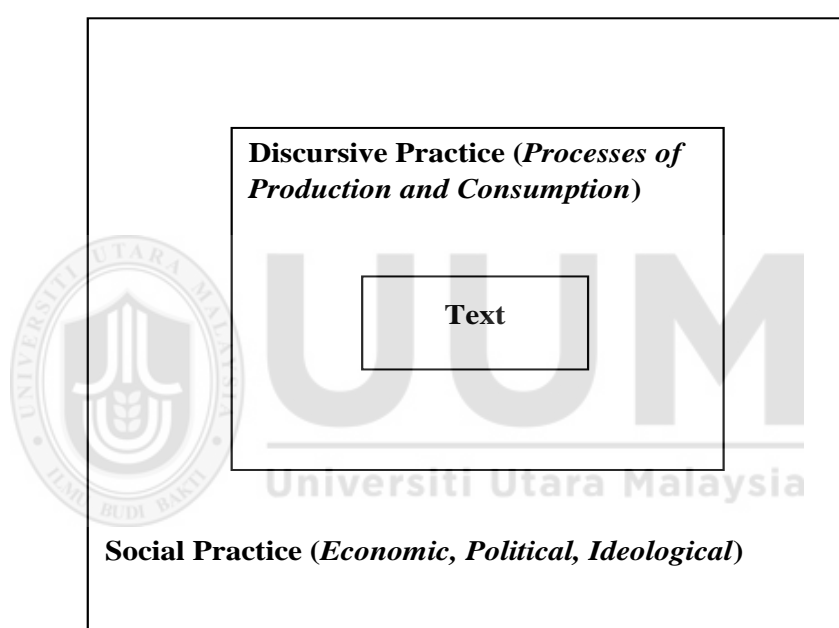


Figure 3.4. Dimensions of analysis (Fairclough, 1995a)

Based on the proposed objectives and methods of analysis which employed the content analysis method through Fairclough's (1995a) approach to CDA (as shown in Fig. 3.2) relying on Halliday's (2014) SFL approach and van Leeuwen's (2007, 2008) Legitimation model, the analysis was carried out in three stages in accordance with the three dimensions of analyzing newspaper texts, which are as follow:

- a. The Descriptive Stage: It presents the first dimension in Fairclough's (1995a) approach to CDA. It is concerned with the text. This stage describes

the linguistic features utilized in the depiction of AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq in the KG newspaper with regard to the grammatical, the interpersonal and textual levels. Grammatically, the analysis relied on the use of Halliday's (2014) SFL model of transitivity to identify the six verb processes (material, mental, relational, behavioural, verbal and existential), the participants and circumstances. Concerning the interpersonal level, the modes of sentence structure as well as intertextuality used in the newspaper articles are identified. The textual function involved the identification of cohesive devices and logical connectors used in the news stories.

b. The Interpretive Stage: It is the second dimension concerned with the discursive practices. It is utilized to interpret the production and consumption of the concerned event in relation to the content of the news stories. Using van Leeuwen's (2007, 2008) model of legitimation, this content involves the (de)legitimation categories which are employed in the KG newspaper and how they are produced through language use.

c. The Explanation Stage: It is the third dimension related to the social practices. In the newspaper discourse, this dimension is related to the economic, political, and ideological practices influencing the production and reproduction of news events in the newspaper. These practices are realized through lexical items which presuppose hidden meanings.

Consequently, these steps were followed in the analysis procedure to get answers to the required questions of this study. This, in turn, achieved the desired objectives which contribute to identifying the power of the newspaper in (de)legitimizing critical political events through the use of linguistic structures.

As the current study aims to identify the depiction of AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq in the KG newspaper and analyze the language used to (de)legitimize this event, the use of Halliday's (2014) SFL approach and van Leeuwen's (2007, 2008) (de)legitimation model in relation to the newspaper discourse were beneficial to reveal the hidden socio-cultural practices in the newspaper language (Sadeghi et al., 2014).

To explore Fairclough's three dimensions in relation to the analysis of news events in the newspaper discourse, a variety of linguistic tools were adopted from different sources (Fowler et al., 1979; Richardson, 2007; Shojaei et al., 2013) in order to describe, identify and interpret the meaning of the linguistic structures of the newspaper texts. Specifically, the analysis was carried out as follows:

- a. Research Question 1 is concerned with forming new themes related to the event in question and its related participants and reactions. The answer for this question represents a basis for the analysis of the other two questions as it highlights the ideological and social practices in newspaper discourse.
- b. Research Question 2 is concerned with the linguistic (de)legitimation of the event of AMFs' withdrawal in the KG newspaper. To answer this question, the linguistic features using Halliday's (2014) SFL approach in relation to the (de)legitimation categories including authorization, evaluation, rationalization, and mythopoesis presented in van Leeuwen's (2007, 2008) model of legitimation discursive structures are to be identified. Halliday's (2014) SFL approach is based on the identification of the linguistic features represented by the ideational, interpersonal and textual functions. The ideational function represents the content component of language mainly in terms of participating entities, different verb processes and circumstances.

Interpersonal meaning represents the way in which language is produced through questions, quotations, speech acts etc. Language also expresses the writers'/speaker's subjective judgments and opinions. Textual meaning represents relevance in context. Texts are created by indicating topic and relevance on how the language is organized. It focused on the use of cohesive devices. The identification of linguistic features in relation to the (de)legitimation categories employed in the KG newspaper could reveal the extent to which the intended event is (de)legitimized.

- c. Research Question 3 is concerned with the use of pronouns in the KG newspaper to present its socio-political ideologies. To answer this question, two types of pronouns (personal and possessive) are to be identified, interpreted and explained in relation to the positive/negative representation of US and THEM.

3.7 Reliability and Validity

According to Patton (2002), reliability and validity are two aspects that should be taken into consideration while planning, investigating and evaluating a research. Golafshani (2003) ensures the crucial role of trustworthiness examination in qualitative research. She adds that if the meaning of reliability, validity, and trustworthiness is to distinguish a research in terms of good and bad, therefore their analysis contributes to all the pattern of research. Bogumil and Immerfall (1985) argue that reliability means coherence, openness and discourse. Coherence means the relation between the method and the objectives; openness denotes the diversity of methods to be used; and discourse as how the researchers discuss and interpret their examined data.

Validity means quality that forms an important element in making the study valid by defining critical features and presenting reasonable interpretations from them (Wolcott, 1994). Neuman (2003) puts it in a concrete expression saying that “validity means truthful” (p. 185), reflecting the correlation between construct and the data. Validity of a qualitative research emphasizes two characteristics in common: to organize a professional, accurate and systematic research; and to clarify the transparency of research. In other words, validity reflects the relationship between data and conclusion (Pierce, 2008).

As for the current study reliability and validity can be realized through different ways. Firstly, the sample size represents purposive sampling in line with the objectives of the study since it meets the purpose of the study objectives and answers its questions. Secondly, the data source used in this study is credible as the KG newspaper is related to the official Iraqi English newspaper organization and is registered in the Arabic Press Association. Thirdly, the use of methods and approaches that are applied in collecting, organizing, and analyzing the data are: qualitative approach, content analysis, as well as CDA. The validity of approaches applied in the study depends on the achievement of the current research objectives to support their successful application. All the methods that are applied are coherent and related to the objectives and the investigated data. Finally, the researcher has a role in identifying the event of AMFs’ withdrawal from Iraq as depicted in the KG newspaper which represents different social and cultural issues in relation to the Iraqi context. All these factors contribute to enhance the reliability and validity of the current study.

3.8 Ethical and Legal Considerations

Any research should have ethical issues. Such ethics are related to be good and free of consequences. According to APA (2010) ethical guidelines, archival research which relies on published and publicly accessible data does not involve informed permission. To the extent that the present study is concerned, practically all the data were obtainable to the public as hard copy newspaper and soft copy published in the official web site related to the KG newspaper.

3.9 Conclusion

This chapter provided the methodological procedures that ought to be followed in order to conduct the current study to answer the research questions and justify the specified objectives with appropriate investigation and data analysis. Through this chapter, a comprehensive exploration has been made to clarify how this study is going to be carried out in order to obtain reliability and validity regarding the analysis of the collected data. In addition to that, this chapter showed the processes through which the study has been described in terms of research design, data collection, data analysis, methods and samples of the research as well as the theoretical framework and models employed in this study. Finally, the chapter presented the issue of ethical and legal considerations.

CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction

This study aims at examining the language used in depicting the event of AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq in the KG newspaper. This includes the formation of themes in the newspaper discourse, the linguistic structures employed in the (de)legitimation strategy, and the use of pronouns as ideological practices. Thus, this chapter focuses on analyzing data collected from newspaper. Hence, six news stories categorized into articles and editorials were selected and analyzed. In addition, further explanations and discussions on the results of the analyzed data are given. Finally, a summary of the findings and the general discussions are presented.

4.2 Themes in the KG Newspaper

This section focuses on presenting the main themes found in the KG newspaper concerning Iraq and U.S. in the selected articles on the event of AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq. These themes are based on excerpts selected from the news stories denoting the meaning of the said themes. Thus, this section is divided into two subsections. The first one focuses on themes related to Iraq, while the second one deals with themes related to the U.S. government. The major themes are illustrated in table (4.1):

Table 4.1

Major Themes in the KG Newspaper

No.	Themes related to Iraq	Themes related to U.S.
1	AMFs' Withdrawal and Regional Interferences in Iraq	U.S. is Irresponsible for Iraq's Crises
2	AMFs' Withdrawal and Sectarianism in Iraq	The U.S. Role in Changing Iraq

4.2.1 Themes Related to Iraq

This subsection clarifies the main themes that the KG newspaper has focused on presenting them to its audience in relation to Iraq and its related issues after the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Iraq. In order to enhance its de-legitimation strategies, the KG newspaper emphasized on presenting the negative aspects that happened in Iraq after the event of AMFs' withdrawal. The following excerpts illustrate these negative aspects which happened in Iraq after AMFs' withdrawal.

4.2.1.1 AMFs' Withdrawal and Regional Interferences in Iraq

Among the major themes related to Iraq after the withdrawal of U.S. forces is represented by the regional interferences in Iraq's internal issues as it has been stated in more than one article. The following excerpts are selected to clarify this theme.

4.20: While much of how the proceedings play out is in the hands of the Iraqi leaders, the difficulties already inherent are only exasperated by **the influence of neighboring countries. As the U.S. formally withdraws, the battle for influence in Iraq will only heighten.**

5.5: **Neighbouring countries** must not be allowed to think **they can fill the vacuum after the U.S. withdrawal to interfere in Iraq's affairs**, he [Zebari] said. "We will not be **a pawn in others' games**."

Obviously, the KG newspaper focused on presenting the issue of regional interferences in Iraq's internal affairs in its articles linking them with the event of U.S. forces' withdrawal from Iraq. As a result, there were claims for extending the presence of U.S. forces in Iraq. As shown in the previous sections, the KG newspaper was biased towards delegitimizing the event of AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq through emphasizing on the negative actions that evolved in Iraq after this event. In excerpt (4.20), the issue of regional interferences is fueling other challenges that the Iraqi leaders have to encounter after the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Iraq. The interferences are represented by the influence of neighboring countries. The influence of regional countries in Iraq is depicted metaphorically as a battle which will be reinforced by the formal withdrawal of U.S. forces from Iraq. In addition, the excerpt (5.5) is a direct quotation of Zebari's, who was Minister of Foreign Affairs at the time, issuing a statement on the issue of regional interferences in Iraq. This quotation ensures that there are interferences and hence, Zebari warned the neighboring countries from exploiting the absence of U.S. forces from Iraq for their interests to interfere in Iraq's internal issues and achieve their ambitions. Additionally, Zebari metaphorically used this phrase (**a pawn in others' games**) to declare that the Iraqi politicians will not be subjected to others' interests and influences.

4.2.1.2 AMFs' Withdrawal and Sectarianism in Iraq

Besides regional interferences, sectarianism formed another theme in relation to Iraq's situation after AMFs' withdrawal as shown in the following excerpts.

2.2: Despite the celebratory tones of U.S. and Iraqi officials, **the future of Iraq without U.S. troops is very uncertain and prone to sectarian and ethnic conflict with regional interference in Iraqi political affairs.**

4.14: **Renewed sectarian bloodshed coupled with a collapse of the current government may place Iraq in a point of no return and without a bailout from the U.S. this time around.**

Based on excerpts (2.2) and (4.14), the KG newspaper enhanced the de-legitimation strategy employed in the depiction of AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq by highlighting the negative actions that followed this event. Sectarianism is one of these negative actions that evolved after AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq. The ethnic and sectarian conflicts happened among Iraqis in various social, political, and religious issues. Accordingly, the excerpt (2.2) is presented with a negative attitude concerning the future of Iraq without the U.S. forces which is depicted as uncertain. This means that the stability of Iraq after AMFs' withdrawal is still ambiguous. Adding to that, the ethnic and sectarian conflicts and regional interferences in Iraq's political issues are likely to increase after this withdrawal. This issue of sectarianism is ensured in the excerpt (4.14). In this excerpt, the KG newspaper stated that besides renewed sectarian violence and the collapse of the current government, Iraq faces a further complication represented by the withdrawal of U.S. forces. Thus, Iraq has to encounter these challenges alone without the U.S. support.

4.2.2 Themes Related to U.S.

The U.S. government and its related actions form another major theme in the KG newspaper. This subsection presents the main themes related to U.S. and its roles in Iraq. The KG newspaper presented the positive actions and policies undertaken by the U.S. government concerning Iraq to justify the claims for extending the presence of U.S. forces in Iraq. The positive roles and actions related to the U.S. government are clarified in the following excerpts.

4.2.2.1 U.S. is Irresponsible for Iraq's Crises

In order to justify and legitimize the presence of U.S. forces in Iraq, the KG newspaper considered the U.S. government to be irresponsible for the instability witnessed in Iraq at all levels. This issue is clarified in the following excerpt:

4.4: Many placed direct blame on much of the unfolding crisis over the years in Iraq on America, but as the future will prove **the U.S. is not responsible for every Iraqi misfortune** and that perhaps **America did well to stave off many obstacles.**

After the 2003 war, the U.S. forces occupied Iraq for approximately nine years. Throughout this period, Iraq witnessed many crises at all social, political, economic, and religious levels. This reality is presented in this clause (*Many placed direct blame on much of the unfolding crisis over the years in Iraq on America*). However, the KG newspaper defended such accusation stating that the U.S. government is irresponsible for these crises, but it has done its best to keep Iraq away from many obstacles that were likely to happen in Iraq. The KG newspaper ensured its defending statement by this clause (*but as the future will prove the U.S. is not responsible for every Iraqi misfortune and that perhaps America did well to stave off*

many obstacles); here, by the noun phrase (*the future*) it means the period that will follow the withdrawal of U.S. forces. So, it can be said that the KG newspaper depicted the U.S. government as innocent of the negative actions which happened in Iraq during the presence of its forces.

4.2.2.2 The U.S. Role in Changing Iraq

The KG newspaper believed that the U.S. government has a significant role in changing the situation in Iraq as denoted in the following excerpts:

2.3: U.S. Defense Secretary Leon Panetta told troops **the mission was worth the cost in blood and dollars**: "After a lot of blood spilled by Iraqis and Americans, **the mission of an Iraq that could govern and secure itself has become real.**"

4.9: It is by no means to say that **the U.S. adventure in Iraq should be marked as a shining glory**. The two Washington administrations, particularly that of George W. Bush, will be the first to admit that Iraq was an Achilles heel and in the case of Bush the hammer blow to the credibility of his tenure. In hindsight, **the U.S. is more than likely to have done things differently** and will have a bitter taste in its mouth as some events backfired.

It is clear that in almost all articles issued in relation to the U.S. government, the KG newspaper emphasized on showing the U.S. government's support for Iraq and how the U.S. government has helped Iraq control its issues alone without requiring the support of U.S. forces. This is shown in the excerpt (2.3), which is presented as a direct quotation of U.S. Defense Secretary Leon Panetta. In this excerpt, the representative of U.S. government Leon Panetta emphasized on the positive role of their forces in changing Iraq from a weak into a sovereign State that could govern

itself. Additionally, the excerpt (4.9) presented the presence of U.S. forces in Iraq metaphorically as adventure that must be marked as “a shining glory”. The KG newspaper intentionally exaggerate in depicting the occupation of Iraq as merely an adventure to be marked as a shining glory in order to enhance its attitude towards extending their presence in Iraq. In this clause (*the U.S. ... will have a bitter taste in its mouth as some events backfired*), the message of the KG newspaper is that Iraq’s situation will turn worse when the U.S. government withdraw its forces from Iraq; therefore, the presence of these forces must be extended.

4.2.3 Discussion of Question One

This section focused on drawing new themes for the main meanings realized through a number of excerpts from the KG newspaper in relation to the event of AMFs’ withdrawal and its related participants and reactions. It is obvious that the KG newspaper was biased towards extending the existence of AMFs in Iraq for as long as possible. This bias was denoted by delegitimizing their withdrawal from Iraq. As a result, the authors paid more attention to the negative actions which resulted from the event of AMFs’ withdrawal as well as presenting the positive role played by the U.S. government and its forces in controlling the internal and external issues of Iraq. Accordingly, this section was divided into two sub-sections. The first section focused on themes related to Iraq, whereas the second one dealt with themes related to the U.S. government.

Concerning themes related to Iraq, the KG newspaper focused on the negative actions and reactions which took place in Iraq following the withdrawal of AMFs. These negative issues were represented by the regional interferences in the Iraqi internal issues and sectarianism. These issues were expressed in a number of

excerpts. In relation to the issue of regional interferences, it was highlighted in two excerpts (4.20) and (5.5). Likewise, the theme of sectarianism forms another crucial issue evolved in Iraq after the withdrawal of AMFs. This theme was realized in two excerpts (2.2) and (4.14). It is clear that the excerpts by which the new themes were drawn are taken from different news stories denoting the same meaning, namely the regional interferences and sectarianism in Iraq.

Linguistically, the sentences used to draw the first theme, namely regional interferences, confirm that the event of AMFs' withdrawal is the main cause for regional interferences in Iraq's affairs (see sections 4.4.1.1 and 4.4.1.2). Both excerpts (4.20) and (5.5) are formed in declarative mood, informing the reader about the real situation in Iraq after the U.S. withdrawal. In the excerpt (4.20), there are two sentences demonstrating the issue of regional interferences through nominalization, as in (*the influence of neighboring countries*) and (*the battle for influence in Iraq*). These nominal phrases are collocated with the event of AMFs' withdrawal using (As-clause) as represented in this clause (*As the U.S. formally withdraws*). Likewise, nominalization was employed in the excerpt (5.5), indicating (*the vacuum*) left by the U.S. troops after their withdrawal from Iraq. The two excerpts presuppose the negative impact of the AMFs' withdrawal on the stability of Iraq and its relations with neighboring countries, which aspire to interfere in Iraq's affairs with the aim of achieving their desired interests.

Lexically, the two excerpts contain metaphorical phrases represented by (*the battle for influence*), (*the vacuum*) and (*a pawn in others' games*). The first metaphor, (*the battle for influence*), refers to regional interferences in Iraq. The word (*battle*) was used to denote the raging conflict among neighboring countries to play a part in the

Iraqi political system. The second metaphor, (*the vacuum*), denotes the empty place that the U.S. troops left behind their withdrawal from Iraq. The third metaphor, (*a pawn in others' games*), indicates that the Iraqi politicians will not be subjected to the interests and influences of neighboring countries. All these metaphorical phrases reflect that the U.S. withdrawal opens up a new opportunity for regional powers to control over Iraq.

The second theme regarding Iraq establishes the issue of sectarianism in Iraq (see section 4.4.1.2). The sentences under this theme prove that Iraq's future without U.S. troops is uncertain and subject to sectarian conflicts. Both excerpts (2.2) and (4.14) are in declarative active mood, emphasizing the issues of sectarianism and regional interferences in Iraq's political affairs. It is noteworthy that the issue of sectarianism is associated with the event of AMFs' withdrawal. In this sense, the event of AMFs' withdrawal is considered to be a turning point whereby Iraq becomes subject to ethno-religious and political conflicts. This is realized in these sentences (*the future of Iraq without U.S. troops is... prone to sectarian and ethnic conflict with regional interference in Iraqi political affairs*) (in excerpt 2.2) and (*Renewed sectarian bloodshed... may place Iraq in a point of no return... without a bailout from the U.S.*) (in excerpt 4.14).

Accordingly, this sectarianism provides another reason for requesting the extension of AMFs' existence in Iraq. In other words, the authors attempted to express their disagreement on the decision of AMFs' withdrawal through highlighting issues of sectarianism and regional interferences in Iraq's affairs, which is, in turn, delegitimizing the event. Ideologically, these themes present an argumentation used to support the delegitimation of AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq, because this event will

lead to undesirable results including the influence and interferences of regional powers in Iraq's affairs and sectarianism.

On the other hand, the KG newspaper presented the positive aspect of the U.S. government by purifying its actions and policies made in relation to Iraq. To achieve this objective, the KG newspaper claimed that the U.S. government is irresponsible for Iraq's crises; on the contrary, the U.S. government has done the best for Iraq. This was clarified in the excerpt (4.4). To enhance this notion, the KG newspaper showed that the U.S. government has provided freedom to Iraq and changed it into a sovereign state. This notion was expressed by two excerpts (2.3) and (4.9) forming the second theme related to the U.S. government found in the KG newspaper.

In terms of linguistic structure employed in themes related to U.S. (see sections 4.4.2.1 and 4.4.2.2), the sentences emphasize the effective role of the U.S. government and its policies concerning Iraq. In the excerpt (4.4), the sentence is in declarative active mood, purifying the role of U.S. government in Iraq as shown in these sentences (*the U.S. is not responsible for every Iraqi misfortune*) and (*America did well to stave off many obstacles*). In the excerpts (2.3) and (4.9), the sentences present argumentations on the success and sacrifices of the U.S. government in changing Iraq's situation. This is realized in these sentences (*the mission was worth the cost in blood and dollars*), (*the mission of an Iraq that could govern and secure itself has become real*), (*the U.S. adventure in Iraq should be marked as a shining glory*), and (*the U.S. is more than likely to have done things differently*).

Based on the above, the authors send a message to the audience that the U.S. government and its military forces have done their best to change Iraq and secure its

borders with neighboring countries. However, the Iraqi government was preoccupied with sectarian conflicts and struggle for power among its components. In this sense, the KG newspaper compared between the two groups, namely the Iraqi government and the U.S. government, in terms of power, policy and actions taken during conflicts and hard times. This comparison showed that the role of U.S. government in controlling Iraq's conflicts and affairs outweighs that of the Iraqi government.

Politically, Kurds represent one of the components of the Iraqi government. Though Kurds occupy institutional power represented by the President of Iraq, who was Jalal Talabani at the time of AMFs' withdrawal, besides a number of vital ministries like Ministry of Foreign Affairs, they were in conflict with other components of the Iraqi government represented by Sunnis and Shi'ites. These components were conflicting on political and economic issues. Economically, they depend on the central government in terms of financial and oil supplies. However, Kurds want to be an independent government with its own political and economic system. Therefore, they always struggle for this desire to make it real through claiming their rights and conflicting with those who obstruct the path of achieving their aim.

Ideologically, the KG newspaper employed the language to support its attitudes and beliefs, which were biased towards the U.S. government. The themes showed that the KG newspaper trusts in the U.S. government and its policies by focusing on its effective role in controlling sectarian and power conflicts as well as securing Iraq's borders. In contrast, it distrusts in the Iraqi government due to that the Iraqi politicians neglect people's needs and keep struggling for power. As a result, the KG newspaper tended to delegitimize the event of AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq and supported the request for extending their existence for a long period.

4.3 Linguistic Structure Employed in the (De)Legitimation Strategy

To carry out an analysis to identify the linguistic structures used in the KG newspaper to (de)legitimize the event of AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq, the excerpts were analyzed using Halliday's (2014) SFL and van Leeuwen (2007, 2008) model of (de)legitimation discursive structures. The linguistic tools used in the analysis of the political events depicted in the newspaper discourse through CDA were identified in the current study following the studies of Fowler et al. (1979), Richardson (2007) and Shojaei et al. (2013) to analyze the selected excerpts from the KG newspaper. Accordingly, this section is divided into three sub-sections including legitimation and de-legitimation of AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq along with their discussions.

4.3.1 Legitimation of AMFs' Withdrawal from Iraq

The purpose of this section is to provide critical analysis for sentences and excerpts concerned with the event of AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq. These sentences and excerpts depict the positive aspect of this event to legitimize it, in accordance with legitimation categories outlined in van Leeuwen's (2007, 2008) model of legitimation discursive structures.

4.3.1.1 Authorization

According to van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999), authorization is realized through indicating the appropriate (personal and impersonal) authority as subject, e.g. "Because I say so" or "According to the rule". In the case of legitimation, it is associated with presenting the event in question positively. Authorization is classified into six subcategories including personal authority, impersonal authority,

expert authority, authority of conformity, role model authority, and the authority of tradition.

4.3.1.1.1 Personal Authority

In this case, the legitimation authority is assigned to people who have a power status or role in a certain institution (van Leeuwen, 2008).

1.2: "It is true **the U.S. forces will pull out of Iraq**, but **the United States' commitment** towards Iraq and Kurdistan Region **will remain present**," **Biden said**.

This direct quotation shows the continuation of United States' commitment towards Iraq and Kurdistan region even after withdrawal of its military forces. Concerning the linguistic representation of the participants and processes applied in relation to the event of AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq, (*Biden*) is represented as the Sayer of the verbal process which is realized through the verb (*said*) representing the projected clause of quoting. The verbal process that was chosen to characterize this direct quotation frames readers' understandings of the reported event. It is represented in declarative mood indicating a promise of U.S. government to support Iraq and Kurdistan region in military and political aspects. The modal finite verbs used in (the U.S. forces *will* pull out of Iraq) and (the United States' commitment towards Iraq and Kurdistan Region *will* remain present) could be analyzed as expressing certainty with some impression of futurity. Biden joined these two sentences using the conjuncture (*but*) to negate abandoning Iraq after the withdrawal of U.S. forces. This functions as a statement on the policy of U.S. administration regarding the future of its relation with Iraq after withdrawing its military forces. It is noteworthy that the definite article (*the*) and the possessive (*s'*) are used to presuppose meanings in this

quotation (Richardson, 2007). So, (*the U.S. forces*) presupposes the existence of American forces in Iraq, (*the United States' commitment*) presuppose the existence of U.S. government's support for Iraq and Kurdistan region. In addition, the nominal phrase (*Kurdistan Region*) which is added to Iraq using the additive conjuncture (*and*) presupposes that U.S. government considers Kurdistan region as an autonomous state not only as an Iraqi north region. This in turn is in the political agenda of the newspaper which concentrates on Kurdish issues and its autonomy.

