

TV Channels Ideology: A Critical Discoursal Analysis of News Subtitles of Some Iraqi TV Satellite Channels

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Abstract

The study analyzes Iraqi TV satellite channels' news subtitles using critical discourse analysis to understand their representation of the socio-political reality of Iraq. It examines the underlying ideologies, language, discourse strategies, and social and cultural contexts. The research hypothesizes that Iraqi TV channels use similar discoursal techniques in presenting subtitles, reflecting their ideological position. The results showed that the ideological position of the TV channels is reflected in the structure and content of the subtitles. Consequently, the study contributes to understanding the media's role in shaping public opinion and emphasizes the need for critical analysis of media messages in Iraq.

Keywords: CDA, Ideology, Media Discourse, News Subtitles, TV Satellite Channels

1 Introduction

The media are one of the most influential and powerful forces in today's society. They impact public attitudes and opinions on national and worldwide events by forming and/or changing these attitudes and opinions. In addition to government and education, Bell (1991) notes that the media is one of the primary institutions in society that shapes language. Media serve as a window through which we see the world, according to Malkawi (2001: 22). As a result, media might represent events from a specific perspective (Hall 1982 cited in Pasha 2011: 7).

Poole (2002: 23) contends that while media outlets replicate the dominant ideas of society, they also create their norms and values through the use of symbolic behavior. As a result, the way the media portrays a given occurrence is not a replica of reality but rather one that has been altered. The goal is to give the viewer a framework through which to view current world events. Additionally, Fowler (1991: 11–12) concurs that the news media is not entirely objective. Therefore, it is customary in modern society to conceal the influence of media discourse from the audience. As a result, Fairclough (2001: 41, 128), Khodadady and Khosravany (2014: 67), and Wei (2017: 10) think that the media may be successful in convincing the public to support their agendas. Similar to this, Scollon (1998) contends that news articles are more about narrating events than they are about reporting occurrences. Knight and Dean (1982) and Herman and Chomsky (2002) concur with the previous assertion, stating that media institutions frequently support, mirror, and/or soften the sentiments of the strong elites who can shape the linguistic structure and ultimately society. As a result, their ideology will be presented as a sensible and logical viewpoint.

According to earlier research, the standards Iraqi TV channels use to present the news may be tied to the objectives and philosophies of the media institutions (elites). As a result, there may be more general interest in some cases rather than others, and there may also be specific language and presentational techniques used for these cases. As a result, the news will be presented in a biased manner and by the objectives and ideologies that the media organization has chosen.

This study tries to determine the ideologies represented in the news subtitles of a few selected Iraqi TV channels and the accompanying discourse techniques used. Al Sumaria, Al Sharqiya, and Al-Forat are a few of the well-known Iraqi TV satellite channels that will be the subject of the study's investigation of news subtitles. The study will examine how various TV news channels use language and discursive techniques to develop and reproduce their ideological perspectives, as well as how these ideologies are constructed through linguistic forms and structures, by using critical discourse analysis (CDA). The goal of the study is to improve our comprehension of the ideological underpinnings of media discourse and its complexity, particularly in the setting of a precarious political and social situation like Iraq. The study has the potential to make a substantial contribution to the fields of sociolinguistics, media studies, and cultural studies by offering a useful understanding of how TV channels employ language and discourse to impact political narratives and form public opinion.

2 Review of the Literature

a) Media Discourse

Media discourse refers to the language and communication used in various forms of media, such as newspapers, TV news programs, and social media. It encompasses the language style, and narratives used by media organizations to present news, opinions, and various forms of content to the public. One of the fundamental features of media discourse is that it is created by journalists or media professionals who have the responsibility of presenting events, issues, and people to the larger public. As such, media discourse is constructed to shape public opinion and represent different perspectives on a particular issue. Hence, media analysis helps to understand how media institutions construct and shape public opinion. A study by Van Dijk (2019) analyzed the way media discourse was used in the coverage of the Syrian war. The study found that media discourse was not only influenced by politicians and military structures but also by the media industry itself. The study concluded that the media industry should take an active role in promoting peace and creating a more effective communication process to mitigate the potential negative consequences of coverage of a war zone.

Another significant aspect of media discourse is the use of language. In many cases, media discourse uses language that polarizes opinions and divides people into "us" versus "them". This technique is called framing (Entman 2004). It refers to the presentation and interpretation of information within a particular perspective or context. Framing can shape the audience's understanding of an issue by emphasizing certain aspects, downplaying others, or presenting information in a specific light. As such, the way a story is framed can influence how individuals perceive it and, as a result, how they address it. For example, the framing of a news story about a political event can influence how the audience perceives the actions and motives of the individuals involved. This use of framing can have significant implications for political communication and, more generally, public discourse. A study by Gamson and Modigliani (1989) investigated the framing of protest in the mainstream media and found that the way a protest was framed could have a significant impact on how it was perceived. Positive framing led to a more favorable perception of the protest, while negative framing led to a more unfavorable perception. The authors also found that the most effective way to positively frame a protest was by providing a specific, concrete example rather than vague or abstract language.

An aspect of media discourse is agenda-setting, which refers to the power of the media to determine which issues and topics receive attention and prominence in public discourse.

Media organizations often make editorial decisions about what stories to cover, how to prioritize them, and what perspectives to include or exclude. These decisions can shape public perceptions and influence the public's understanding of what is important or newsworthy. Additionally, media discourse can involve the use of persuasive techniques, such as emotional appeals, rhetorical devices, and language choices, to shape public opinion. Media organizations may employ these techniques to influence public attitudes, mobilize support for specific causes, or advocate for particular policy positions. It is important to note that media discourse is not value-neutral. Media organizations have their own editorial biases, political affiliations, and commercial interests that can shape the way information is presented. Furthermore, media discourse can be influenced by various factors, including government regulations, market pressures, audience demands, and technological advancements.

Media discourse, therefore, is a crucial aspect of modern societies, influencing how people perceive and understand events. Its role in shaping public opinion means that it plays a critical role in shaping our politics, social behaviors, and even individual beliefs. Overall, media discourse is not only a powerful tool but also a complex phenomenon that requires a deep understanding to be fully grasped. By being aware of the techniques, biases, and agendas present in media discourse, individuals can engage with media content more critically, question dominant narratives, and seek multiple perspectives to form a more comprehensive understanding of the issues at hand.

b) Previous Studies

This subsection includes a chronological survey of previous works. It includes works analyzing the media representation of world issues in general and the conflict in Iraq in particular. Van Dijk (1995b) discussed the media in terms of social, and cultural forces and economic global context. He claimed that such ideologies as 'policies', 'markets', 'politics', 'marginalization', and 'exploitation' need to be included within the production and reproduction of public text and talk based on the ideological framework. He examined the Western media to reflect the role of media such as television and much of the press in growing nationalism in Serbia. He concluded that Western media are partial. To investigate the effects of the media on the public, Van Dijk (1995c) conducted another study on the news media, especially the press. He showed that power is not limited to the effect of media on the audience but it goes behind the border of the social framework of the cultural, political, and economic power structure of the society. He stated that media power is persuasive; it controls to some extent the minds of readers or viewers, but not directly their actions (ibid: 10). Finally, he claimed that the power of the press is consistent with the interests of most readers.

A few studies have examined the use of manipulation within media to achieve specific objectives. Rawlinson (2003) discussed the manifestation of politicized inter-ethnic competitions and conflicts in 'Côte d'Ivoire' throughout the civil war. He aimed to explain the reasons behind the manifestation of ethnic dimension in African society. The findings revealed that the use of ethnic ties played an important role in consolidating the relationship between ethnic group and their 'tribal' chiefs who are considered the political, social, and economic elites. In another study, Kienpointner (2005: 213) described and criticized the use of racist propaganda within "right-wing populism". He focused on the use of pragmatic arguments and illustrative examples and how these arguments are formulated through the use of metaphors and exaggerations. The study showed that the Nazi Press Instructions and the 'Thursday-Argus' in the 'German Democratic Republic' GDR share some distinguished similarities.

In her research, Dirks (2006) focused on how the British and German quality press dealt with the warfare interests of the US administration in Iraq. The papers' presentation practices about the existence of Weapons of Mass Destruction and the alleged terrorist connection of al Qaeda with Saddam Hussein were investigated. The researcher followed a cultural heuristic of research including a social studies approach and the application of pragmalinguistic methods (including the analysis of frames, conceptual metaphors, speech acts, schemata of communication, etc.) from a genre-based perspective. Depending on the framework, it would be possible to determine press genres and their cultural impact as well as the borderlines of discourse cultures about the de-/construction of war. The findings showed empirical evidence for the shaping of policy lines in the papers' front page articles from a comparative intra-European perspective.

Price et al. (2007) investigated the development of the media system in Iraq. They focused on the structure of media or media influences domestically in Iraq to understand the influence of the successor to Saddam's state television, the relationship between external state-sponsored influences, and what consequence party patronage has had on media institutions there. Finally, for them, it is important to understand the relationship between these media institutions and the actuality of continuing conflict and search for political solutions within Iraq. For his part, Abdulla (2015) points out that media have the power to formulate our attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors. Accordingly, he conducted a study to investigate the role of the US Press in provoking Sectarian violence among Shiites and Sunnis in Iraq through using manipulative devices. Based on critical discourse analysis, four articles were collected from four different online American Newspapers. The results affirmed the role of the US Press in provoking sectarianism among Iraqis. Some manipulative strategies like propaganda strategy, commission, and omission strategies showed how journalists can appeal readers' emotions.

Besides, Al-Tahmazi (2017) examined micro-argumentative patterns in 12 political debates to account for the discursive construction of victimhood and disenfranchisements used to legitimize ethno-sectarian conflicts for power in Iraqi media interactions across traditional and new media. He found that the interlocutors employed a limited number of argumentative patterns to reflect their (dis)agreement and legitimize their viewpoints; these argumentative patterns were either action-oriented or actor-oriented. Action-oriented (de)legitimizing patterns tended to be short-ranged in nature, focusing on the efficiency of the actions (de)legitimized. Alternatively, actor-oriented argumentative patterns were used to legitimize the long-rooted ideological biases about self and others and, therefore, seemed to have a panoramic focus on the ethno-sectarian conflicts for power in the country.

In writing his doctoral dissertation, and through adopting a critical discourse analysis approach, Kalsi (2017) examined US national newspapers' representations of discursive construction of two of the endings of war in Iraq, one by President Bush in 2003 who announced an end to major combat in Iraq, and another by President Obama in 2011 who reaffirmed that US military personnel would be leaving Iraq and remarking on the Iraqi government's readiness for governing. The study involved a three-part analysis which consisted of a contextual analysis, a textual analysis, and a historical-diachronic analysis identifying the dominant discourses and comparing and contrasting these in the two endings. The findings showed that media offer a narrow range of discursive possibilities that delimit the parameters of discourse on the Iraq War. However, there is also some variation within these parameters which gives the impression of information plurality.

Furthermore, Ali (2018) examined the discourses of US newspapers during the Iraq-Iran war (1980-1988) and the 2003 US-led invasion of Iraq to see how the themes: i.e., Saddam,

Iraqi people, Shiites, Halabja/ the use of chemical weapons are discursively represented in these two wars. The research also examined whether there is a shift in the US press stance in its reporting by comparing the treatment of the themes during the two wars in question. The study employed corpus linguistics tools: frequency, collocates, and concordances, in combination with the Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) to CDA. The investigation revealed that during the Iraq-Iran war, the US press covered the conflicting official statements of all countries involved in the war, while there was an over-reliance on the opinions and statements of US officials during the US-led invasion, with Saddam's voice being muted. In the same vein, although Saddam was portrayed negatively in the Iraq-Iran war, he was more sharply vilified, literalized demonized, and constructed as a threat that needs to be faced and eliminated. Concerning the Iraqis/Shiites, there was also a shift in reporting in the two wars. In the 2003 US-led invasion, they appeared as victims, a portrayal that fits in within the propaganda that the war had a humanitarian motive. However, the Iraqis/Shiites were represented oppositely during the Iraq-Iran war. Similarly, whereas the US press coverage of Halabja and chemical weapons (in 1988) consisted mainly of reports of the conflicting opinions and statements of Iraqi, Iranian, and US officials during the Iran-Iraq war, this was different during the 2003 US-led invasion, when the history of the Halabja gassing and the use of chemical weapons by Iraq was brought back to the surface to serve the aims of demonizing and criminalizing Saddam in particular and Iraq in general. The study also highlighted the mechanisms through which the US press discourses incorporate the official state voices in the processes of legitimizing and persuading the public of the necessity for a war.

Moreover, Al-Saaid and Matrood (2018) believe that media discourse plays a significant role in the representation of Iraqi refugees. Accordingly, their paper aimed to identify the strategies and categories that are used to represent Iraqi refugees in selected media news reports along with the ideological viewpoints in terms of the dichotomy of in-group and out-group. The researchers analyzed a news report taken from the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) in 2012 from the perspective of critical discourse analysis. They adopted Van Leeuwen's (2008) sociological categories of actor representation and Van Dijk's (1998) ideological square. The researchers selected some categories from Van Leeuwen's (2008) approach such as generalization/specification, assimilation, individualization, aggregation, dissociation, activation/passivation, and nomination. Ideology was also analyzed in terms of in-group and out-group. The study came up with the fact that generic references represent most of the social actors in active roles in describing the main events related to the representation of the social actors. Ideologically the Dutch government, Hague court, Dutch policemen, and the Iraqi government were negatively represented, and this showed the neutrality of BBC news reports in the representation of Iraqi refugees.

In his study, Albadri (2019) argues that media, whether broadcast, print or social, is an important element in evaluating the overall capacity of any country or state. For him, Al Jazeera played a vital role in the positive representation of ISIS and the negative representation of Iraqi forces. Using critical discourse analysis, he found out that Al Jazeera ideologically concealed the negative acts of ISIS, while at the same time, highlighting the negative acts of Iraqi forces. For his part, Al-Saedi (2020) investigated the Iraq – ISIS conflict in newspaper headlines. 48 headlines were collected: twenty-four headlines from the "Alsabab" Newspaper (Iraqi), and twenty-four headlines from "Al-Quds Al-Arabi" Newspaper (international). Using the Ideological Square proposed by Van Dijk (1998, 2006), the findings revealed that the headlines of these two newspapers showed different underlying ideologies in dealing with the Iraq – ISIS conflict. Finally, Nasih and Abboud (2020) researched two Iraqi political speeches (Prime

Minister Ayad Allawi and President Barham Salih). Their study focused on exploring different ideologies using Van Dijk's Socio-Cognitive Model (2005). The aim was to find out how the politicians tried to justify their ideas and convince their audience. The study hypothesized that political discourse can reflect and manipulate the community. The research showed how Iraqi politicians differ in conveying their ideologies. That is, Allawi made use of a larger number of discursive devices while Salih's usage was less frequent.

3 Methodology

The research design for this study will be a qualitative and quantitative critical discourse analysis. A corpus of 346 news subtitles taken on the same date from 14 Iraqi TV satellite channels will be analyzed for their ideologically loaded language and discourse. The research is dedicated to focusing on a textual corpus of just the news subtitles that revolves around presenting the conflict in Iraq, specifically the security situation. The representation of such a situation by the channels chosen might, as stated earlier, reflect a sort of ideological theme that would contribute to the construction of the positive or negative image of the situation in Iraq. In addition, apart from personal interest, the study has concentrated on TV news subtitles since TV has a vast public and may, therefore, have a more central role in public information processing.

The observed channels are independent though one of them is official. They are NRT Arabic, Al-Sharqiya News, Al-Rafidein, Al-Falloja, Al-Taghyeer, Al-Mosuliya, Al-Rasheed, Al-Najaf, Billadi, Al-Furat, Al-Ghadeer, Al-Ahd 2, Asia and Al-Iraqia News (an official channel). The channels have a twenty-four-hour news service. They have a large number of reporters in many Arab and non-Arab countries who cover stories for Iraqi audiences as well as Arabic-speaking audiences. They show reports on politics, business, sports, finance, science, and lifestyle and produce documentaries, talk-show programs, and social and educational programs. It should be mentioned that these specific channels have been chosen since they started (the product of 2003 onward) and also for their extraordinary popularity among Iraqis and the integral role they play in framing the world around Iraqi people. Also, the researcher is from the same country as these channels. This, then, allows him to observe the channels on equal grounds. Furthermore, the channels have different orientations, so there might be a biased view of the coverage of the same subtitle they broadcast and there might be two distinct ideologies as a result.

Certain analytical procedures are applied for the analysis of the data. Hence, the analysis will be done in several stages, including:

1. Collecting and transcribing news subtitles from the channels chosen which reflect the security situation and focus on the underlying ideological positions represented in the subtitles, including issues such as power relations, domination, and resistance.
2. Analyzing the subtitles based on the concepts and ideas addressed through focusing on:
 - a. Linguistic Description: This involves defining the linguistic features and structures of the news subtitles.
 - b. Discourse Analysis: This involves identifying the different discourses and ideological positions represented in the news subtitles.
 - c. Interpretation and Evaluation: This involves interpreting the underlying meanings and values conveyed in the news subtitles and evaluating their implications.

3. Providing numeric values in the form of frequency counts to enable some inferences to be drawn about the findings.

To carry out the study, the researcher employs Van Dijk's (1998) 3D model (the Socio-cognitive Approach to Discourse Analysis) which highlights the cognitive, social, and ideological dimensions of discourse. It is of value to shed light on this framework herein: the Socio-cognitive Approach to Discourse Analysis examines the interaction between cognitive structures and social structures in the process of discourse production, interpretation, and comprehension. It is a comprehensive framework that combines insights from cognitive psychology, linguistics, and social sciences to analyze how language and discourse are shaped by and shape social cognition, social structures, and ideologies. It aims to reveal how discourse reflects and perpetuates social hierarchies, power relations, and ideological beliefs. Van Dijk believes that discourse is not just a linguistic phenomenon, but also a social practice that shapes and is shaped by social dynamics.