This quotation legitimizes the event of AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq on the grounds of authorization taking the form of personal authority. This authorization is enhanced by the direct quotation of U.S. vice president Joe Biden's statement as a political source representing the backgrounded subject of the sentence to legitimize the event of AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq. As he said (*the U.S. forces will pull out of Iraq, but the United States' commitment towards Iraq and Kurdistan Region will remain present*). This denotes the continuous relationship between U.S. and Iraq after the withdrawal of U.S. forces. Hence, as U.S. vice president, Joe Biden has the power, authority as well as legitimacy to ensure the event of AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq. This implies that a formal official with authority and liability is assuring the U.S. continuous relations with Iraq. Based on this statement, AMFs' withdrawal will not affect the Iraq-U.S. relations so that it is legitimized.

Implicitly, this quotation reveals that Iraq still needs the support of U.S. government which invaded Iraq in 2003 and occupied it for more than eight years. However, U.S. government and its troops are represented as supporter not the occupier. Consequently, this is in the interest of political practices because it reveals the dominance of U.S. over Iraq. Additionally, it represents the U.S. government as the

powerful authority involved in this event as it undertakes the decision to withdraw from Iraq.

1.7: "**Drawing down our forces** is not only **in the best interest of Iraq**, but it's **in the best interest of the United States of America** as well, and **the best interest of the relationship**" [said the U.S. vice president].

This sentence represents direct quotation from Biden depicting the event of AMFs' withdrawal as being effective for both U.S. and Iraq. In linguistic terms, *the U.S. vice president* is the Sayer of the saying verbal process (*said*) and the Verbiage (*Drawing down our forces is not only in the best interest of Iraq, but it's in the best interest of the United States of America as well, and the best interest of the relationship*). This verbiage is composed of identifying relational process involving the intensive verb (*is*), the Tokens (*Drawing down our forces*) and (*it* [referring to drawing down our forces]), and the Values (*in the best interest of Iraq*) and (*in the best interest of the United States of America*). The sentence is stated in active declarative mood. The cohesive device used to join the sentences is (*but*) to extend and elaborate the information, as well as to negate the negative impacts of AMFs' withdrawal on Iraq, U.S. and their relationship.

This issues authorization on the basis of personal authority relying on Biden's statement that (*Drawing down our forces is not only in the best interest of Iraq, but it's in the best interest of the United States of America as well, and the best interest of the relationship*) showing that the withdrawal of AMFs is in the interest of both Iraq and U.S. and their relationship. Therefore, the U.S. vice president Joe Biden has the political authority and power to legitimize the event of AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq.

Turning to the lexical level, the sentence contains a collocation of expressions represented in these nominal groups (*Drawing down our forces*), (*the best interest of Iraq*), (*the best interest of the United States of America*) and (*the best interest of the relationship*). This collocation denotes that the U.S. government undertakes the decision of withdrawing its military forces from Iraq because it will impact positively on both Iraq and U.S. and it will enhance their relationship. This indicates equality between the two governments, namely U.S. and Iraq, in terms of authority. This, in turn, reveals that the U.S. government regards Iraq as a sovereign state; therefore, it decided to withdraw its forces from Iraq.

3.6: Iraqi Foreign Minister **Hoshyar Zebari said the U.S. is only ending its military presence in Iraq, but will remain very active and strong politically** in the country.

This sentence is indirect quotation from the Iraqi Foreign Minister Hoshyar Zebari's statement concerning the event of AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq. Linguistically, the statement is represented in the verbal process which involved the quoting verb (*said*) and (*Hoshyar Zebari*) the Sayer, and (*the U.S. is only ending its military presence in Iraq, but will remain very active and strong politically in the country*) is its Verbiage. Moreover, the verbiage consists of a material process in the form of doing verb (*is ending*) performed by the Actor (*the U.S. [government]*) and its Goal is (*its military presence in Iraq*) joined with another clause using the adversative conjuncture (*but*) which presupposes that the U.S. government still plays a crucial political role in Iraq even though it withdraws its forces. The sentence is represented in active declarative mood and the modal auxiliary verb (*will*) shows certainty with impression of futurity. Through this statement, the event of AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq is legitimized on the basis of authorization taking the form of personal authority. Consequently, *Iraqi*

Foreign Minister Hoshyar Zebari has the power and authority to legitimize this event as, in his opinion, the U.S. government decided to only end its military presence in Iraq but its political role will remain active. This could be interpreted as that *Hoshyar Zebari* wants to send a message saying that the U.S. government's political influence on Iraqi government will not end and it will remain controlling its political events including its policies, internal and foreign affairs.

In this indirect quotation, the reporter restates Zebari's statement using other words not the exact words uttered by Zebari. Hence, the political role of U.S. government is described as (*very active*) and (*strong*) revealing the political influence of U.S. government on Iraqi affairs and events will continue after the AMFs' withdrawal. This statement evaluates the continuation of U.S. government's policy in Iraq after withdrawing its forces as being (*very active*) and (*strong*). As well, it reveals the U.S. government's dominance over Iraq's political issues.

4.3.1.1.2 The Authority of Conformity

In the case of conformity, the answer to the "why" question is "because that's what everybody else does" or "because that's what most people do." In most cases, it is recognized through high-frequency modality (van Leeuwen, 2008).

2.5: Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister **Hussain al-Shahristani** said **Iraqis** were **glad** that **U.S. troops were leaving**. "I think **we** are **all happy** that **the American soldiers** are **returning home** safely to their families, and **we** are also **confident** that **the Iraqi people** and their **armed forces** and **police** are in a position now to **take care of their own security**."

This excerpt represents the event of AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq with a positive tone relying on emotional words which express happiness. This excerpt is

represented in two ways; i.e., as indirect quotation and then enhanced with the use of direct quotation of the exact words as said by the Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister Hussain al-Shahristani. Linguistically, the excerpt contains participants, processes, and circumstances. *Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister Hussain al-Shahristani* is the Sayer of the verbal process *said* stating that *Iraqis were glad that U.S. troops were leaving* which is the Verbiage. This verbiage also consists of participants and processes. The relational process is formed by the verb (*were*) attributing the adjective (*glad*) to (*Iraqis*) who represents the Carrier. In addition, the relative clause which at the same time identifies the reason behind Iraqis' happiness (*that U.S. troops were leaving*) bears a material process of doing in the form of verb phrase (*were leaving*) done by (*U.S. troops*) the Actor. Turning to the direct quotation used to enhance and emphasize the reported speech (*I think we are all happy that the American soldiers are returning home safely to their families, and we are also confident that the Iraqi people and their armed forces and police are in a position now to take care of their own security*), the personal pronoun (*I*) which refers to (*Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister Hussain al-Shahristani*) is the Sensor of the mental process involving the cognition verb (*think*) and the relative clause (*that the American soldiers are returning home safely to their families*) represents its phenomenon. Here, the pronoun (*I*) reflects individuality showing that *Hussain al-Shahristani* expresses his thinking as a politician in the Iraqi government concerning the event of AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq. In addition, the inclusive pronoun (*we*), in the first position, refers to Iraqis including the Sensor himself while in the second position it refers to *Hussain al-Shahristani* and other Iraqi politicians showing his consistency with other members in the government regarding their confidence in the ability of Iraqi security system in keeping Iraq secure after AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq. The pronoun (*we*) in these

two clauses (*we are all happy*) and (*we are also confident*), formulates the Carrier of the relational process using the verb (*are*) attributing the adjectives (*happy* and *confident*) to its participant (*we*). This excerpt is represented in active declarative mood. The clauses are joined using the additive conjuncture (*and*).

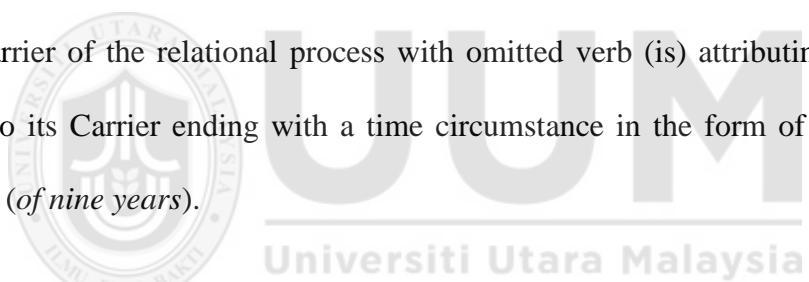
Concerning the legitimization practice, it can be said that this excerpt reveals two types of authorization, including: personal authority represented by the Sayer (*Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister Hussain al-Shahristani*) and the authority of conformity shown in (*Iraqis were glad that U.S. troops were leaving*) and (*we are all happy that the American soldiers are returning home safely to their families*). Therefore, the event of AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq is legitimized because all Iraqis are glad and happy.

The excerpt bears a positive tone towards the withdrawal event. It is depicted in a sentimentalised way (*we are also confident that the Iraqi people and their armed forces and police are in a position now to take care of their own security*). This statement highlights the confidence of Iraqi government in its people and security system as being able to control Iraq in the post-U.S. troops period indicated by (*now*) which refers to the present period following AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq. Al-Shahristani's statement bears an ideological belief of having strong security forces capable of defending and protecting Iraq without depending on the help of American troops. This, in turn, emphasizes Iraq's independence and sovereignty.

4.1: As the last convoy of **U.S. troops trickled over** the deserts southern **Iraqi border**, the move was met with **contrasting emotions, much like** the overall U.S. experience **a little shy** of nine years.

In this sentence, the KG newspaper stresses its attention on Iraqis' emotions regarding the event of AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq after nine years of occupation

following the US-led war against Iraq in 2003. It is a long sentence presented in declarative mood containing a number of interrelated clauses using the conjunction (*As*). To begin with, the sentence is represented in the material process of happening (*trickled*) performed by its Actor (*U.S. troops*) happened (*over the deserts southern Iraqi border*) representing circumstance of place. It is followed by a passive material process which involved the verb phrase (*was met*) regarding its Goal (*the move*) enhanced by a manner circumstance (*with contrasting emotions*). Then, the author adds another clause with a mental process of affection (*like*) involving the Sensor which is represented by (*much*) as a hyperbolic pronoun referring to the majority of Iraqi people towards the Phenomenon (*the overall U.S. experience*). Finally, (*a little*) is used as a pronoun referring to an extremely small number of Iraqis representing the Carrier of the relational process with omitted verb (*is*) attributing the adjective (*shy*) to its Carrier ending with a time circumstance in the form of a prepositional phrase (*of nine years*).



In this sentence, the event of AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq is legitimized using the conformity authority shown in (*As the last convoy of U.S. troops trickled over the deserts southern Iraqi border... much like the overall U.S. experience*). This means that the majority of Iraqis like the whole U.S. experience including the event of AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq, but simultaneously some of them are uncertain about what will happen after this withdrawal (*a little shy of nine years*).

Obviously, the voice of the KG newspaper is revealed in the choice of words used in this excerpt. It used (*much*) and (*a little*) as pronouns referring to Iraqis in collocation with (*like*) and (*shy*) respectively. It is known that in English (*much*) and (*a little*) are used as quantifiers with uncountable nouns, but in this excerpt the KG newspaper used them as pronouns with rhetorical hyperbolic effect reflecting sensationalism.

Hence, the KG newspaper intends to show that the majority of Iraqi people accept AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq and some of them feel uncertain about this decision which is undertaken by the U.S. government after nine years of occupying Iraq.

4.2: For **many in Iraq**, the image of **seeing their “occupiers” leave** became a **long-time nationalist dream**.

This sentence depicts the event of AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq as a long-time nationalist dream for Iraqi people. Linguistically, the sentence is formed in active declarative mood indicating the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Iraq. It is formulated using the identifying relational process represented by the verb (*became*). This process involves the Token (*the image of seeing their “occupiers” [the U.S. forces] leave*) and the Value (*a long-time nationalist dream*). The sentence confirms the event of AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq and depicts it as a national dream. The nominal phrase (*their occupiers*) refers to the occupiers of Iraq, or in other words, the U.S. forces.

This sentence legitimizes the event of AMFs' withdrawal on the basis of the authority of conformity which is a subcategory of authorization. This legitimization category involves shared attitudes of a definite group towards an action. In this sentence, the event of AMFs' withdrawal is depicted as a prolonged nationalist dream for many Iraqi people as represented in (*For many in Iraq... seeing their “occupiers” leave became a long-time nationalist dream*), and this dream became true after the U.S. government withdrew its military forces from Iraq.

The sentence reveals ideological belief through depicting the event of AMFs' withdrawal metaphorically as (*a dream*) for many Iraqis, so this dream may become true and may not. This shows that Iraqis believed that the AMFs' presence in Iraq

could remain for a long time and these forces might not leave Iraq, but now, with the withdrawal of these forces, their presence has ended. Another ideological belief is represented by the noun (*occupiers*) which identifies the real role of U.S. forces in Iraq as occupiers. It is noteworthy that the noun (“*occupiers*”) represents a quotation of others’ thought not of the KG newspaper itself so that it is “placed in quotation marks in order to indicate its contentious nature” (Richardson, 2007, p. 102). This reveals that the role of U.S. forces is considered to be controversial since some Iraqis consider them to be occupiers, whereas others consider them as supporters.

4.3.1.2 Rationalization

Rationalization consists of two main types. The first type is instrumentality whereby practices are legitimized by referring to their uses, goals and effects. The second one is theoretical rationality which legitimizes practices by referring to a regular order of things.

4.3.1.2.1 Theoretical Rationalization

This type of rationalization is used to legitimize practices by referring to a regular order of things. It has subcategories represented by definition, explanation, and prediction. The definition category is realized through generalizing and objectifying the activities. The relation between these activities should either be attributive (using verbs such as ‘is’ and ‘constitutes’) or signifying (using verbs such as ‘means’, ‘signals’, and ‘symbolizes’) (van Leeuwen, 2008). Explanations describe general attributes or habitual activities of the categories of actors in question (van Leeuwen 2008). Prediction is based on expertise and it can be denied by contrary experience (van Leeuwen 2008).

1.4: Before traveling to Erbil, **Biden officially celebrated the end of the Iraq War** and said **the two countries are now in a new phase** of their ties. He highlighted that the remaining 13,000 U.S. soldiers will pull out by the end of the year. "Our troops... are leaving Iraq and **we are embarking on a new path together, a new phase in this relationship... between two sovereign nations**".

This excerpt depicts the positive aspect following the event of AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq. Linguistically, the main participants involved in this excerpt are: *Biden* and *He* (both Actor and Sayer, respectively), *the end of the Iraq War* (Goal), *Our troops* (Actor), *Iraq* (Goal), *we* (Actor), *a new path together* and *a new phase in this relationship* (Goal). Concerning processes, *celebrated* (material of event process), *said* and *highlighted* (verbal process of saying and asserting), *are leaving* (material process of doing), *are embarking on* (material process of happening). In addition, both sentences (*the two countries are now in a new phase of their ties*) and (*that the remaining 13,000 U.S. soldiers will pull out by the end of the year*) represent the verbiage of the verbal processes. The circumstances are denoted by the use of time adverb in (*Before traveling to Erbil*) and (*by the end of the year*). The sentences are in active declarative mood and the modal verb used in this sentence (the remaining 13,000 U.S. soldiers *will* pull out by the end of the year) presupposes certainty and confirms the withdrawal of U.S. troops in the near future. The sentences are joined by (*and*) which is used to extend or add more information. U.S. vice president Joe Biden and the U.S. troops are used in the subject position as the powerful authority involved in the withdrawal event.

In relation to the legitimation discursive practice applied in this excerpt, it is represented by definition. In other words, the direct quotation of Biden's speech legitimizes the event of AMFs' withdrawal by defining the new situation for both

countries regarding their relations after this event "*Our troops... are leaving Iraq and we are embarking on a new path together, a new phase in this relationship... between two sovereign nations*". So, the AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq enhanced the relationship between Iraq and U.S. governments.

Lexically, the reporter used the nominal phrase (*the end of the Iraq War*) which presupposes the AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq. Hence, the AMFs' withdrawal is not expressed explicitly but it is embodied in the mentioned phrase. In the Iraqi context, the war is defined either as 'the 2003 war', 'the U.S.-led war', 'the U.S. and its coalition war', or (to be more neutral) 'the U.S.-Iraq war'. Iraqis use these expressions to accuse the U.S. government of causing war against Iraq. In this excerpt, the reporter named this war as (*the Iraq war*) as it is referred to in the international contexts. Moreover, the use of manner adverb of quality (*officially*) means that the event was formal in terms of its nature. The use of adjective (*new*) in these phrases (*a new path together, a new phase in this relationship*) presupposes that both countries have experienced old or past hammerings (Richardson, 2007). Finally, the personal pronoun (*we*) (referring to Iraq and U.S. governments) is an inclusive pronoun used to show equality between the two countries. This is enhanced by the phrase of (*two sovereign nations*), i.e., establishing the sovereignty of Iraq and U.S.

4.3.1.3 Moral Evaluation

It is based on values, rather than imposed by some kind of authority without further justification. It can be expressed in different ways, including abstraction, evaluation, and analogies. Abstraction refers to practices (or to one or more of their component actions or reactions) in abstract ways that "moralize" these practices by highlighting

a quality that links those practices to discourses of moral values (van Leeuwen, 2008). Evaluation refers to values and that evaluative adjectives are very important in this area (Van Leeuwen, 2008). While analogies category refers to comparisons made between different social practices.

2.1: The flag of American military forces in Iraq was lowered in Baghdad during an official ceremony, bringing nearly nine years of U.S. military operations in Iraq to a formal end. At its peak, U.S. troops numbered 170,000; now, only 4,000 remain for another two weeks. With the U.S. troop withdrawal, a new chapter begins in Iraq.

This excerpt depicts the event of AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq formally after nearly nine years of U.S. occupation following its war against Iraq in 2003. As a reaction to this event, Iraq experiences a new phase in the history of its conflicts with U.S. In terms of transitivity, *The flag of American military forces in Iraq* represents (Goal) of the verb phrase (*was lowered*) which forms the material process of withdrawal event taking place *in Baghdad* (location circumstance) *during an official ceremony* (duration circumstance) *bringing nearly nine years of U.S. military operations in Iraq to a formal end* (result circumstance); *U.S. troops* represent (Carrier) of the attributive relational process formed by (*numbered* and *remain*) and *a new chapter* represents the (Existent) of the existential process represented by the verb (*begins*); *for another two weeks* is (duration circumstance) and *in Iraq* is (location circumstance). The sentences are in active declarative mood in except for the first sentence (*The flag of American military forces in Iraq was lowered in Baghdad during an official ceremony*) which is constructed in passive voice with no agent.

The event of AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq is legitimized through the discursive structure of moral evaluation in the form of abstraction. This type of legitimation

discursive practice is shown in (*bringing nearly nine years of U.S. military operations in Iraq to a formal end*) and (*With the U.S. troop withdrawal, a new chapter begins in Iraq*). The KG newspaper refers to the result of AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq as the formal end to nine years of U.S. military operations in Iraq which leads to the beginning of new chapter in the history book of prolonged conflicts between U.S. and Iraq. Accordingly, the event of AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq is legitimized since it ends the military operations and results in a new phase in Iraq.

In the first sentence of this excerpt, it is clear that the KG newspaper focused on the Goal of material process which is transformed to the subject position of the passive sentence without mentioning its agent. Therefore, the KG newspaper considers (*The flag of American military forces in Iraq*) to be a more important aspect of the story than who was actually doing it. This reveals the importance of event rather than its agent and hence the subject is omitted leaving its role unknown, i.e., Who lowered the flag of American military forces in Iraq? Who was responsible for this event? Did it happen under the authority of U.S. government or Iraqi government? This type of transformation from active into passive structure removes a sense of specificity and precision from the sentence (Richardson, 2007). This, in turn, serves political practices since such transformation can remove important political implications and in this case hiding the hegemony of U.S. government over the Iraqi affairs. Consequently, this transformation in sentence mood is legitimating the event and occupation.

4.6: It is time for the Iraqi political actors to take accountability and responsibility for the current situation in Iraq.

This sentence states the action to be taken by Iraqi politicians to ensure the new policy of Iraqi government in the post-U.S. forces period. Linguistically, the sentence

is formed using two processes. The first process consists of the Existent represented by neutral pronoun (*it*), existential verb (*is*), and (*time for the Iraqi political actors to take accountability and responsibility for the current situation in Iraq*) as its complement. The second process is formed with material verbal group (*to take accountability and responsibility*) involving the nominal group (*the Iraqi political actors*) as its Goal and the prepositional phrase (*for the current situation in Iraq*) as a result circumstance. It is a declarative sentence functioning as a statement and indicating the necessity for Iraq to be governed and controlled by Iraqi politicians after the AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq. The sentence gives a proposition on what is expected from the Iraqi politicians to do after AMFs' withdrawal.

In relation to the legitimation structure applied in this statement, it is based on abstraction. The reporter states that the Iraqi politicians should lead Iraq now after AMFs' withdrawal. This means that the Iraqi politicians did not have any role in controlling Iraq's situations; thus their role has negative values of lacking accountability and responsibility for controlling the situation in Iraq during the presence of AMFs' in Iraq.

Implicitly, in (*It is time for the Iraqi political actors*), the KG newspaper informs readers that the situation has changed in Iraq after AMFs' withdrawal so that the time has come for the Iraqi politicians to realize their liability concerning its political and security issues. Additionally, the statement implies that the U.S. government was taking the responsibility for Iraq's affairs. Consequently, this reveals the dominance of U.S. government over Iraq. The KG newspaper refers to the post-U.S. period in Iraq by (*the current situation in Iraq*) indicating that Iraq was experiencing a previous situation, which is represented by the presence of U.S. forces on its earth.

4.7: Iraq has had a sovereign government for many years, has now **held two national elections, implemented a national constitution** and **has a large security force** at its disposal that **has been in practical control of the streets long before the U.S. withdrawal**.

In this excerpt, the KG newspaper evaluates Iraq's political and security situation in the time of AMFs' withdrawal. Linguistically, the excerpt is represented as a long declarative sentence with a number of interrelated clauses that are related to the same subject (*Iraq*) which is the main participant. In these two clauses (*Iraq has had a sovereign government for many years*) and (*[Iraq] has a large security force at its disposal*), *Iraq* represents the Carrier to which the qualities (*a sovereign government*) and (*a large security force*) are assigned through the relational possessive process (*has*). The second clause (*[Iraq] has now held two national elections, implemented a national constitution*) is formed with a material verb process of doing (*has now held*) and (*implemented*) with the Goals (*two national elections*) and (*a national constitution*). In addition, the relative clause with (*that*) contains existential process represented by the verbal group (*has been*). This process involves the nominal phrase (*a large security force*) functioning as Existent, and the prepositional phrase (*in practical control of the streets long before the U.S. withdrawal*) as complement.

Concerning legitimation structure, the event of AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq is legitimized on the basis of abstraction structure which is a subcategory of moral evaluation. This is enhanced in this clause (*[Iraq] has a large security force at its disposal that has been in practical control of the streets long before the U.S. withdrawal*). The prepositional phrase (*in practical control of the streets long before the U.S. withdrawal*) presupposes that the Iraqi security force has the ability to control the security situation in Iraq as it has practiced its duties before the event of AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq. Accordingly, the KG newspaper wants its readers to

know that the Iraqi security force will protect their country (Iraq) after AMFs' withdrawal as having the leadership values in the form of guidance metaphor (*in practical control of the streets*) (van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999).

The KG newspaper uses such nominal phrases (*a sovereign government for many years, national elections, a national constitution, a large security force, practical control of the streets, long before the U.S. withdrawal*) which represent ideological belief that is Iraq's sovereignty and independence. In addition, the KG newspaper depicts Iraq and its security forces in more positive tone embodied in these phrases (*a sovereign government*) and (*practical control*). Both phrases denote Iraq's power and its forces' ability to practice their real duties instead of American forces.

4.3.2 De-legitimation of AMFs' Withdrawal from Iraq

The purpose of this section is to provide critical analysis for sentences and excerpts concerned with the event of AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq. These sentences and excerpts depict the negative aspect of this event to delegitimize it in accordance with de-legitimation categories outlined in van Leeuwen's (2008) model of legitimation discursive structures.

4.3.2.1 Authorization

In the case of de-legitimation, it is associated with presenting the event in question negatively.

4.3.2.1.1 Personal Authority

3.14: Kurdistan Prime Minister **Barham Salih** said some groups inside Iraq, including the Kurds, **requested** that **the U.S. extend their presence inside Iraq beyond 2011**.

This sentence reveals the need of extending AMFs' presence in Iraq beyond 2011. In linguistic terms, the sentence is presented in the form of indirect quotation consisting of verbal process of saying. This verbal process includes the verb (*said*), the Sayer (*Barham Salih*), and the Verbiage (*some groups inside Iraq, including the Kurds, requested that the U.S. extend their presence inside Iraq beyond 2011*). Besides, another verbal process is formed within this sentence consisting of (*some groups*) as Sayer, (*requested*) as the verb, and (*that the U.S. extend their presence inside Iraq beyond 2011*) as the Verbiage. It is a declarative sentence indicating the desire of certain political parties to extend the presence of the U.S. forces in Iraq beyond 2011. The pronoun (*their*) is used to refer to (*the U.S. [forces]*).

It can be seen that the AMFs' withdrawal is delegitimized on the basis of personal authority realized through using Barham Salih's statement which implies the unwillingness of some political parties for the AMF's withdrawal from Iraq. Barham Salih has the political power and authority as the Prime Minister in KRG which governs the north region of Iraq populated by Kurdish people who represent one of the Iraqi ethnic groups. Accordingly, his statement is chosen to be embedded in this editorial to express, on behalf of certain Arabic and Kurdish political parties, the necessity of U.S. forces existence in Iraq.

Implicitly, the statement presupposes that Iraqis are divided into two groups; one group accepted the AMFs' withdrawal whereas the other group refused it. Lexically, this is realized in the nominal groups (*some groups*), (*the U.S.*) and (*their presence*)

in collocation with the verbs (*requested*) and (*extend*), and the time circumstance (*beyond 2011*) referring to the year in which the U.S. forces will withdraw from Iraq completely and formally. The verb (*requested*) is used in the formal and polite requests. This request is issued by Iraqi political parties so that it presupposes that the U.S. forces are the powerful authority in Iraq.

4.3.2.1.2 The Authority of Conformity

3.1: **Kurds remain publicly silent over the U.S. withdrawal, but they are not happy** about it.

This sentence reveals Kurds' attitude regarding the AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq whose opinion was in opposition to other Iraqi citizens, particularly those who agreed on this event. Concerning the linguistic features, the two clauses are formulated with attributive relational process. This process involves the verbs (*remain*) and (*are*), (*Kurds*) and (*they [Kurds]*) as Carriers of the adjectives (*silent*) and (*happy*) assigned to them. In this sentence, both clauses are in active declarative mood. The adversative conjuncture (*but*) is used to highlight the real attitude of Kurds behind their silence in relation to the event of AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq. Hence, the KG newspaper focused on the Kurdish nationality.

In relation to the de-legitimation category, the event of AMFs' withdrawal is de-legitimized on the basis of conformity authority. This category of de-legitimation is identified through (*Kurds*) and (*publicly*) which denotes that all Kurds are not happy about the AMFs' withdrawal.