Throughout Van Dijk's work, he emphasizes the multidimensional nature of discourse and its interconnectedness with cognitive, social, and ideological aspects. Hence, Van Dijk's multidimensional approach to discourse analysis allows researchers to explore the complex interplay between cognitive processes, social structures, and ideological representations in communication. It provides a comprehensive framework for understanding how discourse shapes and is shaped by individuals and societies.

a) Cognitive Dimension:

Van Dijk's approach acknowledges the role of cognitive structures in processing and interpreting discourse. It explores how individuals use their cognitive frameworks, including schemas, scripts, mental models, and knowledge structures to make sense of discourse and shape the comprehension of texts and how discourse can activate, modify, or reinforce existing cognitive structures. Cognitive processes such as inference, presupposition, and implicature are crucial in understanding how meaning is derived from linguistic expressions.

The approach also highlights the mutual influence between social cognition and discourse. Discourse contributes to the construction of social identity, including aspects such as gender, ethnicity, and social roles. In turn, individuals' social identities shape their interpretation and production of discourse. The approach investigates how discourse can reinforce or challenge existing social categories and stereotypes. This dimension is part of the macrostructure (sociocognitive) level of discourse.

The macrostructure refers to the overall structure and organization of the discourse, including its goals and underlying social representations. The discursive dimension examines how information is organized and contributes to the overall meaning of the discourse.

b) Social Dimension:

The social dimension in Van Dijk's approach focuses on the role of social context. This includes not only the immediate linguistic and situational context but also broader sociopolitical and historical contexts, power relations, and social structures in shaping discourse. The Socio-cognitive Approach acknowledges that discourse does not exist in isolation but is situated within social structures and power relations. He highlights the role of social structures, such as race, gender, class, and institutional settings, in shaping the production and interpretation of discourse. This dimension explores how discourse reflects and reinforces social hierarchies, identities, norms, ideologies, and group memberships and how different social groups and roles are positioned, marginalized, or excluded in language which can influence their use of language; discourse is analyzed as a form of social action.

c) Ideological Dimension:

Van Dijk's approach also delves into the ideological dimension of discourse. He emphasizes how language contributes to the construction and dissemination of dominant ideologies and belief systems or to challenge and resist them. Discourse can reflect dominant ideologies, reinforce cultural norms, and influence public opinion. Ideologies are systems of beliefs, values, and representations that are often embedded in language use. So, Van Dijk emphasizes that discourse is a site of struggle for power and control, and language can be used to legitimize or challenge existing ideologies. This dimension explores how ideologies are embedded in discourse through various linguistic strategies, including framing, presuppositions, lexical choices, and persuasive techniques. These strategies are part of the microstructure (Linguistic) Level of discourse. The microstructure focuses on the linguistic elements used to convey the macrostructure's representations. Critical analysis of discourse can uncover hidden agendas, bias, and manipulation in communication. The last two dimensions are related to the superstructure (social-cultural) level of discourse. The superstructure relates to the social and cultural ideologies and values that shape the discourse.

4 Analysis

Although subtitles are almost short in length, they are signals to make effective guesses about the most important information in the text; they give the viewer an idea or a summary of what the story is about in a way that attracts the viewers whose orientation and perspectives must be taken into consideration. What follows is a panoramic discursial analysis of news subtitles:

4.1 Lexical Choice

The lexical choice is an eminent aspect of news subtitles in which hidden attitudes, opinions, or ideologies are realized, for instance, the use of "terrorists" instead of using "freedom fighters". In support, Van Dijk (1995) contends that lexicalization, or word choice is a major dimension of ideologically controlled discourse meaning. Therefore, a word may be chosen to ultimately convey negative or positive implications about in-group or out-group members.

4.1.1 Use of Adjectives

Adjectives are used to enforce news impact. They are powerful tools used to portray the two poles of the ideological square. They have, in our study, positive and negative senses. The positive-sense adjectives reflect the positive security situation, the new Iraq, formal administrative orders, nationality, descriptive issues, and parliamentary elections.

Let us consider the following:

1) /ʔalquwwæ:t ilʔamniyya lan tatawaqqaf ʔatta istiʔiadat d3ami: ʔ ilʔaraʔi min seiʔarat daʔiʃ/ (NRT Arabic channel)

(Security forces will not stop till the restoration of the whole land from ISIS)

The previous subtitle is presented within a specific context, identified as the "NRT Arabic channel". The adjective "Al-Amniya" (security) is used in combination with "forces" (Microstructure). This is meant to reflect the presence of security forces that can save the country and they help convey the main subject matter of the news that saving the country is permanent. The lexical choice serves to reinforce the commitment and determination of the security forces. Cognitively (Macrostructure), the channel aims at presenting a clear distinction between "we" (the security forces and their allies) and "they" (the enemy who poses a threat to

the country) depicting “we” as powerful and triumphant in the context of saving the country while positioning “they” as powerless and defeated.

The superstructure of the media organization may influence the way information is framed and presented to the audience. The use of language and representation in this extract may align with the channel's broader agenda, which could be influenced by nationalistic sentiments, patriotism, or a desire to enhance the public's trust in security forces. By emphasizing the role of security troops and their determination to restore the whole lands, the extract implies a sense of national security and protection and an effort to regain control over certain territories. The mention of "saving the country" indicates the importance of preserving the nation's integrity. This portrayal may contribute to fostering a sense of unity and collective identity among the audience. Overall, the extract highlights the cognitive representation of power dynamics, the societal importance of national security, and the discursive strategies employed to portray the security troops as powerful and committed to protecting the country.

Furthermore, the negative-sense adjectives reflect the refusal of a certain resolution, of a certain action, or a threat of a certain incident to appear, the image of bad others, and intolerance of the Iraqi critical situation. This is clearly shown in the following excerpt:

2) / qaræ:r ?iqæ:lati: leisa qæ:nu:nijjan/ (NRT Arabic channel)

(The resolution of my sacking is illegal)

The image created by the previous subtitle is used to assert the speaker's claim that the resolution to dismiss him is unlawful. The subtitle expresses a personal opinion or statement about the legality of the speaker's dismissal. By using the adjective "illegal," the speaker portrays the parliament's actions as unjust and lacking legitimacy. This choice of the adjective “illegal” contributes to creating a negative perception of the parliament and its members. The macrostructure of this extract revolves around the representation of the speaker's disagreement or dissatisfaction with the parliament's actions. The goal appears to be the denial of the parliament's legitimacy by describing their actions as "illegal" and positioning the parliamentarians as an "illegal" and "illegitimate" group and the portrayal of the speaker as a victim of an unjust resolution. The representation is aimed at constructing a negative image of the parliament and its members. Superstructural, the use of language and representation in this extract may align with the channel's broader agenda, which could be influenced by political affiliations, opposition to the parliament, or a desire to shape public opinion against certain political figures or institutions.

4.1.2 Labelling (Referring)

The analysis of labeling examines also what lexical choices are used to refer to the news events and the effect of these choices in terms of the theme of inclusion or exclusion. So, calling someone 'loyal' and another 'betrayer' would necessarily indicate that the first is included, i.e., with us and the second is excluded. An example of labelling is reflected in referring to the "mutanaz'a a'layha" (disputed) areas, as "mukhtalata" (mixed). These areas are shared by various Iraqi ethnic groups:

1) / ?almufawadija il?ulja lihuquq il?insæ:n tujaddid tahi:raha min attas?i:d fi: qadijjat il?istiftæ:? wan?ikæ:sihi ?ala ?amn ilmanæ:tiq ilmuxtalaṭa/ (Al-Iraqiya News channel)

(The High Commission for Human Rights renews its warning against escalation in the referendum issue and its effect on the security of the mixed areas)

Microstructurally, this extract highlights the focus on the security aspect of these areas. The use of the term "mixed" ("mukhtalata") as a label for the disputed areas suggests an

inclusive approach. By using this label, the channel aims to present these areas positively as shared and unified, emphasizing harmony and coexistence among different ethnic groups living in these areas, rather than emphasizing the conflicts or disputes. This is because the analysis of all other labels given to these areas by other channels has shown that they are represented in an exclusionary strategy (disputed areas). The extract suggests that the Al-Iraqiya News channel's agenda might be to adopt an inclusive strategy by labeling these areas as "mixed" and emphasizing their positive aspects by representing them as peaceful and cohesive.

The macrostructure of this extract revolves around the labeling and representation of certain areas in Iraq referred to as "mutanz'a a'layha" (disputed) areas by using the label "mukhtalata" (mixed). It focuses on the use of labels and how they shape the understanding and perception of these areas. The goal seems to be to depict these areas positively and inclusively, emphasizing unity and harmony among various Iraqi ethnic groups residing there, challenging the notion of them being violent or disputed. Superstructurally, the channel's agenda seems to align with portraying the disputed areas in a positive light, emphasizing harmony and inclusivity, and challenging the dominant narrative of violence or dispute in these areas. In this case, the channel plays a significant role in shaping the representation of these areas despite being home to various ethnic groups.

4.1.3 Pronouns

Pronouns, according to Silverstein (1995), have a central role in establishing the larger discursive structures that create and transform relationships. Thus, the analysis of pronouns and other types of deictics provides essential cues about the interactional significance of an utterance. By manipulating pronouns, speakers/writers mean more than the referring function of the pronouns; they index some social and cultural codes in such use. The speaker, for example, by using the first-person pronoun, puts him-/herself in a particular social hierarchy that indexes social distance/intimacy, formality/informality, respect/contempt, gender, power, etc., and against which other positions in the hierarchy struggle.

The following example reflects how an official person uses the inclusive first-person pronoun indexically referring to his troops to express a threat for or warning others (though sometimes there may appear the use of non-inclusive first-person pronouns):

1) /quwwæ:tuna satuħæ:fid ʔala lmanæ:tiq ilkurdustanijja xæ:ridg ilʔiqli:m bikæ:ffat ʔimkanijjatiha/ (Al-Sharqiya News channel)

(Our troops will protect the Kurdistan areas outside the region with their full potential)

The above-mentioned extract employs inclusive first-person pronouns, specifically "our" and "we," to refer to the official person's troops, implying that they are part of a collective "we" that includes the speaker and the audience. The use of these pronouns creates a sense of unity, identification with the troops, and authority, and portrays them as a powerful and dominant force, emphasizing the role of the troops in protecting the mentioned areas. In the subtitle, the information is presented as a statement of the troops' mission or duty or even commitment to safeguard certain areas. It suggests that the focus of the news report might be on the military or security operations carried out by the mentioned troops in the specified regions.

The macrostructure of this extract revolves around the representation of an official person expressing a threat or warning to others, using inclusive first-person pronouns to refer to their troops. The goal appears to be to establish a clear boundary between "us" (the official person and their troops) and "them" (the enemy or opposition). This representation aims to depict "us" as good, dominating, and powerful, while positioning "them" as bad, powerless and

dominated. The extract suggests that the channel's agenda might be to emphasize the strength and dominance of the troops while portraying the enemy as weak and helpless. "Al-Sharqiya News channel" serves as the superstructure, influencing the way information is presented and framed to the audience. The use of inclusive first-person pronouns in the previous extract, combined with the channel's agenda, may reinforce the perception of the official person and their troops as the elite, dominating, and powerful group while portraying the opposition or enemy as powerless and helpless. In this case, "Al-Sharqiya News channel" plays a role in shaping the representation of the troops and the enemy reinforcing a dichotomy between "us" and "them," creating a clear distinction between the powerful and the powerless. This strategy serves to strengthen the sense of identity and unity with the troops and fosters a positive representation of their actions in protecting the areas.

4.2 Syntactic Structure

There are a range of choices that TV producers make at this level which can evoke different responses within the viewers:

4.2.1 Passive Voice and Nominalization

These strategies delete or mystify agents from the subject position. They highlight certain linguistic items highlighted and more prominent than the rest of the text for the aim of expressing an underlying ideological theme. As a result, they dissimulate the negative actions of elite or powerful groups and the action is perceived as a fact. Van Dijk (1985: 73) believes that news bias can be expressed in the use of active or passive constructions. For his part, Fairclough (2001: 26) argues that the function of nominalization lies in that no specification of who or what is changing, a backgrounding of the processes of change themselves, and a foregrounding of their effect. The impact of using such a form, for Richardson (2004: 54), is that nominalization holds enormous ideological themes since it obscures responsibility by backgrounding (or often deleting) agency and causality. To uncover this, several sentences will be examined:

- 1) /1260 madaniyyan qutilu:/
(1260 civilians have been killed)

In this subtitle, the sentence is in the passive voice, as indicated by the use of the verb "qutilu" (have been killed) instead of an active form like "qatala" (killed), as the main verb, meaning "killed." The macrostructure of the subtitle conveys that a specific number of civilians have been killed. As for the superstructure, it represents the overall organization of the subtitle. It uses a passive voice construction and nominalization to present the information. It does not specify the responsible party or provide any details about the circumstances.

- 2) /maqtal 15 'unṣuran min ilḥa[d il'afæ:ʔiri: waʔiṣæ:bat ʔakθar min 20 ʔæ:xari:n fi infid3æ:r ʔistahdafa maqarrahum/ (Al-Rafidein channel)
(Killing of 15 persons of tribal Assemblage and injuring of more than 20 in an explosion of their headquarters)

The microstructure contains several syntactic elements. It includes numerals (15, 20), the noun "maqtal" (killing), the prepositional phrases "min ilḥa[d il'afæ:ʔiri:" (of tribal assemblage), and "fi infid3æ:r ʔistahdafa maqarrahum" (at their headquarters). The sentence begins with "maqtal" (killing), which is a nominalization, representing the action of killing as a noun. The macrostructure states that 15 persons of a tribal assemblage were killed and more than 20 were injured in an explosion at their headquarters. The superstructure provides a passive voice construction and nominalization to describe the events. It does not specify the responsible party, presenting the killing and injuring as a reflexive action without an agent.

In both subtitles, the focus is primarily on the action or event itself (the killing of civilians and the explosion causing casualties), rather than explicitly identifying the actors responsible for these actions. The agency or actor of the process is nullified, resulting in a reflexive representation of the action, as if it happened on its own with no specific attribution. This approach directs the viewers' attention towards the victims and the consequences of the event rather than highlighting the perpetrators. Hence, this framing directs attention to the consequences of the actions rather than highlighting the responsible parties. It creates a cognitive framework where the viewers might be more receptive to subsequent actions taken by the government against the perceived agents, potentially fostering a sense of ingroup-outgroup dynamics.

The use of this syntactic structure may aim to generate empathy and concern for the victims, potentially motivating action against those perceived as responsible for such acts. The intention behind these subtitles seems to be to raise awareness about the killing of innocent people and potentially prompt international action against such violence. By emphasizing the victims and their suffering while omitting information about the perpetrators, the channel may aim to convey the message that these killings are carried out by terrorists. The channel's efforts to spread the truth and shed light on the situation could be seen as valuable in bringing attention to the ongoing violence in Iraq.

4.2.3 *Types of Sentences*

Van Dijk (1988) has shown in his analysis of the news discourse that news is fairly structured in a complex way and it is not usual to find a simple clause structure. However, in our study, it was not found that the subtitles were structured in the form of simple declarative coordinated sentences where different ideologies, implications, and presuppositions are found (cf. Khodabandeh (2007) for similar findings). It should be mentioned, however, that a rare case was found in having a simple directive sentence in the form of an imperative. This is shown in the following subtitle where one governmental political leader asks the Kurdish officials to change their mind and stop doing a referendum of independence regarding them as outer groups who want to break the bounds upon which the country is built:

1) / ?utæ:lib ilmas?u:li:n ilkurd bil?udu:l ?an qaræ:r il?istiftæ:?! (Al-Taqhyeer channel)
(I demand the Kurdish officials that the referendum decision be reversed)

Microstructurally, the verb phrase "?utæ:lib" (I demand) is used to express the action of demanding. The noun phrase "ilkurd" (the Kurdish officials) identifies the recipients of the demand. The verb "bil?udu:l" (to cancel) represents the action that the Kurdish officials are being asked to take. The phrase "?an qaræ:r il?istiftæ:?" suggests that the decision being referred to has been redacted. In terms of syntactic structure, the subtitle includes a declarative sentence with an active voice construction. It consists of a subject ("I"), a verb ("demand"), and direct objects ("the Kurdish officials" and "the decision"). The structure of the subtitle positions the Kurdish officials as the outer group who are being addressed by the governmental political leader. It portrays the demand to cancel the decision as a request to stop actions that may lead to the breaking of the country's unity. The macrostructure indicates that the speaker (a governmental political leader) is making a demand to the Kurdish officials regarding a decision that needs to be canceled.

The superstructure highlights the demand being made by the political leader. The subtitle reflects a directive speech act in which the governmental political leader is urging the Kurdish officials to change their decision. It represents the speaker's request for the Kurdish officials to change their minds and stop doing the referendum for independence. The political

leader views the Kurdish officials as outer groups seeking to break the unity of the country. Overall, the syntactic structure used in the subtitle plays a role in conveying the power dynamics and the perception of the Kurdish officials as an outgroup about the country's unity.

Furthermore, a few examples were shown to have a subordinated structure with the types: concession, condition, reason, -ing participle, prepositional, and purpose. Let us consider the following:

2) /ʔalʕibæ:di: juhaddid bittadaxul ilʕaskari ʔiðæ: mæ: ʔustuxdimat alquwwa li fard nata:ʔidj ilʔistiftæ:ʔ/ (Al-Rafidein channel)

(Al-Ibadi threatens to have a military intervention if force is used to impose the results of the referendum)

Microstructurally, the verb phrase "ʔalʕibæ:di: juhaddid" (Al-Ibadi threatens) conveys the action of making a threat. The noun phrase "bittadaxul ilʕaskari" (with military intervention) indicates the means or method of the threat. The prepositional phrase "ʔiðæ: mæ: ʔustuxdimat alquwwa li" (if the obligation is practiced to) introduces the condition under which the threat is being made. In terms of syntactic structure, the subtitle consists of a declarative sentence with an active voice construction. It includes a subject ("Al-Ibadi"), a verb ("threatens"), and an object ("a military intervention"). The structure indicates that the threat is contingent upon a specific condition, introduced by the conjunction "mæ:" (if) and the phrase "ʔustuxdimat alquwwa li" (obligation is to be practiced to).