Implicitly, the sentence reveals KRG's disagreement upon the AMFs' withdrawal. The words used in this sentence bears political practices. Firstly, the KG newspaper used the noun (*Kurds*) to identify those who are unhappy. Next, the phrase (*silent*

over the U.S. withdrawal) means that the Kurds did not announce their disagreement upon this event explicitly. Then, the negative structure (*they are not happy about it*) is used to describe the negative attitude of Kurds in relation to AMFs' withdrawal. All these features enhance the importance of AMFs' presence in Iraq as well as emphasizing their significant role in controlling the security situations. However, the KG newspaper emphasizes on representing the role of U.S. government and its forces as positive and effective in relation to the stability of security situation in Iraq.

4.16: More than any other group, **the Kurds** were **most disappointed** **by the U.S. exit** that left them **feeling anxious at hostile parties** **around them.**

In this sentence, the KG newspaper informs the readers that the most disappointed group among Iraqi citizens with the event of AMFs' withdrawal is Kurds who are anxious about their future without the presence of U.S. forces in Iraq. In terms of linguistic description, the sentence includes the identifying relational process represented by the verb (*were*) involving (*the Kurds*) as the Token, (*most disappointed*) as Value and (*by the U.S. exit*) the causation circumstance. It is an active declarative sentence stating the negative effect of the AMFs' withdrawal on Iraqis, particularly on the Kurds. In addition, (*that*) refers to (*the U.S. exit*) and the personal pronoun (*them*) in both positions refers to (*the Kurds*).

The sentence contains negative emotional expression represented by (*feeling anxious*) which enhances the de-legitimation category employed in the sentence. The AMFs' withdrawal is de-legitimized through the authority of conformity. This de-legitimation is embodied in these phrases (*More than any other group*) and (*the Kurds*). Therefore, all Kurds are worried because of the AMFs' withdrawal which

will result in negative impacts on the stability of KRG's security situation due to threats emerged from other political parties.

Reading through the sentence, the lexical collocation that appear with (*the Kurds*) represented by (*most disappointed*), (*feeling anxious*), and (*hostile parties around them*) reveals hidden meanings. These lexical structures share the meaning of fear and concern about unknown and undesirable results that will be caused by (*the U.S. exit*), especially in relation to the security situations. Additionally, this denotes that the U.S. forces are defending forces and controlling Iraq's political affairs. Consequently, these forces have the military and political power which entitled them the authority to control the security system of Iraq. Thus, the future of Iraq's security situation, and more particularly that of KRG, is unknown without the presence of U.S. forces. This benefitted the political interest of U.S. government which emphasized, on several occasions, on presenting its forces as the protecting and defending forces, not as occupiers.

4.3.2.2 Rationalization

In the case of de-legitimation, rationalization denotes negative values of a particular social practice within a particular social environment. The main categories of rationalization employed in the KG newspaper are presented in the following subsections:

4.3.2.2.1 Instrumental Rationalization

In this category, the practices are delegitimized by referring to their negative uses, goals and effects.

4.3.2.2.1.1 Effect-Oriented Instrumentality

Here, "purpose is the outcome of an action," and "there is no identity between the agent of the action, whose purpose is to be constructed, and the agent of the action that constitutes the purpose itself" (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 115).

6.1: The fragile Iraqi power-sharing government is under threat, as Sunni-Shiite sectarian squabbles start to erupt once again.

This sentence shows the problems and conflicts that evolved among Iraqi political powers after AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq. Concerning the linguistic description, the sentence is formed in active declarative mood confirming the reality that the Iraqi political system is weak and under threat of sectarian conflicts and quarrels among its components. In this sentence, the attributive relational process is used to describe the Iraqi government. This process involves the intensive verb to be (*is*), the Carrier (*The fragile Iraqi power-sharing government*), the attributed quality (*under threat*), the casual circumstance (*as Sunni-Shiite sectarian squabbles start to erupt*), and time circumstance (*once again*). The sentence confirms that the current Iraqi government is under threat of collapse because of the quarrels among its major powers, especially between Shiite and Sunni powers, after AMFs' withdrawal.

Accordingly, the event of AMFs' withdrawal is delegitimized because it has resulted in undesired effects concerning the political system which, in turn, will affect negatively on the stability of Iraq's security situation. Implicitly, AMFs' withdrawal is the instrument that affected the stability of Iraq's political system. Here the existing sectarian conflicts in Iraq is the outcome of the action (AMF' withdrawal from Iraq) which is the fundamental reason for the existing political disorder. In fact, this sentence does not contain a concrete reference to AMFs' withdrawal, but it can

be concluded from the context in which this sentence is included. Additionally, the noun phrase (*Sunni-Shiite sectarian squabbles*) represents the instrument that threatens the Iraqi government. The sentence indicates that all these issues took place after AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq.

Lexically, the Iraqi government is described as (*fragile*) and (*power-sharing*) emphasizing the negative side of the current government as being weak, shared among its major components, and threatened by quarrels evolving between Sunni and Shiite powers. The KG newspaper focused more on these two powers as they represent the majority of the dominated powers in Iraq, besides composing the majority of Iraq's population. The adverbial phrase (*once again*) presupposes that Iraq has witnessed such quarrels between Sunni and Shiite powers before, and now after AMFs' withdrawal they happen again. This means that such a conflicting, weak, and shared political system cannot control its internal issues, hence, how can it control the security and political issues under the internal sectarian threats. This reveals the failure of the Iraqi government in controlling Iraq's issues after AMFs' withdrawal. This, in turn, represents ideological practices which emphasize on depicting the failure of Iraq's government in settling its internal political issues among its different components.

6.2: Only a day after the U.S. troops' departure from Iraq, almost nine years after the fall of Saddam Hussein, Shiites and Sunnis come face to face again, reviving fears of renewed sectarian violence.

This sentence represents Iraqis' fears of renewing the sectarian violence that happened during 2006 and resulted in numerous civilian victims from both Sunni and Shiite people. Additionally, it confirms that there are frequent quarrels among Iraqi

powers, especially Sunnis and Shiites. Linguistically, the sentence presents the Sunni-Shiite quarrels metaphorically using material process. This process involves the verb phrase (*come face to face*) with a metaphorical denotation for (*quarrel*) in the Iraqi context, the Actors involved in this action are (*Shiites and Sunnis*), and time circumstance (*again*) clarifies the frequent occurrence of such quarrels. In addition, the adverbial phrase (*Only a day after the U.S. troops' departure from Iraq*) indicates the time of this action which happens after AMFs' withdrawal, while the other adverbial phrase (*almost nine years*) refers to the definite time of U.S. occupation of Iraq and the total period of the presence of U.S. forces in Iraq.

As for the de-legitimation structure, it is represented by effect-oriented instrumentality. In this sentence, the event of AMFs' withdrawal is delegitimized because it has affected negatively on the political stability in Iraq as well as fueling sectarian quarrels among Iraqi major powers, particularly Sunnis and Shiites, which happens frequently. Therefore, AMFs' withdrawal is the instrument that revives these sectarian quarrels between Sunni and Shiite powers.

Furthermore, the lexical structure presupposes hidden meanings. Firstly, the noun (*fall*) is associated with the name of (*Saddam Hussein*), who was President of Iraq during 1979-2003, presupposing that the U.S.-led war in 2003 resulted in toppling the Saddam's regime. The KG newspaper emphasized on proving that the result of this war is (*the fall of Saddam Hussein*) not the Iraqi State to provide a justification for the 2003 war represented by toppling a dictatorial regime and providing democracy for a sovereign state. Hence, the KG newspaper believes that Saddam's regime was dictatorial; thus he must be toppled by the support of U.S. government which will provide freedom and democracy for Iraqis. Accordingly, the KG newspaper justifies the 2003 war as being a war for freedom and democracy.

Secondly, the adverb (*again*) presupposes that the Sunni and Shiite powers quarrel frequently and this is not the first time they quarrel; thus, their quarrels are not new. Finally, the phrase (*reviving fears of renewed sectarian violence*) means that the quarrels between Sunni-Shiite powers may result in renewing the sectarian violence that happened in 2006 in which many civilian casualties from both Sunni and Shiite people. Consequently, Iraqi citizens fear from the frequent sectarian quarrels between these two powers. Through these points, the KG newspaper reveals certain beliefs, including: the U.S. war has freed Iraq from dictatorship; the current political system in Iraq faces challenges and cannot control its internal issues; Iraqis feel instability and insecurity because of the frequent sectarian conflicts among Sunnis and Shiites. Additionally, the sentence represents sectarianism ideology which became prevalent in Iraq after the 2003 war and U.S. occupation of Iraq.

4.3.2.2.2 Theoretical Rationalization

In case of delegitimation, this category is used to delegitimize practices by referring to an irregular order of things. It has subcategories represented by definition, explanation, and prediction (van Leeuwen 2008).

4.3.2.2.2.1 Definition

This subcategory of theoretical rationalization is realized through generalizing and objectifying the social practices. The relation between these practices should either be attributive (using verbs such as ‘is’ and ‘constitutes’) or signifying (using verbs such as ‘means’, ‘signals’, and ‘symbolizes’) (van Leeuwen, 2008).

2.7: The only thing that is certain in Iraq is that the future of Iraq is very uncertain.

This sentence defines the future of Iraq after the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Iraq as being ambiguous. In relation to the linguistic description, the sentence is presented in active declarative mood asserting the ambiguity of Iraq's future in the absence of U.S. forces. In terms of transitivity, the sentence is formed with identifying relational process which involves the intensive verb to be (*is*), the Token (*The only thing that is certain in Iraq*), and the Value (*the future of Iraq is very uncertain*). In this sentence, the demonstrative pronoun (*that*) is used two times; in the first position (*that is certain in Iraq*), it refers to (*The only thing*); whereas in the second position (*that the future of Iraq is very uncertain*), it indicates the relative clause which emphasizes the ambiguity of Iraq's future.

Concerning the de-legitimation structure employed in this sentence, the event of AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq is delegitimized on the basis of definition which is a subcategory of rationalization. This category is represented by the use of verb to be (*is*) in defining the ambiguity of Iraq's situation after AMFs' withdrawal. This can be interpreted in such a way that AMFs withdrew from Iraq at inappropriate time because Iraq still suffers from threats and instability in its internal and foreign affairs at all levels.

Turning to lexical structure, it is found that two opposite words were used in this sentence represented by (*certain*) and (*uncertain*). In fact, these two words are not used to reflect contradiction, but they are used to emphasize the ambiguity of Iraq's future in the absence of U.S. forces. This ambiguity is due to both political and security situations. This uncertainty means insecurity, no confidence, and doubt. The KG newspaper reflects the prevailed attitude among Iraqis, who feel insecure as they are afraid of the results of AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq and what will happen after it, as well as they doubt about their ambiguous future without U.S. forces. As a result, the

presence of U.S. forces in Iraq must be extended, and this represents the belief of the KG newspaper which emphasize on depicting the important role of U.S. forces as controlling forces, not as enemy for Iraqis. Additionally, the KG newspaper emphasizes on showing the negative aspects that happened after AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq to enhance the significance of extending the presence of these forces in Iraq for as long as possible.

4.11: **As soon as the U.S. forces formally withdrew, fierce debate ensued** about the legacy that they left behind. **One thing for sure** is that **the positive picture of the current climate in Iraq** that the U.S. was hoping to promote **did not take long to shatter**.

This excerpt describes Iraq's situation after AMFs' withdrawal showing the negative aspect of such decision concerning Iraq's future. In terms of linguistic description, the excerpt includes two sentences, each has a different type of process. The first sentence is composed of a material process involving the verb (*ensued*), the Goal (*fierce debate*), the attribute (*the legacy that they left behind*), and the adverbial phrase (*As soon as the U.S. forces formally withdrew*) refers to the time in which these debates have happened. The relative clause (*that they left behind*) is related to the noun (*legacy*); and the personal pronoun (*they*) refers to (*the U.S. forces*) mentioned in the first line of this excerpt. The sentence is presented in active declarative mood confirming that the AMFs' withdrawal is a controversial event and causing negative results in Iraq.

As for the second sentence, it contains two clauses. The first clause is formulated with identifying relational process involving the intensive verb to be (*is*), the Token (*One thing for sure*), and the Value (*...the positive picture... did not take long to shatter*). The second clause is represented by another relative clause (*that the positive*

picture of the current climate in Iraq that the U.S. was hoping to promote did not take long to shatter). It is formed with material process involving the verb phrase (*did not take long to shatter*), the Goal (*the positive picture*), and the relative that-clause included in this clause (*that the U.S. was hoping to promote*) is related to the noun phrase (*the positive picture*). The sentence is presented in active declarative mood confirming that the case of calmness promoted by the U.S. government will disappear after AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq.

In this excerpt, the event of AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq is delegitimized on the basis of definition. This event is defined as being a debated event with negative results. Defining AMFs' withdrawal in this way reveals that Iraq still needs the presence of U.S. forces because the current positive picture witnessed in Iraq after their withdrawal will be shattered in a short time.

The excerpt contains a number of expressions that complete each other and denote meanings. These expressions are (*fierce debate*), (*the legacy of U.S. forces*), and (*shattering of the positive picture of Iraq's current climate*). The expression of (*fierce debate*) shows that the event of AMFs' withdrawal has resulted in various arguments, i.e., there were controversial opinions regarding the appropriateness of making such decision. Moreover, this debate occurs as a result of violent actions that increased after the withdrawal of U.S. forces. Thus, this withdrawal may or may not be a right decision as indicated in this expression (*the legacy of U.S. forces*) which denotes that the Iraqi forces may not follow the policy of U.S. forces in controlling the situation in Iraq in a successful way. This, in turn, will result in insecurity and instability in Iraq after the withdrawal of U.S. forces. Thus, this probability provokes the debates on the withdrawal of U.S. forces, on the one hand, and the continuation and success of their policy that will be followed by the Iraqi forces after their

withdrawal, on the other hand. This is indicated in this expression (*shattering of the positive picture of Iraq's current climate*). These expressions enhance the positive and significant role played by U.S. forces in improving and controlling the security situation in Iraq. In addition, they denote the success of U.S. forces' policy, but this policy will definitely fail after the AMFs' withdrawal. Once again, the KG newspaper represents the U.S. forces as being supportive forces and having successful policy in controlling the Iraqi situation. This proves the power and dominance of U.S. forces over the security system in Iraq.

4.3.2.2.2 Prediction

This subcategory of theoretical rationalization is based on expertise and it can be denied by contrary experience (van Leeuwen 2008).

6.7: For the Kurds in Iraqi Kurdistan Region, **the potential squabble between Shiites and Sunnis after the U.S. combat forces pulled out from Iraq was anticipated**. The Kurdish leaders have warned of **possible sectarian conflict in the absence of U.S. troops** in the country.

This excerpt reveals the concerns of Kurdish politicians regarding the future of Iraq after AMFs' withdrawal. As far as the linguistic description is concerned, the excerpt consists of two sentences. The first sentence is formed with mental process involving the verb phrase (*was anticipated*), the Phenomenon (*the potential squabble between Shiites and Sunnis*), the Sensor (*Kurds*), and the adverbial phrase (*after the U.S. combat forces pulled out from Iraq*) refers to the time in which this squabble has happened. In fact, the agent is deleted from the sentence because it is mentioned in the introductory phrase (*For the Kurds in Iraqi Kurdistan Region*). The sentence is formed in passive declarative mood. Concerning the second sentence, it is composed

of verbal process which involves the verb phrase (*have warned*), the Sayer (*The Kurdish leaders*), the Verbiage (*possible sectarian conflict*), and the prepositional phrase (*in the absence of U.S. troops in the country*) indicates the time of this conflict. It is formed in active declarative mood warning of dangerous and unpleasant thing represented by sectarian conflict which is likely to happen when the U.S. forces withdraw from Iraq so that such conflict can be avoided if Iraqis become aware of it.

In relation to the de-legitimation structure, the prediction category is employed in this excerpt to delegitimize AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq. This category is represented by the use of verb phrases (*was anticipated*) and (*have warned of possible sectarian conflict in the absence of U.S. troops in the country*). Here, Kurds and Kurdish politicians anticipated the occurrence of sectarian conflict after the withdrawal of U.S. forces; therefore, they have warned Iraqis in general and Iraqi politicians in particular of this conflict in to order be avoided by extending the presence of U.S. forces in Iraq.

Concerning the lexical structure, the excerpt includes words that denote socio-political ideologies. The noun phrase (*the Kurds in Iraqi Kurdistan Region*) refers to the identity of Iraqi citizens who live in the north of Iraq which is known as (*Kurdistan Region*). This identity forms the focus of the KG newspaper which emphasized on enhancing the Kurdish nationality and presenting it positively. In fact, emphasizing the Kurdish nationality represents one of the socio-political ideologies in KG's agenda. The KG newspaper emphasized that the Kurds and Kurdish politicians are aware of what is happening in the central government and they have predicted the occurrence of sectarian conflicts between Arab politicians after AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq. Then, the noun phrase (*the U.S. combat forces*) identifies the role of U.S. forces which is to combat and fight terrorist and militant groups. Once

more, the verb phrase (*was anticipated*) indicates that there were signs confirming the possibility of having quarrels that provokes the Kurdish politicians to warn of these quarrels which will evolve after AMFs' withdrawal. This enhances the role of U.S. forces in controlling the internal political issues in the Iraqi government. Thus, their presence in Iraq has to be extended for as long as possible.

6.8: Kurdistan Member of Parliament **Abdul-Salam Barwary told The Kurdish Globe** that **escalation of the disputes between Shiites and Sunnis following U.S. troop withdrawal from the country was predicted**. “We saw that coming. In the past two days, **incidents were anticipated indeed**, that is what is expected from the Iraqi leaders' comprehension of politics.”

This excerpt indicates that the disputes between Shiite and Sunni politicians evolved after AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq because these politicians misunderstand the real concept of politics. Linguistically, the excerpt includes two sentences; the first sentence is represented by indirect quotation of Barwary's statement, while the second sentence is represented by direct quotation. The first sentence contains two clauses. The first main clause is formed in active declarative mood confirming the anticipated disputes between Shiites and Sunnis after AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq. It is formulated with verbal process involving the verb of informing (*told*), the Sayer (*Abdul-Salam Barwary*), the Target (*The Kurdish Globe*), and the Verbiage (*that escalation of the disputes between Shiites and Sunnis following U.S. troop withdrawal from the country was predicted*). Hence, the verbiage is formed with mental process involving the verb phrase (*was predicted*), the Phenomenon (*escalation of the disputes between Shiites and Sunnis following U.S. troop withdrawal from the country*). The Sensor, however, is deleted, but it is identified in the second sentence represented by the personal pronoun (*we*) referring to the

members of Kurdish parliament. The verbiage is presented in passive declarative mood

On the other hand, the direct quotation contains three clauses with different process types. The first clause (*We saw that coming*) is formed with mental process which involves the verb (*saw*), the Sensor (*We*), and the Phenomenon is represented by the demonstrative pronoun (*that*) referring to (*the disputes between Shiites and Sunnis*) mentioned in the first sentence. The second clause (*In the past two days, incidents were anticipated indeed*) is composed of mental process using the verb phrase (*were anticipated*), the Phenomenon (*incidents*), and the Sensor is deleted to avoid redundancy because it is mentioned in the first clause (*We*), the adverb of confirmation (*indeed*) used to emphasize the statement, and the prepositional phrase (*In the past two days*) refers to the period during which these incidents happened. In addition, the third clause (*that is what is expected from the Iraqi leaders' comprehension of politics*) is formed with identifying relational process involving the intensive verb to be (*is*), the Token (*that*) which refers to the expectation of Kurdish politicians, and the Value (*the Iraqi leaders' comprehension of politics*). The last two clauses are formed in passive declarative mood with a deleted agent whose identity is known through the context of the excerpt, who are related to the Kurdish politicians.

The excerpt delegitimizes the event of AMFs' withdrawal using prediction which represents a subcategory of theoretical rationalization. It is represented by the use of the verb phrases (*was predicted*) and (*were anticipated*) in relation to political and sectarian conflicts happened between Shiites and Sunnis after AMFs' withdrawal. The Kurdish politicians predicted that the event of AMFs' withdrawal will result in conflicts between Shiites and Sunnis concerning the political control of Iraq and who will dominate its government.

Obviously, the excerpt presupposes political and ideological practices represented by the choice of words in describing the Iraqi political situation after AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq. Hence, the noun (*disputes*) is associated with the nouns (*Shiites and Sunnis*) and the verb (*predicted*) meaning that these two powers, namely Shiites and Sunnis, have conflicts and the signs of these conflicts were present during the presence of U.S. forces in Iraq, but these signs became real in the absence of U.S. forces. This denotes that the U.S. forces were controlling the internal political affairs in Iraq in addition to controlling its security system. In addition, the last clause in this excerpt (*that is what is expected from the Iraqi leaders' comprehension of politics*) denotes a negative meaning and it is used metaphorically asserting that the Iraqi politicians, especially the Arab ones, do not understand the real meaning of politics, hence, for this reason they face challenges in relation to political affairs. In addition, this excerpt is related to a Kurdish politician representing his view on how the Arab Iraqi politicians deal with their internal political issues in the central government which is dominated by Arab politicians. This reveals that the Kurdish politicians are distrusted in the current political system as well as they do not accept the way in which the Arab politicians deal with their internal political and sectarian issues which prevailed after AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq.

4.3.2.3 Moral Evaluation

As have been explained in section 4.3.1.3, moral evaluation is based on values, rather than imposed by some kind of authority without further justification. It can be expressed in different ways, including abstraction, evaluation, and analogies (van Leeuwen, 2008).

4.3.2.3.1 Evaluation

Evaluation refers to values and that evaluative adjectives are very important in this area (Van Leeuwen, 2008).

3.10: While the Iraqi armed forces number 700,000 troops, **their missions** have been **doubled** with **the American withdrawal** and **their abilities are still limited**.

This sentence evaluates the abilities of Iraqi armed forces as being limited and may not be effective to encounter the security situations after the AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq. In terms of linguistic features, the sentence is in active declarative mood indicating the inadequacy of Iraqi armed forces in the post-U.S. forces period. It is formed using material process which involves the verb phrase (*have been doubled*) and its Goal is (*their [the Iraqi armed forces'] missions*), and the Actor identity is found in the prepositional phrase (*with the American withdrawal*), i.e., the American withdrawal. In addition, the other verb process is presented by the attributive relational process involving (*are*) as the verb process which attributes the adjective (*limited*) to the Carrier (*their abilities*). The possessive pronoun (*their*) in both positions refers to (*the Iraqi armed forces*) which is mentioned in the first clause. Therefore, the KG newspaper avoided redundancy by using (*their*) instead of the long nominal phrase.

In this sentence, it is obvious that the event of AMFs' withdrawal is delegitimized through the use of negative evaluation represented by the adjective (*limited*) which indicates the inadequacy of Iraqi armed forces in controlling the security situation in Iraq after the AMFs' withdrawal. The KG newspaper highlighted the number of the Iraqi armed forces as (*700,000 troops*), but this number is inadequate to encounter the security threats which evolved after the AMFs' withdrawal. Accordingly, this

reflects uncertainties concerning the future of Iraq's security in post-U.S. forces period.

In spite of its positive formulation, the sentence reflects negative values. It is clear that the KG newspaper did not use negative articles, but, implicitly, it negated the ability of the Iraqi armed forces by using a collocation of words that bear negativity. This collocation of noun phrases, verbs and adjectives as represented by (*the Iraqi armed forces*), (*700,000 troops*), (*their missions*), (*doubled*), (*the American withdrawal*), (*their abilities*) and (*still limited*) signifies that in spite of having numerous troops, the responsibilities of Iraqi armed forces increased and their military capacities are still insufficient to fulfil their new duties which emerged after AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq. This represents the Iraqi armed forces as being weak and still need the presence of U.S. forces. It can be understood that it is necessary for Iraq to claim the extension of AMFs' presence until its armed forces are ready to control the security situation by having military capacities to empower them to encounter future threats in the post-U.S. forces period.

6.3: When **the last U.S. convoy crossed into Kuwait**, U.S. President Barack Obama said it was leaving **a stable, self-reliant and democratic Iraq** behind. Only **a few days later, the country slipped back into a sectarian quarrel** after the Shiite-dominated government issued an arrest warrant for prominent Sunni leader and Vice President Tariq al-Hashemi.

This excerpt evaluates the Iraqi political system after the AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq. Linguistically, the excerpt consists of two sentences with different types of processes and participants. The first sentence is an active declarative sentence consisting of two different processes, namely verbal and material. The verbal process involves the verb of quoting (*said*), the Sayer (*Barack Obama*) and the Verbiage (*it*

was leaving a stable, self-reliant and democratic Iraq behind). The Verbiage consists of the material process symbolized by the verb phrase (*was leaving*). The participants of this material process are the Actor (*it*) referring to (*the last U.S. convoy*) and (*Iraq*) is the Goal. Regarding the second sentence, it is composed of a material process in the form of verb phrase (*slipped back into*), the Goal (*the country*) as being affected by the event of AMFs' withdrawal, and the Attribute (*a sectarian quarrel*) which defines the security and political situation of Iraq after this event. It is in the active declarative mood denoting the negative impact of AMFs' withdrawal on the Iraqi political situation. The second sentence begins with a time circumstance (*Only a few days later*) referring to the period after AMFs' withdrawal which is stated in the first sentence as (*the last U.S. convoy crossed into Kuwait*) meaning that the U.S. forces left Iraq.

The event of AMFs' withdrawal is delegitimized on the basis of moral evaluation taking the form of negative evaluation signified by the noun phrase (*a sectarian quarrel*). Therefore, the political situation in Iraq is evaluated as being in conflict and instability. This case of conflict and instability evolved after (*Only a few days*) of AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq. Thus, this withdrawal resulted in negative impacts on Iraq, particularly on its political system, so that it is delegitimized.

Additionally, the excerpt represents two different meanings. In the first part, Obama's statement (*it [the last U.S. convoy] was leaving a stable, self-reliant and democratic Iraq behind*) indicates the success of the U.S. government's policy through its forces in Iraq to strengthen its stability and political system making it a sovereign state. This reflects the political ideology of U.S. government concerning Iraq and its issues. Hence, it focuses on showing U.S. significant role in practicing successful policies and undertaking important decisions at appropriate time. Thus,

Obama's statement can be interpreted as that Iraq is now a stable and sovereign state so that there is no need for the AMFs' presence in Iraq. On the contrary, the second sentence (*Only a few days later, the country slipped back into a sectarian quarrel after the Shiite-dominated government issued an arrest warrant for prominent Sunni leader and Vice President Tariq al-Hashemi*) offers opposite meaning. It denotes that the Iraqi political system fails to control its internal issues as well as witnessing internal conflicts that affect negatively on the stability of its security situation. Additionally, it denotes the sectarianism ideology which is related to the Iraqi political system as being dominated by sectarian groups shown in these nominal phrases (*the Shiite-dominated government*) and (*Sunni leader*). Consequently, it is obvious that the first sentence represents the U.S. political system as being successful whereas the second sentence depicts the Iraq political system as a failed system and being dominated by sectarianism. The contradicting sentences enhance the political ideologies attributed to the U.S. government as a dominant and significant power over Iraq and its internal issues.