Overall, the subtitle presents a declarative speech act where Al-Ibadi, identified as the prime minister, issues a threat of military intervention. The syntactic structure used in the subtitle highlights the condition under which the threat is made and implies a potential consequence for the fulfillment of that condition. The macrostructure suggests that Al-Ibadi, who is identified as the prime minister, is making or issuing a statement or declaration. The statement pertains to the possibility of military intervention based on a condition related to the practice of an obligation. The superstructure represents the overall organization of the subtitle. It indicates that Al-Ibadi is issuing a threat or warning of military intervention if a certain obligation is practiced.

4.3 Rhetorical Features

The recourse to rhetoric is to make the message more effective in a sense to achieve esthetics as well as persuasion. Although news discourse is nonpersuasive in principle or intention, it may have a persuasive dimension in an indirect sense. Even if it does not argue for a position or opinion, it certainly presupposes them, by definition of its social and ideological embedding. What follows is a presentation of the set of rhetorical devices, as reflected in our data, through which one considers the authority and power of the media. These strategic devices enhance truthfulness, plausibility, correctness, precision, or credibility.

4.3.1 Exaggeration

To magnify the effect of the ideological themes, subtitles are sometimes presented with exaggeration. This is done by exaggerating the number of participants involved in an action (to create a sort of horror within the viewers' cognition), the debt of a certain governorate (to highlight the corruption and bad management of its officials), the utter capacity of the military forces over the security situation (which in turn signal of relief for the viewers, or a means to beautify the image of the government in the sight of viewers):

1) /ʔakθar min 90 miljæ:r di:næ:r duju:n ilmuħæ:faða/ (Al-Falloja channel)
(More than 90 miliar dinars are the debt of the governorate)

Microstructurally, the subtitle is concise and focuses on factual information. The subtitle employs exaggeration by stating that the debt of the governorate is "more than 90 billion dinars." This exaggerated amount of debt emphasizes the severity and magnitude of the financial situation. It amplifies the perception of a significant financial crisis and potentially implies mismanagement or corruption within the governorate. Macrostructurally, the main point of this subtitle is to convey information about the debt of the governorate, which is described as being more than 90 billion dinars. Superstructural, the subtitle follows a straightforward structure by stating the amount of debt and specifying that it belongs to the governorate. The exaggeration in this subtitle contributes to a negative portrayal of the governorate's financial situation. By emphasizing the large amount of debt, the subtitle suggests an alarming state of financial affairs, potentially leading to economic instability or negative consequences for the governorate. This negative connotation adds to the channel's narrative of presenting a problematic scenario within Iraq. This negative framing can influence the audience's perception of the governorate and reinforce a negative image of the outgroup.

2) /tæ:ʔiræ:t ʔiræ:qijja taqtul ʔaʃaræ:t ilʔirhæ:bijji:n/ (Biladi channel)

(Iraqi aircrafts kill tens of terrorists)

The subtitle utilizes exaggeration by stating that the Iraqi aircraft kill "tens of terrorists." This exaggerated number implies a significant and impactful operation by the Iraqi military. It emphasizes the effectiveness and success of the aircraft in eliminating a large number of enemy combatants. The exaggeration in this subtitle contributes to a positive portrayal of the Iraqi aircraft and their operations. By highlighting the high number of terrorists killed, the subtitle creates a sense of accomplishment and strength. It reinforces the idea of the Iraqi aircraft as a formidable force combating terrorism and protecting the country. This positive connotation aligns with the channel's narrative of presenting the Iraqi military in a positive light. As can be seen, exaggeration could have a negative or positive connotation; subtitle (1) conveys a negative idea about the situation in Iraq where the debt of a certain governorate (as a zone run by a corrupted outgroup who is not loyal to the country) is exaggerated. Subtitle (2), it conveys a positive ideological theme where it exaggerates the number of terrorists killed by means of the Iraqi aircrafts. Through the two subtitles, the channels care so much about presenting the two ideological groups: we (good) vs. others (bad).

4.3.2 Sources and Quotations

Almost all TV news subtitles are shown concerning their source, whether the reference is given either by direct or indirect quotation. Elite sources are not only considered more newsworthy but also more reliable as observers and opinion formulators. Similarly, quotations are closer to the truth and more reliable than event descriptions by the reporter. Quotations not only make the news report livelier but are direct indications of what was actually said and hence true (Tuchman 1972). Moreover, Al-Shaibani (2014: 13) argues that quoting others makes the producer seem neutral and objective, hence giving the impression that the producer is talking about things as facts when in fact he/she may intend to convey an ideological message. Therefore, this kind of intertextuality is never innocent but rather hides implicit ideological meanings. It is a strategy of saving the text producer's face by alienating him/herself from the proposition made by the original speaker.

In the following subtitle, the prevailing voice is that of the elites, viz. government officials referring to the supposed future action by the other group, namely the referendum of independence which is thought of by the government officials, the ingroup, as a threat to the unity of the country:

1) /ʔalmad3lis ilwizæ:ari: lilʔamn ilwaṭani: (:) -----/ (NRT Arabic channel)
(National security ministerial council: -----)

Microstructurally, the subtitle mentions the National Security Ministerial Council, which implies authority and seriousness. The subtitle attributes the statement that is supposed to follow the "National security ministerial council", a group of officials who hold positions of authority and power. By explicitly mentioning the source, the subtitle lends credibility and authority to the information as it is presented as coming from an official source. The inclusion of the term "ministerial council" emphasizes the high-ranking status of the individuals making the statement, suggesting their expertise and influence. Moreover, by using quotations, the subtitle gives the impression of relaying the exact words spoken by the council, adding weight and legitimacy to their claims. Their perspective and concerns are emphasized, positioning them as the central authority and decision-makers in various matters. In terms of macrostructure, the main point of this subtitle is to highlight something, a decision or whatever, that is made by the National Security Ministerial Council. Superstructural: the subtitle follows a structured format by introducing the entity making the decision (National Security Ministerial Council) and emphasizing the threatening nature of the decision to someone.

4.3.3 Use of Numbers

Numbers, though signaling precision or exactness, rhetorically enhance the news subtitles' effectiveness and truthfulness similar as the statistics in a scholarly publication. Numbers are used either in a numbering shape or a figuring shape though the majority of them are used in figuring shape. The numerical indications are of many kinds: number of participants, places or equipment, date and period of events, location descriptions, taxes, debt, bribes, distance, and numerical descriptions of quantity or procedures. Let us consider the following:

1) /quwwæ:t ilʔasæ:jiʔ taʔtaqil 12 ʃaxsan/ (Al-Taḡhyeer channel)
(Asayish troops arrest 12 persons)

The subtitle incorporates the use of numbers by mentioning that "12 persons" were arrested by Asayish troops. The specific number, in this case, 12, provides a sense of precision and a quantitative measure of the information being presented and suggests a significant operation conducted by the troops. It creates the impression that multiple individuals have been apprehended, emphasizing the scale of the action taken by the Asayish troops.

In terms of Macrostructure, the main point of this subtitle is to report on the arrests made by Asayish troops, specifying the number of persons arrested. The use of numbers in the subtitle contributes to the positive portrayal of the Asayish troops. By highlighting that they have arrested 12 individuals involved in potentially unlawful activities, it presents them as an effective force that is successfully carrying out their duty of maintaining security, law and order. This reinforces the image of the troops as protectors of the country, engaging in actions that contribute to the safety and stability of the nation. The subtitle indirectly establishes an ideological division between "we" (Asayish troops, portrayed positively) and "others" (the individuals being arrested, implied as engaging in negative activities). This dichotomy reinforces a narrative of the troops as the righteous side protecting the country from potential threats posed by the arrested individuals.

4.3.4 Metaphor

Metaphor, in political discourse, can be seen as an action of war where the politicians aim to persuade people (Kulo 2009: 2-10). Besides, it is used in subtitles for the reasons of making

the speech more alive and motivating people to accept the point strived for. In the following example, the speaker uses metaphor to refer to Iraq without mentioning it by a declared name:

1) /ʔajjæ:m qali:la tafšil ilkurd ʕan d3ahannam/ (Al-Sharqiya News)
(Few days separates the Kurds from hell)

The subtitle employs a metaphor by likening the situation of the Kurds to being "separated from hell" without explicitly mentioning Iraq or any specific name. The metaphorical use of "hell" emphasizes the severity of the situation faced by the Kurds and suggests a negative and oppressive environment that the Kurds are striving to escape from. By comparing the situation to hell, the subtitle invokes strong emotional imagery and conveys a sense of urgency and desperation. The metaphor creates a vivid and powerful image, evoking strong emotions and associations related to suffering, pain, and torment.