4.3.2.3.2 Abstraction

Abstraction refers to practices (or to one or more of their component actions or reactions) in abstract ways that "moralize" these practices by highlighting a quality that links those practices to discourses of moral values (van Leeuwen, 2008).

3.8: Iraq is facing a lot of challenges. **Iraq of 2011 may be safer and calmer than that of 2004-2007**, but whether this calm equally calms **the citizens' nerves remains to be seen**.

This excerpt depicts the reality that Iraqis concern about Iraq's future after the withdrawal of U.S. forces as it still faces several challenges represented by instability

of its political and security situation. Linguistically, the excerpt is presented in active declarative mood asserting the fact that Iraq suffers from poor political and security conditions as indicated by the years (2004-2007) during which Iraq witnessed sectarian and ethnic conflicts at both political and social levels. The excerpt includes two sentences. The first sentence has a verb of material process. This process involves the verb phrase (*is facing*), the Goal (*Iraq*), and the Attribute (*a lot of challenges*). In addition, the second sentence contains two clauses joined by (*but*). The first clause is formulated with the attributive relational process involving the verb phrase (*may be*), the Carrier (*Iraq*), and the attributive adjectives (*safer and calmer*). Besides, the years (2011) and (2004-2007) denote time circumstances; (2011) refers to the year during which the U.S. forces were fully withdrawn, and (2004-2007) refers to the years during which Iraq experienced a severe sectarian and ethnic conflicts. The second clause is formed with attributive relational process involving the verb (*remains*) which attributes the future quality (*to be seen*) to its Carrier (*this calm*). The pronoun (*that*) in this phrase (*that of 2004-2007*) which is mentioned in the second sentence refers to (*Iraq*). The modal verb used in the second sentence (*may*) reflects probability and uncertainty, i.e., the calmness period that followed the event of AMFs' withdrawal may not continue and the stability of Iraq's security situation in the absence of U.S. forces is uncertain.

In this excerpt, the event of AMFs' withdrawal is indicated by this phrase (*Iraq of 2011*) referring to the year during which the final and complete withdrawal of U.S. forces from Iraq took place. Obviously, the event of AMFs' withdrawal is delegitimized in this excerpt because Iraq still suffers from challenges in relation to its political and security systems as well as its stability is still uncertain in spite of the calmness that has been witnessed in Iraq after AMFs' withdrawal. Hence, the KG

newspaper expressed the uncertainty value represented by (*may be safer and calmer*) and (*remains to be seen*). Both phrases denote uncertainty and concerns regarding the future of Iraq's stability after the withdrawal of U.S. forces.

Additionally, the excerpt contains collocations that presuppose meanings and highlight ideological practices. In the first sentence, the collocation of these words (*Iraq*), (*facing*), and (*challenges*) presupposes that Iraq witnesses conflicts. Likewise, the second sentence has this collocation of words and phrases (*Iraq of 2011*), (*safer and calmer*), (*than 2004-2007*), (*calm*), (*citizens' nerves*), and (*remains to be seen*). This collocation compares Iraq in 2011 after the AMFs' withdrawal and Iraq in 2004-2007 representing the years of sectarian conflicts which resulted in killing, kidnapping, and robbery actions. This reveals that the security situation in Iraq following the 2003 war and U.S. occupation was instable and challenging, but this challenge has been gradually improved with the support of U.S. forces. Implicitly, KG's message is that the stability of Iraq's security situation in the post-U.S. forces period is still uncertain so that Iraq still needs the presence of U.S. forces. This reflects the positive and significant role of U.S. forces as being controlling and supportive forces and their withdrawal may result in negative effects in future. Ideologically, this excerpt shows the ability of U.S. forces to control the situation in Iraq.

5.3: **The row, which erupted days after the last U.S. troops withdrew, could unravel Iraq's fragile power-sharing deal** among Shi'ite, Sunni and Kurdish blocs.

This sentence clarifies that the Iraqi political system still weak and fractioned among the major sectarian and ethnic Iraqi components, namely: Sunnis, Shiites, Arabs and Kurds. As far as the linguistic description is concerned, the sentence is composed of

material process. This material process involves the verb phrase (*could unravel*), the Action (*The row*), the Goal (*Iraq's fragile power-sharing deal*), and time circumstance (*days after the last U.S. troops withdrew*). The sentence is presented in active declarative mood revealing the failure of the shared political system in Iraq and the possibility of breaking the deal among Iraqi political powers represented by (*Shi'ite, Sunni and Kurdish blocs*) as a result of political and sectarian conflicts (*which erupted days after the last U.S. troops withdrew*).

Concerning the de-legitimation structure, it is clear that the sentence delegitimizes the event of AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq on the basis of abstraction representing a subcategory of moral evaluation. This de-legitimation category is linguistically represented by (*The row... erupted days after the last U.S. troops withdrew*). This means that the AMFs' withdrawal affected negatively on the political system in Iraq hence, it is delegitimized.

Lexically, the words used in this sentence presuppose meanings. To begin with, the noun phrase (*The row*) is associated with the verb (*erupted*) and the adverbial phrase (*days after the last U.S. troops withdrew*). This association of phrases denotes that before the AMFs' withdrawal there were signs denoting political conflicts, but these signs became real within a short period after the U.S. forces' withdrawal. This, in turn, represents the significant role of U.S. forces in controlling the situation in Iraq as well as representing the powerful authority of U.S. administration in settling political issues in Iraqi government and U.S. domination over Iraqi political system and its affairs. So, the U.S. government was dominating the military and political affairs in Iraq through its forces. Furthermore, the nouns (*Shi'ite*), (*Sunni*), and (*Kurdish*) refer to the major components of the Iraqi government; they represent the issue of sectarianism which prevailed in Iraq after the 2003 war. After this war, Iraqi

political system became divided and shared among its major components. Consequently, the KG newspaper emphasized on depicting the Iraqi political system as being a weak and shared system that may fail due to the pressure of sectarian conflicts.

4.3.2.3.3 Analogies

While analogies category refers to comparisons made between different social practices (Van Leeuwen, 2008).

3.9: According to varying estimates in the West, **the number of civilian casualties in Iraq** this year is **similar to its counterpart in Afghanistan**.

This sentence sheds light on the issue of civilian casualties in Iraq which resembled that in Afghanistan in terms of number. Linguistically, the sentence is presented in active declarative showing that the number of Iraqi civilian casualties in the year which witnessed the final withdrawal of U.S. forces from Iraq resembled the casualties' number in Afghanistan. In terms of transitivity, the sentence is formed with attributive relational process involving the intensive verb to be (*is*), the Carrier (*the number of civilian casualties*), the attributed adjectival phrase (*similar to its counterpart*), and the circumstances represented by (*in the West*) indicating the place where the statistics have been made, (*in Iraq*) identifying the place of casualties, and (*in Afghanistan*) identifying the place of casualties to which the Iraqi casualties number has been compared. The demonstrative pronoun (*this*) in this phrase (*this year*) refers to (*2011*) the year of the complete withdrawal of U.S. forces from Iraq.

In relation to the de-legitimation structure, the event of AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq is delegitimized in this sentence using analogies structure which is represented by

comparison between Iraq and Afghanistan in terms of civilian casualties' number (*the number of civilian casualties in Iraq this year is similar to its counterpart in Afghanistan*). In this context, casualty refers to victims of violent actions like sectarian conflicts and crimes which increased after the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Iraq. The withdrawal of U.S. forces from Iraq resulted in increasing number of Iraqi civilian casualties, which was similar to that in Afghanistan. Accordingly, the AMFs' withdrawal affected negatively on the stability of security situation in Iraq and hence it is delegitimized.

The comparison made in this sentence is based on the reality that both Iraq and Afghanistan were subjected to wars launched by the U.S. government against them. The KG newspaper focused on comparing the number of civilian casualties in Iraq with that in Afghanistan other than any state because Afghanistan has been occupied by the U.S. forces as it is the case with Iraq. Hence, the political and security systems in both countries are under the domination and control of the U.S. government and its forces. Moreover, the U.S. government has withdrawn its forces from Afghanistan; thus, the security and political system in Afghanistan has become instable. Both countries underwent poor political and security conditions. This reveals the significant role of U.S. forces in controlling the security situation and keeping it stable in both countries. Accordingly, this comparison enhances the delegitimation of AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq.

4.3.2.4 Mythopoesis

In mythopoesis category, the action in question is presented in the form of narrative or by connecting it to the past or future through storytelling. In the case of de-

legitimation, mythopoesis can be realized through cautionary tales as defined in the following subsection:

4.3.2.4.1 Cautionary Tales

"Cautionary tales convey what will happen if you do not conform to the norms of social practices. Their protagonists engage in deviant activities that lead to unhappy endings" (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 118). This category is formed using negative activities that are associated with the event of AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq.

2.6: **The deep-riding conflicts of interest amongst the various components of Iraq have yet to be settled. The major fault lines between Sunnis and Shiites on power issues and between the Kurds and Arabs on territorial as well as sovereignty issues have not been resolved, and the Iraqi Constitution still remains no more than a nicely written piece of paper. Interferences in Iraqi affairs by regional powers are adding extra fuel to the existing internal strife that can blow up at any time. Iraq is still an arena of powers' game table for regional hegemony and regional interests.**

Using the exact words of the writer of this article, this excerpt describes the "*true picture of Iraq in a post-U.S. period*"; it reflects disorder in the political and security situations in Iraq after AMFs' withdrawal. Linguistically, the excerpt contains four sentences; each sentence is presented with a different process type. Concerning the first sentence, it is formed using a material process which involves the verb phrase (*have... to be settled*), the Goal (*The deep-riding conflicts*), and the Actor is deleted. This sentence is formed in passive declarative mood asserting the existence of sectarian and political conflicts among the components of Iraqi people. The second sentence includes two clauses; each clause has a different process type. The first

clause is formed in a passive declarative mood indicating the existence of sectarian conflicts between Iraqi components, namely Sunnis, Shiites, Arabs, and Kurds, on issues of power and sovereignty. This clause is composed of a material process involving the verb phrase (*have not been resolved*), the Goal (*The major fault lines*), and the agent is deleted; thus, the identity of the Actor is hidden, i.e., who has to resolve these issues? It is unknown whether the intended identity is related to the U.S. forces or to the Iraqi government. In contrast, the second clause is formed in active declarative mood showing the ineffectiveness of the Iraqi constitution and depicting it metaphorically as a decorative plan. It is formed with identifying relational process which involves the verb (*remains*), the Token (*the Iraqi Constitution*), and the Value (*a nicely written piece of paper*). The two clauses are joined using the additive conjuncture (*and*).

Furthermore, the third sentence in this excerpt is formed in active declarative mood revealing that Iraq is subjected to regional powers' interferences in its internal affairs. It is composed of a material process involving the verb phrase (*are adding*), the force action (*Interferences in Iraqi affairs*), and the affected Goal (*extra fuel to the existing internal strife*). The noun phrase (*regional powers*) refers to the identity of the powers represented by the neighboring countries which interfere in Iraq's internal issues. The last sentence in this excerpt is presented in active declarative mood identifying Iraq as an area of political, economic, and regional interests. It is formulated with identifying relational process involving the intensive verb to be (*is*), the Token (*Iraq*), and the Value (*an arena of powers' game table*).

As far as the de-legitimation structure is concerned, the mythopoesis category employed in this excerpt is represented by cautionary tale which is a subcategory of mythopoesis. The sentences included in this excerpt refer to concerns and issues

related to sectarian and political conflicts, internal quarrels among the components of Iraqi government, regional interferences in Iraq's affairs, and conflicts of power, in addition to the political and economic interests of regional powers in Iraq. Such issues are happening and they are likely to increase after AMFs' withdrawal. All these issues represent cautions concerning the future of Iraq's stability in the absence of U.S. forces.

Turning to the lexical structure, the excerpt includes words and phrases that presuppose hidden meanings. In the first sentence, the noun phrase (*The deep-riding conflicts of interest*) is associated with (*the various components of Iraq*) referring to the reality of Iraqi political system which consists of Sunnis, Shiites, Arabs, and Kurds who represent the majority of sectarian and ethnic components of Iraqi people. In addition, both phrases reveal that there are conflicts among these components for achieving political and economic interests. The following sentences have different phrases represented by (*major fault lines*), (*Sunnis and Shiites*), (*power issues*), (*Kurds and Arabs*), (*territorial as well as sovereignty issues*), and (*have not been resolved*) which presuppose other meanings. The KG newspaper emphasized on presenting the reality through these phrases which reveal that Iraq suffers from internal conflicts among its components. On the one hand, the sectarian conflicts between Sunnis and Shiites are concerned with power issues since both of them attempt to dominate the political system of Iraq. On the other hand, the ethnic conflicts between Arabs and Kurds are related to issues of territory and sovereignty since Kurds want to join Kirkuk governance which is situated in the north of Iraq to their regional government. In addition, Kurds want to have a federal system in Iraq and be an independent government with its own sovereignty. Of importance is this phrase (*the Iraqi Constitution*) which is depicted metaphorically as (*a nicely written*

piece of paper) meaning that this constitution is ineffective and cannot be used to control Iraq's issues at all levels. Another political reality is presented in the third sentence denoted by the noun (*Interferences*) of (*regional powers*), which refers to the neighboring countries, in the Iraqi internal issues. As a result, these interferences will increase the sectarian conflict (that can blow up at any time) which means that there is no definite time for such conflicts as they are happening every time and everywhere in Iraq. Finally, the last sentence depicts Iraq as a conflicting area for regional powers as indicated in this phrase (*an arena of powers' game table*) because these powers have political and economic policies in Iraq represented by (*hegemony*) and (*interests*). Iraq is a country with immense oil wealth making it subjected to powers' ambitions, particularly Iran, with whom Iraq has had years of wars and conflicts. The KG newspaper focused on depicting Iraq as a weak state, unstable, and subjected to regional powers' interferences and interests in the absence of U.S. forces.

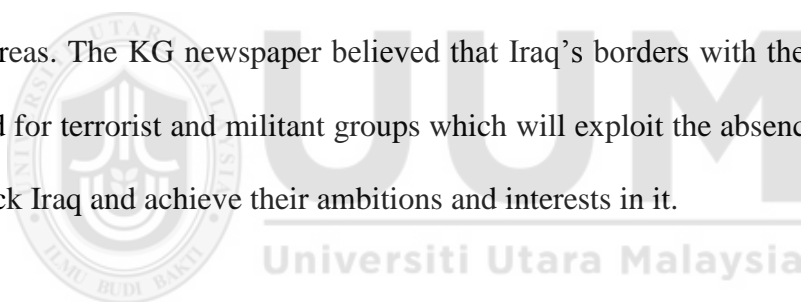
3.11: As long as 170,000 U.S. soldiers operated in the country, **the Iraqi government** was **exempt from having to worry about its borders**. But **now**, many fear that **without air defense** the long borderlines with Iran, Turkey, and Syria could **turn Iraq into easy prey for anyone** aiming at causing **violent skirmishes along those borders**.

This excerpt indicates the importance of U.S. forces in keeping Iraq's borders secure from the violent attacks of its neighboring countries. Linguistically, the excerpt consists of two sentences. The first sentence is in the passive declarative mood and formulated with material process involving the verb phrase (*was exempt from having to worry about its borders*). Explicitly, the nominal phrase (*the Iraqi government*) functions as the Goal of the sentence whose agent is deleted. The circumstantial

clause (*As long as 170,000 U.S. soldiers operated in the country*) identifies the deleted agent as being U.S. soldiers, more accurately the U.S. military force, who were responsible for keeping Iraq's borders secure during their operation period in Iraq. The second sentence is formed in active declarative mood. It consists of two processes, namely mental and material ones. The mental verb is represented by the affection verb (*fear*) "indicating some kind of instinctive reaction" (Bayley, Bevitori, & Zoni, 2004, p. 190). This mental verb involves the Sensor (*many* [people]) and the phenomenon (*violent skirmishes along those borders*). The material process is formed by the verb phrase (*could turn*) denoting action of change and involving (*Iraq*) as the Goal. This excerpt expresses the probability of an unwelcome event taking place in the future. This notion of modality is shown in the modal auxiliary verb (*could*). The pronouns used in this excerpt are (*its*) refers to (*Iraq*) and (*those*) refers to (*the long borderlines with Iran, Turkey, and Syria*). Additionally, (*But*) is used to show the difference of Iraq's security situation before and after the event of AMFs' withdrawal.

In this excerpt, the event of AMFs' withdrawal is delegitimized on the basis of cautionary tale category. This category is represented by (*the long borderlines with Iran, Turkey, and Syria could turn Iraq into easy prey for anyone aiming at causing violent skirmishes*). This clause denotes that after AMFs' withdrawal, Iraq will be subjected to ambitions of neighboring countries which await an opportunity to attack Iraq by fuelling the conflicts along its borders with them, but they cannot achieve their ambitions because of the presence of U.S. forces in Iraq. Thus, the U.S. forces have the military power which deters the neighbor countries from attacking Iraq and control over it. Hence, the KG newspaper presented these cautions to warn Iraqis from the negative results that will be seen after AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq.

Lexically, the excerpt includes phrases that denote hidden meaning and practices. To begin with, the first sentence contains a number of phrases represented by (*U.S. soldiers*), (*the Iraqi government*), (*exempt from*), and (*worry about its borders*). These phrases reveal the dominant power of U.S. forces in Iraq, represent them as controlling forces which provide security and stability for the Iraqi government, as well as keeping Iraq's borders secure. Regarding the second sentence, it is obvious that the KG newspaper focused on mentioning three names of neighbor countries of Iraq (namely: *Iran, Turkey, and Syria*). In fact, these countries share borders with the north region of Iraq known as KRG which is inhabited by the Kurdish people, as well as the KG newspaper is issued in this region. Consequently, these countries form a direct threat for KRG and Kurdish people in addition to threatening other Iraqi areas. The KG newspaper believed that Iraq's borders with these countries are opened for terrorist and militant groups which will exploit the absence of U.S. forces to attack Iraq and achieve their ambitions and interests in it.



4.3.3 Discussion of Question Two

This study is aimed at identifying the linguistic structures of (de)legitimation strategies employed in the newspaper discourse. As it has been clarified in chapter two, (de)legitimation strategies are formed with various syntactic and semantic structures. As far as the newspaper discourse is concerned, this study focused on the linguistic (de)legitimation of AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq as being depicted in news articles issued in the Iraqi English newspaper known as the KG newspaper. Accordingly, this section was divided into two subsections; the first one dealt with legitimation of AMFs' withdrawal, whereas the second one dealt with de-legitimation of AMFs' withdrawal. Despite the fact that the issue of (de)legitimation

has been a focus of previous studies in various fields, specifically education, management and politics, it is of importance to understand what specific categories of (de)legitimation strategy are employed and how they are represented by language use in the newspaper discourse.

Concerning language use in newspaper discourse, Richardson (2007, p. 29) believed that it is “one way in which subjects-people- may act upon society. Journalistic discourse... is one active element in bringing about such change through shaping understandings, influencing audience attitudes and beliefs, and transforming the consciousness of those who read and consume it.” In other words, language used in newspaper discourse can affect the representation of reality as well as affecting the audience of the newspaper. Hence, van Leeuwen (2007) viewed language as the most important vehicle for establishing and cultivating legitimation categories.

According to van Leeuwen (2007, 2008), there are four categories of legitimation that can occur in a text separately or in combination to legitimize or delegitimize actions or activities. Hence, van Leeuwen (2008) argued that the discursive constructions of legitimation can be recognized through certain occurrences of text which may barely denote the legitimized practice or can be covered through detailed prescriptive or descriptive explanations of the institutions and practices they legitimize. Currently, the popular news media play a substantial role in the processes of legitimation owing to its “power to influence knowledge, beliefs, values, social relations, and social identities” (Fairclough, 1995a, p. 2). This, in turn, reveals that there is a relation between language use and (de)legitimation strategy in the newspaper discourse in relation to the representation of different practices and institutions to be either legitimized or delegitimized.

Through the analysis of the selected excerpts from the news articles issued in the KG newspaper on the event of AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq, it is found that only three legitimation categories were employed including authorization, rationalization, and moral evaluation. On the other hand, four de-legitimation categories were employed in the KG newspaper including authorization, rationalization, moral evaluation, and mythopoesis. In addition, these categories were represented by different linguistic structures.

Concerning the linguistic structures employed in the representation of the event of AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq, it is obvious that the KG newspaper by far opted for the use of active declarative sentences and clauses for their potentials in providing as much information as possible. In addition, passive sentences and clauses were used rhetorically for changing the writing style and to avoid redundancy. In relation to cohesive devices, two conjunctions (*and*) and (*but*) were used extensively in the excerpts to add information; adding to that the relative clauses were used to clarify the nouns or phrases preceding them.

In terms of transitivity, the following tables illustrate the linguistic structures used in the KG newspaper to legitimize the event of AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq. These tables show the main participants and verb processes involved in the representation of the event in question. Additionally, each table is explained in terms of the relation between the linguistic structure and legitimation category. To begin with, Table 4.2 clarifies the linguistic description of legitimation using authorization category as follows:

Table 4.2

Linguistic Legitimation of AMFs' Withdrawal Using Authorization Category

Type of Authorization	No. of excerpt	Participants	Function	Process (verb)
Personal authority	1.2	Biden	Backgrounded subject (Sayer)	Verbal (said)
	1.7	Biden	Backgrounded subject (Sayer)	Verbal (said)
	3.6	Hoshyar Zebari	Subject (Sayer)	Verbal (said)
Authority of Conformity	2.5	Iraqis	Subject of reported speech (Carrier)	Relational-attributive (were)
		glad	Adjective	
		we all happy	Subject (Carrier) Adjective	Relational-attributive (are)
	4.1	much (the majority of Iraqis)	Subject (Sensor)	Mental-affection (like)
		the overall U.S. experience	Phenomenon	
	a little (some Iraqis)	Subject (Carrier)	Relational-attributive (omitted verb (is))	
	shy	Adjective		
	4.2	The image a long-time nationalist dream (for many Iraqis)	Subject (Token) Value	Relational-identifying (became)

According to van Leeuwen (2007, 2008) and van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999), authorization category has six subcategories including personal authority, expert authority, role model authority, authority of tradition, impersonal authority, and authority of conformity. However, only two subcategories of authorization were employed in legitimizing AMFs' withdrawal represented by personal authority and authority of conformity, as shown in Table 4.2. Regarding the linguistic structures of these categories, it is obvious that the personal authority is represented by the verbal process which involves a participant functioning as Sayer of Verbiage (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). This verbal process is represented by the verb of saying (said) using direct and indirect quotations to render the news event to persons in authority who were Joe Biden, representing the U.S. government, and Hoshyar Zebari, representing the Iraqi government.

As stated by Richardson (2007), news reporting pays more attention to the reported speech of politicians' statements which are prior texts having the importance to be produced in the daily news. In addition, the reported speech enhances the objectivity practice of news reporting in conveying the message as has been stated in a source's words. Accordingly, the KG newspaper used direct and indirect quotations which are among the varied ways through which a reported speech can be incorporated in the news article. In the case of Biden, the KG newspaper represented his statements in the form of direct quotations as well as representing Biden as a backgrounded subject and hence, focusing more on the statement not on who has said it. On the other hand, in the case of Zebari, his statement is quoted indirectly and his name is foregrounded. In fact, Hoshyar Zebari, as indicated in the excerpt, is a Kurdish politician and, at the same time, is Minister of foreign affairs in the Iraqi government. This, in turn, reveals that the importance of quoting his speech in the KG newspaper lies in

representing the Kurdish identity and having the political authority that makes his statement important to be quoted.

In relation to the authority of conformity, two types of verb process were employed in the representation of AMFs' withdrawal. The verb processes included mental and (attributive and identifying) relational. However, it is clear that the attributive relational process is the most frequent process used to represent the category of conformity authority. As for the participants, almost all of them were represented by Iraqis functioning as subject of the sentence. Conformity authorization is expressed through a high frequency modality in the relevant nominal group as represented in the excerpt (4.1) using (*much*) and (*for many in Iraq*) in (4.2). Another form of conformity is abstract subject, as in the excerpt (2.5), represented by (*Iraqis*) and (*we*).

To sum up, the KG newspaper employed two forms of authorization, namely personal and conformity authority. The personal authority is expressed through the verbal process, whereas the conformity authority is expressed through the (attributive and identifying) relational process, besides mental process which is used once in the excerpt (4.1).

Next, Table 4.3 describes the linguistic structure of the third category of legitimation which is rationalization using one of its subcategories known as definition.

Table 4.3

Linguistic Legitimation of AMFs' Withdrawal Using Definition Subcategory of Theoretical Rationalization

No. of excerpt	Participants	Function	Process (verb)
1.4	Our troops	Subject (Actor)	Material (are leaving)
	Iraq	Object (Goal)	
	We	Subject (Actor)	Material (are embarking on)
	A new path	Object (Goal)	

In van Leeuwen's (2007, 2008) model, rationalization has two subcategories including instrumental and theoretical, under which fall a number of other subcategories. Based on Table 4.3, the KG newspaper employed only one form that is definition which falls under theoretical rationalization of legitimation structures. It expressed this form of legitimation structures through the use of material process which is formulated by verb phrases defining the situation in which both Iraq and U.S. are involved after the withdrawal of U.S. forces. In the excerpt (1.4), the KG newspaper quoted Biden's statement that defines the relationship between Iraq and U.S. in a positive way to legitimize the withdrawal of U.S. forces. The first verb phrase in the direct quotation represented by *(are leaving)* defines the action of U.S. forces' withdrawal from Iraq, and the second phrase *(are embarking on)* defines the procedure undertaken by the two governments, i.e., Iraq and U.S., after this withdrawal to continue their relationship. So, based on the positive definition of the future relationship between Iraq and U.S., the KG newspaper legitimized the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Iraq.

Table 4.4

Linguistic Legitimation of AMFs' Withdrawal Using Abstraction Subcategory of Moral Evaluation

No. of excerpt	Participants	Function	Process (verb)	Circumstance
2.1	The flag of American military forces	Subject (Goal)	Material (was lowered)	in Iraq/ in Baghdad (place)/ during an official ceremony (time)
	a new chapter	Subject (Existent)	Existential (begins)	in Iraq (place)
4.6	It	Subject (Existent)	Existential (is)	for the current situation in Iraq (result)
4.7	the Iraqi political actors Iraq	Goal Subject (Carrier)	Material (to take accountability and responsibility) Relational-possessive (has)	for many years (time)
	a sovereign government (national elections) and (a national constitution)	Attribute Objects (Goals)	Material (has now held/ implemented)	
	a large security force	Existent	Existential (has been)	long before the U.S. withdrawal (time)
	in practical control of the streets	Value		

Table 4.4 illustrates the linguistic description of the second type of legitimation which is moral evaluation through the use of abstraction subcategory. Based on van Leeuwen's (2007, 2008) model of legitimation structures, moral evaluation has three subcategories including evaluation, abstraction, and analogies. But the analysis revealed that only abstraction subcategory was employed in the KG newspaper. Concerning the linguistic features used to represent this subcategory, it is obvious that three types of verb process were used in expressing abstraction, namely: material, relational, and existential. The most frequent processes were material and existential processes. Most of the participants were related to Iraq; besides, the circumstances were represented by adverbs of place, time, and result.

As stated by van Leeuwen (2007, 2008), abstraction refers to practices or their component actions or reactions in abstract ways that moralize them. Hence, the main practice is the event of AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq and its component actions and reactions are represented by: lowering the flag of AMFs during an official ceremony; beginning of a new chapter in Iraq; Iraq has a sovereign government, national elections, national constitution, and a large security force controlling Iraq's security; and finally the Iraqi politicians have to practice their role in being responsible for Iraq. All these actions were presented in a positive way in the KG newspaper to legitimize the event of AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq.

In short, the KG newspaper employed one subcategory of moral evaluation represented by abstraction to legitimize the withdrawal of U.S. forces. It has expressed this abstraction by referring to the positive actions and reactions that accompanied this event. In addition, three verb processes were used to express abstraction including material, existential, and relational.

In respect to the de-legitimation structures employed in the KG newspaper, the second subsection in this chapter focused on the linguistic description of excerpts that delegitimized the withdrawal of U.S. forces. As the case with the first subsection, the following tables clarify the linguistic description of de-legitimation structure. Table 4.5 highlights the linguistic description of de-legitimation through the use of authorization category.

Table 4.5

Linguistic De-Legitimation of AMFs' Withdrawal Using Authorization Category

Type of Authorization	No. of excerpt	Participants	Function	Process (verb)	Circumstance
Personal authority	3.14	Barham Salih	Subject (Sayer)	Verbal (said)	
		some groups	Subject of reported speech (Sayer)	Verbal (requested)	
Authority of conformity	3.1	Kurds	Subject (Carrier)	Relational- attributive (remain)	Publicly (manner),
		Silent	Adjective		
		They	Subject (Carrier)	Relational- attributive (are not)	
		Happy	Adjective		
	4.16	The Kurds	Subject (Token)	Relational- identifying (were)	by the U.S. exit (cause)
	most disappointed	Value			

Consistent with van Leeuwen (2007, 2008), legitimation model can be used to legitimize and delegitimize social practices. The difference between them lies in the way in which one can recognize whether the practice is legitimized or delegitimized. In other words, legitimation structures involve positive representation of the practice in question, whereas de-legitimation involves negative representation of that practice. This has been revealed through the analysis of the collected data on the event of AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq. As stated in the literature review chapter, de-legitimation is realized through different forms of authorization. Among the six forms of authorization, the KG newspaper employed two forms only including personal authority and conformity authority, which were employed in the case of legitimation as well.

In personal authority, the KG newspaper relied on the indirect quotation of a Kurdish politician to delegitimize the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Iraq. The Kurdish politician *Barham Salih*, who was Kurdistan Prime Minister at that time, is involved in the Verbal process representing personal authority as having the political authority making his statement important to be quoted in the news event. Through the indirect quotation of Salih's statement, the KG newspaper delegitimized the withdrawal of U.S. forces. Obviously, this quotation depicted the claims of some groups in Iraq including the Kurds to extend the presence of U.S. forces. Implicitly, this revealed that it is not the time to withdraw the U.S. forces from Iraq. Thus, in a way or another, it delegitimized the withdrawal event.

Concerning the authority of conformity, it is expressed through the use of one verb process that is (attributive and identifying) relational process. The important issue is that all participants involved in the representation of conformity were Kurds. This, in turn, revealed the identity of people whose attitude was against the withdrawal of

U.S. forces from Iraq. The excerpt (3.1) depicted the reality of Kurdish people which can be expressed in another way that is in spite of their silence, all Kurds are not happy about it. In the excerpt (4.16), the KG newspaper depicted the Kurdish people as the most disappointed group by the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Iraq. Accordingly, the KG newspaper represented the voice of Kurdish people to delegitimize the withdrawal of U.S. forces.

Table 4.6 shows the linguistic description of the second category of de-legitimation that is rationalization, as follows:

Table 4.6

Linguistic De-Legitimation of AMFs' Withdrawal Using Rationalization Category

Type of Rationalization	No. of excerpt	Participants	Function	Process (verb)	Circumstance
Instrumental (Effect-oriented instrumentality)	6.1	The fragile Iraqi power-sharing government	Subject (Carrier)	Relational-attributive (is)	once again (time)
		under threat	Quality		
	6.2	Shiites and Sunnis	Subject (Actors)	Material (come face to face)	a day after the U.S. troops' departure/ nine years/ again (time)
Theoretical (Definition)	2.7	The only thing that is certain in Iraq	Subject (Token)	Relational-identifying (is)	
		the future of Iraq is very uncertain	Value		
	4.11	One thing for sure	Subject (Token)	Relational-identifying (is)	
		the positive picture	Value		

Table 4.6 continued

Type of Rationalization	No. of excerpt	Participants	Function	Process (verb)	Circumstance
Prediction	6.7	the potential squabble Kurds	Subject (phenomenon) Object of preposition (Sensor)	Mental-cognition (was anticipated)	after the U.S. combat forces pulled out from Iraq (time)
	6.8	Incidents	Subject (phenomenon)	Mental-cognition (were anticipated)	In the past two days (time)

The category of rationalization has two subcategories: instrumental and theoretical. Each of these subcategories has different forms used to legitimize or delegitimize social practices (van Leeuwen, 2007, 2008). Regarding instrumental rationalization, it has three forms of orientation, they are: goal, means, and effect. On the other hand, theoretical rationalization has five forms including scientific, experiential, definition, explanation, and prediction (van Leeuwen, 2007, 2008). Table 4.6 clarifies that only one form of instrumentality was employed in the KG newspaper that is effect orientation; in addition to that only two forms of theoretical rationalization were used including definition and prediction.

To begin with, effect orientation which represents a form of instrumentality can be either a result or effect. In the case of result, it can be expressed by result clauses with (so that, that way, etc.); whereas in the case of effect it is realized through the

purposeful action (van Leeuwen, 2007). It can be said that in both excerpts (6.1) and (6.2), the KG newspaper employed the case of result to represent the effect orientation. In the excerpt (6.1), the sentence can be restated in this way (*Sunni-Shiite sectarian squabbles start to erupt once again so that the fragile Iraqi power-sharing government is under threat*); therefore, it can be interpreted as that the result of the frequent Sunni-Shiite conflicts is the collapse of the Iraqi shared government. The same can be applied to the excerpt (6.2) that it can be restated as (*Shiites and Sunnis come face to face again so that they revive fears of renewed sectarian violence*). The excerpt (6.2) explicitly refers to the negative result of the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Iraq using time circumstance (*Only a day after the U.S. troops' departure from Iraq*). Consequently, the KG newspaper focused on depiction of the negative results witnessed in Iraq after the withdrawal event to delegitimize it.

Turning to the theoretical rationalization, it is realized through the forms of definition and prediction. Regarding definition, it is expressed by the identifying relational process (Halliday, 1985) using verb to be (*is*) representing attributive link (van Leeuwen, 2007). In the excerpt (2.7), the future of Iraq after the withdrawal of U.S. forces is defined as uncertain reflecting issues of insecurity, no confidence, and doubt. Moreover, the excerpt (4.11) metaphorically represented Iraq's situation by (*the positive picture of the current climate in Iraq*) and this picture will (*shatter*) after the withdrawal of U.S. forces. Accordingly, the KG newspaper delegitimized this event of AMFs' withdrawal using negative definitions of Iraq's situation after this event.

The last form of theoretical rationalization employed in the KG newspaper is prediction, which is based on expertise (van Leeuwen, 2007). Based on the analysis of excerpts, it is found that prediction was expressed by the mental process using

verb of cognition (anticipated) meaning that the negative actions represented by sectarian conflicts between Sunnis and Shiites were expected to evolve after the withdrawal of U.S. forces. Concerning participants, in both excerpts (6.7) and (6.8) the sentences composing of the material process were presented in passive form without agent, but the identity of the agent is known from the context of the whole paragraph and hence, it is related to the Kurdish politicians represented by 1st PPI (*we*) in excerpt (6.8) and by (*The Kurdish leaders*) in excerpt (6.7). Therefore, the KG newspaper made a link among the expectations of Kurdish politicians, Sunni-Shiite sectarian conflicts, and the absence of U.S. forces to delegitimize the withdrawal event.

The third category employed in the KG newspaper to delegitimize the event of AMFs' is moral evaluation. The types of this category and their linguistic description are illustrated in Table 4.7 as follows:

Table 4.7

Linguistic De-Legitimation of AMFs' Withdrawal Using Moral Evaluation Category

Type of Moral Evaluation	No. of excerpt	Participants	Function	Process (verb)	Circumstance
Evaluation	3.10	Their abilities limited	Subject (Carrier) Adjective	Relational- attributive (are)	
	6.3	The country a sectarian quarrel	Subject (Goal) Object (Attribute)	Material (slipped back into)	Only a few days later (time)

Table 4.7 continued

Type of Moral Evaluation	No. of excerpt	Participants	Function	Process (verb)	Circumstance
Abstraction	3.8	Iraq	Subject (Goal)	Material (is facing)	
		a lot of challenges	Object (Attribute)		
Analogies	3.9	The row	Subject (Action)	Material (could unravel)	Wh-clause referring to time
		Iraq's fragile power-sharing deal	Object (Goal)		
		the number of civilian casualties	Subject (Carrier)	Relational- attributive (is)	in the West/ in Iraq/ in Afghanistan (place); this year (time)
		similar to its counterpart	Adjective phrase		

In van Leeuwen's (2007, 2008) model, moral evaluation has three subcategories: evaluation, abstraction, and analogies. The analysis revealed that all these forms were employed in the KG newspaper. Firstly, evaluation, as stated by van Leeuwen (2007, 2008), relies on evaluative adjectives. To delegitimize the withdrawal of U.S. forces, the KG newspaper used negative adjectives and attributes to represent the Iraqi military and security situation after AMFs' withdrawal. In the excerpt (3.10), the attributive relational process, represented by verb to be (*are*), was used to

attribute the adjective (*limited*) to the abilities of the Iraqi armed troops. This means that the Iraqi forces have limited military capacities; thus, they still need the support of U.S. forces and hence, the U.S. forces' withdrawal is delegitimized. In addition to the relational process, the excerpt (6.3) composed of material process which depicted the situation of Iraq few days after AMFs' withdrawal in a negative way to delegitimize the withdrawal event. This process involved the noun phrase (*the country*) referring to Iraq as the Goal which is affected by (*a sectarian quarrel*) which happened (*only a few days later*) referring to the period that followed the withdrawal of U.S. forces. Hence, the KG newspaper negatively evaluated the situation in Iraq after the withdrawal of U.S. forces to delegitimize it.

Secondly, abstraction is realized through the use of material process. In the excerpt (3.8), the participant (*Iraq*) is the abstract subject affected by the withdrawal event because it still faces challenges in relation to its stability and security. In the second excerpt (5.3), the focus was on the representation of the actions that followed the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Iraq. The main action was the conflicts among the parties of the shared government, especially Sunnis and Shiites, on different issues. These conflicts were represented by the noun phrase (*the row*) forming the subject of the material process (*could unravel*). Such actions were depicted in the KG newspaper to delegitimize the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Iraq.

The third form of moral evaluation is analogies. According to van Leeuwen (2007, 2008), analogy refers to comparisons in discourse used to legitimize or delegitimize practices. The analogy structure can be expressed explicitly through similarity conjunction, or circumstances of comparison; as well as implicitly through metaphors. The analysis of data revealed that analogy was expressed explicitly in the KG newspaper through similarity phrase (*similar to its counterpart*). This analogy is

formulated with the attributive relational process using verb to be (*is*) to show the similarity between Iraq and Afghanistan in relation to the number of civilian casualties. Hence, the issue of civilian casualties refers to a negative case, which is growing in Iraq after the withdrawal of U.S. forces. So, the withdrawal event is delegitimized on the basis of this comparison.

Finally, Table 4.8 illustrates the final category used to delegitimize the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Iraq that is mythopoesis, as follows:

Table 4.8

*Linguistic De-Legitimation of AMFs' Withdrawal Using Cautionary Tales
Subcategory of Mythopoesis*

No. of excerpt	Participants	Function	Process (verb)	Circumstance
2.6	The deep-riding conflicts	Subject (Goal)	Material (have... to be settled)	
	The major fault lines	Subject (Goal)	Material (have not been resolved)	
	the Iraqi Constitution	Subject (Token)	Relational-identifying (remains)	
	a nicely written piece of paper	Value		
	Interferences in Iraqi affairs	Subject (force action)	Material (are adding)	
	extra fuel to the existing internal strife	Object (effected Goal)		

Table 4.8 continued

No. of excerpt	Participants	Function	Process (verb)	Circumstance
2.6	Iraq an arena of powers' game table	Subject (Token) Value	Relational- identifying (is)	
3.11	many [Iraqis] without air defense Iraq easy prey	Subject (Sensor) Phenomenon Object (Goal) Attribute	Mental-affection (fear) Material (could turn)	Now (time)

This category is achieved through storytelling (van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999; van Leeuwen, 2007, 2008) and has four subcategories including moral tales, cautionary tales, single determination, and overdetermination (van Leeuwen, 2007, 2008). However, one form was used in the KG newspaper to delegitimize the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Iraq, namely cautionary tales. This form was based on the negative actions and activities which led to unhappy endings for Iraqis.

It is clear that the KG newspaper focused on depicting negative actions in Iraq, especially those associated with the period of AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq. These actions were expressed by the material, identifying relational and mental processes. In the excerpt (2.6), a number of negative actions were presented to delegitimize the withdrawal event. They included the frequent sectarian and ethnic conflicts, the ineffectiveness of the Iraqi constitution, regional interferences in Iraq's internal

affairs, and political conflicts. These negative actions were presented in sequence like a story, bearing negative values which would cause undesired endings if the U.S. forces left without solution. Likewise, the excerpt (3.11) presented the issue of regional interferences after the withdrawal of U.S. forces which made the Iraqi borders an easy prey for those who want to prevail violence in Iraq. This issue is formulated with mental and material processes. The mental process was realized through the verb of affection (*fear*) showing Iraqis' concerns about the future of Iraq and its borders without the military support of U.S. forces. The material process was expressed by the verb phrase (*could turn*) means changing from one state into another; in other words, the withdrawal of U.S. forces could fuel the instability of Iraq's borders. Based on the depiction of these negative stories, the KG newspaper delegitimized the event of AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq.

In sum, the KG newspaper used five types of verb processes to (de)legitimize the event of AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq including material, mental, relational, verbal, and existential. These processes were used in declarative sentences to inform the audience about this event and its consequences relying more on the use of (and) and (but) as conjunctions. In the case of legitimation, only three categories were employed including authorization, moral evaluation, and rationalization. In contrast, all four categories including authorization, moral evaluation, rationalization, and mythopoesis were employed in the case of de-legitimation. This reveals that the attitude of the KG newspaper was towards delegitimizing the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Iraq. In addition, the KG newspaper attempted to be objective in conveying news events through the use of direct quotations which, according to Thetela (2001), play a major role in newspaper discourse serving three purposes: "to indicate that the quote is an incontrovertible fact because it is the newsmaker's own

words; to distance and disown the endorsement of what the source said; and to add to the story the flavor of the newsmaker's own words" (p. 362).

4.4 Pronouns as Ideological Practice

This section focuses on examining the role of personal and possessive pronouns in representing the hidden ideologies in the selected articles from the KG newspaper using a critical discourse analysis. According to Taiow (2007, p. 221), ideology refers to "attitudes, set of beliefs, values and doctrines with reference to religious, political, social and economic life, which shape the individual's and group's perception and through which reality is constructed and interpreted". van Dijk (2006a) defined ideology as a foundational belief that underlies "the shared social representations of specific kinds of social groups. These representations are in turn the basis of discourse and other social practices". In addition, ideology is "largely expressed and acquired... by spoken or written communicative interaction" (p. 120-1). van Dijk (2006b) believed that "there are no personal or individual ideologies, only personal or individual uses of ideologies" (p. 729). This study intends to examine the use of personal and possessive pronouns to present the hidden socio-political ideologies in the KG newspaper.

Accordingly, the current study focuses on revealing the way in which the KG newspaper has employed personal and possessive pronouns to represent the U.S. government and its forces, the Iraqi Arab and Kurdish politicians, as well as Iraqi people in relation to its ideological practices. The following steps were employed in the analysis of the third objective:

- a. Organize the excerpts to be analyzed according to the thematic category.

- b. Identify the personal and possessive pronouns and their references in the excerpts in **bold form**.
- c. Analyze these pronouns in accordance with Fairclough's (1995a) CDA which involves three stages, including description, interpretation, and explanation.
- d. Describe the pronouns in terms of their syntactic and semantic structure, i.e., their grammatical role in the sentence and their reference.
- e. Interpret the relation between the pronouns and their ideological representation.
- f. Explain how the defined pronouns are used to represent the hidden ideology.

4.4.1 Trust in U.S. Government and its Forces

Among the main ideological practices that the KG newspaper emphasized on in its issues, more particularly in relation to the event of AMF's withdrawal from Iraq, is its trust in KRG, U.S. government and its forces. The *trust ideology* denotes support for policies and actions performed by political authorities. This ideology is based on a number of values that are enhanced through the use of personal and possessive pronouns. These values are described and explained in the following subsections.

4.4.1.1 U.S. Government's Loyalty to its Promises

- 1.6: "**We** kept **our** promise to withdraw from Iraq's cities in 2009. **We** kept **our** promise to end **our** combat mission in the summer of 2010," said **the U.S. vice president** [Biden]. "And now, **we** are keeping **our** promise **we** made back in 2008 to remove **our troops** from Iraq by the end of this year, and **they** will be removed".

This excerpt is a direct quotation of Biden's speech depicting the U.S. government as faithful in keeping its promises and accomplishing them on the planned date. In

newspaper discourse, the quotations refer to the discursive practice of internal intertextuality. The direct quotation represents objectivity in reporting the source's statements that have a newsworthy value to strengthen and emphasize the message that the newspaper intends to convey and deliver to its readers (Richardson, 2007). This direct quotation is taken from a source involved in the reported event of AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq.

As far as the personal pronouns are concerned, it is clear that the exclusive pronoun represented by 1st PPI (*we*) referring to the U.S. government represents the subject of almost all sentences in this excerpt. Biden used the exclusive pronoun (*we*) referring to him and members of U.S. government to show his consistency with them as a symmetric political system and its possessive form (*our*) representing the American identity of the involved troops in the withdrawal event. The pronoun (*our*) occupies the object positions in this excerpt. The active voice represented in this excerpt is related to U.S. government represented by its vice president Joe Biden. The KG newspaper referred to Biden as the vice president to denote his powerful authority as a political member in the U.S. government. In addition, the last clause in this excerpt (**they** will be removed) contains 3rd PPI represented by (*they*). This pronoun occupies the subject position in this clause. It refers to the antecedent phrase (*our troops*) in this clause (we made back in 2008 to remove **our troops** from Iraq by the end of this year).

It is obvious that the exclusive pronoun (*we*) is collocated with this verb phrase (*kept **our** promise*) in all main sentences of this excerpt. The collocation of (*we*) with (*kept **our** promise*) denotes that the U.S. government is loyal to its promises and their realization. Hence, the KG newspaper emphasized the positive representation of U.S. government by quoting Biden's statement in which he used 1st PPI (*we*) four times to

strengthen the unity among the members of U.S. government on making decisions related to Iraq. This, in turn, enhances the socio-political ideology represented by trust in the U.S. government.

4.4.1.2 The Supportive role of U.S. Government and its Forces

1.5: **He** [Biden] said the committee [the U.S.-Iraq Higher Coordinating Committee] would be the centerpiece of **U.S. and Iraqi** efforts to build **their** relationship, notably in security issues such as training, intelligence and counter-terrorism.

This sentence is presented in the form of indirect quotation from Biden's statement concerning the future of U.S.-Iraq relationship, especially on security issues. The sentence consists of two pronouns. The first pronoun is 3rd PSg (*he*) in (**He** [Biden] said) referring to Biden who represents the U.S. government and functioning as the subject of the sentence. The second one is the possessive form of 3rd PPI (*they*) represented by (*their*) in (the centerpiece of **U.S. and Iraqi** efforts to build **their** relationship). This pronoun refers to the relationship of U.S. and Iraq forming the object of the verb (*build*).

In this sentence, Biden's name is substituted by 3rd PSg (*he*) without mentioning his formal status as U.S. vice president. Accordingly, this could be interpreted as a stylistic way in writing journalistic reports. Based on this sentence, the U.S. government represented by Biden seeks to enhance its relationship with Iraq after withdrawing its forces, particularly in relation to security issues. This reveals that the U.S. government has the military power that enable Iraq to encounter the challenges that result from AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq. In addition, it denotes that although the U.S. government has ended its military presence in Iraq, it is still present

politically. This, in turn, enhances the supportive role of U.S. government for Iraq. Consequently, the KG newspaper emphasized on presenting this positive role to ensure its trust in the U.S. government and its policies.

2.4: In a speech in North Carolina to **troops** just returning from Iraq, **U.S. President Barack Obama** said that **they** had helped to build "a sovereign, stable and self-reliant **Iraq**, with **a representative government** that was elected by **its** people."

This excerpt represents the indirect quotation of Obama's statement in his speech directed to U.S. forces after their withdrawal from Iraq in the exception for this clause (*a sovereign, stable and self-reliant Iraq, with a representative government that was elected by its people*) which is quoted directly as illustrated by the use of quotation marks. Through quoting this clause, the KG newspaper showed its objectivity in conveying Obama's statement concerning Iraq's sovereignty after AMFs' withdrawal.

Concerning the use of personal and possessive pronouns, the excerpt includes two pronouns represented by 3rd PPI (*they*) and the possessive (*its*). Firstly, 3rd PPI (*they*) in this clause (... **they** had helped to build...) is the subject of the quoted sentence referring to the U.S. government including Obama himself and its troops. Secondly, the possessive (*its*) in this clause (a sovereign, stable and self-reliant Iraq, with **a representative government** that was elected by **its** people) refers to Iraqi people who have elected their representative government. The prepositional phrase (*its people*) represents the backgrounded subject of the passive sentence in the direct quotation of Obama's statement as he (Obama) focused on foregrounding the object (*a representative government*) to the subject position considering it as more important than its doer.

When quoting Obama's statement indirectly, the KG newspaper referred to the U.S. government and its troops using 3rd PPI (*they*) to distance itself from truth claims of this statement and hence, wanted to be objective in rendering Obama's message in his speech to U.S. forces. The KG newspaper mentioned the full name of Obama with his formal status in this way (*U.S. President Barack Obama*) reflecting considerations of identity, respect and power. Additionally, this pronoun reflects the collective role of U.S. government and its forces to support Iraq and its new government which represents all components of Iraq and is elected by Iraqis. Accordingly, the KG newspaper trust in the U.S. government and its forces who have a significant role in rebuilding Iraq and its government after the 2003 war. Once more, the KG newspaper emphasized the positive representation of the U.S. government, its forces, and actions to enhance its ideology of trust in U.S. government and its forces.

3.13: "**They**'ll face challenges from terrorism; **they**'ll face challenges from those that would want to divide **their** country. **They**'ll face challenges from just the test of democracy, **a new democracy** and trying to make **it** work. But the fact is, **we** have given **them** the opportunity to be able to succeed," said U.S. Defense Secretary Leon Panetta.

This direct quotation presents Panetta's statement regarding the reality of political and security situation in Iraq after AMFs' withdrawal. It is reported to reflect the objectivity practice of the KG newspaper in reporting news events and selecting politicians' statements that have a newsworthy value. In this quotation, 3rd PPI (*they*) occupies the subject position in all sentences and refers to Iraqis. Additionally, its possessive pronoun (*their*) refers to the country of Iraqis, i.e. Iraq. In this clause (**a new democracy** and trying to make **it** work), 3rd PSg (*it*) refers to (*a new*

democracy) functioning as the object of this clause. The last sentence (**we** have given **them** the opportunity to be able to succeed) contains two types of pronouns. The first type is represented by 1st PPI (*we*) as the exclusive pronoun referring to the U.S. government and its members and forming the subject of the sentence. The second type is represented by 3rd PPI (*them*) referring to Iraqis and functioning as object.

Obviously, the quotation enhances the powerful authority and supportive role of U.S. government through the use of personal pronouns in collocation with lexical structure. Iraqis will suffer from various challenges in the absence of U.S. forces represented by terrorism, regional interferences, and the test of democracy as presented in these sentences (*They'll face challenges from terrorism; they'll face challenges from those that would want to divide their country. They'll face challenges from just the test of democracy*). The U.S. government through the statement of U.S. Defense Secretary realizes the negative effects that will result from the withdrawal of their forces from Iraq, but it believes that Iraqis have to practice their role in controlling and securing their country; thus, it (the U.S. government) decided to withdraw its forces from Iraq. This is represented in this sentence (But the fact is, **we** have given **them** the opportunity to be able to succeed). So, the U.S. government has the power and authority over Iraq and its related issues. In addition, this sentence represented Iraqis as beneficiary from the opportunity provided by the U.S. government to them to prove their ability in defending their country. This opportunity is represented by the withdrawal of its forces from Iraq.

4.4.2 Distrust in the Iraqi Political and Economic Policy

Another ideology that is represented in the selected articles on the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Iraq is its distrust in the political and economic policy of the Iraqi

government. The *distrust ideology* refers to an unfavorable evaluation of the processes of the polity based upon citizens' perception of an inconsistency between the actual operation of the political system and the democratic norms publicly accepted as its standards. This ideology is enhanced by a number of values identified through the use of personal pronouns. These values are clarified in the following subsections.

4.4.2.1 Internal Political, Ethnic and Sectarian Conflicts

3.4: **Muhammad** said the invasion of Iraq was really liberation for Kurdish people. But **he** is worried about the U.S. withdrawal and **he** fears clashes between Kurds and Arabs over disputed areas.

This excerpt denotes the concerns of Kurdish people about their future after the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Iraq and fears of ethnic conflicts. In relation to the use of personal pronouns, the second sentence (But **he** is worried about the U.S. withdrawal and **he** fears clashes between Kurds and Arabs over disputed areas) contains one type of pronoun represented by 3rd PSg (*he*) referring to (*Muhammad*) in the first sentence (**Muhammad** said...) who expressed his own opinion as a Kurdish person concerning the event of AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq. This pronoun is used twice in the sentence and functions as the subject in both positions.