In terms of macrostructure, the main point of this subtitle is to convey a sense of impending danger or catastrophe that the Kurds are facing, suggesting that they are in a critical situation. Consequently, the use of metaphor in this subtitle aims to persuade the audience, primarily the Kurds, of the need for separation from the rest of Iraq. By equating the current situation to hell, the subtitle implies that the only way to escape the suffering and hardships is through independence or separation. It attempts to appeal to the emotions and experiences of the audience, creating a sense of empathy and a desire for change and may even create support for their cause. The metaphorical use of "hell" to refer to Iraq, without explicitly naming it, portrays the country in a highly negative light. It suggests that the Kurds are enduring a difficult and oppressive existence within the larger Iraqi context. By using such a powerful metaphor, the subtitle aims to solidify the idea that separation is the only viable solution for the Kurds to improve their situation and achieve a better future. This framing seeks to evoke a sense of empathy, concern, or alarm among viewers regarding the situation faced by the Kurds, emphasizing the gravity and immediacy of the danger they are confronting. It also aims to shape the viewers' perception and acceptance of the idea of separation as a logical and necessary step. Overall, the use of metaphor in the subtitle contributes to the channel's goal of promoting the idea of separation between the Federal Government and the Kurdistan Region. The metaphor serves to present the Federal Government as a source of torment and emphasizes the logic behind the idea of separation, as perceived by the channel, to influence the viewers' thoughts and opinions.

4.3.5 Irony

1) /ʔalmiʔæ:t min alʔatræ:k junaddimu:n masi:ra iħtid3æ:d3ijja fi: ʔistanbu:l ðid ʔistiftæ:ʔ ʔiqli:m kurdistæ:n/ (NRT Arabic channel)
(Hundreds of Turks organize a march of protest in Istanbul against the referendum of Kurdistan Region)

The above extract talks about the supposed referendum of independence by an Iraqi ethnic group. The main point of this subtitle is to report on a protest march organized by hundreds of Turks in Istanbul against the referendum of the Kurdistan Region. The channel depicts that the act is refused by not only the government but by other neighboring countries as well. The irony in the subtitle lies in the contradiction or unexpected twist it presents. The irony arises from the fact that the subtitle mentions the protest by hundreds of Turks against the referendum of the Kurdistan Region. This implies that the Turks, who are not part of the Kurdistan Region, are expressing their opposition to the referendum. This irony stems from the notion that the fate or decision of the Kurdistan Region is being challenged by external factors, such as the Turks, who are not directly involved in that region's affairs. The irony, then, lies in the fact that

neighboring countries, which are external to Iraq, have a role in determining the situation in Iraq. This ironic situation arises because the sovereignty of Iraq is theoretically in the hands of its government and people, but external actors have influence or involvement in shaping the scene. By highlighting the role of neighboring countries in determining the Iraqi scene, the subtitle underscores the paradoxical nature of the situation, where Iraq's sovereignty is challenged or influenced by external forces.

4.3.6 *Presupposition*

The analysis revealed examples of presupposition that stress the theme of exclusion. For example, in:

1) /ʔalmaḥkama ilʔitiḥæ:dijja tuʃdir ʔamran biʔi:qæ:f ʔid3ræ:ʔæ:t ʔistiftæ:ʔ kurdistæ:n biʔtibæ:rihi ʔeir dustu:ri:/ (Asia channel)

(The Federal Court issues a resolution to stop the procedures for the Kurdistan referendum since it is not constitutional)

The idea of refusing the supposed referendum of independence floats once more on the surface. Microstructurally, the subtitle uses the expression "Federal Court" to establish the authority responsible for issuing the resolution. The subtitle uses the verb "issues" to convey the decisive action taken by the Federal Court. It also emphasizes the reason behind the resolution, stating that the action being stopped is not constitutional. The use of the word "resolution" suggests an official and decisive action being taken. Macrostructurally, the main point of the subtitle is to inform the audience about a resolution issued by the Federal Court. The resolution is aimed at stopping a certain action or activity due to its lack of constitutionality. The subtitle presupposes the existence and authority of the Federal Court. It assumes that the court is a legitimate institution with the power to issue resolutions or decisions. By presenting the court's decision as a fact, the subtitle presupposes the legitimacy of the current government and its constitutional framework. This presupposition is evident in the statement that the action being stopped is "not constitutional." By asserting that the action is unconstitutional, the subtitle presupposes the existence of a valid constitution and implies that the government is operating within the boundaries of that constitution. This categorizes the government in a positive light as the legitimate authority.

The analysis states that the accusation categorizes the 'other' group as confronting the legitimate government. This suggests that the 'other' group is positioned as opposing or challenging the established authority. By utilizing these presuppositions, the subtitle reinforces the ideological perspective that the government is the legitimate entity, with the power to issue resolutions and determine the constitutionality of actions. The 'other' group, in contrast, is implicitly portrayed as opposing the government and its legitimacy. It's important to note that presuppositions play a significant role in shaping the narrative and influencing the audience's perception of the events being reported. The analysis above highlights the presuppositions present in the subtitle based on the information provided.

4.3.7 *Giving Details*

The subtitles tend to include the description of close, concrete details that are among the most important facts. This makes the subtitles more informative and look long. This is illustrated in the following successive subtitles presented by the NRT Arabic channel:

1) /ʔalmiʔæ:t min alʔatræ:k junaððimu:n masi:ra iḥtid3æ:d3ijja fi: ʔiʃtanbu:l ðidda ʔistiftæ:ʔ ʔiqli:m kurdistæ:n / (:)

(Hundreds of Turks organize a march of protest in Istanbul against the Kurdistan referendum)

In terms of microstructure, the subtitle uses strong action verbs like "organize" to convey the proactive stance of the Turks participating in the protest march. The mention of "Istanbul" provides the audience with the relevant location. Besides, it gives specific details about the target or subject of the protest. Macrostructurally, the main point of the subtitle is to report on a protest march organized by hundreds of Turks in Istanbul. The protest is against the Kurdistan referendum.

2) / hizb ilharaka ilqawmijja ilturki ilmuʿæ:rið naððama lmasi:ra warafaʿa lmuhtad3d3u:n - ?aʿlæ:m turkija walʿiræ:q watturukmæ:n/

(National Movement Opposed Turkish Party organized the march and the protesters raised the flags of Turkey, Iraq, and Turkmen)

In terms of microstructure, the subtitle provides information about the organizing entity, the National Movement Opposed Turkish Party, emphasizing their role in the march. The subtitle uses terms like "organized," "march," and "protesters" to indicate the activities involved. The mention of the protesters lifting the flags of Turkey, Iraq and Turkmen implies a symbolic action. As for the macrostructure level, the main point of the subtitle is to inform about the National Movement Opposed Turkish Party organizing a march. The subtitle also mentions that the protesters have raised or lifted the flags of Turkey, Iraq and Turkmen.

3) /?almuhtad3d3u:n tæ:labu ilhuku:ma ilturkijja bittadaxul limanʿ ?alʿistiftæ:? waħimæ:jat ?tturukmæ:n fi: karku:k/ (NRT Arabic channel)

(The protesters demanded the Turkish government to intervene to prevent the referendum and protect the Turkmen in Kirkuk)

As far as the microstructure level is concerned, the subtitle emphasizes the demand of the protesters for the Turkish government to intervene. It mentions the need to prevent the referendum and protect the Turkmen in Kirkuk. The subtitle uses terms like "protesters," "demanded," "intervene," "prevent," and "protect" to convey the actions and demands involved. Macrostructurally, the main point of this subtitle is to report on the demands made by the protesters. They are requesting the intervention of the Turkish government to prevent the referendum and protect the Turkmen in Kirkuk. The previous extracts present a one-part event (the supposed referendum of independence by an Iraqi ethnic group) by giving details in two following subtitles about the doer and the actions done, and reference or appeal to emotions is presented as well. The first subtitle provides information about the event, namely the scale of the protest (hundreds of participants) and its location (Istanbul). The second subtitle provides information about the organizers of the march, which is the National Movement Opposed Turkish Party. It also suggests that the protesters actively participated and engaged in lifting or emphasizing a particular cause or message related to the issue at hand. The third subtitle highlights the specific demands of the protesters, which include calling for the Turkish government's intervention to prevent the referendum and protect the Turkmen in Kirkuk

It could happen that the channel, in adopting this strategy, aims at arousing the peoples' feelings against what they (or their institution) think it is against the unity of the country and depicting the other group in an excluded manner, in consequence. Overall, the use of giving details in these subtitles serves multiple rhetorical purposes. By providing specific details about the protest, such as the number of participants, the location, the organizers, and the demands, the subtitles aim to inform the audience about the event and its various aspects. Besides, the inclusion of details about the protesters' demands and the appeal to the Turkish government to intervene suggests an emotional appeal. By highlighting the need for protection and prevention

of certain issues, the subtitles may aim to evoke emotions in the audience, such as concern, empathy, or support for the cause. Additionally, the mention of the party's name may also serve to evoke emotional responses from the viewers, potentially shaping their perception of the event.