The KG newspaper focused on representing its Kurdish identity by reporting opinions of Kurdish people. In fact, the Kurdish identity represents one of the social ideologies that the KG newspaper attempts to deepen in the minds of its readers since it is issued in KRG and organized by Kurdish journalists. The KG newspaper used 3rd PSg (*he*) two times in order to ascertain the identity of the person involved in this opinion as well as to reflect his objectivity in wording Muhammad's opinion. In spite

of using 3rd PSg (*he*) referring to one Kurdish individual, this opinion forms the negative attitude of most Kurdish people concerning the future of Iraq after AMFs' withdrawal. Accordingly, the KG newspaper emphasized on representing the real attitude of Kurdish people through the use of 3rd PSg (*he*). This attitude is embodied in that Kurdish people were against the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Iraq believing that it would result in ethnic conflicts between (*Kurds and Arabs*) over disputed areas which KRG claims that these areas are related to the north region and must be under its control. Such ethnic conflicts are used to support KG's distrust in the political system that governs Iraq.

4.12: A day later, Iraq become embroiled in a new sectarian and political crisis as an arrest warrant was issued for Iraq's Sunni Vice President, Tariq al-Hashemmi, and a number of other Sunni figures, on terror-related charges. This is in addition to controversy around **Deputy Prime Minister Saleh al-Mutlak**, whose criticism of Maliki's dictatorial tendencies left **him** clinging on to **his** position as Maliki sought a vote of no confidence against **him**.

This excerpt depicts the social and political situation in Iraq within a day after the withdrawal of U.S. forces. Concerning the personal pronouns, only 3rd PSg is employed in this excerpt represented by (*him*) and its possessive form (*his*). This pronoun (*him*) is used both times referring to (*Deputy Prime Minister Saleh al-Mutlak*), as well as (*his*) refers to the political position of (*Saleh al-Mutlak*). The pronoun (*him*) in the first position (...left **him** clinging...) functions as object of the verb; while in the second position (...Maliki sought a vote of no confidence against **him**), it is object of the preposition.

The KG newspaper emphasized on presenting the negative actions of Iraqi government following the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Iraq to show its distrust in

the Iraqi political system. The negative actions are symbolized by the sectarian and political conflicts between Sunni and Shiite powers. Reading through the excerpt, it is clear that the KG newspaper referred to Sunni politicians with their formal identity as politicians in the Iraqi government, whereas Maliki who represents Shiite power is written without his formal political identity as Prime Minister of Iraqi government then. This is clarified in these phrases related to Sunni politicians (*Iraq's Sunni Vice President, Tariq al-Hashemmi*) and (*Deputy Prime Minister Saleh al-Mutlak*); and Shiite politician (*as Maliki sought a vote of no confidence against him*). Therefore, the KG newspaper neglected the political identity of Maliki as a Prime Minister, and hence it presented him as an individual. For Iraqis, it is known that the socio-political relations between KRG and the central Iraqi government are instable with various challenges, especially in relation to economic issues. Thus, Kurdish politicians distrust in the central government dominated by Shiite politicians. This affects the way in which Arab politicians, especially Shiite ones, are depicted in the KG newspaper. Moreover, the KG newspaper focused more on the Sunni politician (*Saleh al-Mutlak*) in this excerpt through substituting his name by the use of 3rd PSg (*him*) and the possessive (*his*). This is because (*Saleh al-Mutlak*) has criticized (*Maliki*) as having (*dictatorial tendencies*), and his criticism has fuelled the sectarian and political crisis in the central government causing instability at all levels of Iraqi government. Such frequent conflicts enhance KG's distrust in the central Iraqi government.

5.4: "**This crisis** came at the wrong time for Iraq. **It** came with the withdrawal of the last American troops," Zebari said. "**The biggest challenge** for Iraq after the U.S. forces' withdrawal is a political one, after that **it** is security."

This is a direct quotation of Zebari's statement concerning the future of Iraq after AMFs' withdrawal as well as the issues that should be more focused after this event. It denotes the negative attitude of Kurdish politicians on the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Iraq and the socio-political crisis among Arab politicians. The quotation indicates the reality of Iraqi political system and the importance of political challenge over security. The importance of reporting this direct quotation lies in the ethnic identity of its Sayer (*Zebari*) who is a Kurdish politician and at the same time is the Minister of Foreign Affairs in the central government then; thus, he is the representative of Kurdish people. In this quotation, only one type of pronouns was used, which is 3rd PSg (*it*). It is used two times functioning as subject in both positions but referring to different nouns in each position. In this sentence (**It** came with the withdrawal of the last American troops), it refers to (*This crisis*) indicated in the first sentence (**This crisis** came at the wrong time for Iraq). But, in this clause (after that **it** is security), it refers to (*The biggest challenge*) found in (**The biggest challenge** for Iraq after the U.S. forces' withdrawal).

The quoted sentences reveal the disappointed reality of political situation in Iraq following AMFs' withdrawal that the KG newspaper emphasized on. The sentences depict the failure of Iraqi government in controlling its internal socio-political conflicts in the absence of U.S. forces. This is shown in the use of 3rd PSg in the second sentence (**The biggest challenge** for Iraq after the U.S. forces' withdrawal is **a political one**, after that **it** is **security**). Obviously, the KG newspaper quoted this sentence because it supports its view that denotes the importance of settling the political conflicts among Arab politicians over those related to security issues. So, 3rd PSg (*it*) identifies security issues to be less important than political conflicts. In fact,

this negative representation enhanced by the use of 3rd PSg (*it*) denotes KG's *distrust* ideology.

4.4.2.2 Ineffective Economic Policy

3.12: Iraq has ordered billions of dollars' worth of military equipment, including F-16 warplanes, but **it** will **take years** for **those supplies to arrive**, with Iraqis estimating that **it** would **take a full ten years** before **they're** fully assimilated into the military.

This is a complex sentence consisting of more than one clause defining the ineffective economic planning in relation to military capacities and its related contracts that will take too long period to be implemented. Regarding the use of personal pronouns, the sentence includes three pronouns represented by 3rd PSg (*it*) and 3rd PPl (*they*). On the one hand, 3rd PSg (*it*) is used two times functioning as subject in both positions. In this sentence (**it** will **take years** for those supplies to **arrive**), it refers to the long period of supplies arrival. But in this sentence (**it** would **take a full ten years** before they're fully assimilated into the military), it refers to the definite time of supplies assimilation into military. On the one hand, 3rd PPl (*they*) is used one time in this sentence (**they're** fully assimilated into the military) functioning as subject. It refers to (**those supplies**) which, in turn, denotes (*military equipment, including F-16 warplanes*).

In this long sentence on the economic policy of military equipment, the KG newspaper showed its negative attitude concerning the ineffectiveness of economic contracts related to military equipment as they will take too long to be implemented. This period is indicated by the use of pronoun (*it*). Here, the KG newspaper represented the negative aspect of the economic policy, especially on military

equipment, employed in Iraq which is devoted for expenditures regardless of its real implementation. This is supported by the last line in the sentence (*Iraqis estimating that it would take a full ten years*), which means that this belief is shared by Iraqis in general.

4.4.3 U.S. Government vs. Iraqi Government

4.8: History will prove that **America** never really got the credit **it** deserved. **It** made huge sacrifices **whilst Iraqi politicians** have constantly failed to deliver. **It** pulled Iraq from the brink of all-out sectarian war in 2007 with the promise of thousands of more troops as part of the surge strategy, but **the Iraqi leaders** again failed to keep **their** promises and **their** end of the bargain.

This excerpt is presented in the form of comparison. It compares the roles of U.S. and Iraqi governments. It contains two forms of pronouns represented by 3rd PSg (*it*) and the possessive form of 3rd PPI (*they*) that is (*their*). In all sentences where it is included, 3rd PSg (*it*) refers to (*America*) and occupies the subject position. This is clarified in these sentences (**America** never really got the credit **it** deserved), (**It** made huge sacrifices), and (**It** pulled Iraq from the brink of all-out sectarian war in 2007). Hence, the way in which the KG newspaper has focused on priority of U.S. government over Iraq can be interpreted in relation to its powerful and dominant authority. However, (*their*) occurs two times referring to (*the Iraqi leaders*) as shown in (**the Iraqi leaders** again failed to keep **their** promises and **their** end of the bargain).

Undoubtedly, the KG newspaper emphasized the positive actions of U.S. government and its forces in supporting Iraq through huge sacrifices and overcoming the sectarian conflicts. Accordingly, the KG newspaper is proud of U.S. government and

its forces for their effective roles in Iraq. In contrast, it emphasized on showing the negative actions related to the Iraqi government. It presented the Iraqi government negatively as failure and disloyal to its promises. The KG newspaper believed that the U.S. government deserves more appreciation for its supportive role in Iraq and this significant role will be proved by history which at the same time will prove the failure of Iraqi government in the absence of U.S. forces. Consequently, the U.S. government is represented as faithful and supportive, whereas the Iraqi government is represented as failure.

Furthermore, this comparison reveals the inequality between the U.S. government and the Iraqi government. This is related to the reality of U.S. government as being the powerful authority in the world. In addition, the positive attitude of the KG newspaper when depicting the U.S. government and its roles in Iraq reveals its bias toward the powerful authority. Thus, it represented the U.S. government positively to enhance its trust in it.

4.4.4 Discussion of Question Three

This section focused on examining the role of personal and possessive pronouns in revealing hidden ideologies behind the representation of AMFs' withdrawal in the KG newspaper. The analysis of data was based on Fairclough's (1995a) approach to CDA in which pronouns are considered to be one of its devices. The data included excerpts from newspaper stories issued in the KG newspaper on the event of AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq which consisted of different types of personal and possessive pronouns. These excerpts were analyzed through identifying the different pronouns in the KG newspaper to be interpreted and explained according to Fairclough's three-dimensional model in order to reveal the hidden ideologies. According to Fairclough

(2001), the ideological power can be presented in different forms of language and at various levels. One of these forms the analysis pointed out was using pronouns since they can be used to explain the ideology and power relation (Muqit, 2012).

The analysis of ideology was based on the concept of positive and negative representations of (*us*) and (*them*) concerning the event of AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq to reveal how the KG newspaper represented the U.S. government and its forces, on the one hand, and the Iraqi government and people, on the other hand; In other words, how the KG newspaper identified Iraqis and Americans through the use of pronouns to present its socio-political ideologies. The analysis revealed that personal and possessive pronouns had a role in identifying both groups.

It is noteworthy that the main ideologies of the KG newspaper were represented by pro-U.S. government, anti-withdrawal, and anti-political system and economic policy in Iraq. On the basis of these major ideologies, a number of values were presented in relation to Iraq and U.S. governments. To enhance its ideologies, the KG newspaper depicted the U.S. government positively by emphasizing on its positive actions; in contrast, it emphasized on presenting the negative actions related to the Iraqi government to represent it negatively. So, it can be said that through the use of pronouns, the KG newspaper showed its bias towards the U.S. government and the extension of its forces' presence in Iraq for serving socio-political agendas of KRG.

Based on the excerpts, the major participants involved in the event of AMFs' withdrawal were political members from both Iraq and U.S. governments, U.S. forces, and Iraqis. This section focused on the ideological representation of those participants in the KG newspaper. Accordingly, the identification of pronouns was related to two groups: U.S. and Iraq. Pronouns of each group were described,

interpreted, and explained one by one. The description of pronouns was tabulated and then followed by paragraphs to interpret and explain them in relation to the ideology represented by them. Firstly, Table 4.9 shows the description of pronouns related to U.S. as follows:

Table 4.9

Description of Pronouns Related to U.S.

Excerpt No.	Pronouns	Type	Grammatical role	Reference
1.6	We	1 st PPl	Subject	Exclusive pronoun refers to the members of U.S. government
	our	possessive		Relating the noun (<i>promises</i>) to the U.S. government and determining the close relation between Biden and U.S. troops
	They	3 rd PPl	Subject of a passive sentence	U.S. troops
1.5	He	3 rd PSg	Subject	U.S. vice president Joe Biden
2.4	They	3 rd PPl	Subject of a reported speech	The U.S. government and its forces
3.13	We	1 st PPl	Subject	Exclusive pronoun refers to the members of U.S. government
4.8	It	3 rd PSg	Subject	America (The U.S. government)

Based on Table 4.9, it is obvious that three types of personal pronouns were used to identify the members of U.S. government and its forces including 1st PPl (*we*), and

3rd PPI (*they*), and 3rd PSg (*he* and *it*) functioning as the subject of sentences that included them. This can be interpreted as that the U.S. government and its forces have the power that prioritizes their role in the sentence and hence, they occupy the subject position. This reveals the effect of political practices on the way in which powerful actors have to be categorized and represented. Consequently, the KG newspaper focused on representing the U.S. government and its forces positively and this is enhanced through collocating positive actions with pronouns related to U.S. So, the KG newspaper manipulated the position of the U.S. government and its forces and represented them as supporters.

In the excerpt (1.6), the direct quotation of Biden's statement on the decision of withdrawal contained 1st PPI (*we*) functioning as exclusive pronoun since Biden represented his government U.S. in a meeting held in Erbil so that he was speaking about the loyalty of U.S. government in keeping its promises; thus, Iraqi audience were not included in this pronoun. As stated by Pennycook (1994) and Wales (1996), pronoun (*we*) has different references; it refers either to the speaker and addressee (inclusive *we*), or to the speaker and another (exclusive *we*). Besides creating groupings, pronoun (*we*) is used to serve political purposes of earning trust.

In addition, the possessive pronoun (*our*) was used to relate the noun (*promises*) to the U.S. government and determining the close relation between Biden and U.S. troops, and 3rd PPI (*they*) referred to the U.S. troops and hence, it functioned as inclusive as these troops are related to U.S. and Biden referred to them as being related to U.S. not to Iraq. The frequent use of pronoun (*we*) in Biden's statement showed the solidarity among the members of U.S. government as well as authority and communality.

In the excerpt (1.5), 3rd PSg (*he*) is used to refer to the U.S. vice president Joe Biden. Using such pronoun, the KG newspaper identified Biden as an individual having the political authority whose statement is of newsworthy value to be reported; therefore, the indirect quotation is related to Biden, who is representative of the U.S. government. The excerpt (2.4) included 3rd PPI (*they*) referring to the U.S. government including Obama himself and the U.S. forces. Pronoun (*they*) in this excerpt is considered to be exclusive through which the KG newspaper distanced the U.S. government and its forces from its audience.

Of importance is that the excerpt (3.13) is a direct quotation of Leon Panetta, who represented the U.S. Defense Secretary, in which two types of personal pronouns were used, namely 3rd PPI (*they*) referring to Iraqis and 1st PPI (*we*) which is exclusive pronoun referring to the members of U.S. government. In this excerpt, the use of these two different types of personal pronouns is to contrast between both groups, i.e. Iraqis and Americans, as well as stressing a fact that the U.S. government had a clearer view than Iraqis on their future after the withdrawal of U.S. forces. Finally, pronoun (*it*) is used in the excerpt (4.8) to identify the positive actions and roles of America (the U.S. government) in comparison to the negative actions and roles of the Iraqi government. Through this comparison, the KG newspaper wanted to convey a message to its audience saying that the U.S. government has done its best to keep Iraq secure, but the Iraqi government is ineligible to control Iraq and keep it secure.

So, the KG newspaper attempted to hide its socio-political ideologies represented by anti-withdrawal of U.S. forces from Iraq and pro-U.S. government behind its real attitude which was biased towards the powerful authority, i.e. the U.S. government and its forces.

Next, Table 4.10 describes pronouns used to identify the Iraqi government.

Table 4.10

Description of Pronouns Related to Iraq

Excerpt No.	Pronouns	Type	Grammatical role	Reference
2.4	Its	Possessive		Determining the identity of the Iraqi people
3.13	They	3 rd PPl	Subject	Iraqis
	It	3 rd PSg	Object	A new democracy in Iraq
	Them	3 rd PPl	Object	Iraqis
3.4	He	3 rd PSg	Subject	A Kurdish person
4.12	Him	3 rd PSg	Object	Iraqi Sunni politician (Saleh al-Mutlak)
	his	Possessive		Determining the position of Saleh al-Mutlak
5.4	It	3 rd PSg	Subject	The political crisis in Iraq
	It	3 rd PSg	Subject	The biggest challenge for Iraq
3.12	It	3 rd PSg	Subject	The required period for implementing military contracts
	They	3 rd PPl	Subject	Military equipment
4.8	Their	possessive		Determining the identity of actors involved in the negative actions (i.e. the negative actions of the Iraqi leaders)

Table 4.10 demonstrates that the grammatical roles of personal pronouns that refer to the members of the Iraqi government are represented by subject and object positions. Additionally, the personal pronouns used to refer to Iraq, its politicians, people, and issues are of 3rd PSg (*he* and *it*) and 3rd PPI (*they*) along with their possessive forms (*its*, *his*, and *their*). It is believed that the use of 3rd PP can indicate closeness and/or distance in relation to ‘self’ and ‘other’ referencing and its distance from the ‘deictic centre’ of the distancing scale (Chilton, 2004; Wilson, 1990). It is obvious that when referring to the Iraqi politicians and actions related to them, they were identified through the use of 3rd PP. In the excerpt (2.4), the possessive pronoun (*its*) was presented in the direct quotation of Obama’s speech through which Obama referred to the Iraqi people who had elected their representative government. In this quotation, Obama did not refer to Iraqis explicitly; instead he used the noun phrase (*its people*). This means that the U.S. government did not impose that government on Iraqis, but Iraqis have elected their government.

In relation to 3rd PPI (*they*), it refers to people in general. One of its sociolinguistic functions is in distinguishing in-groups from outsiders, ‘us’ from ‘them’ (Wales, 1996). In the excerpt (3.13), pronouns (*they*) and (*them*) were presented in the direct quotation of Panetta’s statement referring to Iraqis. They were used by Panetta along with 1st PPI (*we*), which refers to the U.S. government, to serve certain purposes including to differentiate between groups, Iraqis and the U.S. government; show that the U.S. government has supported Iraqis by giving them democratic regime and helped them to secure themselves in the absence of the U.S. forces; stress the fact that the U.S. government has a clear vision concerning Iraq’s future without the U.S. forces; as well as showing the consistency among the members of U.S. government on foreign policy concerning Iraq and its affairs.

In the excerpt (3.4), the KG newspaper tried to show its Kurdish identity through involving Kurdish people to be interviewed as it is asserted by the use of noun phrase (Kurdish people) expressed by the interviewee named *Muhammad* and then substituted by 3rd PSg (*he*) to avoid redundancy. While in the excerpt (4.12), it focused on the representation of sectarian conflicts between Sunnis and Shiites through identifying two Iraqi politicians each related to a different sectarian group, namely one was related to Sunnis represented by *Saleh al-Mutlak* and the second one related to Shiites represented by *Maliki*. It is noteworthy to say that the KG newspaper focused more on identifying Sunni group through the use of 3rd PSg (*him*) in the objective case and its possessive form (*his*) which identified the Sunni politician *Saleh al-Mutlak*. In addition, the KG newspaper referred to the Sunni politician using his full name along with his political status, whereas the name of the Shiite politician was mentioned using his surname without referring to his political status. This can be interpreted in relation to the Iraqi political context. In other words, Kurds have socio-economic and political problems with the central government dominated by Shiite power whose Prime Minister was *Maliki* at the time of U.S. forces' withdrawal from Iraq. Consequently, this reflects the KG newspaper biasness towards identifying Sunni group than Shiite group through the frequent use of personal pronoun related to Sunni politician.

In fact, the KG newspaper emphasized on presenting the issue of political and sectarian conflicts which evolved after AMFs' withdrawal in order to show that the Iraqi politicians cannot control Iraq as they could not control their internal conflicts. This is presented in the excerpt (5.4) in the form of direct quotation consisting of 3rd PSg (*it*) used twice. Firstly, it referred to the noun phrase (*the crisis*) mentioned in the first sentence; and secondly, it referred] to (*the biggest challenge for Iraq*). The

direct quotation presented Zebari's view concerning the political situation in Iraq after the withdrawal of U.S. forces focusing on the political crisis in Iraq between Sunni and Shiite powers. Additionally, the economic policy in relation to military issues was under focus. This policy on military capacities which were identified by 3rd PPI (*they*) was represented by making ineffective contracts due to taking too long time to be implemented. This long period was identified through the verb phrases (*will take years*) and (*would take a full ten years*) both were preceded by (*it*) in the excerpt (3.12). Finally, the excerpt (4.8) included 3rd PSg (*it*) referring to America and possessive pronoun (*their*) relating the negative actions to Iraqi politicians. This excerpt compared between the positive role of the U.S. government in supporting Iraq and the negative actions of the Iraqi government. Through this comparison, it becomes clear that the KG newspaper manipulated the reality of the U.S. government and its forces in Iraq representing them as supporters not occupiers. In addition, it showed its distrust in the members of the Iraqi government to control the situation in Iraq.

Based on the detailed description of pronouns related to both groups, it is clear that there was no reference to 1st PSg, 2nd PP, and 3rd PSg represented by *I*, *you*, and *she* respectively. In relation to *I*, it can be said that the KG newspaper was not concerned with presenting individual activities since the implementation of the event in question involved the participation of both groups. Thus, both groups have a role in that event. The absence of *you* indicates that there is no explicit appeal to a specific group as addressee of the newspaper discourse. Therefore, it can be assumed that the primary goal of the KG newspaper is to define and represent the role of a particular group and not to appeal to other groups. Based on this view, it is possible to conclude that the newspaper discourse is addressed to all groups. Finally, the personal pronoun

(*she*) was not indicated in the KG newspaper in relation to the event in question. This can be interpreted as that the newspaper did not focus on a specific gender when presenting the event. Though the pronoun (*he*) was used, the context in which it was used denotes a shared attitude among Iraqis in general and Kurds in particular. Therefore, it was not used to indicate the preference of a specific gender over another.

In short, the KG newspaper revealed the inequality between the U.S. government and the Iraqi government in terms of power, domination, policy making, and positive actions undertaken by the U.S. administration. This inequality is symbolized by its trust in the U.S. government, its policies and its actions concerning Iraq through the use of personal and possessive pronouns. These pronouns were used in association with lexical items identifying the positive role of the U.S. government and its forces in Iraq. In contrast, it represented the members of the Iraqi government and Iraqi issues negatively and this is enhanced through collocating negative actions with pronouns related to Iraq. The members of the Iraqi government and its related issues were identified with negative actions represented by sectarian and political conflicts on power. It can be said that pronouns related to U.S. and Iraq were used to:

- a. Identify the powerful group.
- b. Show solidarity among the members of the U.S. government and their political authority in policy making concerning Iraq.
- c. Show disagreement among Iraqi politicians.
- d. Serve political purposes such as earning trust in the policy of U.S. government.
- e. Differentiate between the U.S. government and the Iraqi government in terms of policy and actions.

- f. Persuade the audience of the positive role of the U.S. government in Iraq.
- g. Reveal the reality of the Iraqi economic and political systems.

These points clarify the ideological representation of social groups involved in the event under investigation. This representation established a notable distinction between US vs. THEM, as shown in table 4.11:

Table 4.11

Representation of US vs. THEM

US (the Iraqi political system)	THEM (the U.S. political system)
Disintegrated, fragile and shared system	Integrated and powerful system
Take ineffective political and economic decisions	Take effective political and economic decisions
Make ineffective political and economic policies	Make effective political and economic policies
Has internal conflicts among its components	Works on settling internal and external conflicts among components of the Iraqi government
Subject to the influence of foreign powers	Strive to protect the Iraqi government from the ambitions of regional powers
Fails to control its borders	Trains the Iraqi forces to be able to control Iraq's borders with neighboring countries

This table highlights the distinction between in-group (US) and outgroup (THEM) in terms of power relations and policies. In fact, the representation of both groups provides different findings from those found in previous studies. Though (US) group

has to be represented in a positive way, as established in the existing literature, the KG newspaper focused on the negative aspect in representing this group. Concerning (THEM) group, it has to be represented negatively; however, the current findings contradicts this rule by presenting the positive aspects related to this group. In this sense, the representation of both groups was based on ideological strategy which involved the opposite depiction of US and THEM. Consequently, this presents a different result from that found in previous studies. This result reflects the influence of ideological practices employed in media organizations on the representation of in-group and outgroup.

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter included the analysis of the data to answer the proposed questions and achieve the objectives of the current study. The models of analysis adopted for analyzing excerpts selected from six news articles issued in the KG newspaper on the event of the U.S. forces' withdrawal from Iraq were applied. Firstly, the major themes found in the KG newspaper in relation to the Iraqi and US governments were identified in detail. The analysis results were discussed linguistically with reference to the concepts of (de)legitimation and ideology in detail. However, the results provided different findings from those identified in previous studies, specifically in relation to the ideological practices.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

The current study aimed at exploring the linguistic (de)legitimation about the event of AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq in the Iraqi English newspaper known as the Kurdish Globe. The study was carried out using the CDA approach to examine the concepts of themes, (de)legitimation, and ideology in the newspaper discourse. This chapter presents the findings and conclusions achieved in this study. In addition, it provides implications and limitations of this study as well as recommending future studies. Finally, the conclusion of this chapter is presented at the end.

5.2 Findings and Conclusions

This section summarizes the main findings obtained from the analysis of data concerning the linguistic structure of (de)legitimation strategy and ideology employed in the KG newspaper towards the event of AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq. The study was based on answering these three questions (see section 1.5):

1. What form of themes can be drawn based on the representation of the event of AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq in the KG newspaper?
2. How is AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq (de)legitimized in the KG newspaper through the use of linguistic structures?
3. How are pronouns used in the KG newspaper to present its hidden ideologies?

The analysis of data in relation to these three questions was carried out using Fairclough's (1995a) approach to CDA which involved three dimensions including

description, interpretation, and explanation. In the first dimension, the data were analyzed following Halliday's (2014) SFL to describe the linguistic structures used to represent the event under investigation. In order to reveal the relation between language use and (de)legitimation process, these linguistic structures were interpreted in relation to the (de)legitimation process that they formed in accordance with van Leeuwen's (2007, 2008) model of legitimation discursive structure. Finally, this relation was explained in terms of lexical items and prepositions used to imply hidden meanings and ideological practices.

5.2.1 Effect of Thematic Structure on (De)Legitimation and Ideology

Based on the findings of the current study, it is clear that the KG newspaper is biased towards delegitimizing the event of AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq by focusing on the presentation of negative actions evolved in Iraq after this event. This presentation further enhanced by the ideological presentation of the event, its participants, and its reactions through the use of personal and possessive pronouns.

Consequently, the thematic structure affects the presentation of the (de)legitimation process and ideological practices employed in the KG newspaper concerning the event in question. This effect is shown in the structure of the new themes drawn from themes denoting the same meaning. Thus, it can be said that there is a direct correlation between the concepts used in this study as illustrated in figure (5.1):

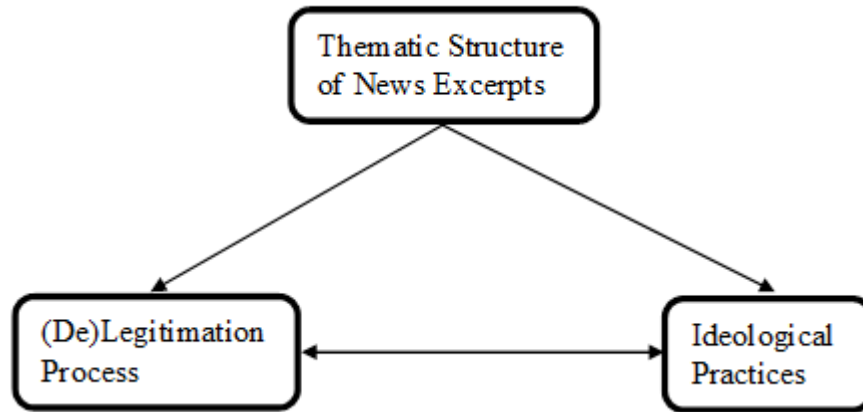


Figure 5.1. The relationship among the concepts of the study

Based on Fig. 5.1, the thematic structure of news excerpts analysed in this study affects the (de)legitimation process and ideological practices which, in turn, affect each other. The thematic structure represented by themes denoted the main meanings that the KG newspaper focused on in presenting the event of AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq. These themes enhanced the general attitude of the KG newspaper shown in delegitimizing the event as well as strengthening its socio-political ideologies signified by purifying and trusting in the policy of the US government concerning Iraq and its internal and external issues (see section 4.2).