Finally, the deliberate exclusion of specific details about the issue being protested against creates a rhetorical strategy that may marginalize or negatively portray the 'other' group, which is the subject of the protest. This exclusion can contribute to a framing where the 'other' group is seen as a threat to the unity of the country. Overall, the use of details in these subtitles serves to inform the audience, elicit emotional responses, and potentially create a narrative that supports the perspective of the protest organizers and the channel itself.

5 Results and Discussion

Table 1: Channel Lexical Choice Realization

Channels Names	Adjectives		Labelling (Referring)	Pronouns		Total Subtitles
	Positive	Negative		Inclusive Personal	Non-Inclusive Personal	
NRT Arabia	29	9	0	4	1	31
Al- Sharqiya News	38	6	1	1	1	34
Al-Rafidein	20	8	4	1	0	21
Al-Falloja	17	2	1	0	0	16
Al-Taghyeer	43	9	0	3	0	43
Al-Mosuliya	67	13	0	1	0	57
Al-Rasheed	22	4	0	0	0	21
Al-Najaf	43	3	0	0	0	22
Biladi	31	4	0	0	0	29
Al-Furat	11	1	0	0	0	13
Al-Ghadeer	25	1	1	1	0	16
Al-A'hd 2	8	1	0	0	0	8
Asia	11	5	0	1	0	16
Al-Iraqia News	27	2	1	0	0	19

Table 1 presents an overview of the frequency count of lexical choices, including adjectives, labeling (referring), and pronouns, used in the news subtitles of the selected Iraqi TV satellite channels. The table shows that adjectives are extensively utilized in TV subtitles across the various selected Iraqi TV satellite channels, with positive adjectives being more frequent than negative ones. The research indicates that the use of adjectives is strategic. Positive adjectives were employed to depict positive security situations, portray the new Iraq, convey formal administrative orders, emphasize nationality, describe matters, and highlight parliamentary elections. Negative adjectives, on the other hand, represented the refusal of certain resolutions or actions, threats of certain potential incidents, creating negative images of others, and highlighting the critical situation in Iraq. This indicates a deliberate choice of lexical items to shape the narrative in favor of certain ideological positions.

The analysis of the labeling (referring) strategy shows that Al-Rafidein channel stood out as the most frequent channel to use this strategy. Labeling was purposively employed to represent in-group and out-group distinctions, emphasizing themes of inclusion and exclusion. This suggests that certain channels purposefully use labeling to influence the audience's perceptions of social groups. Moreover, the ideological square is manifested through the use of pronouns, particularly the inclusive first-person pronoun "we" (and "our") to refer to various news events. This inclusive pronoun is used to indicate either a threat or warning to others or to refer to routine procedures. In contrast, the non-inclusive first-person pronoun is rarely utilized across all channels, except for two channels having very infrequent occurrences, each with just one example. This selective manipulation of pronouns serves to portray the distinction between the elite or powerful group (the "we") and the undominated or helpless group (the "they"), contributing to the framing of ideological positions.

The research presents valuable insights into the linguistic choices made by various TV channels in Iraq. The findings highlight the significant role of lexical choices, particularly adjectives and pronouns, in shaping the ideological discourse and narrative presented through news subtitles. The results of the analysis indicate that the selected Iraqi TV satellite channels employ various linguistic and discursive strategies to convey specific ideological stances and values. Adjectives play a significant role in shaping the portrayal of news events and topics. The prevalence of positive adjectives may suggest an attempt by the channels to portray a positive image of certain events and aspects related to Iraq, while the use of negative adjectives seems to portray the 'other' group in a negative light or to highlight certain negative aspects or threats to be avoided. Adjectives play a significant role in shaping the portrayal of news events and topics, with the deliberate use of positive adjectives to influence viewers' perceptions and attitudes towards specific issues while negative adjectives might be intended to invoke emotions and reactions from the viewers, shaping their understanding of critical situations in Iraq. This strategic selection of adjectives allows the channels to frame news stories and events in a way that aligns with their ideological stance.

The channels strategically utilize labeling and referring strategies to represent in-group and out-group themes, possibly reinforcing specific ideologies or perspectives. This strategic use of labeling can influence viewers' perceptions of various social and political entities, groups or individuals. The prominence of this strategy in the Al-Rafidein channel suggests a deliberate effort to emphasize certain ideologies or narratives in the news presentation. The deliberate manipulation of pronouns is to reinforce specific ideological positions. The dominant use of the inclusive first-person pronoun "we," indicates a conscious effort by the channels to assert authority, power, and inclusion. By associating themselves with the powerful or elite inclusive group, these channels may aim to project a sense of belonging, and credibility and to influence public opinion and establish credibility. The minimal use of the non-inclusive first-person pronoun suggests that the channels tend to downplay or avoid highlighting the perspectives of marginalized or less powerful groups.

Overall, these findings highlight the significance of linguistic choices in conveying and shaping ideological messages (shaping the narrative (of the news event) presented through TV subtitles). The selective use of adjectives, labeling, and pronouns can influence viewers' perceptions, attitudes, and understanding of news events and societal issues in Iraq. The research demonstrates that the language choices made in TV subtitles can significantly influence the way news events are perceived by viewers. By analyzing these linguistic choices, viewers gain a deeper understanding of the underlying ideologies and narratives propagated by

different TV channels in Iraq and can be more critically aware of the language used in media and its potential impact on their perceptions and understanding of news events.

Table 2: Channel Syntactic Structure Realization

Channels Names	Passive Voice & Nominalization	Coordination	Subordination	Directive Simple Sentence	Total Subtitles
NRT Arabia	7	31	7	3	31
Al- Sharqiya News	34	6	3	0	34
Al-Rafidein	5	21	5	5	21
Al-Falloja	0	16	0	2	16
Al-Taghyeer	8	43	6	0	43
Al-Mosuliya	18	57	1	5	57
Al-Rasheed	3	21	3	3	21
Al-Najaf	4	22	4	1	22
Biladi	4	29	4	4	29
Al-Furat	5	13	5	2	13
Al-Ghadeer	6	16	6	0	16
Al-A'hd 2	0	8	0	2	8
Asia	2	16	2	3	16
Al-Iraqia News	2	19	2	0	19

The table presents the frequency count of various syntactic structures, including passive voice and nominalization, coordination, subordination, and directive simple sentences used in the news subtitles of the selected channels. The analysis indicates that the use of passivization and nominalization is more prevalent in the news subtitles of the Al-Sharqiya News channel compared to other channels. In contrast, several other channels show no examples of passivization or nominalization in their subtitles. This suggests that Al-Sharqiya News may have a preference for employing more abstract language and avoiding direct attribution of actions to specific agents, and for mystifying the agent of the action and portraying actions, whether positive or negative in a more abstract or generalized manner, possibly to avoid direct attribution of actions to specific individuals or groups. Passive voice and nominalization can make it less explicit who performs certain actions, allowing for a more indirect representation of events.

The analysis also indicates that coordination is relatively more frequent among the analyzed channels. Surprisingly, coordinated sentences are typical of simple declarative structures. This finding is in contrast with Van Dijk's (1988) analysis of news discourse, which suggested that news is usually structured in a more complex way and does not heavily rely on simple clause structures. This suggests that certain channels choose a specific linguistic style to convey their intended ideological messages. In this case, the preference for simpler, coordinated sentences in the news subtitles indicates a tendency towards straightforward and concise language in conveying information to the audience.

Furthermore, subordination is realized to a lesser extent in the news subtitles. The NRT Arabic channel is the most frequent user of this syntactic structure among all the channels. This

indicates that news subtitles generally tend to prefer simpler sentence structures rather than complex subordination, possibly to enhance clarity and ease of understanding for viewers in the limited space available for subtitles. Additionally, rare instances of directive simple sentences were used in specific channels as a signal of showing threats towards elite groups. This implies that some channels may utilize direct language to convey warnings or messages with a sense of urgency or authority and in this context, it may indicate a specific communication strategy employed by certain channels to address powerful entities or individuals.

The results from Table 2 provide significant insights into the syntactic choices employed by various TV channels in presenting their news subtitles. The frequency and variation in the use of passivization, nominalization, coordination, subordination, and directive simple sentences contribute to the overall ideological discourse presented by these channels. The variation in the use of passive voice and nominalization among the channels may reflect differing editorial policies or stylistic preferences. Al-Sharqiya News' higher frequency of using these structures could indicate a deliberate attempt to present news more abstractly or neutrally. By avoiding direct attribution and agency of actions, the channel may seek to mystify or downplay the agents responsible for certain actions or events and maintain a level of ambiguity in the news presentation, potentially influencing the viewers' perception of events. On the other hand, the limited use of subordination and the prevalence of coordination with simple declarative structures among the analyzed channels suggest a preference for straightforward and easily comprehensible sentence structures in the limited space available for subtitles. This choice aligns with the notion of news writing aiming to convey information concisely and clearly to the audience, possibly for ease of comprehension and readability for them. However, it should be noted that the analysis is specific to subtitles, which may result in more concise sentence structures compared to the original spoken or written news texts.

The rare use of directive simple sentences in some channels' subtitles is an intriguing finding. It suggests that these channels might use more direct language to signal threats or warnings toward elite groups. This syntactic choice may be employed strategically by certain channels to emphasize their stance on particular issues or to create a sense of urgency or seriousness around certain events. Hence, it can impact the way viewers perceive certain groups or events and may influence their opinions and attitudes. Overall, the findings from Table 2 reveal how different TV channels in Iraq employ various syntactic structures in their news subtitles to shape the ideological framing of news events and convey the information. These choices made by these channels play a significant role in constructing the ideological narrative presented to the viewers and influence how viewers interpret the news and understand the events and actions portrayed in the media.

Table 3: Channel Rhetorical Features Realization

Channels Names	Exaggeration	Source	Number	Metaphor	Irony	Giving Details	Presupposition	Total Subtitles
NRT Arabia	0	27	2	0	21	22	0	31
Al-Sharqiya News	0	18	10	2	21	17	7	34
Al-Rafidein	5	14	7	0	10	10	2	21
Al-Falloja	3	12	4	1	11	2	1	16
Al-Taghyeer	2	31	4	1	25	28	10	43
Al-Mosuliya	4	37	18	0	27	47	7	57
Al-Rasheed	0	10	1	0	10	11	2	21
Al-Najaf	1	8	5	0	10	10	1	22
Biladi	2	21	2	0	24	8	2	29
Al-Furat	0	10	1	0	8	7	2	13
Al-Ghadeer	0	11	3	0	13	11	3	16
Al-A'hd 2	0	2	1	0	4	2	1	8
Asia	1	12	3	0	10	5	0	16
Al-Iraqia News	0	13	2	0	13	16	1	19

The table presents the frequency count of various rhetorical features, including exaggeration, source, number, metaphor, irony, giving details, and presupposition, used in the news subtitles of the selected channels. The table reveals that the Al-Rafidein channel has the highest frequency of using the exaggeration strategy compared to other channels. Exaggeration is employed as a rhetorical strategy to magnify the effect of ideological themes. This suggests that Al-Rafidein may employ exaggerated language to emphasize and amplify certain points of news or events and evoke emotional responses from the audience in alignment with their ideological perspective.

All channels have adopted the sourcing strategy, albeit with varying degrees. The high utilization of this strategy across channels reflects the channels' aim to appear as reliable sources of information and credible in their reporting. Citing sources can enhance their credibility and establish the trustworthiness of the news content among their audience. The table indicates that the channels manipulate the use of numbers to differing degrees. The presence of this strategy across all channels sets a clear picture that they strive to demonstrate precision and truthfulness in their reporting. By using numerical data, the channels may seek to provide factual evidence and enhance the perception of accuracy authority to the information

presented, potentially reinforcing the legitimacy of their news coverage. Metaphorical language is realized within some channels but with a relatively low frequency across all the channels. Adopting metaphorical strategies is done purposefully to motivate people to accept the points or ideas being conveyed. Metaphors can be powerful tools to create vivid imagery or make complex information more accessible and relatable to the audience.

The table shows that Al-Mosuliya channel stands out in its high frequency of using both irony and giving details strategies compared to the other channels. Irony is used to mock certain incidents or actions, such as the intervention of neighboring countries in the Iraqi scene. On the other hand, giving details is employed to provide more lengthy and informative subtitles, providing in-depth information to the audience. The channels may use irony to add a critical or humorous tone to their reporting while providing details can enhance the comprehensiveness and depth of their news coverage. The table indicates that presupposition is used in differing degrees among the channels. Presupposition refers to expressing certain ideological positions or assumptions within the news content. This suggests that the channels have planned within their agenda to express particular ideological perspectives.

Overall, the results reveal that various rhetorical strategies are employed strategically by the channels to shape the presentation and public perception of news content. Exaggeration, source citation, utilization of numbers, and the occasional use of metaphors all serve specific purposes in aligning with the channels' ideological positions, potentially aiming to strengthen the credibility of the reported information. Furthermore, the high frequency of irony and details in Al-Mosuliya's subtitles may indicate a deliberate attempt to engage the audience and present news in a distinctive manner. The use of presupposition across channels also indicates a conscious effort to convey certain ideological stances. These rhetorical features contribute to the overall framing and interpretation of news content, influencing how the audience perceives events and issues.

The rhetorical features employed by the channels include exaggeration, source attribution, number use, metaphor, irony, giving details, and presupposition. Exaggeration is used to magnify the effect of ideological themes, and the use of source attribution and number aims to show reliability and precision. Irony and giving details are strategic elements to mock certain incidents or actions and to provide more informative and lengthy subtitles. Presupposition serves to express specific ideological positions. In conclusion, the analysis of rhetorical features realization demonstrates their strategic use of language to influence and shape public perception. These rhetorical strategies play a crucial role in conveying ideological perspectives and reinforcing certain narratives to the audience.

6 Conclusions

The research aimed to analyze the ideology portrayed in the news subtitles of various Iraqi TV satellite channels using Van Dijk's 3D framework, which includes the cognitive, social, and ideological dimensions of discourse. The research findings shed light on the deliberate linguistic strategies and discursal patterns employed by these channels to shape and reinforce specific ideological perspectives, emphasize certain themes, and influence audience perceptions within the context of TV media, contributing to the portrayal of a positive self-image and a negative depiction of others. The use of these choices all contributes to constructing a particular narrative in alignment with the channel's ideological stance or objectives. The following are the key conclusions drawn from the research:

1. The analysis of lexical choices in the news subtitles revealed that adjectives are extensively used in the news subtitles across the channels to shape the narrative. Positive adjectives are more frequently employed than negative ones. The deliberate use of positive adjectives to depict a positive security situation, the new Iraq, formal administrative orders, nationality, descriptive matters, and parliamentary elections. On the other hand, negative adjectives were utilized to represent a refusal of certain resolutions or actions, depict threats of incidents, portray critical situations in Iraq, and a negative image of others, emphasizing the critical situation in Iraq. This strategic selection of adjectives aligns with the ideological square of inclusion-exclusion, where the channels aim to promote their positive self-image and portray others as negative or threatening. Consequently, these lexical choices are strategically made to influence the audience's perceptions of various events and issues.

2. The analysis of labeling (referring) in the news subtitles demonstrated that certain channels purposefully used this strategy to represent in-groups and out-groups, emphasizing themes of inclusion and exclusion. This reflects the channels' efforts to influence the audience's perceptions of various social groups and their positioning in society, creating distinctions between different entities.

3. The deliberate use of pronouns in the news subtitles, particularly the inclusive first-person pronoun "we" (and "our"), aimed to refer to various news events, threats, or routine procedures. The non-inclusive first-person pronoun was rarely used. This strategy highlights the distinction between the elite or powerful group ("we") and the undominated or helpless group ("they"). The manipulation of pronouns contributes to the ideological square, reinforcing the channels' desired power dynamics.

4. The analysis of syntactic structures revealed that certain channels frequently used passive voice and nominalization to mystify the agent of certain processes and portray actions less directly. Subordination was used to a lesser degree, while coordination was more common, often in simple declarative sentences. Additionally, the preference for simple declarative structures in coordinated sentences contrasts with typical complex structures often found in news discourse. This indicates a strategic choice of linguistic style to convey specific ideological messages.

5. Rhetorical features, such as exaggeration, source citation, giving details, and presupposition, were strategically employed by the channels to reinforce ideological themes and influence the audience's perception of events and actors. The rhetorical features analysis shows that exaggeration is adopted to mystify the agent of the action, while all channels use the source strategy to appear reliable and trustworthy. Metaphor has limited presence, while irony and giving details are more prevalent in Al-Mosuliya channel. Presupposition is used with varying frequencies among the channels to express ideological positions.

6. The results of the analysis demonstrated that the representation of the same news event by different and ideologically opponent channels opposed each other.

7. Generally speaking, it should be mentioned that the conclusions arrived at provide answers to the research questions and they verify and confirm the hypotheses posted.

Overall, the conclusions from this research highlight the deliberate use of linguistic strategies, including lexical choices, syntactic structures, and rhetorical features, by Iraqi TV satellite channels to shape and reinforce specific ideological positions. These strategies align with Van Dijk's 3D framework, which highlights the cognitive, social, and ideological dimensions of discourse. These strategies aim to portray a positive self-image and negatively depict others, contributing to the perpetuation of the ideological square of inclusion-exclusion. The research sheds light on the power of language and discourse in influencing perceptions and shaping ideological narratives in media representations. These findings have significant implications for understanding media discourse and its impact on public opinion and social dynamics in the Iraqi context.

It is essential to critically analyze media discourse to understand how media outlets shape public opinion and influence societal perceptions. The research highlights the importance of being aware of the ideological underpinnings behind media representations and calls for media consumers to approach news with a critical eye, recognizing the potential biases and manipulations present in media content. The conclusions also offer directions for future research into media discourse that can be used to improve media discourse in the Iraqi context.

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