5.2.2 Linguistic Structure and (De)Legitimation Process

It is found that the KG newspaper presented its news events through the use of declarative sentences and avoided the use of imperative and interrogative sentences. Almost all these declarative sentences were in active form which showed that the KG newspaper conveyed the information to its readers without involving them to think about it, but persuaded them that what is said is right/wrong for them to accept/refuse it. This, in turn, implies the (de)legitimation strategy through which the new practices in any society can be either legitimized or delegitimized according to the way in

which they are produced and presented in the newspaper discourse. Accordingly, it is noteworthy that language use in newspaper discourse has the power to legitimize/ delegitimize socio-political practices occurred in any society through associating them with positive/ negative values (Chovanec, 2010; Gng, 2014; Lavrusheva, 2013; Sadeghi et al., 2014). These values are depicted in texts using different lexical structures. Such values can be a basis for comparing the socio-political practices and their compatibility with the socio-cultural norms of society. When the socio-political practice is compatible with the socio-cultural norms, it will be legitimized; however, if this practice is not compatible with these norms, it will be delegitimized. This concept of comparison is based on providing a reasonable argumentation that highlights the effect of that practice on society to be legitimized/delegitimized. The concept of comparison that can be made in one discourse and within the same context is illustrated in figure (5.2):

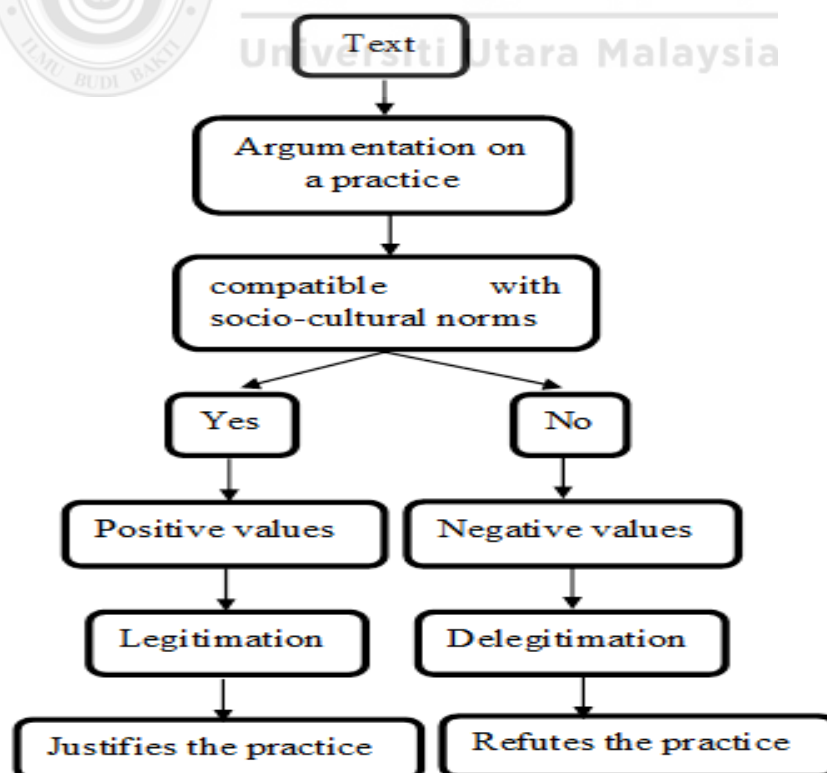


Figure 5.2. Comparison on the basis of argumentation

Based on Fig. 5.2, newspaper is used as a means of publicizing practices occurred in society. The process of publicizing practices is presented in a news text. This text provides a comprehensive description of certain practice. This description illustrates the practice, its positive and negative aspects and its effect on society through presenting a reasonable argumentation. Based on this argumentation, one can compare the compatibility of that practice with the socio-cultural norms known in the society. Accordingly, the practice will be compatible with socio-cultural norms of the society if it contains positive values; in contrast, if the practice contains negative values, it will not be compatible with socio-cultural norms of the society. This comparison, in turn, leads to the process of (de)legitimation. On the one hand, the positive values are used in texts to justify practices. Therefore, practices associated with the positive values will be legitimized. On the other hand, the negative values are used so as to refute practices. As a result, practices associated with negative values will be delegitimized.

In the socio-political context of Iraq, the withdrawal event was faced with controversial views. In general, Iraqis wanted their occupiers to leave them, but at the same time they were afraid of what will happen after the U.S. withdrawal from Iraq. Some Iraqis argued that it is not the time for the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Iraq; whereas others thought that the withdrawal of U.S. forces will end their occupation of Iraq and hence, Iraq will obtain its sovereignty. Such arguments were presented in the KG newspaper to (de)legitimize the withdrawal event through language use. Concerning the linguistic description of the (de)legitimation strategy, it is found that there is a relation between verb processes and (de)legitimation categories. This relation is represented in figure (5.3) as follows:

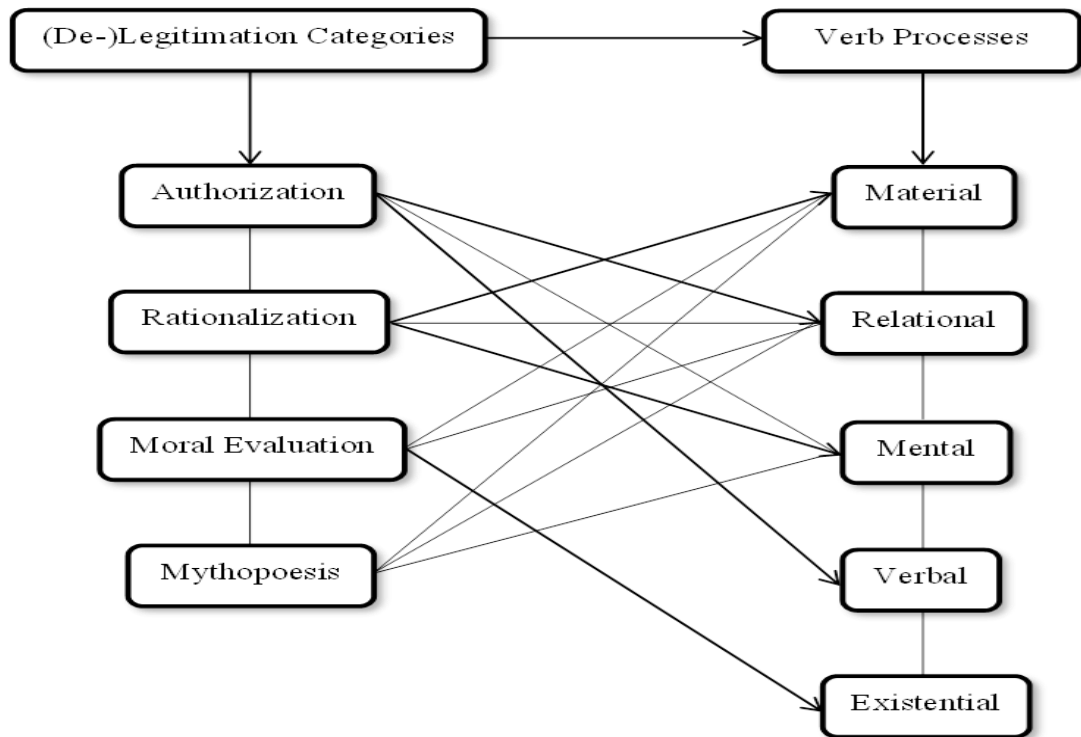


Figure 5.3. Verb processes associated with (de)legitimation categories

As shown in figure (5.3), five types of verb processes were used to represent four categories of (de)legitimation strategy. The (de)legitimation categories included authorization, rationalization, moral evaluation, and mythopoesis. These four categories were composed of different verb process including material, relational, mental, verbal, and existential. Additionally, these categories were employed in the KG newspaper to (de)legitimize the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Iraq. Concerning their use as legitimation categories, they were associated with positive values depicted through language use; but as delegitimation categories they were associated with negative values. To begin with, the linguistic structure used to form the legitimation categories is presented in figure (5.4) as follows:

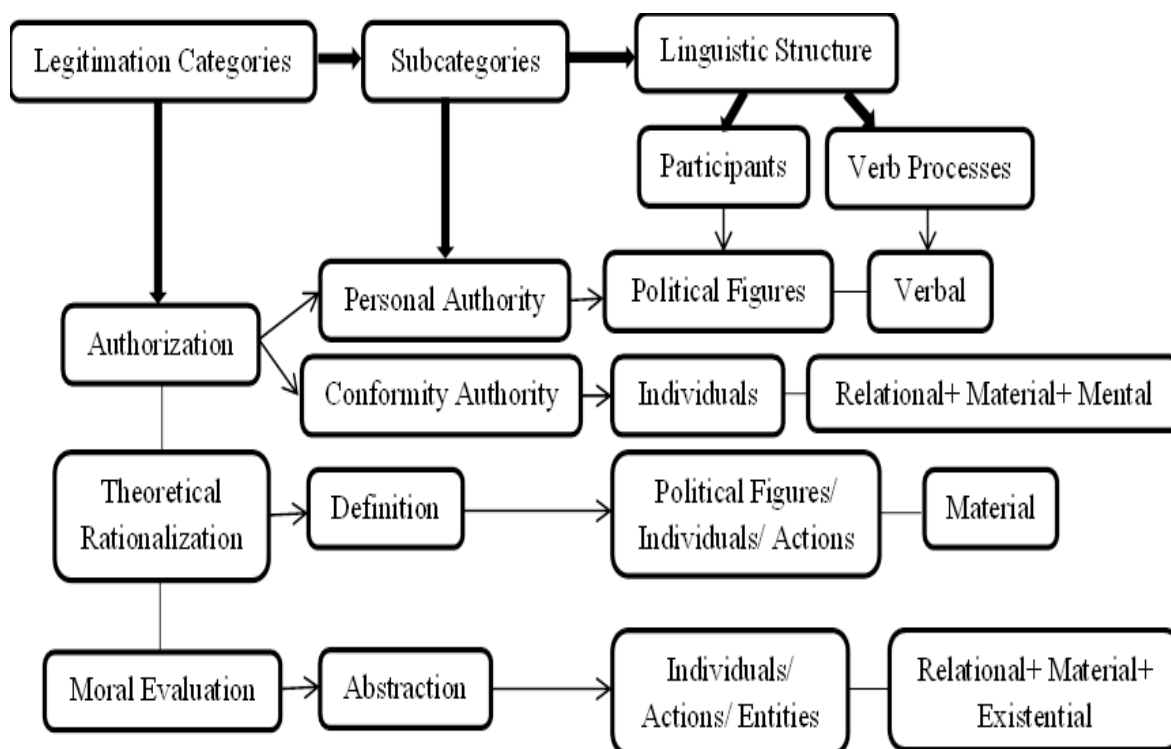


Figure 5.4. The linguistic structure of legitimation categories

Based on figure (5.4), only three categories of legitimation expressed by five verb processes were used to legitimize the withdrawal event. The first category is authorization. Authorization was represented by two subcategories including personal authority and authority of conformity. Personal authority was expressed by the verbal process which involves a participant functioning as Sayer. Participants involved in the legitimation category of authorization were politicians from U.S. and Iraq who stated positive views concerning the withdrawal event. Authority of conformity was realized through three types of verb process including relational, material, and mental. These processes involved individuals functioning as participants. Those individuals were preceded by high-frequency modality using expressions such as *much* and *many*; and they also shared a positive sentiment towards the withdrawal event.

With respect to the second category, rationalization was represented theoretically using definition subcategory. Definition was realized through material process involving participants in the form of politicians, individuals, and actions. It is associated with defining the relationship between Iraq and U.S. after the withdrawal event. Finally, moral evaluation was represented by abstraction subcategory. Abstraction composed of three types of verb process, namely relational, material, and existential. The participants involved in these processes consisted of individuals, actions, and entities representing both U.S. and Iraq. In abstraction, the withdrawal event signified by its component actions and reactions were presented in a positive way in the KG newspaper.

Overall, the material process is the most frequent process type in relation to legitimation structures followed by the relational and verbal processes, whereas the mental and existential processes were less frequent in the linguistic representation of U.S. forces' withdrawal. The linguistic structures used to represent legitimation revealed the dominance of U.S. government over Iraq in relation to the future policies that will be undertaken after the withdrawal event.

On the other hand, the KG newspaper employed all four categories presented in van Leeuwen's (2007, 2008) model of legitimation. These categories were associated with negative values. These values were realized through negative actions and effects following the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Iraq. The linguistic structure that formed the delegitimation categories is illustrated in figure (5.5) as follows:

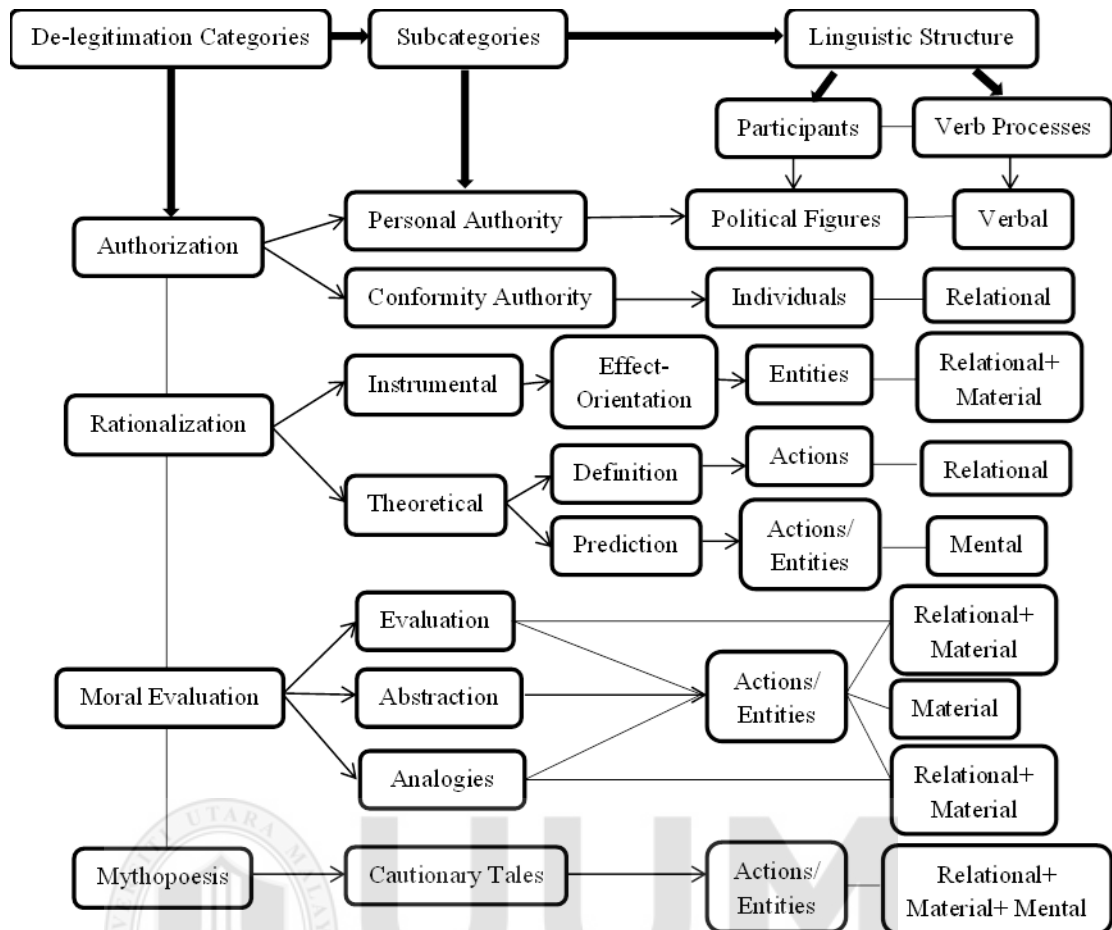


Figure 5.5. The linguistic structure of de-legitimation categories

As shown in figure (5.5), all four categories of de-legitimation with some of their subcategories were employed in the KG newspaper implying its tendency towards delegitimizing the withdrawal event rather than legitimizing it. These four categories were expressed by four verb processes including relational, material, mental, and verbal. As in the case of legitimation, authorization category was represented by only two of its subcategories, namely personal authority and conformity authority. Personal authority was expressed by the verbal process presented in the indirect quotation of a Kurdish politician stating the need for extending the presence of U.S. forces in Iraq. Therefore, he indirectly delegitimized the withdrawal event. Conformity authority was realized through the relational process which involved

individuals presented as abstract subjects like *Kurds* and *they*. Those individuals shared a negative sentiment towards the withdrawal event to delegitimize it.

The second category used to delegitimize the withdrawal event is rationalization. This category was presented instrumentally and theoretically. In the case of instrumentality, the event was delegitimized on the basis of effect-orientation denoting the negative effects resulted from the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Iraq. This subcategory was expressed by relational and material processes involving participants in the form of entities represented by *the Iraqi government* and *the Sunni and Shiite powers*. Where theoretical rationalization is concerned, it was delegitimized through the use of two subcategories including definition and prediction. The definition subcategory was realized through identifying relational process defining Iraq's instability following the withdrawal event. In prediction subcategory, the sentence composed of mental process expressed by cognition verb *anticipated* confirming that the undesirable actions were expected to evolve in Iraq following the withdrawal event.

Concerning the third category of delegitimation, moral evaluation was employed in the KG newspaper using all of its subcategories, namely evaluation, abstraction, and analogies. These subcategories were formed by two verb processes including relational and material. In the evaluation subcategory, the KG newspaper negatively evaluated the ability of Iraqi military forces as limited and the Iraqi political system as facing internal sectarian conflicts. This negative evaluation was presented through the use of relational and material verb processes. Through abstraction subcategory, the KG newspaper revealed the possibility of negative consequences in terms of socio-political stability in Iraq after the withdrawal of U.S. forces. This possibility was presented by the material process. In the final subcategory of moral evaluation,

Iraq was compared to Afghanistan in relation to the number of their civilian casualties. This comparison was composed of relational and material processes.

Turning to the last category of de-legitimation, it is related to mythopoesis using its subcategory represented by cautionary tales. This subcategory was formed on the basis of telling negative stories about the socio-political situation in Iraq. These negative stories were composed of three types of verb process consisting of relational, material, and mental. Based on the negative values presented through all of these categories and their subcategories, the event of AMFs' withdrawal was delegitimized in the KG newspaper.

Concerning intertextuality, the KG newspaper relies on frequent use of direct and indirect quotations of reported speech from persons in authority specifically in relation to the U.S. government. Therefore, it attempts to show its objectivity in conveying the information to its readers as it was said by the source. This implies journalistic practices employed by media organizations to enhance their reliability when presenting issues related to their country, and hence to gain trust of the audience in their publications.

To sum up, the relational process is the most frequent process type in relation to de-legitimation structures followed by the material and mental processes, whereas the verbal process was less frequent in the linguistic representation of U.S. forces' withdrawal. The linguistic features used to represent de-legitimation revealed the bias of the KG newspaper towards extending the presence of the U.S. forces in Iraq. This implies that the KG newspaper focused on delegitimizing the withdrawal of the U.S. forces through language use by manipulating their role and depicting them as supportive and security forces. This de-legitimation is serving social, political and

economic agendas of those who were against the withdrawal event, specifically Kurds.

5.2.3 Pronouns and Ideology

To strengthen its (de)legitimation process, the KG newspaper emphasized on the positive representation of actions related to the U.S. government and its forces, whereas actions related to the Iraqi government were represented in a negative way. This representation of *us* and *them* involved the use of personal and possessive pronouns. Through the use of these pronouns, the KG newspaper presented its socio-political ideologies. These ideologies were related to groups' identity, comparing groups in terms of policy and actions, as well as serving political purposes. The KG newspaper revealed the inequality between the U.S. government and the Iraqi government in terms of power, domination, policy making, and positive actions undertaken by the U.S. administration. This inequality is symbolized by its trust in the U.S. government, its policies and its actions concerning Iraq through the use of personal and possessive pronouns.

Remarkably, the KG newspaper manipulated the real political role behind the existence of U.S. government and its forces in Iraq through the use of pronouns. On the one hand, it used personal and possessive pronouns associated with the positive representation of the U.S. government and its forces to show its trust in them. On the other hand, personal and possessive pronouns related to the Iraqi politicians were associated with negative representation to enhance its distrust in the Iraqi government. Based on this diverged presentation from the real purpose of positive/negative presentation of US/ THEM, it can be said that the KG newspaper presented the U.S. government and its forces as in-group, whereas the Iraqi government and its

members as outgroup. This can be interpreted in relation to the influence of deep political relations between the U.S. government and its ally KRG on the newspaper organization. The political relations between U.S. and KRG is not new as the two sides established their relations since the beginning of 1990s. During 1991, particularly after Kuwait's invasion by Iraq, a serious relationship was established between the two sides. That relationship has been profitable for both sides and has become more profound and meaningful on a daily basis.

Moreover, it is found that the KG newspaper made use of direct quotation of American politicians' statements which contain plural personal and possessive pronouns when referring to their actions. This has served two aspects; firstly, it showed its objectivity in conveying the news event using quotations of newsworthy value. It relied particularly on the direct quotations of the U.S. president Barack Obama and the U.S. vice president Joe Biden to enhance its objectivity in reporting the news event. Secondly, it enhanced its trust in the U.S. government and its forces through these direct quotations of American politicians whose government has a powerful authority over Iraq. Of importance is Biden's statement which is composed of 1st PPI (we) referring to the U.S. government to show the unity and consistency among the members of U.S. government and their loyalty to the promises undertaken by the U.S. government.

In contrast, the KG newspaper emphasized on presenting the negative actions of the Iraqi government and the negative attitudes of Iraqis on the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Iraq to show its distrust in the Iraqi politicians. Concerning personal pronouns, the KG newspaper used 3rd PSg and 3rd PPI, which are *It*, *He* and *They* to identify Iraqis and Iraqi politicians. This implies that the KG newspaper attempted to hide its real attitude represented by anti-withdrawal of U.S. forces from Iraq behind its socio-

political ideologies which were biased to the powerful authority, i.e. the U.S. government and its forces.

5.3 Discussion of Findings

In order to validate the findings of the current study, this section compares them with the findings of the previous studies in terms of the applicability of methods to the current study and findings. To begin with, the current study examined the language used in the newspaper discourse to reveal the relationship between the linguistic structure and (de)legitimation, pronouns and ideology, as well as the effect of these concepts on the thematic structure of the newspaper. To carry out this study, the qualitative content method with a critical perspective using Fairclough's (1995a) approach to CDA was utilized. It is believed that this method is appropriate for such type of studies and it can be utilized to achieve the desired objectives (Ghannam, 2011; Lavrusheva, 2013; Sadeghi et al., 2014; Rohizah, 2012). This, in turn, validates the methods applied to this study.

Concerning the findings of the linguistic structures and (de)legitimation, they are validated as they correspond with those of related studies. It is found that the KG newspaper preferred the use of active declarative sentences and clauses in providing information. This supports Kondowe's (2014) view concerning the preference of positive declarative sentences over other types for their informative role in political discourse. Additionally, the KG newspaper used the direct and indirect quotations which are among the varied ways through which a reported speech can be incorporated in the news article. This is in line with Richardson's (2007) statement that news reporting pays more attention to the reported speech of politicians' statements which are prior texts having the importance to be produced in the daily

news. In addition, the reported speech enhances the objectivity practice of news reporting in conveying the message as has been stated in a source's words.

Consistent with van Leeuwen (2007, 2008), the legitimation model can be used to legitimize and delegitimize social practices. Legitimation category involves positive representation of the practice in question, whereas de-legitimation involves negative representation of that practice. This has been revealed through the analysis of the collected data on the event of AMFs' withdrawal from Iraq. This study reveals that there is a relationship between the linguistic structures and (de)legitimation strategy in the newspaper discourse in relation to the representation of the event in question. This supports Sadeghi et al.'s (2014) view concerning language used by news agencies to (de)legitimize political practices. Likewise, this concedes with Chovanec's (2010) view that various linguistic structures can be used to legitimize political actions.

Regarding the findings of (de)legitimation categories, it is obvious that the personal authority is represented by the verbal process. This supports van Leeuwen's (2008) concept of personal authority showing that this type of authority is typically represented by verbal process. Conformity authorization is expressed through a high frequency modality in the relevant nominal group using (*much*) and (*many*). This is in line with van Leeuwen's (2007, p. 97) description that "most often, conformity authority is realized through high frequency modality". Another form of conformity is abstract subject represented by (*we*). Obviously, the authority of conformity was employed in three excerpts differing the view of van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999) that conformity is among the less often used categories of authorization. The category of cautionary tales was based on the negative actions and activities which

led to unhappy endings for citizens. This supports studies of van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999) and van Leeuwen (2007) wherein they stated that the form of cautionary tales is realized through the negative stories that have unhappy endings.

In relation to ideology, this study examined the way in which pronouns were used to present the socio-political ideologies in the KG newspaper. The analysis of the pronouns used concedes with Fairclough's (2001) viewpoint that ideological power can be presented by pronouns. They can be used to explain the ideology and power relation (Muqit, 2012). It is revealed that personal and possessive pronouns had a role in identifying social groups. This concedes with van Dijk's (2006a) point of view that groups polarization which organizes ideologies may be coded in the text by the use of pronouns like *us* and *them*, and possessives like *our people*. Through the use of pronouns, the KG newspaper showed its biasness towards the U.S. government and the extension of its forces' presence in Iraq for serving socio-political agendas of KRG. This concedes with Bello's (2013) interpretation that the use of pronouns is not a mere anaphoric or deictic reference, but they are used to position self and others within the purview of political interests and associations.

In addition, the pronoun (*we*) was used to serve political purposes of earning trust. This corresponds to Bello's (2013) and David and Dumanig's (2011) results that the use of 'we' creates multi-faceted dimensions and groupings all serving different political purposes such as earning trust. The KG newspaper focused on presenting direct quotations of the members of U.S. government which consist of frequent use of pronoun (*we*) to show solidarity and consistency among them as well as authority and communality. This interpretation is enhanced by Pennycook's (1994) study on the politics of pronouns concluding that pronoun (*we*) is used in different forms of

discourses to denote authority and communality. In addition, the study of Sotillo and Wang-Gempp (2004) on ideology in online political discussions showed that the pronoun (*we*) is generally used to display solidarity.

Furthermore, pronouns (*they*) and (*we*) were used to make a contrast between social groups as well as stressing the fact that the U.S. government had a clearer view than Iraqis on their future after the withdrawal of U.S. forces. This, in turn, stands for De Fina's (1995) result showing that the use of these two different types of personal pronouns can be seen as encoding the contrast between in-group and out-group and this contrast could be a rhetoric device to stress a fact. Additionally, it is obvious that pronouns like (*she*) and (*you*) were not frequently used in the KG newspaper as it aimed at defining and representing the role of a particular group and not to appeal to other groups. Based on this view, it is possible to conclude that the newspaper discourse is addressed to all groups. This coincides with De Fina's (1995) result concerning the absence of pronoun (*you*) in the political speeches because it denotes generalization.

Concerning the findings regarding themes which were drawn based on the analysis of (de)legitimation and ideology, the analysis revealed that the KG newspaper focused on the positive role of the US government and its forces in relation to Iraq's issues, while focusing on the negative role of the Iraqi government and its policies. This concedes with Bo's (2010) discussion that the US military played the role to weigh among the different government offices and to prevent armed conflict among the different sects. At the same time, the US military also played the role as the intercessor among the political forces of Shiites, Sunnis and Kurds and urged them to negotiate and to reach various agreements.

5.4 Contributions of the Study

This study provides several important contributions to the academic context, analysts of newspaper discourse, and media policy and journalists. At the academic level, the study provides new perspective to examine various linguistic structures employed in written texts of news stories. Written texts represent a multidimensional structure, consisting of syntax, vocabulary, and semantics. However, understanding the lexical structures does not lead to understanding of the whole text. Therefore, it is necessary for students to comprehend the contextual characteristics including the social and cultural background of the text and its author's worldview. Hence, the comprehension of the content message lies not only in the textual analysis of text, but also in the interaction process between author's intent and reader's ability to interpret it. Teachers can employ linguistic techniques of CDA identified in this study to raise students' awareness of the hidden meanings within texts. Teachers can utilize newspaper reports as a means for critical linguistic analysis, and hence they can motivate their students to analyze such reports critically using CDA techniques. Such method of teaching will enhance learning process for EFL students. In addition, this method will improve students' critical thinking and provide them an opportunity to gain a better understanding of the language surrounding them in everyday life.

At the media level, this study contributes to media producers and journalists who can decide on the reported speech from powerful authorities and real events to provide a convincing information for their audience. Journalist must realize that in order to be persuaded, readers need reliable information supported by authorized sources. Adding to that, journalists must include views from different political sources in order not to be criticized for being bias towards certain source rather than other sources. In general, media producers have to be neutral and free themselves from the

influence of political authorities when depicting socio-political events. This will reflect their independence in conveying news events based on what they want to write, not what they are obliged to write.

The findings demonstrated that the newspaper discourse is a reliable and practical tool for establishing (de)legitimation process in which journalists have a crucial role. They provide the information about a political event or decision and challenge its implementation by discussing its negative impacts and stressing the need for more effective policies. Besides, journalists act as initiators of discussions and criticism addressing a particular action, which deepened legitimation or, in contrast, de-legitimation. In general, various methods for creating and maintaining (de)legitimation can be implemented in the newspaper discourse which proves its versatility.

Being a complex socially constructed concept, (de)legitimation is based on a continuous process which involves efforts and smart decisions. The (de)legitimation and ideological strategies are intended to achieve two main objectives: giving sense to the political events depicted in the printed media and to covering real attitudes of media producers towards certain events. The newspaper discourse has extensive power which can be utilized not only in the context of news production, but in shaping public opinion as well. The newspaper discourse creates and provides sense to social interactions. Consequently, appropriately applied discursive strategies for encouraging social acceptance are strong promotional tool of media organizations and their practices.

Finally, this study contributes to different fields in which comparison can be done based on argumentation made in one discourse and within the same context. The

study contributes to CDA researchers in order to develop this concept by including more details concerning textual and contextual characteristics of newspaper discourse. Researchers are familiar with making comparative studies between discourses from different contexts. This study contributes to change this situation by highlighting the importance of socio-cultural norms in differentiating between legitimate and illegitimate practices.

5.5 Limitations and Suggestions for Further Studies

This study dealt with the representation of a controversial event happened in Iraq that is the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Iraq which ended the military presence of U.S. forces after occupying Iraq for nine years following the 2003 war. It was limited to examining the representation of this event in the KG newspaper issued in English language, focusing on identifying the linguistic structures used to (de)legitimize the event as well as the hidden ideologies and themes behind its representation through the use of CDA. The data is limited to the news stories issued in the KG newspaper on the event of U.S. forces' withdrawal during one month representing the period of final and formal withdrawal of AMFs from Iraq. A total of six news stories issued in December 2011 were collected to be analyzed qualitatively using CDA approach.

Though this event has been issued in different Iraqi and international newspapers, these newspapers were not chosen in the procedures of data collection and analysis for certain reasons; firstly, the study is related to the examination of the event depiction from the perspective of Iraqi newspapers issued in English so that only Iraqi newspapers were involved in this study. Secondly, the study is related to the field of English applied linguistics so that only Iraqi English newspapers were taken into account. Finally, for issues of reliability and accessibility, only Iraqi English

newspapers issued in hard copy along with their soft copy as well as having highest circulation and readership were considered to have credibility. All these features were found in the KG newspaper so that it was selected to represent the data of the current study.

Although this study contributed to the CDA approach through covering issues of (de)legitimation and ideology through language use in newspaper discourse, yet other studies can be carried out to study the effect of images used in news articles along with the text to depict the withdrawal event on the (de)legitimation strategy. In addition, a study to compare the representation of withdrawal event in the Iraqi English newspapers and the American newspapers can be conducted to show how each newspaper try to (de)legitimize the event. Also, the depiction of the Iraqi situation after the partial withdrawal in 2008 compared to the full withdrawal in 2011 can be studied by other researchers. Another matter that can be studied in relation to the (de)legitimation is to focus on TV interviews made with Iraqis and Americans including the U.S. military forces concerning their attitudes and feelings on the withdrawal event. In addition, the current findings can be enhanced through interviewing the journalists to reveal the impact of their attitudes on the representation of the event.

5.6 Conclusion

This chapter summarized the results of the data analysis. It presented the general findings of conducting a CDA approach to analyze newspaper articles issued in the KG newspaper on the event of the U.S. forces' withdrawal from Iraq through a qualitative content analysis. Through the use of different linguistic structures, the KG newspaper biased towards delegitimizing the withdrawal event rather than

legitimizing it. It relied on the use of direct quotation to enhance its objectivity in relation to the representation of events. In addition, it focused on the positive representation of the U.S. government and its forces in comparison to the negative representation of the Iraqi government to show its trust in the policy and actions of the U.S. government and support the extension of the U.S. forces' presence in Iraq. The chapter presented the contribution and limitations of the study and it ended with giving recommendations for further research work to be done in the future.



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Appendix A

News Stories Selected as Sample of Analysis

1. Biden assures Iraqi leaders of U.S. commitment (Article) (December 03, 2011)

U.S. vice president meets with Kurdistan Region President

1. U.S. Vice President Joe Biden assured Iraqi leaders the withdrawal of U.S. forces does not mean the end of his government's support for Iraq but that both sides will remain tied based on their strategic agreement.
2. "It is true the U.S. forces will pull out of Iraq, but the United States' commitment towards Iraq and Kurdistan Region will remain present," Biden said.
3. On the last day of his visit to Iraq to mark the end of the Iraq War, Biden arrived in Erbil on Dec. 1 to meet with Kurdistan Region President Massoud Barzani and KRG Prime Minister Barham Salih. President Barzani said the Kurdistan people greatly appreciate the sacrifices made by U.S. forces to help topple the "dictator regime" and in "establishing a federal democratic system" in Iraq. Furthermore, both sides reaffirmed they will develop political and diplomatic relations between the U.S. and Iraq and Kurdistan Region.
4. Before traveling to Erbil, Biden officially celebrated the end of the Iraq War and said the two countries are now in a new phase of their ties. He highlighted that the remaining 13,000 U.S. soldiers will pull out by the end of the year. "Our troops... are leaving Iraq and we are embarking on a new path together, a new phase in this relationship... between two sovereign nations".
5. He [Biden] said the committee [the U.S.-Iraq Higher Coordinating Committee] would be the centerpiece of U.S. and Iraqi efforts to build their relationship, notably in security issues such as training, intelligence and counter-terrorism.
6. "We kept our promise to withdraw from Iraq's cities in 2009. We kept our promise to end our combat mission in the summer of 2010," said the U.S. vice president. "And now, we are keeping our promise we made back in 2008 to remove our troops from Iraq by the end of this year, and they will be removed".
7. "Drawing down our forces is not only in the best interest of Iraq, but it's in the best interest of the United States of America as well, and the best interest of the relationship." [said the U.S. vice president].

2. Dawn or dusk: A new chapter in Iraq (Editorial) by Azad Amin (December 17, 2011)

1. The flag of American military forces in Iraq was lowered in Baghdad during an official ceremony, bringing nearly nine years of U.S. military operations in Iraq to a formal end. At its peak, U.S. troops numbered 170,000; now, only 4,000 remain for another two weeks. With the U.S. troop withdrawal, a new chapter begins in Iraq.
2. Despite the celebratory tons of U.S. and Iraqi officials, the future of Iraq without U.S. troops is very uncertain and prone to sectarian and ethnic conflict with regional interference in Iraqi political affairs.
3. U.S. Defense Secretary Leon Panetta told troops the mission was worth the cost in blood and dollars: "After a lot of blood spilled by Iraqis and

Americans, the mission of an Iraq that could govern and secure itself has become real."

4. In a speech in North Carolina to troops just returning from Iraq, U.S. President Barack Obama said that they had helped to build "a sovereign, stable and self-reliant Iraq, with a representative government that was elected by its people."
5. Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister Hussain al-Shahristani said Iraqis were glad that U.S. troops were leaving. "I think we are all happy that the American soldiers are returning home safely to their families, and we are also confident that the Iraqi people and their armed forces and police are in a position now to take care of their own security."
6. The deep-riding conflicts of interest amongst the various components of Iraq have yet to be settled. The major fault lines between Sunnis and Shiites on power issues and between the Kurds and Arabs on territorial as well as sovereignty issues have not been resolved, and the Iraqi Constitution still remains no more than a nicely written piece of paper. Interferences in Iraqi affairs by regional powers are adding extra fuel to the existing internal strife that can blow up at any time. Iraq is still an arena of powers' game table for regional hegemony and regional interests.
7. The only thing that is certain in Iraq is that the future of Iraq is very uncertain.
8. The Arab Spring, which turned fundamental blocks of the Middle East upside down, is coupled with unfolding regional developments on Iraq's borders particularly that of Syria and growing tension between Iran and the U.S. and Israel also have serious potential to upset the already-fragile political system in Iraq.

3. U.S. ends its military presence in Iraq (Article) By Qassim Khidhir (December 17, 2011)

1. Kurds remain publicly silent over the U.S. withdrawal, but they are not happy about it.
2. The U.S. invasion was the best thing ever happened to Iraqi Kurds. Their bloodiest enemy, Saddam Hussein, who murdered Kurds en masse via genocide, was removed from power. Their region was recognized as a federal region in the new Iraq Constitution, and it now has its own Parliament, government and president. The region has developed rapidly since 2003, and vast, giant construction projects are now everywhere. The differences between Kurdistan before 2003 and after 2003 are enormous.
3. "When Saddam Hussein was in power we did not have any hope. We were landlocked from the outside and inside of Iraq," said Farouq Muhammad, 34, an engineer in Erbil, the capital city of Iraqi Kurdistan Region.
4. Muhammad said the invasion of Iraq was really liberation for Kurdish people. But he is worried about the U.S. withdrawal and he fears clashes between Kurds and Arabs over disputed areas.
5. The issue of disputed areas has not been resolved between Baghdad and Erbil. Kurds believe these areas historically belong to Kurdistan and must be under the control of the Kurdish government. Due to sensitivity, a joint force of Kurds, Arabs and Americans was providing security to the areas. The joint force was established because Kurds and Arab forces do not trust each other. There are a small number of U.S. troops that still remain in the disputed areas.

6. Iraqi Foreign Minister Hoshiyar Zebari said the U.S. is only ending its military presence in Iraq, but will remain very active and strong politically in the country.
7. U.S. has the largest embassy in the world in Baghdad. It announced that the current number of its employees is about 15,000, indicating that this number is similar to the number of employees at U.S. embassies in several countries. Beside the embassy, the U.S. has consulates in Basra, Kirkuk and Erbil.
8. Iraq is facing a lot of challenges. Iraq of 2011 may be safer and calmer than that of 2004-2007, but whether this calm equally calms the citizens' nerves remains to be seen.
9. According to varying estimates in the West, the number of civilian casualties in Iraq this year is similar to its counterpart in Afghanistan.
10. While the Iraqi armed forces number 700,000 troops, their missions have been doubled with the American withdrawal and their abilities are still limited.
11. As long as 170,000 U.S. soldiers operated in the country, the Iraqi government was exempt from having to worry about its borders. But now, many fear that without air defense the long borderlines with Iran, Turkey, and Syria could turn Iraq into easy prey for anyone aiming at causing violent skirmishes along those borders.
12. Iraq has ordered billions of dollars' worth of military equipment, including F-16 warplanes, but it will take years for those supplies to arrive, with Iraqis estimating that it would take a full ten years before they're fully assimilated into the military.
13. "They'll face challenges from terrorism; they'll face challenges from those that would want to divide their country. They'll face challenges from just the test of democracy, a new democracy and trying to make it work. But the fact is, we have given them the opportunity to be able to succeed," said U.S. Defense Secretary Leon Panetta, during an unannounced visit to Baghdad on December 15th.
14. Kurdistan Prime Minister Barham Salih said some groups inside Iraq, including the Kurds, requested that the U.S. extend their presence inside Iraq beyond 2011.
15. But the Kurds are required to abide by the agreement between the Baghdad government and the U.S., which set withdrawal at the end of 2011. "Iraq is much better without Saddam Hussein. Toppling Iraq has given Iraqis a chance to build a democratic country," added Salih.

4. U.S. withdrawal: End or beginning of Iraq? (Editorial) by Bashdar Pusho Ismaeel (December 24, 2011)

1. As the last convoy of U.S. troops trickled over the deserts southern Iraqi border, the move was met with contrasting emotions, much like the overall U.S. experience a little shy of nine years.
2. For many in Iraq, the image of seeing their "occupiers" leave became a long-time nationalist dream.
3. Fast forward nine years: 4,500 lost lives and expenditure fast approaching a trillion dollars that has crippled U.S. foreign policy image and dented the U.S. economy, the U.S. was arguably as keen to leave as it was to enter.
4. Many placed direct blame on much of the unfolding crisis over the years in Iraq on America, but as the future will prove the U.S. is not responsible for

every Iraqi misfortune and that perhaps America did well to stave off many obstacles.

5. The downfall of Saddam Hussein and subsequent invasion of Iraq only opened a hornet's nest; the nest was placated many decades before with the artificial creation of Iraq. The lid was simply held firm by the iron grip of Saddam; once opened, the Americans struggled relentlessly to keep grip whilst under immense international spotlight.
6. It is time for the Iraqi political actors to take accountability and responsibility for the current situation in Iraq.
7. Iraq has had a sovereign government for many years, has now held two national elections, implemented a national constitution and has a large security force at its disposal that has been in practical control of the streets long before the U.S. withdrawal.
8. History will prove that America never really got the credit it deserved. It made huge sacrifices whilst Iraqi politicians have constantly failed to deliver. It pulled Iraq from the brink of all-out sectarian war in 2007 with the promise of thousands of more troops as part of the surge strategy, but the Iraqi leaders again failed to keep their promises and their end of the bargain.
9. It is by no means to say that the U.S. adventure in Iraq should be marked as a shining glory. The two Washington administrations, particularly that of George W. Bush, will be the first to admit that Iraq was an Achilles heel and in the case of Bush the hammer blow to the credibility of the his tenure. In hindsight, the U.S. is more than likely to have done things differently and will have a bitter taste in its mouth as some events backfired.
10. However, as the old saying goes, you can take a horse to water but you cannot make it drink. Iraq has had many historical milestones and achievements but has successfully failed to capitalize on any positive motions created. The bottom line is that deep sectarianism, a clear ethnic divide and above all profound historical mistrust and animosity have severely handicapped any chance of national reconciliation and genuine progression in Iraq.
11. As soon as the U.S. forces formally withdrew, fierce debate ensued about the legacy that they left behind. One thing for sure is that the positive picture of the current climate in Iraq that the U.S. was hoping to promote did not take long to shatter.
12. A day later, Iraq become embroiled in a new sectarian and political crisis as an arrest warrant was issued for Iraq's Sunni Vice President, Tariq al-Hashemmi, and a number of other Sunni figures, on terror-related charges. This is in addition to controversy around Deputy Prime Minister Saleh al-Mutlak, whose criticism of Maliki's dictatorial tendencies left him clinging on to his position as Maliki sought a vote of no confidence against him.
13. People have warned about the fragility of the current coalition, but the coalition has been anything but stable and harmonious since its much-delayed inception. Over a year later and key ministries still remain in so-called temporary hands. Iyyad Allawi, the head of al-Iraqiya, has had an ongoing political rift and escalating war of words with Maliki, accusing him of monopolization of power and renegeing on the Erbil agreement. As the current crisis has escalated, an already bewildered al-Iraqiya decided to boycott Parliament.

14. Renewed sectarian bloodshed coupled with a collapse of the current government may place Iraq in a point of no return and without a bailout from the U.S. this time around.
15. It is easy to overlook that Sunni Sahwa councils were a significant factor in the decline of violence, and they still remain a localized Sunni tool rather than a national possession. Without a balanced security apparatus, Iraq will have three different armies guarding each of the major factions of Iraq. The Sunni-Shiite power struggle is also exhibited in the increasing ploy of largely Sunni provinces to manipulate constitutional clauses and seek regional autonomy to place Maliki in a difficult bargaining corner and to safeguard their powerbases. While much of Iraq has been stuck in a rut, Kurdistan has enjoyed unprecedented progression much to the regular dismay than applaud from Baghdad.
16. More than any other group, the Kurds were most disappointed by the U.S. exit that left them feeling anxious at hostile parties around them.
17. Renewed sectarianism and friction in Baghdad will see the Kurds embroiled in a fresh nightmare that will only blight the attraction and involvement of the region. Furthermore, the Kurds have been so busy helping construct successive governments in Baghdad and then helping to paper over the cracks that they have seemingly overlooked that Baghdad has seldom kept their end of the bargain and has gotten away without any real political repercussions.
18. Kurdistan has waited for almost a decade for the return of Kirkuk and disputed territories, and has waited many years for key laws such as a national hydrocarbon law to be adopted. In reality, unless Kurdistan takes matters into its own hands and pushes Baghdad in no uncertain terms, it will wait yet another decade for the return of its lands. As kingmakers, Kurds have taken a tough-line position in negotiations over successive government formations, while Baghdad has dragged their heels in the commitments they have agreed to as part of the initial wooing of Kurdish blocs.
19. Just as the jostling of power between Sunni and Shiites will come to the boil at some point, especially if the proviso of Parliament and politics is seen as an insufficient forum, then the increasing bitter relationship between Erbil and Baghdad will take similar suit if it indefinitely becomes stuck in a detrimental cycle.
20. While much of how the proceedings play out is in the hands of the Iraqi leaders, the difficulties already inherent are only exasperated by the influence of neighboring countries. As the U.S. formally withdraws, the battle for influence in Iraq will only heighten.
21. The Shiite-led government of al-Maliki openly sways toward Tehran and has defended the Allawite and fellow Shiite Syrian regime of Bashar al-Assad, while most of the Arab world has turned increasingly against him. All the while, Sunni neighbors such as Jordan and Saudi Arabia look anxiously at the alliances formed by Baghdad. As the Middle East has evolved greatly as a result of the Arab Spring, Iraq will need to greatly alter relations with its neighbors. At the same time, Kurdistan, which is already under great constraints due to the weary eye of its neighbors, strives for good relations with all sides and must not rely on the sentiments of Baghdad in achieving its nationalist ambitions.

5. Iraq's Zebari warns of foreign meddling amid crisis (Article) (Hoshiyar Zebari speaks to Reuters) (December 24, 2011)

1. Iraq's foreign minister said on Wednesday Iraq would invite more regional meddling in the country's affairs if its leaders failed to solve quickly a political crisis between the Shi'ite-led government and Sunni rivals. "This aggravation is not in anybody's interests," Hoshiyar Zebari, a Kurd, told Reuters in an interview. "As long as your internal front is fragmented and not united ... others who want to interfere will be encouraged. That's why it is very important to deal with this crisis as soon as possible," he said.
2. Prime Minister Nuri al-Maliki's Shi'ite-led government has sought the arrest of Sunni Vice President Tareq al-Hasheemi, accusing him of running a death squad, and demanded that parliament fire another rival, his Sunni deputy Saleh al-Mutlaq, after he compared Maliki to Saddam Hussein.
3. The row, which erupted days after the last U.S. troops withdrew, could unravel Iraq's fragile power-sharing deal among Shi'ite, Sunni and Kurdish blocs.
4. "This crisis came at the wrong time for Iraq. It came with the withdrawal of the last American troops," Zebari said. "The biggest challenge for Iraq after the U.S. forces' withdrawal is a political one, after that it is security."
5. Neighboring countries must not be allowed to think they can fill the vacuum after the U.S. withdrawal to interfere in Iraq's affairs, he said. "We will not be a pawn in others' games."

6. Iraq on the edge of possible sectarian violence (Article) by Rawaz Koyee (December 24, 2011)

Kurds monitor Baghdad tensions closely

1. The fragile Iraqi power-sharing government is under threat, as Sunni-Shiite sectarian squabbles start to erupt once again.
2. Only a day after the U.S. troops' departure from Iraq, almost nine years after the fall of Saddam Hussein, Shiites and Sunnis come face to face again, reviving fears of renewed sectarian violence.
3. When the last U.S. convoy crossed into Kuwait, U.S. President Barack Obama said it was leaving a stable, self-reliant and democratic Iraq behind. Only a few days later, the country slipped back into a sectarian quarrel after the Shiite-dominated government issued an arrest warrant for prominent Sunni leader and Vice President Tariq al-Hashemi.
4. The arrest warrant was issued for Hashemi on Dec. 19, charging him with running a hit squad involved in the assassinations of government and security officials. During a press conference in Erbil on Dec. 20, Hashemi described the charges that he was behind a plot to kill government officials as "fabricated and accused Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki of bringing the charges against him for political reasons. "Maliki is behind the whole issue, and all the efforts that were made to reach national reconciliation are now gone," Hashemi told reporters.
5. Before the warrant was issued, Hashemi visited Kurdistan to discuss the Iraqi post-U.S. issues with Kurdistan Region leaders, where he has managed to avoid arrest. The Iraqi prime minister has called on the Kurdish authorities to hand over Hashemi to the Iraqi authorities to face trial, but the Kurdistan Region refuses to turn him in. In a statement to Asharq Alawsat newspaper, head of Kurdistan Region presidency, Fuad Hussein, said Hashemi was still considered a suspect rather than a convicted criminal, and the issue of

handing him over to Baghdad authorities was not for him to address. “Hashemi visited the Kurdistan Region as Iraqi vice president to meet [Kurdistan’s President] Massoud Barzani. He is our guest and he is permitted to stay here as long as he intends to,” he added.

6. The Sunni legislators suspended their attendance at parliamentary sessions and the Shiite’s power-sharing government. In reaction, Maliki threatened to take away nine cabinet seats held by Sunni bloc ministers and replace them with ministers from his own coalition, which further escalated the crisis. Iraqi Foreign Minister Hoshyar Zebari said leaders need to bring a quick resolution to the disputes, warning that the crisis might encourage the regional powers to intervene in Iraq’s internal affairs. “As long as your internal front is fragmented and not united, others who want to intervene will be encouraged, that is why it’s very important to deal with this crisis as soon as possible,” Zebbari said in an interview with Reuters.
7. For the Kurds in Iraqi Kurdistan Region, the potential squabble between Shiites and Sunnis after the U.S. combat forces pulled out from Iraq was anticipated. The Kurdish leaders have warned of possible sectarian conflict in the absence of U.S. troops in the country.
8. Kurdistan Member of Parliament Abdul-Salam Barwary told The Kurdish Globe that escalation of the disputes between Shiites and Sunnis following U.S. troop withdrawal from the country was predicted. “We saw that coming. In the past two days, incidents were anticipated indeed, that is what is expected from the Iraqi leaders’ comprehension of politics.”
9. As a part of Iraq and a partner in the entire Iraqi political process with the other Arab blocs, Kurdish leaders are keeping a close eye on the Shiite-Sunni tensions. “We monitor the situations very closely because we believe any positive or negative development in Baghdad will have implications for the Kurdistan Region as well,” Hussein told the media. After the fall of Hussein in 2003, at the time when Iraq was witnessing violent conflict between Shiites and Sunnis, Kurdish leaders played a mediating role between both sides, and played a key role in keeping Iraq united. Many Kurds were not pleased with this, preferring Kurdish leaders concentrate on Kurdish national rights rather than worrying about Iraq’s unity.
10. “We Kurds kept Iraqi unity in 2003 when the country was devastated. What have we gained in return? Nothing. When the Arab leaders regained their strength, they turned their backs on our demands,” Harmman Ashty a student from Salahaddin University told the Globe. Ashty suggests the Kurdish policy-makers stay out of Shiites-Sunni conflict and try to come up with a road map to figure out how to resolve its disputed issues with Baghdad.
11. The Iraqi Constitution’s Article 140, oil revenue, Peshmarga forces, and the budget and hydrocarbon laws are they key pending issues between Kurdistan Regional Government and Iraqi federal authorities and have remained unsolved for the past five years. Maliki did not show much faith in the Kurdish demands, after the Kurds lent their support to him to head the current Iraqi government. This raises the question of whether the Kurds should exploit the Sunni-Shiites conflict to push their quest forward or review its previous stances and choose another side.
12. “The Kurds should act neutrally, by not putting all their eggs in the basket of one specific political bloc. The Kurdish leaders should exploit this chance in a way that is in the favor of their goals,” Firsat Sofy, a Kurdish political

analyst, told the Globe. When it comes to mediating Shiite-Sunni tensions or not, public opinion seems to urge political leaders not to jump in. Politicians and analysts take another view. Kurdish PM Barwary believes the Kurds should make their efforts toward stabilizing the political process in Iraq, as it is in the favor of the Kurdistan Region. He says this would preserve the Region's prosperity. "Those who would think the Shiite-Sunni conflict could serve the Kurds' interests have a short view, because as long as Kurdistan Region is a part of Iraq, stability favors the Kurds as well," he said.

